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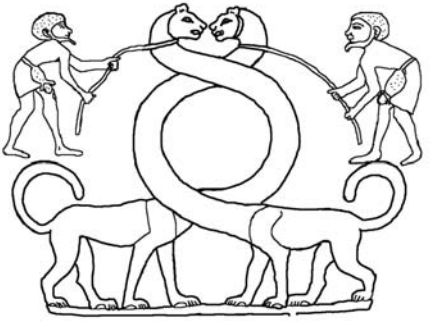

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Facultad de Ciencias Sociales
Centro de Estudios de Historia del Antiguo Oriente

Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires - Argentina

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King Taita and his "Palistin": Philistine State or Neo-Hittite Kingdom?*

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Summary: King Taita and His "Palistin": Philistine State or Neo-Hittite Kingdom?

The end of the Hittite Empire and the destruction and abandonment of Alalakh represents a cultural break between the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages in the ʻAmuq Valley. In the Iron I, a population with clear ties to the greater Aegean world, perhaps related to the Philistines of southern Canaan, established an agro-pastoral settlement at Tell Taʻyinat and the surrounding area. This occupation, marked by Field Phases 6–3 at Taʻyinat, was both materially and chronologically ephemeral, and should be viewed as a cultural outlier sandwiched between the Hittite-controlled LBA and later Iron I. This intrusive population lived alongside the indigenous inhabitants of the ʻAmuq, bequeathing to the region a toponym—Palistin—that would far outlast their own relevance and archaeological visibility. By the First Building Period at Tell Taʻyinat, which followed the Aegean-related phases, the site was home to a dynasty overseeing a typical Neo-Hittite state, with its toponym all that remained of the "Sea Peoples" presence that occupied it at the beginning of the Iron Age.

Keywords: Sea Peoples – Neo-Hittite – Palistin – Philistines

Resumen: El rey Taita y su "Palistin": ¿estado filisteo o reino neo-hitita?

El final del imperio hitita y la destrucción y abandono de Alalak representan una ruptura cultural entre la Edad del Bronce Tardío y la Edad del Hierro Temprana en el valle del ʻAmuq. En la Edad del Hierro I, una población con nexos claros con el mundo del Egeo, quizás relacionada con los filisteos del sur de Canaán, estableció un asentamiento agro-pastoral en Tell Taʻyinat y el área circundante. Esta ocupación, marcada por las fases 6–3 en Taʻyinat, fue material y cronológicamente efímera, y

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debería ser vista como una fase cultural atípica ubicada entre la etapa de la Edad del Bronce Tardío controlada por los hititas y más tarde la Edad del Hierro I. Esta población intrusiva vivió junto a los habitantes nativos del ‘Amuq, y legó a la región un topónimo—Palistin—que sobrevivió más allá de la relevancia y visibilidad arqueológica de este grupo. En el primer período de construcción en Tell Ta‘yinat, que siguió a las fases relacionadas con el Egeo, el sitio albergó a una dinastía que dirigía un típico estado neo-hitita, y su topónimo fue lo único que quedó de la presencia de los”Pueblos del mar”’ que lo ocuparon a comienzos de la Edad del Hierro.

Palabras clave: Pueblos del mar – Neo-hitita – Palistin – Filisteos

Introduction

The collapse of the Late Bronze Age in the Eastern Mediterranean left in its wake a geopolitical landscape that was far more complex and fragmented than that which preceded it. However, examinations of individual regions and polities in the Early Iron Age reflect measures of both continuity and change. This paper will address the ‘Amuq Valley at this time, with particular focus on the kingdom of Palistin/Walistin and the person of King Taita. Was this polity a northern kingdom of Sea Peoples, and Taita a Philistine king? Or was it a Neo-Hittite state led by a king and dynasty who followed in the Hittite imperial tradition?

Neo-Hittites in Northern Syria

The period in the northern Levant between the fall of the Hittite Empire at the end of the 13th century BC and the floruit of the Syro-Hittite states in the Iron II (ca. 900 BC) remains a “dark” age in many respects, though recent work in the region has helped shed an increasing measure of light on the matter. Based on present evidence, the vacuum left by Ḫatti’s fall appears to have led to a balkanization[1] of the region, as “rump states” led by rulers with direct connection to the prior regime jockeyed for position with new polities that were established in place of the old.[2] Both cultural continuity and change are visible in

[1] Harrison 2009a: 187. One reason for the Neo-Hittite kingdoms’ success and stability following Hatti’s fall may be the independence they increasingly gained over the course of the 13th c. BC; Harrison 2009b: 172.

[2] Harrison 2009a: 187; 2009b: 174–175; Sader 2014: 12; cf. Beckman 1992: 49.

the material record at this time, with the result being an emerging picture of a highly dynamic, multicultural period in the history of the region.[3]

Some of the most significant changes include the appearance of new social groups and new toponyms, and, in some areas, an increased and altered interaction with Aegean-style material culture. These have, at times, been associated with the movement of "Sea Peoples" and other groups—perhaps raiders, perhaps migrants—who were part of an eastward movement of peoples at this time.[4] The continuities, on the other hand, are the source from which our modern terms "Neo-" and "Syro-Hittite" are derived. These modern constructs do not denote ethnicity or a sense of common identity, but instead recognize certain physical characteristics in individual polities that existed in northern Syria and southeastern Anatolia between the beginning of the Iron Age on one end, and their eventual absorption into the Neo-Assyrian empire on the other (*ca.* 12th–8th c. BC).[5] These common traits include, in varying combinations and quantities, dynastic succession from the Hittite empire, as seen especially at Karkemiš; cult revivals featuring iconography and architecture in the Hittite tradition (see below); re-use of Luwian or Hittite royal names; records written in the Luwian language using the Luwian hieroglyphic script, which had previously been utilized on Hittite public monuments; and geographic proximity to the region referred to as "Ḫatti" in Assyrian, Urartian, and Hebrew texts of the Iron Age.[6]

Long believed to have been most prominent among the Neo-Hittite "rump states" is Karkemiš, which was ruled by a dynasty of "Great Kings" now thought to have connected the Hittite empire to the Neo-Hittite first millennium.[7] However, as will be discussed further below, many of the traits noted above—if not all—can also be seen in another polity about which our knowledge has begun to increase significantly in recent years. This territory is known variously as *Palistin* or *Walistin*, and was seemingly centered at Tell Ta'yinat (ancient *Kunulua*) in the 'Amuq valley.[8] The history of

[3] Harrison 2009a: 187; Hawkins 2009; Osborne 2011: 7; Venturi 2013: 238; Sader 2014.
[4] *Inter alia*, Birney 2007; Janeway 2006–7; 2014; Yasur-Landau 2010; Lehmann 2013; Venturi 2013.
[5] Bryce 2012: 75; Ponchia 2011: 281.
[6] Aro 2003: 282; Bryce 2012: 47, 49–53, 60, 75; Hawkins 2009a: 164; Masetti-Rouault 2001: 78–82; Osborne 2011: 9–10; cf. Dalley 2000: 80–88.
[7] Güterbock 1992; Hawkins 1988; 2002: 148; 2009; Singer 2000.
[8] Harrison 2009a; 2009b.

Palistin/Walistin's Iron Age II successor, the kingdom of *Patina* (Assyrian *Unqi*), is known primarily from Assyrian textual sources.[9] However, survey and excavation in the 'Amuq plain (the plain of Antioch) and at Tell Ta'yinat has recently combined with epigraphic reassessment to increase our insight into its Iron I history and development.

Taita, Hero and King of Palistin/Walistin

Based on epigraphic evidence found over a wide geographic area, Palistin/Walistin has been reconstructed as a sprawling Iron Age kingdom extending from the 'Amuq plain to Aleppo in the east and Hama in the south, perhaps with its capital at Tell Ta'yinat (**Fig. 1**).[10] These dimensions encompass the former LBA kingdoms of Mukiš, Niya, and Nuhašše, which had been subordinate to Aleppo under the Hittite regime.[11] By the Neo-Assyrian period, this prospective kingdom had been broken up once again, with Patina succeeding Palistin/Walistin (both chronologically and linguistically), and Arpad and Hamath occupying its former eastern and southern territory, respectively.

The earliest known ruler of Palistin/Walistin is *Taita*, whose eponymous relief at the Temple of the Storm God at Aleppo (ALEPPO 6) famously references him as "Hero and King of Palistin" (**Fig. 2**).[12] The name Taita was previously encountered in Hieroglyphic Luwian on two other monuments, found at the sites of Meharde and Sheizar (*ca*. 25 km northwest of Hama). The former inscription (MEHARDE) is dedicated to Taita's wife, Kupapiya "Queen of the Land," while the latter (SHEIZAR) is a funerary monument in her honor.[13] However, rather than being rendered *Palistin* as on ALEPPO 6, the toponym is rendered *Walistin* in both of these inscriptions. The same is true of an inscription discovered at Tell Ta'yinat (TAYINAT 1) and a pair of stelae found at Arsuz south of the Bay of Iskanderun (ARSUZ 1 and 2).[14] The Ta'yinat and Arsuz inscriptions do not mention Taita at all; a fragment of TAYINAT 1 mentions a "Halparuntiya," who may equate to king Qalparunda

[9] Bryce 2012: 130; cf. Yamada 2000: 96 n. 71.
[10] Hawkins 2009; Steitler 2010 has used this geographic evidence and linguistic analysis to associate Taita with the biblical Toi, king of Hamath (2 Sam. 8:9–10, 1Chr. 18:9–10).
[11] Harrison 2010: 84; Ponchia 2011: 282.
[12] Hawkins 2009: 169; Kohlmeyer 2000; 2009: 191.
[13] Harrison 2001a: 117–119; 2009a: 179; Hawkins 2009: 169.
[14] Hawkins 2010: 8; 2011: 51; Weeden 2013: 12.

of Unqi known from Assyrian records,[15] while ARSUZ 1 and 2 are attributed to Šuppiluliuma son of Manana.[16]

The reliefs mentioning Taita and/or Palistin/Walistin have been dated to various times within the Iron Age I. Hawkins initially offered an 11th–10th c. BC date based on historical and epigraphic analysis. However, further analysis, along with the consideration of a possible *p* > *w* sound shift over time (possibly suggesting an initial fricative *f*, as may be expected if this toponym is to be related to the Philistines/Philistia of the southern Levant),[17] subsequently led him to suggest that we are in fact seeing epigraphic evidence for *two* kings named Taita. In this scenario, Taita I was king of *P*alistin, while Taita II (+ *n*), perhaps removed by as little as a generation, was king of *W*alistin. The dates proposed are 11th c. for ALEPPO 6 (Taita I), 10th c. for MEHARDE and SHEIZAR (Taita II [+ *n*]), 10th–9th c. for ARSUZ 1–2 (Šuppiluliuma), and 9th c. for TELL TAYINAT 1 (Halparuntiya).[18] Thus, the ^{14}C date of the Aleppo temple's reconstruction, ca. the 11th c. BC, meshes with Hawkins's suggested date of Taita I, as opposed to the possible later Taita(s) of the Hama, Arsuz, and Ta'yinat inscriptions.[19] Sass, on the other hand, has argued for only one Taita, whom he dates to the late 10th c.[20]

The use of Hittite royal names (specifically, Šuppiluliuma and Labarna)[21] by some kings of Palistin/Walistin and Patina has been seen as evidence that this "rump state" was founded by a direct descendant of the Hittite royal line, as seen at Karkemiš.[22] Also in favor of a connection with the preceding imperial Hittite period is the "cult revival" that King Taita seems to have led at 'Ain Dārā and at Aleppo, where he rebuilt the Temple of the Storm God following a destruction by fire.[23]

While the Aleppo temple itself is not the subject of this study, it is the sole

[15] Harrison 2009a: 179; Hawkins 2000: 365–367; 2009: 167; but cf. Singer 2012: 465; Weeden 2013: 15.
[16] Weeden 2013: 12–13.
[17] Singer 2012: 463.
[18] Hawkins 2010: 8–9; cf. Hawkins 2011: 51–52; Weeden 2013: 15, 18.
[19] Hawkins 2009: 172; 2010: 8; 2011; Kohlmeyer 2008: 122; 2011: 262.
[20] Sass 2010a; 2010b.
[21] For Labarna (= Lubarna of Hattina), see e.g. the Annals and Standard Inscription of Aššurnasirpal; Luckenbill 1926: 165–177.
[22] Bryce 2012: 207; Güterbock 1992; Harrison 2009a: 171; 2009b: 187; 2010: 91; Hawkins 1988; 2000: 75–79; Ponchia 2011: 283; Weeden 2013: 12–13, 15, table 2.
[23] Kohlmeyer 2008; 2011: 261, 263–264; Sass 2010a: 2; Woolley 1955: 78.

currently-known source of the toponym *Palistin* and of that term's association with Taita; as such, a brief background on the structure is pertinent to this discussion. A major cult center beginning in the middle of the third millennium, the Late Bronze Age iteration of this temple bore multicultural elements, including those emblematic of Hittite, Syrian, and Mesopotamian cultures.[24] Following destruction by fire during the LBA, the temple was rebuilt with layout altered to accommodate a standard Hittite "bent axis" scheme. With this shift, the Storm God's image was relocated to the eastern wall, where it was both distant from the entrance and out of the direct line of sight of those entering.[25] After being destroyed by fire once again at the end of the LBA, it was again rebuilt, once again on a straight axis and with some elements of its older architecture incorrectly re-integrated. The Palistin relief was added to the temple during this reconstruction, on the eastern wall beside the image of the Storm God. While the relief follows Luwian and Aramaean style in its proportions,[26] the king is attired according to Hittite tradition, wearing garments that are specifically allowable when in the presence of divinity.[27]

The available evidence therefore suggests that both Taita and his line fit with seemingly perfect comfort into the Neo-Hittite tradition, *contra* Sass's characterization of Taita as "probably of Sea Peoples' or outright Philistine stock."[28] In fact, if not for the toponymic association with Palistin or Philistia and the short-lived presence of Aegean-style material culture in the Iron I ʻAmuq (see below), it would be difficult to find any basis for associating Taita with the Aegean in general or the Philistines in particular, let alone for ascribing to him a "Philistine" identity. Legitimation of rule via cultural appropriation is certainly not rare, including in the Neo-Hittite sphere; as countless examples general and specific demonstrate, from the adoption of the names of former Great Kings of Hatti,[29] to Hamiyatas the Aramaean king of Til Barsip-*Masuwari* depicting himself with the Storm God,[30] the power of tradition and appearances played no small part in governing the public-facing

[24] Kohlmeyer 2011: 260.
[25] Kohlmeyer 2009: 195; 2011: 260–261.
[26] As Kohlmeyer notes, this causes the king's gaze to be focused slightly above, rather than on, the Storm God; Kohlmeyer 2011: 261.
[27] Kohlmeyer 1983: 73; 2011: 261.
[28] Bryce 2012: 129; Sader 2014: 20–21; Sass 2010a: 1.
[29] Bryce 2012: 61–62.
[30] Bonatz 2014: 228–229; Bunnens 2006: 97–99; Ponchia 2011: 289; Singer 1988.

actions of rulers and officials. In the case of Taita, both the incorporation of the Storm God into his public image and the use of the Luwian language and script are acts of legitimation that are both appropriate and expected for a Neo-Hittite king.

A "Philistine" Kingdom?

How, then, are Taita and his line to be reconciled with the influx of Aegean-style material culture and the appearance of the toponym *Palistin* in the Iron I?

Ta'yinat and Alalakh are the two largest mounded sites in the 'Amuq plain (**Fig. 1**). Less than one kilometer apart, they seem to have alternated as centers of habitation in the Bronze and Iron Ages: following a destruction late in the Early Bronze IVB, Ta'yinat was abandoned and Alalakh inhabited through the Middle Bronze Age and into the LB II, at which point settlement there ceased and, in the 12th c. BC, Ta'yinat was reoccupied.[31] Harrison suggests that Ta'yinat's resettlement was "either co-terminus with, or immediately following, the destruction or abandonment of" Alalakh,[32] while Janeway sees a gap between Alalakh's abandonment ca. 1200 BC and the reoccupation of Ta'yinat late in the 12th c.[33] The short-distance shifts from Tell Ta'yinat to Tell Atchana and back again had the functional result of keeping the capital (and largest settlement) of the 'Amuq in largely the same location through the Bronze and Iron Ages.[34]

However, there seems to be more at play in the last of these shifts than a simple case of "mound-hopping" by a jumpy indigenous population,[35] as the material culture of the first Iron Age settlement at Ta'yinat betrays clear markers of an intrusive population. This difference is clearly seen in architectural changes, as well as in the comparative presence, volume, and use of the Aegean-style pottery between Alalakh in the LB II and Ta'yinat in the Iron I.

Alalakh was a major importer of Mycenaean ceramics, the bulk of which seem to have been part of the typical Aegean drinking set. The site is second only to Ugarit in the quantity of Mycenaean amphoroid kraters recovered,

[31] Baituk and Horowitz 2010: 168; Casana 2007: 203, 204 fig. 5; Janeway 2014: 100; Mullins 2010: 57, 6; Strobel 2011: 209; Welton, Baituk and Harrison 2011: 152; Yener 2010: 3; Yener and Yazıcıoğlu 2010: 32.
[32] Harrison 2010: 84.
[33] Janeway 2014: 312.
[34] Casana 2007: 203.
[35] Yener 2010: 1.

while the high number of vertical globular flasks also found there—the most anywhere in the Eastern Mediterranean—may have contained concentrated wine.[36] Additionally, the quantity of Cypriot pottery found there is among the most voluminous anywhere outside Cyprus itself, thus further demonstrating the involvement of this key site in the Eastern Mediterranean trade network of this period.[37] The role of the main site in the ʻAmuq as a gateway for imports continued in the Iron II, as well, with Ta'yinat serving as a hub of exchange between Cyprus, the Aegean, and the Levant.[38] Interestingly, the latest of the Mycenaean imports date to the LH IIIA2, thus leaving an apparent gap in importation prior to Alalakh's late 13th c. abandonment.[39] It is possible that the cessation of Mycenaean imports to Alalakh at the beginning of LH IIIB is connected to Hittite domination of the region and to political tension between Hatti and Ahhiyawa, evidence for which may be seen in several Hittite documents.[40]

None of these characteristics is in evidence at Tell Taʻyinat in the Early Iron Age (Field Phases 6 through 3; Swift's Phase N), which presents a starkly different picture not only from the preceding Late Bronze Age in the ʻAmuq, but from the succeeding Iron Ib/Iron II periods as well. Unlike Late Bronze Alalakh, no monumental architecture (administrative or religious) exists in this period.[41] Rather, the architectural remains found to date are primarily silos, pits, and small houses built atop Taʻyinat's final Early Bronze Age level, representative of a "rudimentary village settlement" with agro-pastoral focus.[42] This phenomenon of population dispersal into smaller agrarian settlements is seen across the ʻAmuq in the Iron Age.[43]

Painted pottery suddenly becomes a significant part of the ceramic assemblage at this time, making up perhaps up to 90% of the Phase N assemblage—a stark contrast to the preceding and succeeding periods.[44] The copious Aegean-style ceramics appearing at this time are not imported, but locally made, and their repertoire and spread (from three sites in the LB II

[36] Koehl 2005: 419; 2010: 83.
[37] Kozal 2010: 71.
[38] Lehmann 1998: 29; Osborne 2011: 135.
[39] Özgüner 1996; Koehl 2005; 2010: 82.
[40] Badre 2006: 82; Bryce 2005: 315–316; Jung 2007: 551–552; Sherratt and Crouwel 1987: 344–346; but see Gates 2010: 69 n. 38 for an opposing view.
[41] Yener and Yazıcıoğlu 2010: 29.
[42] Janeway 2006–7: 140; 2014: ii, 107–110.
[43] Casana and Wilkinson 2005: 39–40; Harrison 2009b: 176.
[44] Janeway 2006–7: 128, 136.

to nearly thirty in the Iron I)[45] are different from the preceding levels in the ʻAmuq (**Fig. 3**).

In contrast to the viticulture-centered repertoire of Mycenaean ceramics at Alalakh, Taʻyinat displays a wider variety of forms and far less standardization of size and detail.[46] The Aegean-style pottery is accompanied by other intrusive domestic elements, among the most prominent of which are the unperforated, cylindrical loomweights seen around the Eastern Mediterranean beginning in this period, often (though not always) in connection with locally-manufactured Aegean-style ceramics.[47] While these are frequently referred to as "Aegean-type loomweights" in the literature—most of which focuses on their connection to the presence of "Sea Peoples"—it is rarely noted, but important to mention, that this type of loomweight is not just new to the Levant in the 12th c. BC, but that it is largely unknown in the Aegean prior to this time, as well.[48] The earliest Aegean instance of "spool" weights seems to be Late Minoan (LM) IIIA2 or IIIB on Crete,[49] but this is not followed until LH IIIC Early at Lefkandi[50] and Tiryns,[51] when hundreds of these objects suddenly appear. Beyond this, such loomweights are only known from the LH IIIC Middle and beyond, thus making their appearance in the Aegean generally, and on the Greek mainland in particular, cotemporal with (or perhaps even later than) their appearance in the Levant.[52]

In keeping with the regionalism seen in the Iron I, Taʻyinat in Phase N displays the typical Northern Levantine affinity for painted closed forms.[53] However, the overall repertoire is diverse, including deep and shallow angular

[45] Janeway 2014: 296.

[46] Janeway 2014: 296–297.

[47] *Inter alia*, Karageorghis and Demas 1988: 222; Lass 1994: 33; Stager 1995: 346; Dothan 1998: 155; Barako 2000: 523–524; Janeway 2006–7: 138-139; Harrison 2009a: 183.

[48] Ben-Shlomo 2011: 198-201; Rahmstorf 2003, 2005.

[49] At Chania, a single weight was found in a LM IIIA2 context and four in LM IIIB2, though none are presently known from the LM IIIB1 period; Bruun-Lundgren 2011: 382. 58 spools were found in a LM IIIB context at Sissi, while four have reportedly been found in LM IIIA2-B1 contexts at Malia; Gaignerot-Driessen 2013: 73.

[50] Evely 2006: 296–297.

[51] Rahmstorf 2003.

[52] Rahmstorf 2003: 406; but cf. Ben-Shlomo 2011: 200. For sites with spoolweights on LM IIIC Crete, see Gaignerot-Driessen 2013: 73, with references. Cf. also Cecchini 2000: 216–217, with references, who notes that there may be evidence for their use during the LBA at Alishar Höyük, Tarsus, and Tille Höyük in Anatolia, thus providing a potential alternate source of these "Aegean-style" objects.

[53] Janeway 2013: 102.

bowls, kraters, amphoras and jugs, spouted ("feeding") bottles, pilgrim flasks, goblets, and even a small number of Aegean-style cooking pots (though, as at Tarsus, local cooking traditions continued alongside the introduction of Aegean-style implements).[54] The Aegean-style cooking pots in particular are exceedingly rare at Ta'yinat, making up less than 5 percent of diagnostic rim sherds, all of which appear in the later phases of Iron I occupation (FP 5 and 6).[55] According to Janeway, these are best dated from the later half of the Late Helladic (LH) IIIC to the Submycenaean periods (*ca*. 11th c. BC).[56] Decoration includes pictorial scenes, the most remarkable of which shows a warrior in the feather-hatted or "hedgehog-helmeted" tradition that is best known from the representations of "Sea Peoples" at Medinet Habu.[5] These figures, which appear in Eastern Mediterranean art beginning in the 13th–12th c. transition, can be found on painted pottery from Bademgediği Tepe (ancient Puranda) and Kos in the East Aegean-West Anatolian Interface (Transitional LH IIIB2-IIIC Early and LH IIIC Early, respectively),[58] to several sites on the Greek mainland (the bulk of which date to LH IIIC Middle).[59] However, this is only the second time such a sherd has been found within a purported "Sea Peoples" settlement. The only comparandum comes from the Philistine heartland on the southern coastal plain of Canaan, where it appears on a krater from Ashkelon (**Fig. 4**).[60]

While impressive for its overwhelming proportion of painted pottery, this basic farming settlement seems an unlikely candidate for the seat of the "Hero and King" of an expansive Iron Age kingdom—particularly when viewed in light of the succeeding (Phase O) level at the site. Superimposed over these phases are monumental structures associated with the First Building Period (BP1) at Ta'yinat, which represents another clear break in the site's material culture and re-engineering of its architecture and layout beginning ca. 1100

[54] Birney 2007: 345–346; Janeway 2013: 284.
[55] Janeway 2013: 284, 287.
[56] Janeway 2013: 297.
[57] Janeway 2013: pl. 9.15.
[58] Mountjoy 2011: 484.
[59] Find-sites include Amarynthos, Iolkos, Lefkandi, Mycenae, Pyrgos Livanaton (Homeric Kynos), and Tiryns; Crouwel 1991: fig. 7b; Tsountas 1896: pls. 1-2; Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982: pls. XI. 28, 42–43, 45–47, 51, 56–57, 64, 64.1. The Kos, Pyrgos Livanaton, and Bademgediği Tepe examples are particularly noteworthy for their nautical nature, with the latter two featuring naval battles between "hedgehog-helmed" warriors; Emanuel 2014; 2015; Mountjoy 2011.
[60] Stager and Mountjoy 2007.

BC.[61] The main structures of this period are Building XIII, a *bit hilani*, and Building XIV, a massive (600m^2) building that partially overlays XIII. These buildings seem to have been part of a larger complex oriented around a paved courtyard, and the monumental basalt column bases, carved orthostats, and monumental Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions associated with this complex are typical of an important Neo-Hittite city. The cultural break represented by the stratum associated with BP1 is also demonstrated by a ceramic shift, as Red Slipped Burnished Ware (RSBW) eclipses the locally made wares of the preceding period, and the painted pottery (so visible in the earliest Iron Age phases) disappears from the repertoire.[62]

Discussion

The situation in the Eastern Mediterranean *ca.* 1200 BC is now understood to be far more complex than the few lines of prose offered by Ramesses III ("*No land could stand before their arms, from Hatti, Kode, Carcemish, Arzawa, and Alashiya on…*"),[63] which were long thought to accurately describe the events of these "Crisis Years" and the role of the "Sea Peoples" in them. It is now increasingly understood that the breakdown of the Late Bronze Age system fragmented the Cilician and Levantine coasts, resulting in individual polities and territories that interacted with each other and with newcomers to the region on an individual basis.[64] In place of total destruction and upheaval, some regions and polities, such as Phoenicia, seem to have continued largely as before, albeit with a veneer of bureaucracy having been removed, resulting in increased self-determination that could be actualized via growth in international contacts.[65] Cyprus was similarly prosperous in the 12th and 11th centuries BC (the establishment and rapid abandonment of "refuge sites" like Maa-*Paleokastro* notwithstanding), experiencing economic growth, serving as an expanding hub of trade, and correspondingly reorganizing its settlements to the form they would maintain throughout the Iron Age.[66]

[61] Harrison 2010: 91; Osborne 2011: 21.
[62] Gates 2010; Janeway 2006–7: 136; Singer 2012: 470.
[63] *MH* I pl. 46 col. 16; Wilson 1974: 262.
[64] Gates 2010: 65.
[65] Bikai 1992; Artzy 2013: 340; Killebrew and Lehmann 2013: 6-7; Sharon and Gilboa 2013: 463–467.
[66] Iacovou 1994: 150–160; Karageorghis 1992: 80; 2001; Karageorghis and Demas 1988: 264, 488; Sherratt 1998; 2003.

In others areas, there were new cultures and new populations to be interacted with, and a complex process of identity and cultural negotiation to be engaged in. However, while population shifts can be seen in the material record—including the movement of groups bearing elements of Aegean, Cypriot, and Anatolian-style material cultures—it is unlikely that any "string of Sea Peoples polities [sprang] up in the Iron Age I along much of the Levantine and Asia Minor coasts" following the end of the Late Bronze Age.[67] Instead, though newcomers are visible in the material record at some sites (but hardly all), the engagement with material influences and the negotiation of status and identity that took place across this massive area in this period were incredibly diverse in nature. Some areas seem to have gained access to new elements of foreign material culture, either via trade or the movement of peoples. Others coexisted with newcomers, some of whom bore with them Aegean-style material culture which has been variously connected to the Greek mainland, the Interface, and/or Cyprus. An example of this is Kazanli Höyük, where, in the late 13th or early 12th c. BC, there appears locally-manufactured pottery which is in the Aegean style, but whose closest stylistic correlates are found on Cyprus and in the East Aegean.[68] At Tell Afis in Syria, on the other hand, where indigenous occupation is clearly continuous into the Iron I despite a 12th c. destruction (albeit with a more agro-pastoral focus and temporarily debased architecture and organization),[69] Aegean-style table wares and cylindrical loomweights appear alongside indigenous cooking and storage methods. This perhaps suggests communication, if not cohabitation, with elements of an intrusive population.[70] Still others, as seen at Kinet Höyük and Kilise Tepe, incorporated newcomers who displayed different orientations altogether, while the appearance at this time of the Cypriot "cooking pot *à la stéatite*," or band-handled cooking pot, on the Syrian coast and its spread in the later Iron I to the ʻAmuq Valley demonstrates further interaction with foreign material culture in the region.[71]

At the other end of the spectrum, some of these Aegean-affiliated groups appear to have settled in relatively large numbers and created new polities, such as those on the southern coastal plain of Canaan that came to make up

[67] Sass 2010b: 171.
[68] Sherratt and Crouwel 1987.
[69] Venturi 2011: 144–145.
[70] Ponchia 2011: 282; Venturi 2011: 150; 2013: 237–239.
[71] Birney 2007: 427; 2008; Gates 2013; Ünlü 2005: 147–148; Zenoni 2014: 773–774.

Philistia. Even within and across these, though, significant variance can be seen in the nature of both the intrusive material culture and the relationships with the indigenous population.[72] Part of this is certainly due to the "mixed multitude" nature of what have been frequently referred to as the "Sea Peoples" as reflected in the material culture of sites in Cilicia, the 'Amuq, and Philistia (and perhaps in areas of the coastal Levant between them), as well as the increasingly-recognized complexity of their migration.[73] Singer has convincingly argued that the *ethnikon* used in reference to these people (and the derived toponym that, while known primarily from later written sources,[74] survives to this day) is a self-referential term that the Egyptian chroniclers and later biblical writers learned directly from them.[75] The appearance of *Palistin* as a geopolitical entity containing similar material culture supports this conclusion, and the Phase N period at this site should likely be seen as home to an intrusive population with Aegean-style material culture, who gave their name to the land before quickly assimilating into the indigenous population with whom they had coexisted since their arrival. In fact, the association of Palistin with the *Peleset* of Medinet Habu has led one scholar to suggest that Ramesses III's land battle against the Sea Peoples and defeat of "the land of the Peleset" (*t3 Plst*) actually records a campaign against Philistines (or, more correctly in light of ALEPPO 6, *Palistinians*) in this northern territory.[76]

Thus, opposite southern Canaan, where the toponym *Palestine* has endured for millennia, the evidence points to another ethnically-derived toponym that should be seen as a remnant not only of an Aegean and/or "Sea Peoples" influence, but perhaps of the same group known from the coastal plain. In light of this, another such case bears mentioning. The Cilician territory called *Hiyawa* (Assyrian *Que*)[77] appears in one of two parallel Luwian-Phoenician

[72] *Inter alia*, Ben-Dor Evian 2012; Ben-Shlomo 2006–7; 2010; Ben-Shlomo and Dothan 2006: 2; Dothan 1998; 2000; Gilboa 2006-7; Killebrew 2000: 244; 2005: 200–202; Maeir, Hitchcock and Horwitz 2013; Stager 1995.

[73] Killebrew 2000: 244; 2005: 200–202; 2013: 119; Maeir, Hitchcock and Horwitz 2013; Mountjoy 2010; Yasur-Landau 2003a; 2003b; 2007; 2010; 2012.

[74] Aside from the biblical text, the earliest known reference to Philistia by name comes from a Third Intermediate Period inscription on a Middle Kingdom statue base, which references a "Padeset" who is "emissary of Canaan of the Philistines"; Singer 1994: 330.

[75] Singer 2013.

[76] Kahn 2011; *MH* I pls. 32–34; *RITA* V 57.

[77] It is likely that *Ahhiyawa* > *Hiyawa* > *Qawa* > *Que*; Oreshko 2013: 28. For further references and analysis of Ahhiyawa, see, *inter alia*, Beckman, Bryce and Cline 2012; Finkelberg 1988; Niemeier 1998.

bilingual inscriptions, ÇİNEKÖY and KARATEPE, in which the dedicator assigns himself to the House of Mopsos, the legendary Greek seer, founder of cities, and traveler from Cilicia to Ashkelon.[78] The toponym *Hiyawa* seems to have been transferred some time after the Hittite empire's recession beyond Cilicia, perhaps as an *ethnikon* brought by Greek-speakers who bore with them elements of Aegean material and linguistic culture.[79] After a short period, the toponymic form of this *ethnikon* and the cultural memory of Mopsos became all that remained of the once-intrusive population that brought it to the southern coast of Asia Minor, though it was enduring enough that Herodotus centuries later noted that Cilicians were referred to as *Hyp-Achaioi* ("Sub-Achaeans").[80]

A similar situation seems to be present in the 'Amuq, where the new toponym of Palistin/Walistin was derived from an ephemeral Aegean-related population that arrived after the close of the LBA and occupied the area in cooperation with an indigenous population of unknown size. This brief period, marked by Field Phases 3 through 6 at Tell Ta'yinat, was followed at the end of the Iron I by a return of Syro-Hittite material culture which is seen in particular in art, architecture, language, and script, as well as in other cultural elements like the names of some Palistinian/Walistinian and Pattinite kings.

CONCLUSION

Not long ago, Pruss argued against a "Sea Peoples" presence among the intrusive Iron I population of the 'Amuq on the grounds that "*gibt es keinen einzigen historischen Hinweis auf eine solche Situation, kein einziges entsprechendes Toponym*" ("there is no single historical reference to such a situation, not a single corresponding toponym").[81] However, as we have seen, quite the opposite seems to be true of the kingdom of Palistin/Walistin and its successor Patina (as well as of the Cilician territory of Hiyawa/Que). By the First Building Period, it seems that Tell Ta'yinat was home to a dynasty overseeing a typical Neo-Hittite state, and a toponym was all that remained of the "Sea

[78] Hawkins 2000: 45–71; López-Ruiz 2009; Oreshko 2013; Öttinger 2008; Tekoğlu and Lemaire 2000: 981–984.
[7] Çambel and Özyar 2003: 84–89; López-Ruiz 2009; Oreshko 2013; Singer 2012: 461; 2013: 322–325; Yasur-Landau 2010: 162–163. Note that the "Greek speaking" description does not necessarily fit the Philistines.
[80] Herodotus *Hist*. 7.91; cf. Singer 2013: 323–324.
[81] Pruss 2002: 172.

Peoples" presence that briefly occupied it at the beginning of the Iron Age.

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FIGURES

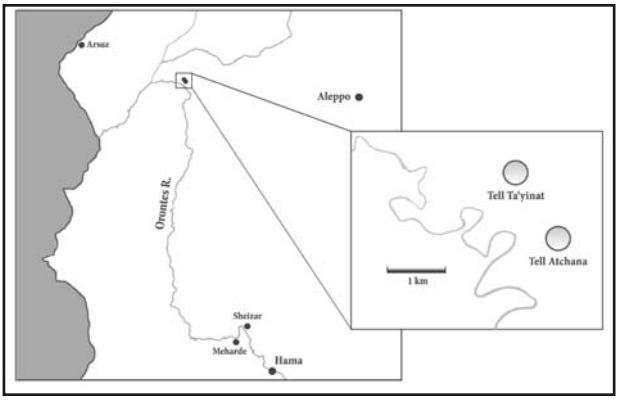

Fig. 1.
Map of the northern Levant showing key sites mentioned in the text. **Inset:** Relative locations of Tell Ta'yinat and Tell Atchana.

Fig. 2.
Inscription ALEPPO 6, showing Taita "Hero and King of Palistin," from the Temple of the Storm God at Aleppo (Hawkins 2011: 42 fig. 5).

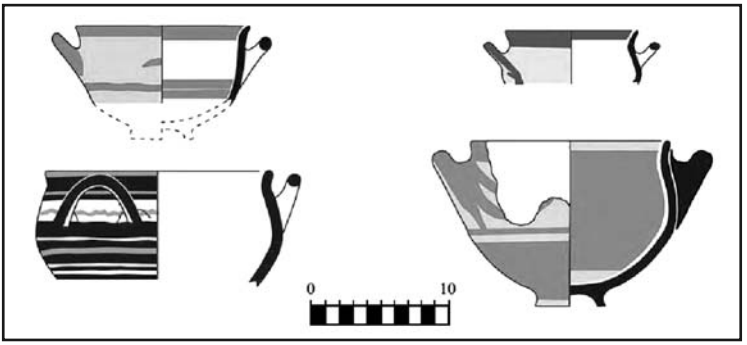

Fig. 3.
Myc. IIIC bell-shaped bowls from field phases 6-3, Tell Ta'yinat (after Harrison 2009a: 182).

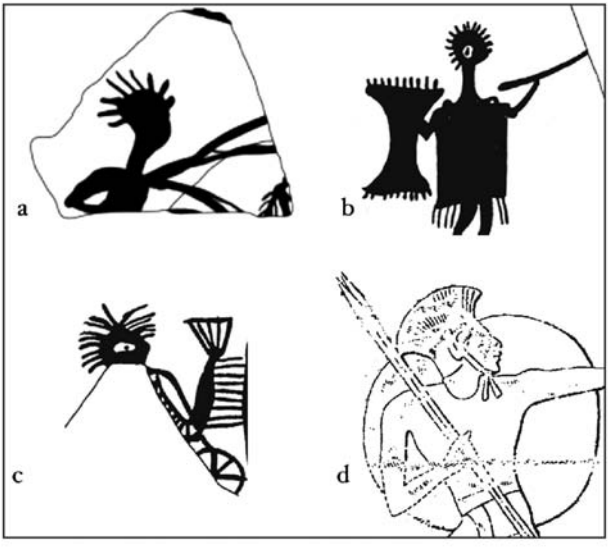

Fig. 4.
"Feather-hatted" or "hedgehog-helmed" figures from the Aegean, Egypt, and the Levant: **a.** pictorial krater body sherd, Tell Ta'yinat (after Janeway 2013: pl. 9.15); **b.** shipborne warrior on a pictorial krater body sherd, Pyrgos Livanaton (after Mountjoy 2011: 485 fig. 2); **c.** pictorial Philistine bichrome krater, Ashkelon (Stager and Mountjoy 2007: 53 fig. 4); **d.** Sea Peoples warrior, Medinet Habu (after *MH* I, pl. 34).

ʿq "Enter," but How, and Where? Data from the Coffin Texts*

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Abstract: *ʿq* "Enter," but How, and Where? Data from the Coffin Texts

The verb *ʿq* "enter" displays special semantic features, in valency, and Aktionsart, among the general way of expressing space with motion verbs: *ʿq* is an achievement with no prephase, and with a stative postphase, and its action is mainly performed at the limit ("access") of the illative spatial complement. This phenomenon is shown by the use of the preposition *r* with sharply delimited complements, while the usual preposition for illative, *m*, is used with unlimited complements—respectively, *objects*, and *substances* according to Johnson and Lakoff's terminology in their book *Metaphors We Live By* (1980, 30). This peculiarity constitutes an extreme case study, and reveals the relevance of a semantic approach when based upon large textual corpora (in this study, the Coffin Texts) in explaining specific morphosyntactic particularities such as the prepositions used with the illative of this verb. This approach also allows for the testing of certain significant theoretical concepts such as the cognitive schema "container," with data from a natural language such as Ancient Egyptian.

Keywords: *ʿq* "Enter" – Motion verbs – Semantics – Coffin Texts

Resumen: *ʿq* "entrar" ¿Pero cómo, y dónde? Información de Textos de los Sarcófagos

Si lo comparamos con la manera general en que los verbos de movimiento expresan las relaciones espaciales, el verbo *ʿq,* "entrar", presenta unos rasgos semánticos particulares en cuanto a su valencia y Aktionsart: *ʿq* es un logro sin prefase y con posfase

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estática, cuya acción se produce con mayor frecuencia en el límite ("acceso") del complemento espacial ilativo. Este fenómeno se refleja en el uso de la preposición *r* con los complementos claramente delimitados, mientras que se emplea la preposición usual del ilativo (*m*) con los complementos no delimitados—respectivamente, *objetos* y *sustancias* en la terminología de Johnson y Lakoff en su libro *Metaphors We Live By* (1980, 30). Esta peculiaridad constituye un estudio de caso extremo que demuestra la relevancia de un enfoque semántico basado en grandes corpus textuales—en este trabajo, los Textos de los Sarcófagos—para explicar particularidades morfosintácticas específicas tales como las preposiciones utilizadas con el ilativo de este verbo. Este enfoque permite también probar la validez de conceptos teóricos importantes como el de esquema cognitivo "contenedor" en datos de un lenguaje natural, en este caso el egipcio antiguo.

Palabras clave*: ʿq* "entrar" – verbos de movimiento – semántica – Textos de los Sarcófagos

Inside – Outside

The conceptual opposition *inside-outside* is thought to be one of the more widespread (or "universal") mental images (or "cognitive schemata"), and one of the more productive in forming extended meanings (or "metaphors"). In linguistics, and related fields, one very frequently quoted reference regarding this opposition is the influential book by George Lakoff, and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (1980).[1] In recent times, this book has also found its own place in the Egyptological field as a theoretical reference for metaphor, and categorization studies in different subjects (graphemics, cognitive anthropology, and linguistics), although the methods of interpreting its postulates are certainly disparate.[2] Lakoff, and Johnson refer to the inside-outside opposition as the process of the human mind viewing the human body, and other objects following it, as *containers*.[3] Twenty years before, urban planner Kevin Lynch[4] had proposed a very similar idea in his equally influen-

[1] See for example Steen *et al*. 2010: 766.

[2] See, as a sample, Goldwasser 1995; David 2007; Nyord 2009 (with a general overview in chapter 1); and Gracia Zamacona 2010a; 2010b.

[3] Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 29.

[4] Lynch 1960. For Lynch's works, see the Institute Archives, and Special Collections MC.0208 <http://libraries.mit.edu/archives/research/collections/collections-mc/mc208.html> at the MIT, Cambridge, MA.

tial book, *The Image of the City*.[5] In trying to provide himself with concepts to analyse his subject, Lynch started interviewing inhabitants of three morphologically different cities in the United States of America (Boston, Jersey City, and Los Angeles). He found that one of the operative concepts people employ when describing and using their city is *district*, which he defined in the following way:

> *Districts are the medium-to-large sections of the city, conceived of as having two-dimensional extent, which the observer mentally enters 'inside of', and which are recognizable as having some common, identifying character.*[6]

The two-dimensional attribute given by Lynch to the "district" can be misleading at first, but this is only due to the fact that the tests applied to the informants were strongly based on maps (two-dimensional representations of the reality):[7] the relevant information here is that a "district" can be mentally entered since it has an *inside*, and accordingly it must have an *outside*.

In the Coffin Texts, the inside-outside opposition is prototypically represented by the prepositions *m* "in, into, from the inside of," and *r* "at, to, from the outside of."[8] In her monographic study on prepositions in Earlier

[5] Miller and Johnson-Laird 1976: 377: "This (= Lynch's) set of spatial elements (= districts, nodes, landmarks, paths, and edges) for cognitive maps *may have some generality for entities other than cities*." For cognitivism in urbanism, see Orillard 2005.

[6] Lynch 1960: 47.

[7] Lynch 1960: 140–159, mainly p. 140: "The basic office interview consisted in its essentials of *a request for a sketch map of the city*, for the detailed description of a number of trips through the city, and for a listing, and brief description of the parts felt to be most distinctive or vivid in the subject's mind."

[8] Franke 1998: 52–53; Nyord 2010: § 1.1, 1.2 and 2.1; Gracia Zamacona 2010a: § 3; Gracia Zamacona 2010b: § 1. For the Afro-Asiatic equivalents, see Behnk 1927: 81 (number 11), which might attest the existence of this elemental opposition in a broader linguistic horizon. The matter has been faced (on completely different grounds) for later texts: see for example Wiebach-Koepke 2003: 130–144; and Hegenbarth-Reichardt 2006: 163–164, 168–171. In a typologically-grounded approach, Werning 2012, especially fn. 15, proposes a double dichotomy *r* "attached to" vs. *m* "in," and *ḫr* "superior" vs. *ḫr* "inferior;" see similarly G. Roeder 1904: 49–50. In fact, data from the Coffin Texts do not support this symmetrical model, for two rea-

Egyptian, Julie Stauder-Porchet puts it in different terms: "*m* exprime fondamentalement la *délimitation d'un espace*,"[9] and "(...) le sémantisme de la préposition (= *r*), fondamentalement de *relation à distance*;"[10] and the spatial model that she implicitly uses does not distinguish "inner" spatial complements[11] (inessive, elative, illative) from "outer" spatial complements (adessive, ablative, allative), since it seems that she employs the term "ablative" for all provenance complements, and "allative" for all destination complements.[12]

However, the "in / out" spatial features of the prepositions *m*, and *r* respectively—and their indifference to express direction[13]—is transparent in passages where two verbs of opposite direction occur:

Ex. 1
CT VI 346 h
pr.t ḥ3.t ***m*** *p.t*
To go up **to (the inside of)**, and down **from (the inside of)** the sky

---

sons. Firstly, the supposed dichotomy *ḥr* vs. *ḫr*, if of any linguistic relevance, would not act at the same level as the m vs. r dichotomy, even if only because of the totally different frequency of use of preposition *ḫr* with motion verbs, when compared to the other three: *ḫr* occurs only 23 times, whilst the other three prepositions are very frequent, since they are the *basic* space prepositions in this corpus: *m* (797 occurrences), *r* (537 occurrences), and *ḥr* (372 occurrences), *ḥr* being thus much more frequently used than *ḫr* because of its higher degree of abstraction, for all which see Gracia Zamacona 2008: appendix III; and Gracia Zamacona 2010a: § 6 (tables); Svorou 2002: 121–142 claims, on typological grounds, that the intuitive opposition up vs. down is less grammaticalised than the in vs. out opposition, which partially overlaps (on *m*, and *r*) the Coffin Texts data. Secondly, by not taking into account the relevance of the notion of limit for spatial complement entities (see Gracia Zamacona 2008: § 2.3; Gracia Zamacona 2010a: § 5), called "landmarks" by Langacker 1987: § 6.1.2, Werning's *m* vs. *r* dichotomy fails to explain the particular behaviour of verb *ʿq* (and similar verbs) with the illative, as compared to the main part of motion verbs.

[9] Stauder-Porchet 2009: 62.

[10] Stauder-Porchet 2009: 65.

[11] I follow the valency theory, which distinguishes between "complements" (the arguments belonging to the verbal valency), and "adjuncts" (those not belonging to it): see Herbst *et al*. 2004: XXIV.

[12] Stauder-Porchet 2009: 17, 98, 157, 198–199 *passim*.

[13] Direction is expressed by the verb, and the context, see Gracia Zamacona 2010a: § 3, and

Ex. 2
CT IV 82 d
iw šm iw N pn ***r*** *ḥn.t p.t nb ḏr*
This N goes **to** (**the outside of)**, and comes **from (the outside of)** the limit of the sky of the Lord of All

In the translation, said features of prepositions *m* and *r* have been enclosed in brackets, the expression of direction ("from," and "to") depending on the verb, and co(n)textual information.

Notwithstanding this, in an important minority of cases these prepositions do not express that opposition, since *r* may mean "in, into"—better said: it must be thus translated. And this is exactly what happens with the verb *ʿq*, usually translated "enter." There is, however, one problem with this translation: because the English verb "enter" is usually constructed with an object, in contrast to what usually happens in Egyptian, when the discussion focuses on the related preposition ("to," "into," "to the inside of," etc.), a general motion verb ("go" or "come") has been used to translate *ʿq*.[14] Only in transitivations, with no complement, or when the preposition is irrelevant to the discussion, will *ʿq* be rendered with "enter."

The question is, why in the Coffin Texts is it written:

Ex. 3
CT VII 306 e
n-wnt z nb rḫ ʿq ***m*** *sḏ.t*
There is no one who can go **into** the flame

but

Ex. 4
CT II 290 b – 291 b
ʿq ***r*** *pr*[15] *wsir n ḏdw*
To go **into** the Osiris temple of Busiris

In these cases both the prepositions *m*, and *r* express the illative.

[14] Werning 2012: 326 and fn. 35.

[15] For the illative interpretation of *ʿq r pr* in general, see *Wb* I 231 a.

Where to Enter

The valency of *ʿq*, as of any other motion verb, consists of two participants: the first participant is a "weak" agent, in the sense that no patient is implied,[16] and it cannot be considered an undergoer because there is a second participant, the spatial complement.[17] Verbs expressing position, such as *dwell*, display the same argument structure.[18] Thus, *I go to Egypt* expresses a motion, while *I dwell in Egypt* expresses a position, and both verbs express space. Contrarily, in the sentence, *I work in Egypt,* the expression of space is not in the verb's valency, but is just an adjunct semantically independent from the verb.

Pertinent features[19] for analysing the valency of *ʿq* are displayed in Table 1 below. In the left column, the spatial complements are arranged in three large categories: provenance (motion's origin), course (oriented path of the motion), and destination (motion's end). These large categories are further divided by the criteria of "unspecified kind of space," "outer space," and "inner space" into the following respective categories: originating (Or), ablative (Ab), and elative (El) for provenance; coursive (C), exo-coursive (Ex), and endo-coursive (En) for course; and terminal (T), allative (Al), and illative (I) for destination. For instance, elative means "from the inside of," exo-coursive "by (the outside of)," and terminal "towards (nor the inside nor the outside of)." In the other four columns, the nature of the space is shown, according to the features of animation, and divinity. The data are arranged by total number, and, within brackets, by preposition in order of frequency:

[16] Dowty 1991: mainly § 7 and 8.1.

[17] De Boer 1926: 49; López 1970: 40; Lemaréchal 1989: 204, 207–208; Lazard 1994: 98; Gracia Zamacona 2008: 1516; Stauder-Porchet 2009: 87, 153; Gracia Zamacona 2010a: § 1.

[18] Gracia Zamacona 2010a.

[19] The general methodological frame is inspired by the maximalist descriptive approach in Comrie and Smith 1977: § 2.1.1.5. The general theoretical approach is psycholinguistic in part: a general overview of the mainstream of such a theoretical frame can be read in Levinson 2003: 98–110, although no specific model fully meets the empirical description proposed in the research underlying this article. More specifically, and among many others, the following contributions have been of great use for said research: Clark and Garnica 1974 and Clark 1978, from the field of experimental psycholinguistics; Svorou 1994, from typological linguistics; Bennett 1972, from theoretical linguistics, whose semantic approach is the closest to this description.

Space		Animate	Inanimate	Animate and divine	Inanimate and divine
Provenance	Or	-	-	-	-
	Ab	-	-	-	-
	El	-	-	-	-
Course	C	-	1 (*ḫr*)	-	-
	Ex	-	2 (*ḫr*)	-	-
	En	-	11 (*m* 7, *ḫr-ḥ3.t* 2, *imytw* 1, *ṯnw* 1)	2 (*imytw* 1, *mm* 1)	1 (*m*)
Destination	T	3 (*ḫr* 2, *m-b3ḥ* 1)	4 (*ḫr* 2, *m* 2)	12 (*ḫr*)	-
	Al	-	3 (*r* 1, *ḫr* 1, *r-gs* 1)	-	-
	Il	2 (*mm*)	97 (*r* 64, *m* 20, *r-ḫn.w* 5, *m-ḫn.w* 4, ∅ 3, *im* 1)	10 (*mm* 6, *m* 3, *m-q3b* 1)	5 (*m* 2, *r* 2, ∅ 1)

Table 1.
The valency of *ʿq*

The above table makes clear the following: firstly, there is a total lack of provenance spatial complements; at the same time, the only spatial complement occurring in all the four nature categories is illative; and finally, the rarest of the spatial complements is allative.[20] These three facts are obviously connected, as they exhibit the core meaning of "enter." The same idea might explain the use of the ideogram (G35) (a cormorant or an anhinga) for the verb *ʿq*, given the way in which these birds capture fishes by plunging into water, although the bird's name and the verb might also be homonyms.[21]

[20] See the appendix, table 9.

[21] Vernus and Yoyotte 2005: 366. Wolterman 1992: 125–127, explains it otherwise by the peculiar way in which cormorants swim, with their body awash, and only the neck, and head over the water, and by an hypothetical phonetic alternation *g* / *q* between the terms *ʿg3* "sink," and *ʿq* "enter": "cormorant" would thus mean "the one that sinks." But this does not justify the presence of the ideogram "cormorant" in the writing of a word meaning "enter," unless this particular way of swimming could have been seen as the cormorant having its body "entered" into the water. Wolterman considers that the interpretation "cormorant" = "the one that enters" is not significant, since many birds plunge into the waters to fish. But this does not preclude that the cormorant could have been chosen, among plunging birds, as the ideogram of "enter." Either for its abundance or for any other reason it could have been chosen as the prototype of this action (for this general process, see for instance Kleiber 1990). We find an explicit identification between the bird, and the verb in *CT* VI 33 h: *n* ***ʿq.n.i*** *m* ***ʿq*** *m* ***ʿq*** "(...) because it is like a **cormorant**, like a **cormorant** that **I have entered**."

Secondly, and from a quantitative point of view, it is clear that inanimate illative is by far (97 cases) the most represented spatial complement: one usually enters things. The next complement in frequency (12 cases) is animate divine exclusively with the preposition *ḥr*: this is a very particular expression, *ʿq* ***ḥr*** + "god," meaning literally "enter towards (lit. upon) a god,"[22] but implying the going into the god's residence (temple, chapel, etc.). This becomes clear when the expression is compared to *ʿq* ***r*** *ḥw.t-nṯr* "enter **into** the temple (lit. god's mansion)."[23] The third complement in frequency is endo-coursive (mainly with *m*): this is the case of doors, and similar entrances. This description would be perfectly banal, but the preposition more frequently employed with inanimate illative is not *m* (20), as expected, but *r* (64 cases); and this usage does need an explanation, even more so when it is noted that *r* is the preposition typically used to express limits (allative, adessive).

Thirdly, there are five cases of transitivised inanimate illatives (and one of inanimate divine illative), which also demand an explanation.

But let us begin with the first problem.

R if an Object, m if a Substance

As Stauder-Porchet has remarked, the spatial complement with *m* after the verb *ʿq* has raised some confusion.[24] She solves this confusion by arguing that the preposition *m* in spatial complements never expresses, in Earlier Egyptian, the "allative" ("destination" in the terms used here), but always the "ablative" ("provenance" in the terms used here), the allative being expressed by preposition *r*, and that this holds true for any motion verb.[25] However, this seems to contradict an important amount of data from the Coffin Texts: according to the description here proposed, of all 797 spatial complements with *m*, for any motion verb,[26] 331 can be interpreted as indicating destination (for

[22] For *ʿq* ***ḥr*** *nṯr* 'enter **towards** the god', see *Wb*. I, 231.9, and Gracia Zamacona 2012: 189.

[23] See Jelinková 1962: 41; Stadler 2012: 242 and 244 (mainly).

[24] Stauder-Porchet 2009: 155. Grammars differ in considering the illative meaning for *m*. Some of them accept it: Edel 1955–1964: § 758, and Allen 2010: 85; others with restrictions: Gardiner 1957: § 162, and Malaise and Winand 1999: § 229; and some others reject it: Erman 1928: § 445, and Lefebvre 1955: § 490.

[25] Stauder-Porchet 2009: 153, 155 and 157.

[26] "Motion" is here to be taken in the narrow sense ("displacement"), thus leaving apart the locative occurrences with 'position' verbs.

361 for provenance, and 105 for course).[27] Here are some examples from this corpus of *m* expressing the illative with motion verbs of different Aktionsart:[28]

Ex. 5

CT V 368 b

sḫ.t ***i.n.i im***.*ṯ* *bꜣ.i m-ḫt.i ḥw.i tp-ꜥ.wy.i*

Oh, Field! It is (with) my *bꜣ* behind me (and) my *ḥw* in front of me that **I have come into** you!

Spell *CT* [467] refers to the deceased's desire of living like Hotep, i.e. in an abundance of food. Once *in* the field (of Hotep), the deceased emphasizes (*sḏm.n.f*) the powers (*bꜣ* and *ḥw*) that sanction his presence there. The verb *ii* is an accomplishment.

Ex. 6

CT IV 96 e

ꜥq.f im ***m ḏnḏn*** *m ḥtp* ***m*** *pr wsir*

May he (= the deceased's *bꜣ*) enter there, **proceeding** in peace **into** the house of Osiris!

In the preceding sentences (*CT* IV 96 c – d), the deceased is overtly asking to the "path openers" (*wn.w wꜣ.wt* and *wpp.w mṯn.ww*) to allow his *bꜣ* to get into the house of Osiris, which is clearly illative. The verb *ḏnḏn* may be an activity.

Ex. 7

CT V 339 a (B6C)

spr *N* ***m*** *niw.wt.s*

May N **dock at (lit. in)** its (= of the field of Hotep) towns!

This verb is usually followed by an allative with preposition *r*, because of its Aktionsart (achievement),[29] and valency,[30] as in the variants B1Bo (*spr.f* ***r***

[27] Gracia Zamacona 2008: 1725. See also some examples in Van der Molen 2000: 80.

[28] Examples of *ꜥq*, here discussed, are excluded, as well as examples of "vertical" motion verbs, as it seems that the "horizontality" of the motion is relevant for Stauder-Porchet's interpretation (Stauder-Porchet 2009: 155 and 157).

[29] See Winand 2006: 112 and 383, for this verb as an auxiliary verb of resultative meaning.

[30] Its second participant is a spatial complement of destination at the limit of which the action happens.

niw.wt.s), and B1C, B5C, B1L and B3L (the four of them reading *spr.i* ***r*** *niw.wt.s*). It is the plurality of the spatial complement (*niw.wt*) that motivates the use of *m* (see § 2.2), the punctual action of *spr* being summarized as a series of dockings *in* a group of towns, and not *at* every town;[31] but the meaning of destination (illative in this particular case) is evident. Furthermore, the meaning of destination is cotextually enhanced by the preceding sentence *ḫni N m šˁ.w.s* "May N row on (lit. in) its lakes!", in which the fact that the course ("lakes") precedes the destination ("towns") is explicit. Besides this, in B9C, both spatial complements ("lakes" and "towns") are transitivised (*ḫn.y.i* Ø *šˁ.w.s spr.i* Ø *niw.wt.s*), and this is a phenomenon more frequent with "inner" spatial complements.[32]

The difference discussed here between *r* and *m* when marking the illative of *ˁq* can be seen by a completely different approach: some semantic difference among the entities occurring in the spatial complements. As a matter of fact, such a difference was postulated from a general point of view by Lakoff and Johnson. These authors consider containers to be divided into *objects* and *substances*: objects (for instance, "tube") have distinct limits, but substances (for instance, "water") do not.[33] It must be clearly understood that this is the relevant point: in a substance, boundaries (or limits) are indistinguishable from the content; in an object, boundaries (or limits) are distinct from its content. In Egyptian, this property of containers appears linguistically in a very particular context: when containers are spatial complements of achievements that are strongly related to the limits of things (borders, doors...), as is the case with *ˁq*. With objects, because of their distinct limits, the illative of *ˁq* is marked with *r*, the typical preposition for *limit* expression. In contrast, due to the indistinct limits of the substances, preposition *m*, which is significantly the typical preposition for *masses*, is employed instead.[34] According to this cate-

[31] Compare Bertinetto 1997: 56, for habituals seen as macro-events composed of telic micro-events.

[32] Gracia Zamacona 2010a: § 6. See § 4 in this paper for the transitivations of illative with *ˁq*.

[33] Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 30.

[34] A completely different interpretation is proposed by Sederholm 2006: 212, for whom in some passages of the Book of Two Ways this m is interpreted as m of identity, leaving the spatial complement unexpressed. A mystical explanation is offered for this: "The Pool of the Flame in *CT* VII 306 d-f, after all, is only another name for the portal of the horizon: the deceased, who enters it *like* a flame, becomes a piercing sunbeam."

gorization, and taking into account the occurrences of illative with *ʿq* in the Coffin Texts,[35] a list of spatial complements may be proposed, as in this table:

		Illative	
		with *m*	with *r*
Objects	buildings, and their parts	*wsḫ.t* "great hall"[36]	*i3ṯ.ww* / *i3ṯ.wt* "slaughterhouses," *pr* "house, temple," *nm.t*-(*nṯr*) "(god's) slaughterhouse", *ḥw.t* "mansion," *ḫb.t* "slaughterhouse," *ḫm* "shrine," *sbḫ.t* "portal," *k3r* "chapel," and *iwn.yt* "hypostyle hall"
	body parts	-	*r* "mouth," *fnḏ* "nose," and *ḥ.t* "belly"
	spatial units (delimited places)	-	*3ḫ.t* "horizon," *i3b.t* "East," *imn.t nfr.t* / *imn.t* "(beautiful) West," *bw* "place," *ḫr.t-nṯr* "necropolis," *gs* "side," and *ḏd.t* / *ḏd.w* "Mendes" / "Busiris"
	others	-	*f3.t* "cargo (?)," and *mḥn* "Mehen"
Substances	masses (fire, liquids, solids, gases)	*wṯz.t* "raising flame," *sḏ.t* "flame," *š* "lake," *t3* "earth," and *šw* "Shu (air)"	-
	collectives	*šms.w* "entourage," *ḫt.t* "retinue," and *nbs* "grove of ziziphus-trees"	-

Table 2.
Illative spatial complements of *ʿq* with *r*, and *m*: objects, and substances

[35] See appendix, table 10.

Some examples will permit the illustration of this table, starting with the use of *r* for the illative of *objects* (in the sense used here). The first group of objects in the table is "buildings, and their parts." The prototype of building, *pr* "house," occurs in this construction (see Ex. 4), as well as in other buildings,

Ex. 8

CT II 131 d

tm ꜥq.(*w*) ***r*** *nm.t-nṯr*
Not to go **into** the god's slaughterhouse

and parts of buildings:

Ex. 9

CT V 257 a – d (B1L)[37]

ꜥq.n.i m nbs n iȝ.w n rw.ty ḫnt.y-š[38] *hȝ.y.i iꜥ.w.i m š n ḥsmn ḏr ꜥq.t.i* ***r*** *iwn.yt mȝ.i nṯr nb nṯr.w ḫr-š.f nb nn-nsw* (...)
It is only to see the god, master of gods, Arsaphes, the lord of Herakleopolis (…),[39] that I have gone into the (grove of) ziziphus-trees[40] of the mound of the double gates of cedar, (and) that I will go down (and) wash (myself) in the lake of natron, before I go **into** the pillared hall

[36] Here noted for the sake of completeness, but inconclusive: only one instance in the Coffin Texts, in a recent discovery (see below: counterexamples), and consequently not published by de Buck, and with no parallels at all. Monnier 2012: 260–262 and fig. 3 discusses the term, in particular, page 260: "La *wsḫ.t* désigne une cour située au sein du temple haut d'un complexe funéraire royal à l'Ancien Empire ou d'un temple au Moyen Empire et au Nouvel Empire. La forme du hiéroglyphe traduit donc probablement le motif de la *colonnade* d'une cour à péristyle, et quelques fois celui de *niches sculptées* en haut ou en léger relief." This could indicate that *wsḫ.t* has a collective / plural ("massive") semantic feature that could explain its exceptionality within the description here proposed for "buildings, and their parts." But I still consider the data too scanty to reject the whole description. For *wsḫ.t*, see also Spencer 1984: 71–80, and Konrad 2006: 77–84.

[37] The only variant (B1Y), more lacunar, starts with the prospective (or *mrr.f*) instead of the *sḏm.n.f* of *ꜥq*.

[38] The reading, and interpretation of this word are doubtful. Faulkner 1994–1996: II, 67–68, and Carrier 2004: II, 1032–1033 leave it in blank. Nevertheless, the *t*, and the *š* read by De Buck after the difficult sign, could permit the interpretation of the latter as *ḫnt*, leading to the reading proposed here, *ḫnt.y-š* "cedar," a determiner of the precedent word, *rw.ty* "doors," which gives an acceptable sense.

[39] A description of the god follows in the last part of this spell *CT* [420].

[40] Following the interpretation by Altenmüller 1975: 332. See also Allen 2002: 122, for *nbs.yt* "Sidder grove" (probably Heqanakht's estate), as a feminine collective of *nbs*.

The second group of objects is "body parts," like *r* "mouth" in:

Ex. 10

CT III 47 g

ḥtp-kꜣ n(*n*) *ꜥq*.(*w*).*f* ***r*** *r.i pn*
The excrement, it shall not go **into** this mouth of mine

The third group of objects is "spatial units," such as *imn.t* "West" in:

Ex. 11

CT VI 381 p

r n ꜥq ***r*** *imn.t m šms.w n rᶜ rᶜ nb*
Spell for going **into** the West, into Ra's retinue, every day

The fourth group is, in fact, a set of two unclassified terms, such as Mehen in:

Ex. 12

CT VI 390 k – l

ir rḫ rn n wꜣ.wt.f iptn swt pw ꜥq ***r*** *mḥn*
As for who knows the name of these ways, it (is) he who goes **into** Mehen

Concerning the use of *m* for the illative of *substances* (in the sense used here), two groups of entities, masses, and collectives, occur. It is to be noted that these two groups are similar in that they share the feature "indefinition," be this quantifiable (collectives) or not (masses). To classify *šꜣ* "lake" or *sḏ.t* "flame" as masses can appear inadequate, in the sense that these entities can be seen as spaces with boundaries (lakes are limited by banks for instance); but they are homogeneous in material (water, fire), and amorphous in structure (liquids, gases), and thus they can also be considered masses (the same might be said for collectives).[41] This is an example for masses:

Ex. 13

CT VII 390 a

n(*n*) *ꜥq*.(*w*).*s* ***m*** *šꜣ ḫbn.tyw*
She (= the deceased) will not go **into** the Lake of the Criminals

And this for collectives:

[41] On the difficulties, mainly because of strong culture-based differences, of defining a "mass," see Wierzbicka 1985: 311–342.

Ex. 14
CT VI 150 f (B1Bo)[42]
iw ʿq N pn ***m*** *ḫt.t.f*
This N goes **into** his (= Ra's) retinue

Two apparent counterexamples can be found in two recent publications that remark this peculiar use of preposition *r* for the illative of verb *ʿq*.

The first publication, by Daniel Polz, is about two new coffins from the late Middle Kingdom found at Dra Abu el-Naga, the texts of which are discussed by Antonio Loprieno.[43] One of the coffins, belonging to *imn.y*, has the titles for spells *CT* [307], and *CT* [813], previously unknown.[44] The title of *CT* [307] is *ḫpr.w m nḥ tm ʿq.(w)* ***r*** *ḫb.t* that Loprieno translates "Zum Perlhuhn werden und die Richtstätte nicht betreten."[45] And that of *CT* [813], *ʿq* ***m*** *wsḫ.t*, is translated by the same author "Eintreten *in* die große Halle."[46] In both cases, the meaning is "to enter a building or a part of it." For the description that follows, it represents a problem to which two solutions are possible: whether the difference between *m*, and *r* no longer exists (for the illative) or whether there is some difference between *ḫb.t* "slaughterhouse," and *wsḫ.t* "great hall." Since the variant existing in the de Buck's edition of the Coffin Texts, T1L, is almost completely lacunar, and since there are no other occurrences of *wsḫ.t* with the verb *ʿq* in this corpus, it could be crucial to know the complete texts of *imn.y*'s coffin in order to decide on this point—supposing that such occurrences appear in this document—although the second choice seems more probable to this author.

The second counterexample is in the publication of papyrus Brooklyn 47.218.84 by Dimitri Meeks.[47] Even if this Twenty-Sixth-Dynasty document is a linguistic patchwork of Middle Egyptian and later elements, which makes the linguistic analysis unsure,[48] the editor provides remarks of interest. These

[42] B2Be, and G1T replace the aorist with pseudoparticiples.
[43] Loprieno 2007: 70–80.
[44] *CT* [307] is known from L2Li, and BH4C, but with no title. *CT* [813] was only very lacunar on T1L.
[45] Loprieno 2007: 80; see also Rigault 2009: 600.
[46] Loprieno 2007: 79; see also Rigault 2009: 601.
[47] Meeks 2006.
[48] Meeks 2006: 1 and 4. For a thorough discussion on the concepts *égyptien de tradition*, *Neomittelägyptisch*, and *Spätmittelägyptisch*, as categories for a linguistic analysis, see Von Lieven 2007: I, 226–250 (with main conclusions on pages 247–248).

remarks concern the passage VI 1-2, which reads: *ir dn*(*i.t*) *m iwnw* [...]*py n ꜥq iri*.(*w*).*n ir*.(*t*) *rꜥ* **r** *ȝḫ.t n.t p.t im.f*, translated by Meeks "Quant à la fête Dén(yt) dans Héliopolis, (c'est) […] où l'oeil de Rê est entré *dans* l'horizon du ciel."[49] The preposition *r* is used here for the illative of *ꜥq*, with *ȝḫ.t* "horizon," the same as in the Coffin Texts.[50] But there should be an important difference: according to Meeks, *ꜥq* **r** *ȝḫ.t* should be understood as an appearance in the horizon, because *ꜥq* **m** *ȝḫ.t* also exists, and seems to mean a disappearance in the horizon; if this is correct, the two prepositions should be completely reinterpreted in this specific expression (*ꜥq r*/**m** *ȝḫ.t*).[51]

This has been a description of the valency of *ꜥq*, an exception inside the general valential system of motion verbs in the Coffin Texts. But sometimes the general system cancels this special opposition between *r*, and *m* for the illative of *ꜥq*.

Neutralization of the Opposition **m** */* **r**

In some cases, the peculiar *r* / *m* opposition for the illative of *ꜥq* can disappear in favor of *m*.

First, when *ꜥq* is followed by its antonym *pri* "go out," both of them with one and the same spatial complement, this can be introduced by *m*.[52] The proximity of *pri* seems thus to "normalize" the expression of the illative with *ꜥq*:

[49] Meeks 2006: 13.

[50] *CT* IV 37 m, and VII 2 w. Compare also the New Kingdom manuscripts of Sinuhe R6 in Koch 1990: *ꜥq nṯr r ȝḫ.t.f*.

[51] Meeks 2006: 78 and 215, with the textual references. Compare also, for Greco-Roman times (*égyptien de tradition*), the similar expression *ꜥq* **r** *p.t*/*ḥr.t* "to go **into** the sky," as a metaphor of "dying (successfully)," in Kucharek 2010: 297 (pMMA 35.9.21, 11, 13) and 392. Compare also similar cases for *ꜥq* in an astronomical context in the *Nutbuch*: Von Lieven 2007: I, § 55 (*m r.s* "in her (Nut's) mouth" = disappear), § 60 (*r wn.wt* "in the hour"?; the passage is uncertain: see Von Lieven's remarks on pages 73–74), § 69 (*m grḥ m wn.wt* "in the night, in the hour"?; the passage is uncertain too: see Von Lieven's remarks on page 75), § 94, 93a and 94b (*m r.s m bw tp.s m imn.tt* "in her (Nut's) mouth, in the place where her head is in the West" = disappear?), and § 104 (*m dwȝ.t* "in the Duat" = disappear?).

[52] *CT* I 387 a (S1C, and G1T) (*kȝr*), V 43 a (*ir.ty*), VI 73 a (*ḫr.t-nṯr*), and VI 321 l (*ks.t*).

Ex. 15

CT VI 73 a

tm ḫnr.(*w*) *bȝ n z.t r prr.f r ᶜq.f r mrr.f* **m** *ḫr.t-nṯr*

Not to prevent a woman's *bȝ* from going **out of** (the necropolis) (and) from going **into** the necropolis, at his will

The illative, and elative meanings are the only possible means here, since the *bȝ*'s more important function for the deceased is to go *out of* the necropolis by day, and go back *into* the necropolis by night.[53]

Second, when resumptive, the spatial complement is introduced by *m*,[54] or replaced by the adverb *im*,[55] as is usually the case with all motion verbs.[56]

Ex. 16

CT VI 390 e – g

ḫpr.n.f m nb wiȝ (*i*)*wᶜ.n.f p.t ḫpr.n.f m wḥm.w n nb-r-ḏr ḏr ᶜq.f* ***im.f***

He has become the master of the *wiȝ*-bark, he has inherited the sky (and) he has become the Master-of-All's herald, but only since he went **into** it (= the bark)

There are even some cases that simultaneously exhibit this, and the previous factor:[57]

Ex.17

CT II 121 a

wn dwȝ.t pr.t ᶜq ***im.s***

To open the Duat, go out of (it) and go **into** it

Third, spatial complements usually introduced by *r* change this for *m* when in the plural,[58] or in one case even in the dual,[59] as if they can be conceived of as being less limited than the singular, and thus allowing the use of *m*:

[53] *Contra* Stauder-Porchet 2009: 157.

[54] *CT* V 381 a (*sḫ.t*), VI 390 g (*wiȝ*), and VII 216 j (*niw.t*).

[55] *CT* IV 96 e (*ḏ.t* "funerary abode").

[56] Gracia Zamacona 2010a: § 3.4.

[57] *CT* II 121 a (*dwȝ.t*), and VI 340 g (*ḫw.t*).

[58] *CT* I 219 b (*stp.w*), and VI 410 b – c (*qrr.wt im.ywt tp*).

[59] With the same name, *ir.ty* "the two eyes": *CT* V 43 a, and VI 220 t.

Ex. 18

CT VI 410 a – d

wsir N mɜᶜ.t-ḫrw i n.k (ɜ)s.t di.s pr ṯɜw mr.s ᶜq.f **m** *qrr.wt im.(w)t tp.k ᶜnḫ.k mdw.k ḫft.s wsir N mɜᶜ.t-ḫrw*

This Osiris N, vindicated! Isis has come[60] for you to make the wind get up when she wishes (and) go **into** the holes which (are) in your head, may you live (and) speak to her, this Osiris N, vindicated!

However, *m,* and *r* are not the only lexical means to express the spatial complements of *ᶜq*.

Other Prepositions

Prepositions less frequently used for the illative of *ᶜq* are: *mm* "amongst" for animate plurals, and collectives[61] (which is used in the same way with other motion verbs),[62]

Ex. 19

CT III 316 e

ᶜq.i r ḫm wr **mm** *wr.w*

May I go into the great chapel, **amongst** the Great Ones!

and *m-ḫn.w* / *r-ḫn.w* "inside of" for inanimates. The uses of the latter prepositions are displayed in this table:

[60] For the interpretation of this as a perfective *sḏm.f*, according to the *ii* (M18) base, see Winand 1991 § 32.

[61] *CT* I 132 b, I 133 b, I 134 b, III 292 b, III 314 b, III 316 e, VI 275 h, and VII 391 a.

[62] Gracia Zamacona 2010a: § 3.1 and tables 3, 6, 9 and 12.

	Objects		Substances
	Singular	Plural	
m-ḫn.w	3 (*ꜥ-ḏ3* "ferry dock,"?[63] *itn* "sun disk,"[64] and *ir.t wr.t* "great eye (= sun disk)"[65])	1 (*št3.w* "hidden places, crypts")[66]	-
r-ḫn.w	4 (*ḫm wr* "great shrine"[67], *wnw.t* "hour,"[68] and *k3r* "chapel"[69])	1 (*i3ṯ.wt* "abattoirs")[70]	-

Table 3. Prepositions *m-ḫn.w*, and *r-ḫn.w* with the illative of *ꜥq*

At first sight, there seems to be no difference between the two prepositions: no substance occurs with them, and the singular form seems to predominate. But when comparing the referents of the spatial complements, all the cases with *r-ḫn.w* are clearly delimited entities: all of them but *wnw.t* "hour" are buildings.[71] Besides, in one case, *r-ḫn.w* alternates with *r*:

Ex. 20
CT IV 306 a
L1NY: *nn ꜥq.(w).i* ***r*** *i3ṯ.wt.*[*ṯn*] I shall not go **into** your abattoirs
M4C: *nn ꜥq.(w).i* ***r-ḫn.w*** *i3t.wt.ṯn* I shall not go **to the inside of** your abattoirs

As for *m-ḫn.w*, two of the referents are buildings: one of them in plural, which could explain the *m*:

Ex. 21
CT I 133 a – b (L2Li)
iw wḏ.n wsir ꜥq N ***m-ḫn.w*** *št3.w*
Osiris has ordered N to go **to the inside of** the crypts

and the other one is doubtful, because it occurs in one document only, and the

[63] *CT* I 134 b – c (L2Li).
[64] *CT* VII 216 k.
[65] *CT* VII 218 e.
[66] *CT* I 133 b – c.
[67] *CT* I 132 b – c.
[68] *CT* IV 268 d – 269 d.
[69] *CT* VI 267 u, and VI 269 j.
[70] *CT* IV 306 a (M4C).
[71] I thank James Allen for remarking that a spatial interpretation is also possible for *wnw.t* here, as in the Book of the Amduat for instance.

meaning is not clear.[72] The other two occurrences are of the sun disk, referred to as *itn*, and *ir.t wr.t*; in this case, I cannot explain why *m-ḫn.w* was preferred to *r-ḫn.w*.

Although the data are too scant to persist with this analysis, a subtle nuance must be added regarding the meaning of *ḫn.w*, because this is essential to understanding why these two prepositions (*m/r-ḫn.w*) are used instead of basic *m*. First remarked by Karl Piehl,[73] as Meeks notes,[74] *m-ḫn.w* may unusually be written in place of the usual . The sign in question, (N55), should be distinguished from the shining sun (*wpš*), since it represents a pen for animals, as Gaston Maspero stated for the first time: "c'est un cercle de grosses pierres fichées en terre et formant un parc pour les bestiaux."[75] The prepositions *m/r-ḫn.w* seem thus to refer to an area delimited by discrete units—in the case illustrated by the ideogram , stones.

In this sense, there is an enlightening occurrence of *m-ḫn.w* from the thirteenth dynasty, close in time to the corpus studied in this paper. The passage is on the stele Cairo JE 35256, edited by Anthony Leahy, and belonging to a set of four[76] delimiting an area sacred to Wepwawet in Abydos.[77] The editor identifies this sacred area with the wadi connecting, as a processional way, the Osiris temple with Umm el-Qab:[78] it seems thus to be an open area. The text explicitly forbids one to enter the sacred area without any permission, or to build tombs therein, under death penalty by burning. The relevant passage is *ir rf n.ty ṯw nb r gm.t.f* ***m-ḫn.w*** *wḏ.w m-ḥ3.*(*w*) *wʿb.*(*w*) *r ḥn.t.f ḫr.tw bd.t.f*, and it is translated by the editor "As for anyone who shall be found *within* these steles, except for a priest about his duties, he shall be burnt."[79] Here the preposition introduces the steles, not the area delimited by them: one can even interpret the phrase as *m ḫn.w wḏ.w* "in (the) inner space (of the) steles." And that is exactly what the composed preposition basically means: a space deli-

[72] *CT* I 134 b – c (L2Li) (ʿ-*ḏ3* 'ferry dock'?).
[73] Piehl 1901: 62–63.
[74] Meeks 2006: 36, passage XVI, 7; and 157, fn. 563.
[75] Maspero 1892: 326. The same author states that these pens were still in use in Egypt when he wrote those lines. See also Riemer 2009: 175–188, for archaeological evidence of formally, and functionally similar structures in prehistoric eastern Sahara.
[76] Leahy 1989: 42, fig. 1; and 43, lines 3–5.
[77] Leahy 1989: 50–52, and fig. 2.
[78] Leahy 1989: 54.
[79] Leahy 1989: 42, fig. 1; and 43, lines 5–6.

mited by isolated (discrete) elements, but not compulsorily closed. This results in an ambiguity displayed both by the alternation of *m*, and *r* as first elements of the composition, and by the very morphology of these composed prepositions: the first element expresses the (untypical) limit, and the second one the inner space. Be this as it may, a full study on the *ḫn.w*-composed prepositions (because there are more of them) should be done to reach more sound conclusions.[80]

Just another two prepositions are used for the illative of *ʿq*, and only once each: *m-qȝb* "in the middle of", and *r-gs* "beside."

The preposition *m-qȝb* occurs with an animate divine plural, the prepositional phrase being factorised with the verb *pri*, expressing the opposite spatial function (elative) with the latter verb, as usual. It also displays the basic meaning of *m*, as *m-qȝb* would render "in the loop (of a plural or collective)."

Ex. 22

CT III 266 a – 267 a

r n ʿq ḫr-ḥȝ.t pr.t ḫr-pḥ.wy ***m qȝb*** *wnm.w-t n.w wsir*

Spell of going **into the middle of** the Osiris' Bread-eaters, through (their) front, (and) going out of the middle of the Osiris' Bread-eaters, through (their) rear

In this occurrence, the meaning of *m-qȝb* (interiority, animacy, and plurality) is proved by the parallel with preposition *mm* in an almost identical passage at the end of the same spell, *CT* [228]:

Ex. 23

CT III 291 b – 292 b[81]

ʿq.(*w*)*.i ḫr-ḥȝ.t pr.* (*w*)*.i ḫr-pḥ.wy* ***mm*** *wnm.w-t n.w wsir*

It is only through (their) front (and) through (their) rear, that I will go **amongst** the Osiris' Bread-eaters, and that I will go out from amongst the Osiris' Bread-eaters, (respectively)

The preposition *r-gs* "beside" also occurs with an animate divine, but singular:

[80] Compare the case study on *ḥȝ.t* in Di Biase-Dyson 2012.
[81] Following B1Ca.

Ex. 24
CT I 387 a (B2L, B1P, and B1Bo)[82]
ʿq.i pr.i r kꜣr ***r-gs*** *nṯr ḫpr-ḏs.f*
May I go into, and from the chapel, **beside** the Self-created God

Finally, in order to explain the transitivised spatial complements of *ʿq* (without preposition), a previous analysis of the Aktionsart of this verb is necessary.

How to Enter

A series of tests[83] is frequently used in general linguistics to determine (tendentially) the Aktionsart of a state-of-affairs. The theoretical model for the lexical temporal meaning of the verbs (verbal Aktionsart) used here is the one proposed by Zeno Vendler in 1957.[84] Since then, it has been profusely employed, and discussed by several authors in general linguistics.[85] Vendler's theory states the existence of four different kinds of states-of-affairs (or *time schemata* as he calls them)—activities, accomplishments, achievements, and states—according to their Aktionsart. In his own words:

> *By way of illustration to this section, I add four examples, which demonstrate our time schemata from another angle.*
> *For activities: 'A was running at time t' means that time instant t is on a time stretch throughout which A was running.*
> *For accomplishments: 'A was drawing a circle at t' means that t is on the time stretch in which A drew that circle.*
> *For achievements: 'A won a race between t_1 and t_2' means that the time instant at which A won that race is between t_1 and t_2.*
> *For states: 'A loved somebody from t_1 to t_2' means that at any instant between t_1 and t_2 A loved that person.*
> *This shows that the concept of activities calls for periods of time that are not unique or definite. Accomplishments, on the other hand, imply the notion of unique and definite time periods. In an analogous way,*

[82] Minor variants in S2C, B1C, and G1T.
[83] For these tests, see now Gracia Zamacona 2015. Specific references for each test are given in footnote.
[84] Vendler 1957: 143–160.
[85] See Binnick 1991 and Klein 1994 for a general discussion.

> *while achievements involve unique and definite time instants, states involve time instants in an indefinite and nonunique sense.*
> *This division has an air of completeness about it. Perhaps it is more than a mere presumption to think that all verbs can be analyzed in terms of these four schemata.*[86]

Although Vendler does not use the terms that later became the most frequent, he is distinguishing *durative* states-of-affairs (when he speaks about the "time periods" implied by activities, and accomplishments) from *punctual* (the "time instant" required by achievements, and states); as well as *telic* states-of-affairs ("unique and definite" time units needed by accomplishments, and achievements) from *atelic* ("non-unique and indefinite" time units for activities, and states).

The initially astonishing proximity of achievements and states led Alexander Mourelatos to propose in 1978 a sharper definition of the same four categories, using the criteria of *duration* (non instantaneous),[87] *telicity* ("tending towards a goal"),[88] and *dynamics* (needing the agent's force to occur),[89] with the resulting definitions, and examples: states (non-dynamic, durative, and atelic; e.g. "love"), activities (dynamic, durative, and atelic; e.g. "run"), accomplishments (dynamic, durative, and telic; *e.g.* "grow up"), and achievements (dynamic, non-durative, and telic; e.g. "find").[90]

In 2006 Jean Winand proposed a general approach for the Egyptian language, essentially based on this model, although taking a broader and more explicative perspective: in fact, his intention was to explain not only the Aktionsart but also verbal tense, and aspect (and taking the valential arguments, and adverbials into account) under the umbrella concept of temporality, which comprises time expression in non-verbal sentences as well.[91] As far as Aktionsart is concerned, Winand's model's main contributions are the use, and development of the notions of gradability (explicit, and implicit),[92] and the notions of prephase, and postphase.[93] The concept of gradability will not

[86] Vendler 1957: 149.
[87] Mourelatos 1978: 416.
[88] The use of the term, and its definition were proposed first by Garey 1957: 91–110, as indicated in Mourelatos 1978: fn. 7.
[89] Mourelatos 1978: 416.
[90] Mourelatos 1978: mainly 415, and 423.
[91] Winand 2006: 151–172.
[92] Winand 2006: 64–67. See also Bertinetto and Squartini 1995.
[93] Winand 2006: 67–68. See also Klein 1994: 84 *passim*.

be employed in this study, but that of postphase is crucial, as it is proposed here to explain some particularities of *ꜥq*.

The list of tests that follows is thus to be considered as an analytical tool: the more tests that point in the same direction, the more reliable the explanation they provide. These are the tests employed here to analyse the Aktionsart of the verb *ꜥq*:

a. The adverb "already" is only compatible with telic verbs, and telicised statements.[94] The Egyptian clause *r sḏm.t.f* "until he hears" could be semantically equivalent to "already." This test is positive for *ꜥq*, which could be a *telic* verb.

Ex. 25

CT I 398 c – 399 b (S2C)

swꜣ bꜣ.i ḥr.s(n) sgr.{i}(w) ***r ꜥq.t.f*** *r kꜣr*

May my *bꜣ* pass by them (= the *ꜣkr.w*) in silence **until he goes** into the chapel!

b. If the presence of a patient implies the feature "telicity,"[95] it might be proposed that telic motion verbs are prone to transitivising spatial complements. In fact, in Egyptian, this depends on the type of spatial complement, and not only on the verbal Aktionsart: achievements transitivise destination (and also provenance); atelic verbs transitivise course;[96] accomplishments transitivise destination but also course.[97] The verb *ꜥq* only transitivises illatives (see Ex. 34–37):[98] it must be an *achievement*.

c. The Greek aorist has a terminal meaning with telic verbs with stative postphase (for instance ἀποθνήσκω "die"), but inceptive with atelic verbs (for instance βασιλεύω "reign").[99] In this the Egyptian indicative *sḏm.f* could

[94] Klein 1994: 146–147. Compare Winand 2006: 52 and 227.

[95] Winand, *Temps*, 87; compare Vendryes 1946: 86, and Sánchez Ruipérez 1954: 82–83. In other languages, transitivation can affect the aspect more than the Aktionsart: see Comrie 1976: 8, for the German opposition *er las das Buch* (perfective) vs. *er las im Buch* (imperfective), and Comrie 1976: 1976, 8, fn. 2 for the Finnish opposition "partitive + imperfective" vs. "object + perfective."

[96] Compare Tenny 1988: 9, who considers the couplet "Walk the bridge" / "Walk *across* the bridge." See also Dowty 1991: 569.

[97] Gracia Zamacona 2008: 1670–1671.

[98] *CT* II 132 c, III 52 a, V 57 d, and VI 412 j.

[99] Sánchez Ruipérez 1954: 80–81; Binnick 1991: 165; Winand 2006: 107.

be equivalent to the Greek aorist. Since it occurs with *ꜥq*, with a terminal *effet de sens*, this verb should be a *telic verb with stative post-phase*.[100]

Ex. 26

CT V 35 k – l

wn ꜣ.wy ḫnz sw3 ṯ3w.w wḏꜥ n.wt.f ***ꜥq*** *ṯ3w*
The double doors of the Crossing (= a lake) opened, the winds passed by, its (= lake's) *n.wt*-waters divided, the wind **entered**

d. Achievements, and semelfactives prefer perfective verbal forms.[101] Also, with progressive, and habitual time adverbials (for example *rꜥ nb* "every day")[102] they have an iterative meaning.[103] In contrast, activities prefer imperfective verbal forms:[104] for instance, in Egyptian, generally no pseudoparticiple occurs with atelic verbs.[105] The verb *ꜥq* is iterative with *rꜥ nb*,[106] and can occur in the pseudoparticiple:[107] this verb is an *achievement*.

Ex. 27

CT VI 388 o – p

iw.i gr rḫ.kwi w3.wt ip[*t*]*w šṯ3.wt ꜥq.*(*w*)*t miw.t im.sn* ***rꜥ nb***
I know also these secret paths into which the she-cat goes **every day**

Ex. 28

CT VI 150 f (B2Be)[108]

iw N pn ***ꜥq.*****(*****w*****)*** *m ḫt.t.f*
This N **has gone** into his retinue

[100] *CT* V 35 l, V 330 b, and VI 269 j.
[101] Comrie 1976: 17–18, and 42; Binnick 1991: 379, and 412; Bertinetto 1997: 51, and 60. For the Egyptian, see Schenkel 1965: 57–58, and Schenkel 1967: 130, about *gmi* "find": few occurrences of the active perfective participle, but very frequent those of the perfective *sḏm.n.f* verbal form—for *gmi*, see now Vernus 2012: 387–438—; and compare Westendorf 1962: 237, and 317 on the verb *p3i* "fly off > happen in the past." In a similar way (telicity – perfective – perfect – relative past), compare the Chinese morpheme *-le*, in Melchert 1980, mainly 650–651, and Iljič 1989: 266–267.
[102] Bertinetto 1997: 33; Anderson 1982: 108, about the distributive beneficiary in the sign language.
[103] Comrie 1976: 43; Klein 1994: 96; Winand 2006: 104–105.
[104] Binnick 1991: 379, and 412; Bertinetto 1997: 60.
[105] Malaise and Winand 1999: § 719; Winand 2006: 107.
[106] *CT* VI 388 p.
[107] *CT* III 2 a, III 104 c, and VI 150 f.
[108] Also in G1T (first person).

e. Achievements display a tendency for spatial complements of provenance and destination, as well as for the adessive, whilst atelic states-of-affairs (activities) prefer spatial complements of course (or "path"), and the inessive.[109] The verb *ʿq* has 148 cases of destination spatial complements out of 173 in absolute figures: it must be an *achievement*.

f. Compatibility with expressions of the agent's control on the state-of-affairs ("can", etc.; compare Egyptian *r mrr.f* "as he wishes," etc.),[110] dependence on volition verbs,[111] and the impersonal passive of intransitive verbs[112] imply a dynamic state-of-affairs. The verb *ʿq* occurs subordinated to *mri*,[113] with *r mrr.f*[114] (see Ex. 15), and with *rḫ* "can"[115] (see Ex. 3): it is *dynamic / agentive*.

Ex. 29

CT V 330 e

ʿq ḥr nṯr.w ***mrr.w*** *z ʿq ḥr.s*(*n*)

To enter towards the gods that a man **wants** to enter

g. The imperative implies that a state of affairs is dynamic[116] or rather that its subject is agentive:[117] *ʿq* is *dynamic / agentive*.[118]

[109] Wunderlich 1991: 602. Compare Matsumoto 1996: 192 with fn. 8, and 194 with fn. 12, who relates telicity to the spatial complements of destination, and atelicity to the spatial complements of course. Similarly, Boons 1985: 227, remarks the preference of atelic states-of-affairs for spatial complements of course.

[110] Vendler 1957: 148–149, on the English verb "can;" Verkuyl 1989: 47; Bertinetto 1997: 84; Pustejovsky, 1988: 34, on the incompatibility of states with verbs of the kind of "force to;" Binnick 1991: 174, on the incompatibility of states with adverbials of care, and intention. See Winand 2006: 58, and 72, who considers this test essentially for the agentivity of a state-of-affairs.

[111] For Winand 2006: 76–78, this test is basically for the agentivity of a state-of-affairs.

[112] Winand 2006: 85, thinks this test to be mainly about the agentivity of a state-of-affairs. For the hypothesis of the existence of "unergative," and "unaccusative" intransitive verbs, compare the remarks by Dowty 1991: 605–613.

[113] *CT* V 330 e.

[114] *CT* VI 73 a.

[115] *CT* VII 306 e, and VII 447 b.

[116] Pustejovsky 1988: 34; Binnick 1991: 174.

[117] Winand 2006: 58, 78–79, and 84, specifically, on implicative, and beneficiary coreferential with the subject.

[118] *CT* III 86 c, *passim*.

h. In English, the general imperfective (present) of accomplishments, and activities has a habitual present *effet de sens*, but a non-habitual present with achievements and states.[119] The following cases of *ꜥq* show that this verb is an *achievement*:

Ex. 30

CT V 184 a – b

spr.ḫr.f r k.y sbꜣ ***ꜥq.(w)*** *ṯꜣw ḥr.f*
And he will dock at another gate **that** the wind **enters** through

The general context is the future deceased's passing through a series of doors of the Field of Rushes, the change of gate being indicated by the *sḏm.ḫr.f* form. The imperfective relative form expresses a non-habitual concomitant present in a given moment, when passing one of these doors.

Ex. 31

CT VI 150 f – h (B1Bo)

iw ***ꜥq*** *N pn m ḫt.t.f ḫmꜥ.f wsr.t ḫmꜥ.f nr.w.k*
This N **goes** thus into his retinue, rejects the Powerful (female) (and) rejects your (= Ra's) terror

Within a narration with perfective *sḏm.n.f* forms, and passive *sḏm.w.f* forms (CT VI 149 b – 150 e), the aorist (imperfective), alternating with pseudoparticiple (B2Be, and G1T), expresses a non-habitual present that is consequence of the narrated actions.

Ex. 32

CT VI 267 t – 268 b

ink špsi m s.t.f im.y ib n nb kꜣr
pr.i ***ꜥq.i*** *r-ḫn.w kꜣr n nb-r-ḏr*
siꜥr.i mꜣꜥ.t ḥr ḥtp.t šw im.y qrs.t
sꜥq.i wḏꜣ.t
zzn.i izf.t m ḏꜣ(dꜣ).t
nš.i bw.t rꜥ m dp.t.f
nṯr nb ḥr.s qꜣ.i ꜣḫ nb ḫr šfšf.t.i
rḫw.t ḥr dwꜣ nfr.(w).i
I am the nobleman in his seat, the preferred of the Lord of the chapel: **I go in** and out of the interior of the chapel of the Lord-of-All, I present Maat on the

[119] Austin: 46–47; Pustejovsky 1988: 34–35; Verkuyl 1989: 55; Binnick 1991: 173.

offering table of Shu that is in the tomb, I put the Sound Eye in, I destroy falsehood in the tribunal, I expel Ra's abomination from his bark, on which every god (is), (and) I am on the top, every *ꜣḫ* (being) under my terror (and) the *rḫ.yt* adoring my beauty.

Aorist as a non-habitual present, the precise moment of which is expressed by the progressive in *CT* VI 268 b.

Ex. 33

CT VII 388 c – 391 a (B2Bo)

n(*n*) *bs.w m.w r-gs N tn*

n ḫsfff N tn ḥr rᶜ

n šnᶜᶜ N tn in iri-m-ᶜ.wy.f

n(*n*) *šm.*(*w*) *N tn m in.t kkw*

n(*n*) *ᶜq.*(*w*).*s m š ḫbn.tyw*

n(*n*) *wnn.s m šꜣm.t ꜣ.t*

n(*n*) *ḫr.*(*w*) *N tn m ḥꜣq.t*

ᶜq.s *mm iṯi.*<*w*> *n ḥr.f-ḫꜣ-nm.t n.t iꜣṯ.t spd.t*

The water shall not spring beside this N; this N shall be not rejected thanks to Ra; this N shall be not held by The-one-who-acts-with-his-hands; this N shall not walk through the Valley of Darkness, she shall not go into the Lake of the Criminals (and) she shall not be in the heat of anger; this N shall not fall like a prey when **it** (= the prey) **goes** amongst those who are taken to His-face-(is)-around-the-chopping-block of the slaughterhouse of *spd.t*

The aorist is a non-habitual concomitant present regarding the moment expressed by a series of passive prospectives (*CT* VII 388 c – 390 c).

According to the previous test analyses, it must be concluded that *ᶜq* is an achievement with stative post-phase, and no pre-phase.

The peculiarity of *ᶜq*

Following these analyses of the valency, and Aktionsart of *ᶜq*, the transitivation of some of its spatial complements must be studied. These are the occurrences of transitivised spatial complements with *ᶜq* in the Coffin Texts:

Ex. 34

CT II 132 c

M3C: *n*(*n*) ***ᶜq.*(*w*).*i*** *Ø nm.t-nṯr* **I shall** not **enter** the god's slaughterhouse

G2T: *n*(*n*) ***ᶜq.*(*w*).*i r*** *nm.t-nṯr* **I shall** not **go into** the god's slaughterhouse

S1C: *n*(*n*) *sᶜq.t*(*w*)***.i*** *r nm.t-nṯr* I shall not be put into the god's slaughterhouse
S2Ca-b, and M4C: lacunar

Ex. 35
CT III 52 a
B1C, and B2L: (…) *ḥr-ntt* ***ᶜq.n.i*** *Ø ṯzi.t* (…) because it is Rising-flame **that I have entered**
B3C: (…) *ḥr-ntt* ***ᶜq.n*** *N tn* ***m*** *wṯz.t* (…) because it is **into** Rising-flame **that** this N **has gone**

Ex. 36
CT V 57 d
M6C: *n*(*n*) ***ᶜq.(w).i*** *Ø nm.t-nṯr* **I shall** not **enter** the god's slaughterhouse
Other copies: *bw.t.i pw nm.t-nṯr* My abomination is the god's slaughterhouse

Ex. 37
CT VI 412 j
T6C: ***ᶜq*** *Ø sšt3 n msq.t tn* **Enter** the hidden place of this *msq.t*!
T10C: ***ᶜq ḥr*** *sšt3* **Enter towards** the hidden place![120]

The transitivation of the spatial complement of *ᶜq* in these passages can be approached from a multi-factorial perspective that takes into account verbal aspect, spatial complement type (object – substance), and number, as well as alternating prepositions, as this table displays:

CT	Aspect		Illative		Alternating preposition
	Perfective	Imperfective	Object	Substance	
II 132 c	prospective	-	*nm.t-nṯr* "god's slaughterhouse"	-	*r*
III 52 a	emphatic *sḏm.n.f*	-	-	*ṯzi.t* "Rising flame"	*m*
V 57 d	prospective	-	*nm.t-nṯr* "god's slaughterhouse"	-	-
VI 412 j	-	imperative	*sšt3 n msq.t* "hidden place of *msq.t*"	-	-[121]

Table 4.
Transitivations of spatial complements with *ᶜq*

[120] End of line, and coffin side.

[121] The preposition *ḥr* is considered here as expressing the terminal, not the illative: this means that these documents hold different versions.

According to these data, the following conclusions may be proposed:

First, transitivation is more frequent with perfective than with imperfective verbal forms.

Second, illative is the only spatial complement transitivised, and always in the singular: this is significant, for it also happens generally with other motion verbs.[122]

Third, although transitivity objects predominate over substances this pattern may not be significant, because, generally speaking, objects are much more frequent than substances.

Fourth, alternating prepositions for the illative, *m*, and *r*, do not show aspectual or communicative differences.

All this seems to point to the existence of a weak tendency in the "linguistic stage" of the Coffin Texts to transitivise singular illatives in perfective statements, resulting in a complex valency change that depends not only on the aspect but also on the Aktionsart, and valency characteristics of *ʿq*.[123]

Such characteristics constitute the peculiarity of this verb: *ʿq* is an achievement with no prephase, and with a stative postphase; its action is mainly performed in the limit ("access") of the illative spatial complement, a phenomenon enhanced by the use of the preposition *r* with sharply delimited complements (*objects*), while the usual preposition for the illative, *m*, is used with unlimited complements (*substances*).

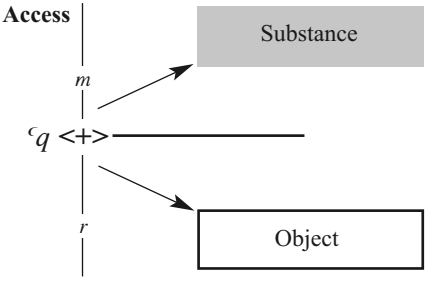

Fig. 1.
Typical illative of *ʿq*[124]

[122] Gracia Zamacona 2008: 1670–1671; Gracia Zamacona 2010a: 243–244: the transitivation depends on the verbal Aktionsart, and on the number of the second participant. The phenomenon has been mainly identified for spatial complements of "path" (in this article, called "course," because it is oriented) with activities: see Dowty 1991: 569; Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1992: 261; Winand 2006: 130, and 139.

[123] Lazard 1994: 223–228; Winand 2006: 88, fn. 84.

[124] For the Aktionsart graphics used here, see Winand 2006: 100–122.

In conclusion, this peculiarity of the verb *ʿq*, being an extreme study case of the space's verbal expression (*i.e.* the so-called "motion verbs") in the Coffin Texts, reveals the use of a semantic approach when based upon large samples of study, and this twofold: on the one hand, to explain specific morphosyntactic particularities (such as those of prepositions with the illative of this verb); and on the other hand, to illustrate certain significant theoretical concepts (such as that of the cognitive schema "container") with data from a natural language such as Egyptian.

APPENDIX

Occurrences of Predicative ao in the Coffin Texts by Spatial Complement Type, and Preposition

Provenance: No cases
Course[125]

Prepositions	Entities			
	Animate	Inanimate	Animate and divine	Inanimate and divine
ḫr "by"	-	*wʿr.t* "plateau"[126]	-	-

Table 5.
Coursive

Prepositions	Entities			
	Animate	Inanimate	Animate and divine	Inanimate and divine
ḫr "below"	-	*q3b* "bend"[127]	-	-

Table 6.
Exo-coursive

[125] Also called "path."
[126] *CT* III 145 a.
[127] *CT* VII 331 d, and VII 515 d.

Prepositions	Entities			
	Animate	Inanimate	Animate and divine	Inanimate and divine
m "through"	-	*sbȝ.w* "doors"[128], *imn.t* "west",[129] and *sḏ.t* "flame" (and *pri*)[130]	-	Hathor's *wnz* (an access)[131]
ḫr-ḥȝ.t "through the front"	-	-	*wnm.w-t* "Bread-eaters"[132]	-
imytw "between"	-	*iwn.wy* "two pillars" (resumptive)[133]	two gods[134]	-
mm "amongst"	-	-	*šms.w* "followers"[135]	-
Ø	-	*ṯnw* "(through) where?" (and *pri*)[136]	-	-

Table 7.
Endo-coursive

[128] *CT* II 62 I, 363 b, II 372 b, II 374 b, and II 387 b.
[129] *CT* V 320 a – b.
[130] *CT* VI 224 f.
[131] *CT* III 2 b.
[132] *CT* III 266 a – 267 a, and III 291 b (significantly for an endo-coursive, B5C, and BH3Ox read *m-ḥȝ.t* instead of *ḫr-ḥȝ.t*).
[133] *CT* VII 226 d.
[134] *CT* VI 388 m.
[135] *CT* II 363 b.
[136] *CT* III 2 a.

Destination

Prepositions	Entities			
	Animate	Inanimate	Animate and divine	Inanimate and divine
ḥr “towards”	the deceased[137]	*šṯ3.w* “hidden places”[138]	gods,[139] and one god[140]	-
ḥr / Ø “towards”	-	*sšṯ3* “hidden place” (transitivation)[141]	-	-
m “towards” replacing *ḥr*	-	*w3.wt* “ways” (resumptive)[142]	-	-
(*m*)-*b3ḥ* “into the presence of”	the deceased[143]	-	-	-

Table 8.
Terminal

Prepositions	Entities			
	Animate	Inanimate	Animate and divine	Inanimate and divine
r “to”	-	*ḫ3s.t* “steppe”[144]	-	-
ḫr “under”	-	*w3.t* “way”[145]	-	-
r-gs “beside”	-	-	*nṯr ḫpr-ḏs.f* “The Selfcreated God[146]	-

Table 9.
Allative

[137] *CT* VI 172 p, and q.
[138] *CT* VII 017 e.
[139] *CT* II 266 e – 267 e, II 273 e, II 288 b – 289 b, II 310 a – 311 a, II 312 d – 313 d, and V 330 e (1-2).
[140] *CT* IV 386 c (lac.), V 320 a – b, V 330 b, V 330 d, and VI 69 b.
[141] *CT* VI 412 j.
[142] *CT* VI 388 k, and VI 388 p.
[143] *CT* VII 114 b.
[144] *CT* IV 290 c – 291 c: only in B9Ca; rest of documents have *r i3b.t* “into the East” (illative of an *object* in Lakoff’s, and Johnson’s sense).
[145] *CT* VI 388 m – n: *ʿq.i imytw.sny* ***ḫr*** *w3.t šṯ3.t im.t wp.t rʿ imn.t ṯz 4 ipw n mḥ.t-wr.t ḫr.sn* “I have gone between the two of them (= Hu, and Sia) **to the underneath of** the secret path which (is) in Ra’s cranial vault (and) that the 4 *mḥ.t-wr.t’s* knots (= a part of the solar bark?) hide by themselves.” The meaning of this passage is difficult to grasp: the spell *CT* [759] is about Mehen, the solar bark, and four ways of fire surrounding it, but it seems that the deceased has acceded to the inner space of Mehen.
[146] *CT* I 387 a (S2C, G1T, B1Bo, B1C, B2L, and B1P).

Prepositions	Entities			
	Animate	Inanimate	Animate and divine	Inanimate and divine
r “into”	-	*r* “mouth,”[147] *ḥ.t* “belly,”[148] *fnḏ* “nose,”[149] *bw* “place,”[150] *ꜣḫ.t* “horizon,”[151] *imn.t* “West,”[152] *imn.t nfr.t* “beautiful West,”[153] *iꜣb.t* “East,”[154] *gs iꜣb.ty n p.t* “eastern side of the sky,”[155] *ḏd.t* “Mendes,”[156] *ḥr.t-nṯr* “necropolis,”[157] *sbḫ.t* “portal,”[158] *iwn.yt* “hypostyle hall,”[159] *pr* “house,”[160] *nm.t-nṯr* / *nm.t* “(god’s) slaughterhouse,”[161] *nm.wt* “slaugtherhouses,”[162] *ḫb.t* “slaughter-house,”[163] *iꜣṯ.wt* / *iꜣṯ.ww* “abattoirs,”[164] *fꜣ.t* “cargo,”[165] *ḫw.t* “mansion,”[166] *ḫw.t-ꜥꜣ.t* “large mansion,”[167] *ḫm wr* “great shrine,”[168] and *kꜣr* “chapel”[169]	-	*imn.t nfr.t* “beautiful West,”[170] and *mḥn* “Mehen”[171]
r / Ø “into”	-	*nm.t-nṯr* “god’s slaughterhouse” (transitivation)[172]	-	-
r / *r-ḫn.w* “into / to-the-inside-of”	-	*iꜣṯ.wt* “abattoirs”[173]	-	-

Table 10.
Illative (first part)

[147] *CT* III 47 g.
[148] *CT* III 103 e, III 104 c, III 128 e – f, III 132 f, III 136 f, and VI 335 a.
[149] *CT* VI 255 i.
[150] *CT* VI 321 u, and VII 30 u.
[151] *CT* IV 37 m, and VII 2 w.
[152] *CT* IV 326 j, and VI 381 p.
[153] *CT* IV 341 c, IV 342 d, and VI 96 g.
[154] *CT* IV 290 c – 291 c.
[155] *CT* VI 402 g.
[156] *CT* IV 278 a – 279 a.
[157] *CT* III 317 p – q, and IV 339 b.
[158] *CT* III 310 c.
[159] *CT* V 257 c.
[160] *CT* II 290 b – 291 b, V 34 a, V 243 c, and VI 331 l.
[161] *CT* II 131 d, II 133 e, and g, II 166 b, II 167 h, and k, II 168 c, f, j, and m, II 169 c, g, j, and m, II 170 b, II 174 I, and m, V 59 a, and c, VI 132 m, and VII 219 d.
[162] *CT* VI 132 f, and VI 261 a
[163] *CT* IV 62 q.
[164] *CT* IV 323 b, and IV 330 m.
[165] *CT* VI 285 f.
[166] *CT* I 144 g.
[167] *CT* III 362 e.
[168] *CT* III 314 b, and III 316 e.
[169] *CT* I 399 b.
[170] *CT* IV 339 e.
[171] *CT* VI 390 l.
[172] *CT* II 132 c.
[173] *CT* IV 306 a.

Prepositions	Entities Animate	Inanimate	Animate and divine	Inanimate and divine
m “into” replacing *r*	-	**With *prỉ***: *ks.t* “Keset (town or country),”[174] and *ḫr.t-nṯr* “necropolis”[175] **Resumptive**: *ḫw.t* “mansion,”[176] *dw3.t* “Duat,”[177] *wi3* “solar bark,”[178] *niw.t* “town,”[179] and *mṯn.w* “roads”[180] **Plural**: *qrr.wt im.ywt tp* “holes which are in the head,”[181] and *stp.w* “chosen places”[182] **Dual**: *ir.ty* “eyes”[183]	-	-
m “into”	-	*t3* “earth,”[184] *sḏ.t* “flame,”[185] *š* “lake”,[186] and *nbs* “(grove of) zizyphus-trees”[187]	one god[188], *ḫt.t* “retinue,”[189] and *šms.w* “entourage”[190]	*sḫ.t-ḥtp* “Field of Hotep”[191]
Ø / *m* “into”	-	-	-	*ṯzi.t* / *wṯz.t* “Rising-flame”[192]
mm “amongst”	*šms.w* “followers,”[193] and *iṯi.w* “prisoners”[194]	-	*šms.w* “followers,”[195] *wnm.w-t* “Bread-eaters”[196], *wr.w* “Great ones,”[197] and *im3ḫ.w* “glorified ones”[198]	

Table 10.
Illative (second part)

[174] *CT* VI 321 l.
[175] *CT* VI 73 a.
[176] *CT* VI 340 g.
[177] *CT* II 121 a.
[178] *CT* VI 390 g.
[179] *CT* VII 216 j.
[180] *CT* IV 96 e.
[181] *CT* VI 410 c.
[182] *CT* I 219 b.
[183] *CT* V 43 a, and VI 220 t.
[184] *CT* VII 30 a, and l.
[185] *CT* III 337 a, and d, III 338 c, VII 447 b, and VII 306 e.
[186] *CT* VII 390 a.
[187] *CT* V 257 a.
[188] *CT* IV 168 e.
[189] *CT* VI 150 f.
[190] *CT* VI 381 p.
[191] *CT* V 381 a.
[192] *CT* III 52 a.
[193] *CT* III 314 b.
[194] *CT* VII 391 a.
[195] *CT* VI 275 h.
[196] *CT* III 292 b.
[197] *CT* III 316 e.
[198] *CT* I 132 b, I 133 b, and I 134 b.

Prepositions	Entities			
	Animate	Inanimate	Animate ande divine	Inanimate and divine
m-ḫn.w "into-the-inside-of, within"	-	*štꜣ.ww* "hidden places, crypts,"[199] *ʿ-ḏꜣ* "ferry dock,"[200] *itn* "sun disk,"[201] and *ir.t* "eye"[202]	-	-
r-ḫn.w "to-the-inside-of"	-	*ḥm wr* "great shrine,"[203] *kꜣr* "chapel,"[204] and *wnw.t* "hour"[205]	-	-
m-qꜣb "in-the-middle-of"	-	-	*wnm.w-t* "Bread-eaters" (plural and *pri*)[206]	-
Ø "(into)" (transitivation)[207]	-	*nm.t-nṯr* "god"s slaughterhouse,"[208] and *sšt3* "hidden place"[209]	-	-

Table 10.
Illative (last part)

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[199] *CT* I 133 b.
[200] *CT* I 134 b (L2Li).
[201] *CT* VII 216 k.
[202] *CT* VII 218 e.
[203] *CT* I 132 b.
[204] *CT* VI 267 u, and VI 269 j.
[205] *CT* IV 268 d – 269 d (T2Be) (in the deity name *ʿq-r-ḫn.w-wnw.t.f*).
[206] *CT* III 266 a – 267 a.
[207] *CT* VII 27 p is lacunar, and has not been taken into account in this study.
[208] *CT* V 57 d.
[209] *CT* VI 412 j.

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Lead Isotope Analysis of Slag-tempered Negev Highlands Pottery

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Summary: Lead Isotope Analysis of Slag-Tempered Negev Highlands Pottery
Petrographic analysis of Iron IIA Negev Highlands pottery revealed that the clay used in some of the vessels was tempered with copper smelting slag. Here we show, using lead isotope analysis, that the slag was likely a byproduct of the contemporaneous smelting operations at Faynan, Jordan. We substantiate previous observations regarding the connection between settlements in the Negev Highlands and the mining and smelting operations in Wadi Arabah.

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Keywords: Iron IIA – Negebite pottery – Slag temper – Negev Highlands – Wadi Faynan – Timna – Lead isotope analysis

Resumen: Análisis de isótopos de plomo de cerámica de las tierras altas del Negev atemperada con escoria
El análisis petrográfico de la cerámica de las tierras altas del Negev de la Edad del Hierro IIA reveló que la arcilla utilizada en algunos recipientes fue templada con escoria resultante de la fundición de cobre. En este trabajo mostramos, utilizando análisis de isótopos de plomo, que la escoria era probablemente un subproducto de las operaciones de fundición contemporáneas en Feinán, Jordania. Corroboramos observaciones previas con respecto a la conexión entre asentamientos en las tierras altas del Negev y las operaciones mineras y de fundición en el Wadi Arabá.

Palabras Clave: Edad del Hierro IIA – Cerámica negevita – Templado de escoria – Tierras altas del Negev – Wadi Feinán – Timna – Análisis de isótopos de plomo

Introduction

Recent petrographic analysis of wheel- and handmade ('Negebite') pottery found at early Iron IIA Negev Highlands sites has established the connection of these settlements with the copper extraction centers in Wadi Arabah (**Fig. 1**).[1] Most significantly, a group of (almost exclusively handmade) vessels was made of clay which was tempered with minute fragments of crushed slag, characterized as copper smelting slag with the aid of metallographic and scanning electron microscopes. A production of these vessels in Wadi Arabah was proposed. Here we report the results of lead isotope analysis of slag inclusions in selected vessels from the Negev Highlands sites. The study provides additional evidence for the origin of this pottery in the Arabah mining districts, most likely Wadi Faynan.

Archaeological and Historical Context

Crushed slag is available in the form of extensive heaps at the Arabah smelting sites, and indeed slag tempering is a well-known phenomenon in this region in the Iron Age, both in domestic and in refractory ceramics.[2]

[1] Martin and Finkelstein 2013; Martin *et al.* 2013.
[2] Slatkine 1978: 114; Rothenberg 1980: 198; 1988: 201; Bachmann and Rothenberg 1980: 220; Glass 1988: 103, 109–111; Tite *et al.* 1990; Al-Shorman 2009: 203–223; Smith 2009: 365–417 [Wares A2, A2b and A6b], 572; 2014; Ben-Yosef 2010: 364, 674–676, 691, 699, 702–703.

The production of slag-tempered Negev Highlands vessels in Wadi Arabah is not only substantiated by the slag inclusions but also by certain rock and mineral fragments encountered in the fabrics. These include argillaceous shales, sandstones, coarse-very coarse angular quartz and, most importantly, intrusive and volcanic igneous rock fragments, mainly of felsic (granite, rhyolite) and, rarely, also of intermediate composition (diorite, andesite). This temper assemblage can be sourced to the southerly desert regions of southern Jordan, the eastern and southern Arabah and the southern Sinai, where rocks of the Precambrian crystalline basement of the Arabian-Nubian Shield and of the Paleozoic-Late Mesozoic continental environs outcrop extensively.[3] Combining geological with archaeological considerations, Wadi Arabah and, more precisely the copper districts of Wadi Faynan and Timna—the only focus of human activity in this region during the Iron IIA—remain the only viable candidate.[4]

It is futile to consider the option that crushed slag was transported to the Negev Highlands separately, to be added to locally procured clays.[5] Such a scenario would also require the 'import' of other tempering agents (see above), such as granitic rocks, for which a local Negev Highlands origin can be categorically excluded. Ethnographic studies have shown that in traditional pottery production, raw clay and temper are generally not transported over distances more than *ca*. 10 km.[6] Moreover, no evidence of pottery kilns has ever been recorded in the Negev Highlands.[7]

On the basis of shape repertoire—almost exclusively the most essential, open household types (mostly cooking vessels)—and production mode ("household production") it was argued that the handmade wares were not prone to be exchanged as trade items, but reached the Negev Highlands as a result of movement of people; it was brought by its owners, who "commuted" between the Negev Highlands and Wadi Arabah.

Both the Negev Highlands and the copper districts in Wadi Arabah were dominated by a nomadic milieu with tribal organization.[8] In the early Iron IIA

[3] For a detailed discussion and references, see Martin and Finkelstein 2013: 24–27; Martin *et al.* 2013: 3780–3781, 3786–3787.

[4] In the Iron IIA no evidence of settlement activity has been found on the southern Jordan plateau (Bienkowski 1992a, 1992b; Herr and Najjar 2001). A near settlement vacuum was encountered in the Sinai during the entire Iron II (Meshel 2002: 287; Yezerski 2003).

[5] Martin *et al.* 2013: 3787.

[6] Arnold 1985: 32–60; cf. Goren, Finkelstein and Na'aman 2004: 6–7.

[7] Haimann and Goren 1992: 149.

[8] Fantalkin and Finkelstein 2006; Tebes 2006; Levy 2009a; 2009b; Ben-Yosef 2010: 648–656; for the Wadi Fidan 40 cemetery, see Beherec, Najjar and Levy 2014.

pastoral nomadic groups in the Negev Highlands were in a process of sedentarization. Different lines of data suggest that at least some of these groups were involved in the Arabah copper production system—as miners and smelters. They may have also been involved in the transportation of copper, likely in ingot form, from the mines to northern urban centers and to the Mediterranean shore, where the copper could have been loaded onto ships. The latter possibility was raised by the chemical and isotopic analyses of ingots from a cargo comprising 54 loaf-shaped copper ingots retrieved from the Carmel coast, near Neve Yam, suggesting that the ingots were made of copper from Wadi Arabah ores, specifically those at Faynan.[9]

The Negev Highlands population was an integral part of a prosperous network propelled by the profitable copper market. This network included Wadi Arabah, which after the disruption of the Cypriot trade at the end of the Late Bronze Age rose as the main copper provider of the southern Levant, the Beer-sheba Valley, the Negev Highlands and the Mediterranean coast. The economic boom in the south stimulated the sedentarization process in the Negev Highlands.[10] Control of this network must have been one of the main goals of the Sheshonq I campaign to the southern Levant.[11]

In the period discussed here, the leading copper producer in the Arabah was the Wadi Faynan district, with the largest production site located at Khirbet en-Nahas.[12] On a smaller scale, mining and smelting activity also occurred in the Timna area,[13] arguably under the same production system and operated by the same groups.[14]

From a chemical analysis it emerged that the crushed slag added to the ceramic wares as tempering agent is manganese-rich and often contains an appreciable amount of phosphorus (P_2O_5).[15] This composition points to the Cambrian Dolomite-Limestone-Shale (DLS) unit as host rock for the mined

[9] Yahalom-Mack *et al.* 2014.

[10] A somewhat similar process can be identified in the Early Bronze Age III-Intermediate Bronze Age. For copper-related activities in this period in Wadi Faynan, see Levy *et al.* 2002. The contemporaneous subsistence and settlement pattern in the Negev Highlands is currently under investigation by our team (see already Dunseth 2013).

[11] Fantalkin and Finkelstein 2006; Finkelstein and Piasetzky 2008.

[12] E.g., Levy *et al.* 2005; 2014.

[13] E.g., Ben-Yosef 2010: 507–621; Ben-Yosef *et al.* 2012.

[14] Ben-Yosef 2010: 955–959.

[15] Martin *et al.* 2013: 3787–3788.

copper.[16] The DLS unit was the primary source for copper ore in Wadi Faynan (the local Burj formation), where it is widely exposed. In Timna, most of the copper-bearing Cambrian ores (the local Timna formation in particular) do not outcrop on the surface and, instead, the iron-rich sandstones of the Cretaceous Amir and Avrona formations were exploited for copper throughout all periods of activity. There is, however, limited evidence that during the Iron IIA the miners of the Timna Valley have also used the Cambrian manganese-rich ores (Layer I at Site 30; 9th century BCE).[17]

Materials and Methods

Four slag-tempered vessels, each from a different Negev Highlands site, were selected for lead isotope analysis (**Table 1**; for the location of sites, see **Fig. 1**; for the illustration of the vessels, see **Fig. 2**; for micrographs of fabric inclusions, see **Figs. 3–5**). This method is based on the fact that no isotope fractionation occurs during the copper smelting and re-melting processes. The lead isotope ratios thus serve as a 'fingerprint' of the mineral ore deposits, which can be compared with the end-product.[18]

Fig.	*Site*	*Reg. Nº*	*Vessel type*	*Reference*	*Fabric and inclusions*
2: 1	Refed	5/1	Cooking krater	Meshel and Cohen 1980: Fig. 3: 4	Silty, non-calcareous, micaceous clay + slag, quartz, sandstone, quartzite(?)
2: 2	Atar Haroʿa	84/2	Cooking(?) krater	Cohen 1970: Fig. 11: 13	Calcareous clay + slag, calcareous sand, quartz, vegetal temper
2: 3	Horvat Ritma	53/1	Lamp	Meshel 1977: Fig. 7: 10	Silty, non-calcareous, micaceous clay + quartz, granite, slag, andesite, feldspar, sandstone
2: 4	Ramat Matred	1216/1	Cooking krater	Cohen and Cohen-Amin 2004: Fig. 40: 13	Silty, non-calcareous, shaley clay + slag, quartz, limestone

Table 1.
Slag-tempered Negev Highlands vessels sampled for this study.

[16] Cf. Hauptmann 2007: 63–79; Ben-Yosef 2010: 96–104; Levy, Ben-Yosef and Najjar 2014: 12–21.
[17] Tite *et al.* 1990; Ben-Yosef 2010: 564–571, 901–903; Ben-Yosef *et al.* 2012.
[18] For discussion and bibliography, see Gale and Stos-Gale 1982; Hauptmann 2007: 31–38; Stos-Gale and Gale 2009; Pernicka 2014.

A 2–3 cm vessel fragment was crushed lightly and pieces of slag, visible to the naked eye, were collected. The slag fragments with some adhering clay were dissolved in a mixture of hydrofluoric and nitric acid and diluted for chemical and isotopic analysis. Lead concentration was determined using a quadrupole Inductively Coupled Plasma – Mass Spectrometer (ICP-MS, Agilent 7500cx). Following the separation of Pb in columns lead isotopic ratios were measured using Neptune plus multi-collector ICP-MS. Thallium was used for mass-bias correction. SRM-981 standard was run with the samples yielding the following values: $^{208/206}$Pb = 2.1660±3.6E^{-05}, $^{207/206}$Pb = 0.9145±1.4E^{-05}, $^{204/206}$Pb = 0.0591±6.0E^{-06}.

Results and Discussion

The results are presented in **Table 2** and are plotted in **Fig. 6** against the lead isotope ratios of the following ores and artefacts:

1 Ores from the DLS at Faynan (Burj formation), which was the main mineralization exploited during the Bronze and Iron Ages;[19]
2 Slag fragments from Khirbet en-Nahas, Wadi Dana and Feinan 5, which are dated to the Iron Age;[20]
3 Sandstone ores from Timna (the Cretaceous Amir and Avrona formations), which were the main Cu-hosting rocks exploited in this region;[21]
4 Pb-rich Mn nodules (Type B) from the Cambrian Timna Formation, which are equivalent to the DLS ores at Faynan. These do for their most part not outcrop in the Timna Valley and were generally not exploited in ancient times;[22]
5 Ingots from the Early to Intermediate Bronze Age metallurgical activity at Khirbet Hamra Ifdan, Wadi Faynan area;[23]
6 Late Bronze Age ingots from Timna;[24]
7 Ingots from the Carmel coast near Neve Yam.[25]

[19] After Hauptmann *et al.* 1992.
[20] Hauptmann *et al.* 1992.
[21] Gale *et. al.* 1990; Segev, Beyth and Bar-Matthews 1992; Hauptmann *et al.* 1992; Hauptmann 2007; Asael *et. al.* 2012.
[22] Ehrlich *et al.* 2004.
[23] Levy *et al.* 2002; Hauptmann *et al.* 2015.
[24] Yahalom-Mack *et al.* 2014.
[25] Yahalom-Mack *et al.* 2014.

Figure	*Site*	$^{208}Pb/^{206}Pb$	*e*	$^{207}Pb/^{206}Pb$	*e*	$^{204}Pb/^{206}Pb$	*e*
2: 1	Refed	2.1214	0.00002	0.8707	0.000006	0.0557	0.000002
2: 2	Atar Haroʿa	2.1184	0.00002	0.8691	0.000008	0.0556	0.000001
2: 3	Horvat Ritma	2.1192	0.00002	0.8699	0.000007	0.0557	0.000002
2: 4	Ramat Matred	2.1195	0.00003	0.8700	0.000009	0.0557	0.000002

Table 2.
Lead isotope ratios of slag from Negev Highlands vessels sampled for this study.

Figure 6 shows that the slag fragments from the Negev Highlands vessels are consistent with both Timna and Faynan copper ores. However, the major source of exploited ore from Timna (i.e., the Cretaceous Amir and Avrona formations) has a large scatter, while the Faynan ores plot very close to the sampled vessels. In addition, the vessels are fully consistent with the crescent-shaped ingots from the Early Bronze Age III and Intermediate Bronze Age metallurgical activity at Khirbet Hamra Ifdan, which utilized the DLS ores in this region, as well as with the slag from the Iron Age smelting sites at Faynan and with the ingots from Neve Yam. This correspondence and the archaeological data showing that the DLS ores were extensively exploited at Faynan during the Iron Age suggests that the slag in the Negev Highlands vessels likely originated in this region. Only eight samples from the DLS unit at Faynan were analyzed for their lead isotope ratios[26] and interestingly, most of them cluster slightly lower than slag and ingot samples. This difference may be bridged with additional analyses.

The particular member within the Timna formation which is geochemically equivalent to the Faynan DLS unit appears to be the lead-rich Type B manganese nodules within the Timna Formation. It should be, however, noted that the lead isotope ratios of these nodules are not identical to those of the Faynan DLS unit, as should be expected (**Fig. 6**). This difference may be an artifact of the small number of samples obtained from these units. Otherwise, this may point to a slight geochemical difference between these formations.

Since in the Timna Valley Cambrian manganese-rich ores of the Timna formation were used during the Iron IIA in addition to ores derived from Cretaceous sandstones (see above), theoretically they could have been the source of the slag in the Negev Highlands vessels. However, the perfect consistency of the lead isotope ratios of the slag temper with the Faynan ingots suggests that Faynan is indeed the source of the slag added to the Negev Highlands ceramics.

[26] Hauptmann *et al.* 1992.

This is supported by the geographical proximity of Wadi Faynan and the Negev Highlands and by the fact that in the Iron IIA the Faynan mines were exploited at an incomparably grander scale than those at Timna.

Conclusion

The results of the lead isotope analysis of slag fragments extracted from Negev Highlands vessels substantiate previous observations, based on archaeological considerations, petrographic analysis and mineralogy of the slags, regarding the connection between the Negev Highlands Iron Age settlements and the mining and smelting operations in Wadi Arabah. This suggests that Iron IIA sedentary activity in the Negev Highlands was related to the thriving metallurgical activities at Wadi Faynan. The economic boom in the southern desert regions stimulated the sedentarization process in the Negev Highlands. We can reconstruct a scenario in which some of the Negev Highlands pastoral nomadic groups periodically worked in the Wadi Arabah copper districts as miners and smelters, probably in order to supplement their subsistence economy.

Acknowledgments

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Figures

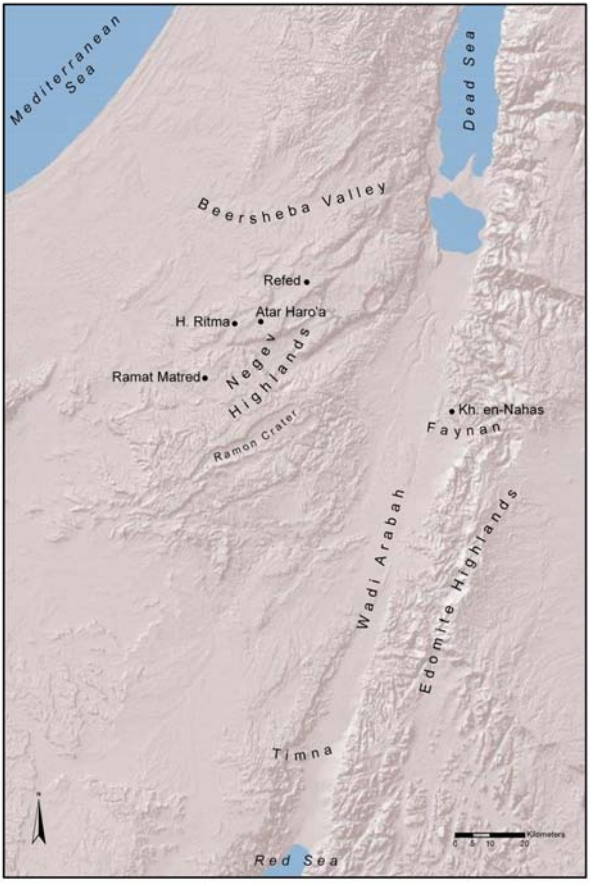

Fig. 1.
Map of southern Israel and Jordan showing the main regions and sites mentioned in the article.

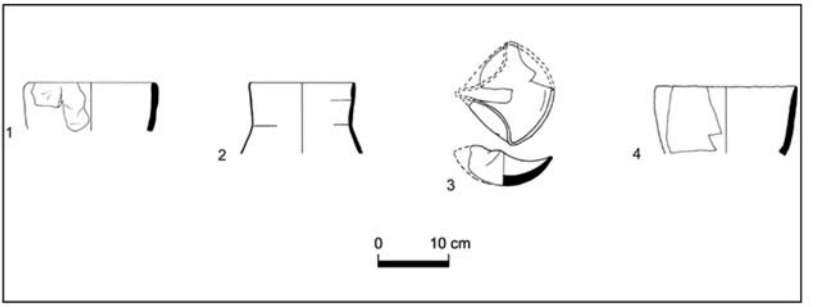

Fig. 2.
Selected slag-tempered Iron IIA Negev Highlands pottery, including handmade Negebite (cooking) kraters (1, 2, 4) and a wheel-made lamp (3). Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority and the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University.

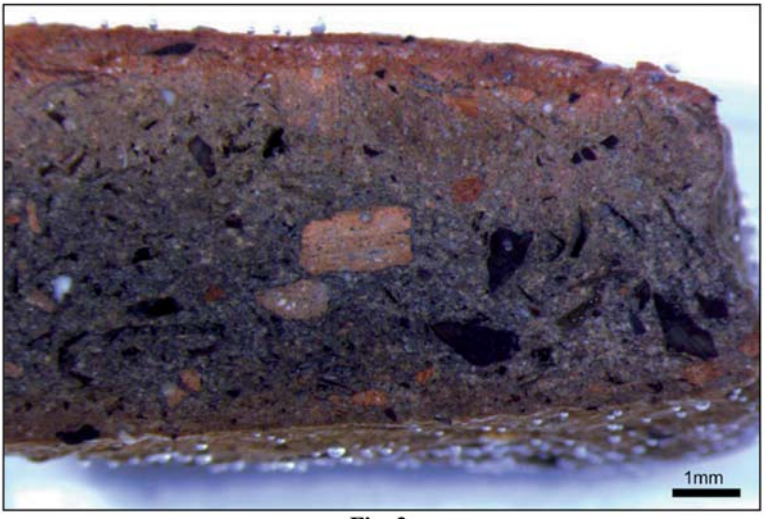

Fig. 3.
Fresh break of slag-tempered ware in the stereo-microscope (from vessel in **Fig. 2: 2**). The slag appears in the form of dark angular inclusions.

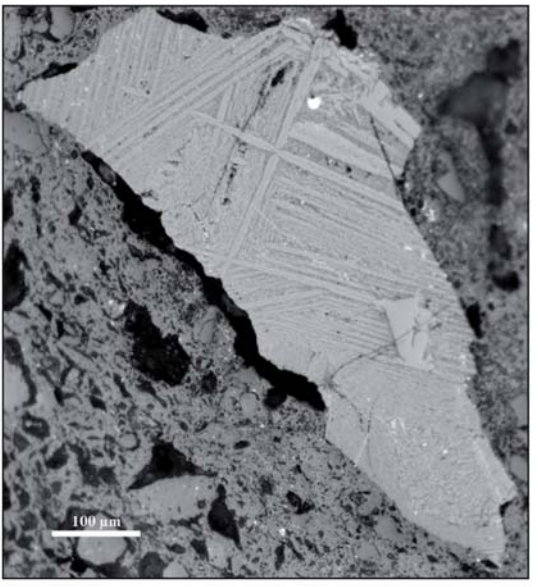

Fig. 4.
Micrograph (reflected light mode) showing fragment of crushed copper smelting slag added as temper into the clay mass of a handmade Negebite vessel (**Fig. 2: 4**).

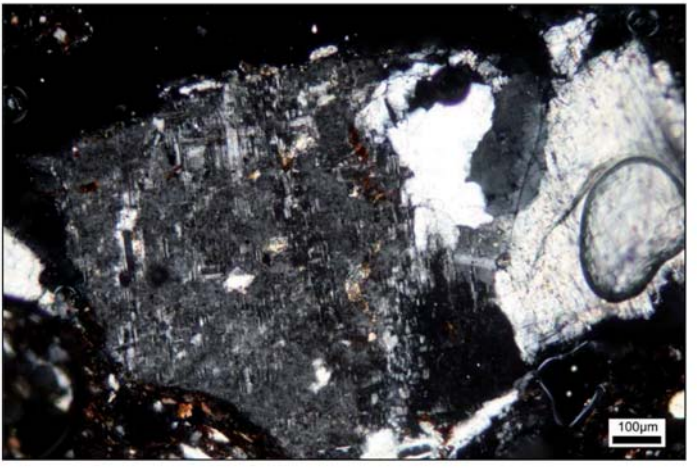

Fig. 5.
Micrograph (polarizing microscope, crossed polarized light) showing granite inclusion in the fabric of a lamp (**Fig. 2: 3**).

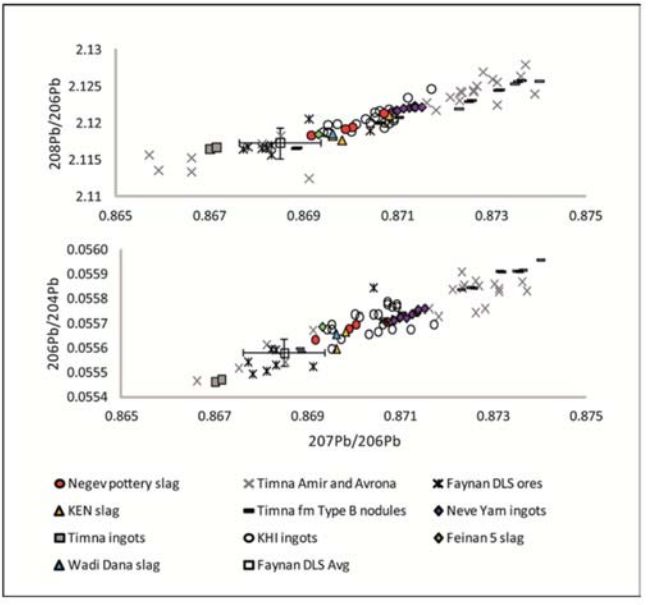

Fig. 6.
Lead isotope ratios of slag fragments analyzed for this study (**Table 2**), plotted against selected ores, ingots and slag from Wadi Arabah (for references, see text). KHI=Khirbet Hamra Ifdan, KEN=Khirbet en-Nahas.

The Origin and Evolution of the Saraph Symbol

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Abstract: **The Origin and Evolution of the Saraph Symbol**

The abundance of uraeus iconography in Late Bronze Age and Iron Age Canaan has led most scholars to interpret the saraph, a winged and/or burning serpent evoked in the Bible, as an Egyptian religious symbol borrowed by the Canaanites and thereafter integrated in the Yahwistic sphere. The strong affinity of the saraph symbol with a local serpent species, *Echis coloratus*, however, challenges this view. It reveals that the saraph was an indigenous Canaanite symbol later influenced in its representation by the Egyptian glyptic. Comparison of the biology of *Echis coloratus* and the literary source relating to the saraph suggests that the latter was once approached as an animal that guarded the copper mining areas of the Arabah and Sinai against access by unauthorized persons. By extension, it became the privileged symbol of copper metallurgy and its proximate spheres of influence. It is concluded that the essential relation between YHWH and the seraph is probably rooted in the metallurgical background of the god of Israel. Furthermore, the closer affinities of the properties of the uraeus with *Echis coloratus* rather than with the cobra species that symbolize it suggest that this Egyptian symbol had been borrowed from Canaan as early as the pre-Dynastic period before influencing it in the reverse direction in the Late Bronze Age.

Keywords: Saraph – *Echis coloratus* – Primeval Yahwism – Uraeus

Resumen: El origen y la evolución del símbolo del serafín

La abundancia de iconografías de uraeus en la Edad del Bronce Tardío y en la Edad del Hierro en Canaán, llevó a la mayoría de los investigadores a interpretar el serafín, una serpiente con alas y/o ardiente evocada en la Biblia, como un símbolo egipcio tomado prestado por los cananeos y luego integrado en la tradición yahvista. Sin embargo, la fuerte afinidad del símbolo del serafín con las especies de serpientes locales, *Echis coloratus*, desafía esta visión. Se demuestra que el serafín era un símbolo nativo cananeo, cuyas representaciones fueron influenciadas posteriormente por la escultura egipcia. La comparación de la biología del *Echis colorataus* con las fuen-

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tes literarias relacionadas con el serafín, sugiere que este último aparecía como un animal que cuidaba las zonas mineras de cobre en la Arabá y en el Sinaí contra el acceso de personas no autorizadas. Por lo tanto, se convirtió en el símbolo privilegiado del hierro metalúrgico y de sus esferas cercanas de influencia. Se concluye que el vínculo esencial entre Yahvé y el serafín radicaría probablemente en las fuertes raíces metalúrgicas del dios de Israel. A la vez, la estrecha afinidad entre las propiedades de uraeus y el *Echis coloratus*, más que con las especies de cobra que simboliza, sugiere que el símbolo egipcio fue tomado prestado de Canaán ya en el periodo Pre-Dinástico, antes de influenciar a este, a la inversa, en la Edad del Bronce Tardío.

Palabras clave: Serafín – *Echis coloratus* – Yahvismo primordial – uraeus

Introduction

The saraph is a winged creature closely associated with YHWH. In Isa 6:2–3, seraphim surround the celestial throne aloft and praise the deity by singing antiphonally. In Isa 14:29, the seraph, evoked again as a flying being (שָׂרָף מְעוֹפֵף), is a metaphor for the new king/leader of Israel, who is expected to come in the name of YHWH.[1] In 2 Kgs 18:4, we learn that a copper serpent, identified with the seraph evoked in Num 21:8–9, was worshipped by the Israelites at the Jerusalem temple. These observations led scholars to conclude that the Israelites viewed the flying serpent as a sacred animal and even as a symbol of YHWH and/or of his powers.[2]

Today, such an opinion has been discredited. Most contemporary scholars reject any essential relationship between YHWH and serpent beings.[3] Instead, they construe the saraph as one of many Canaanite / foreign religious elements that insinuated themselves into the folk religion of Israel through a syncretism defined as "pagan Yahwism."[4] The foreign origin of the Israelite

[1] Mettinger 1999: 743; Charlesworth 2010: 248.

[2] For references to early twentieth-century scholars who suggested this, see Farbridge 1970 [1923]: 75.

[3] For instance, Fabry (1998a: 359) concludes, "*Nowhere in ancient Israel do we find any possibility of developing a positive attitude towards serpents, as was the case in Egypt, Greece and Italy. There was certainly never any serpent cult, as in Mesopotamia and Egypt. This—more than inclusion of serpents in Ugaritic mythology—accounts for the fact that serpents were considered cultically unclean.*"

[4] de Savignac 1972: 322. Koh (1994: 97–98) suggests that the serpent cult at Dan and Beer Sheba also belongs to this folk layer of the Israelite religion. For Hendel (1999: 616), the copper snake worshipped in Jerusalem expressed Yahweh's healing power, which is itself a folk/practical dimension of the worship. Concerning the notion of "pagan Yahwism," see Stern (2001).

saraph is apparently justified by its removal (as a copper serpent) from the Temple, together with the pillars (מצבות) and the Asherah, during Hezekiah's religious reform (2 Kgs 18:4).[5] Furthermore, the serpent iconography in LBA and Iron Age Canaan displays strong Egyptian influence[6] especially characterized by an abundance of uraeus representations.[7] This uraeus symbol and the seraph have much in common:[8] both are burning and flying creatures that are acknowledged for their protective functions[9], and both are similarly associated with divine powers and kingship authority.[10]

The tenet of the saraph's idolatrous origin is, however, challenged by a specific statement, in the verse that refers to its removal from the Temple (2 Kgs 18:4), that the copper serpent / Nehushtan was manufactured by Moses at YHWH's explicit command (Num 21:6). Such a reference to the copper serpent in Numbers 21 has been justified as a trace of naturalization of this so-called pagan cult into the Yahwistic sphere.[11] If so, however, why did the author of 2 Kgs 18:4 both denouce the copper serpent and feel the need to mention such a "forgery" as an authentic feature? Furthermore, if the seraph / copper serpent was as easily identifiable with the Egyptian religion in Ancient

[5] From such a perspective, the Nehushtan became interpreted as a Jebusite deity, a Syro-Phoenician motif, a military non-Israelite emblem captured by David that became a trophy, an Egyptian symbol of royal sovereignty, an apotropaic Babylonian talisman, a Phoenician serpent staff of Eshmun, or a relic of local Canaanite fertility rites. See Fabry (1998b: 378–379) for an overview. Münnich (2005: 49) concludes, "*[...] The bronze serpent was primarily a symbol of a deity in competition with the cult of YHWH as it moved towards monotheism.*"

[6] Joines 1974: 63; Koh 1994: 110; Charlesworth 2010: 72–73.

[7] Concerning the Egyptian influence on representations of serpents in Canaan at the Iron Age, see Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 251, 257, 270–274. Keel (1977: 74–76; 92–95; 110–111) justifies this view by exhibiting a series of Israelite seals from the monarchic period that portray four-winged serpents clearly evoking an Egyptian uraeus. See also Morenz and Schorch 1997: 369–370; Görg 1978: 28–29; Koh 1994: 84–120.

[8] Joines 1974: 45–49; Mettinger 1999: 743. The homology between the seraph (burning serpent) evoked in Isa 14:29 and the uraeus is suggested by de Savignac 1972: 321; Day 1979: 150; Mettinger 199: 742–744, Hendel 1999: 744–747 and Joines 1974: 43. Mettinger (1999: 743) assumes that the Hyksos introduced the Egyptian uraeus in Canaan and naturalized it into a seraph. Even the name *saraph* is interpreted by Morenz and Schorch (1997: 376–367, 372–379) and by Wildberger (1991: 264) as a borrowing from two Egyptian terms: *srf,* denoting the act of burning, and *sfr,* evoking the Egyptian griffin.

[9] This comparison is developed by de Savignac 1972: 320; Rüterswörden 2004: 224, 227; Mettinger 1999: 743 and Morenz and Schorch 1997.

[10] See Keel and Uehlinger (1998: 251, 257, 270, 273) concerning the extensive use of the four-winged uraeus as a protective symbol in Judah and Israel as well as the entire Levant.

[11] Koh 1994: 11; Sweeney 2007: 403.

Israel as it is for today's scholars, why is this symbol so well integrated into the Yahwistic sphere in Isaiah (Isa 6:2–3; 14:29)? These questions prompt a quest for alternative explanations.

The simplest way to combine a profound Egyptian cultural influence on the serpent symbolism in Canaan[12] with an essential relation between the saraph and YHWH is to assume that the saraph was originally a Yahwistic symbol that was subsequently influenced in its representation by the uraeus.

Biological considerations may help us to verify this assumption. If the saraph is truly a Yahwistic symbol later influenced in its iconography by the Egyptian uraeus, one would expect the living species that inspired its representation to be indigenous to Canaan and abundantly encountered in the area where the cult of YHWH originated. Alternately, if the saraph was originally an Egyptian symbol, it should display characteristics fully compatible with one of the cobra species that is identified with the Egyptian uraeus.[13] Therefore, identifying the saraph-related serpent species may be of crucial importance in determining the origin of this symbol, its evolution, and the nature of its interaction with the Egyptian uraeus.

PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

The Biblical Sources

The Bible invokes the term "seraph" in various configurations: as a stand-alone noun, שרף (sing. Num 21:8, plur. Isa 6:2, 6) or as one modified by the adjective *flying*, as שרף מעופף (sing. Isa 14:29; 30:6). The term שרף is also a substantive that evokes a "burning serpent" (נחש שרף) (sing. Deut 8:15; plur. Num 21:6). The use of these diverse sources to identify a living related species is possible only if they all refer to the same reality. This point is

[12] From the extensive use of this Egyptian motif and its combination with others (falcons, scarabs, winged solar disk, and so on) in south Canaan at the Iron Age, Keel and Uehlinger (1998: 270) concluded that "*... the group of southern Palestinian bone seals suggests a strong fascination with Egyptian symbols of royalty and loyalty. The monarchy was represented by the falcon with spread wings, by the lion that strides oven an enemy in its path, by the "cartouche" with the king's name, and perhaps also by the tree flanked by uraei.*"

[13] The uraeus is generally identified as the Egyptian cobra (*Naja haje*), but its red coloration suggests to some scholars that it should be identified as the red spitting cobra (*Naja pallida*) or the Nubian cobra (*Naja nubiae*) (Golding 2013: 56). The serpent presumed to represent the uraeus in the Levant is identified by Keel and Uehlinger (1998: 273) as *Naja nigricollis*.

examined first.

- Parallels between mythical and living seraphim: In Num 21:6, the animals that bite the Israelites (living seraphim) are identified as burning serpents in v. 6. In the next verse, however, they are designated as *the* serpent. The singular definite article typically refers to an archetypal creature, the fantastic saraph, likened to the burning serpent.
- Parallel between substantive and nominal uses of saraph: a homology is stressed in Numbers 21 between saraph as a noun in v. 8 (שרף) and as a substantive in v. 6 (נחשים שרפים). This suggests that the two are equivalent and that the appellation saraph refers to its burning nature.
- Parallel with the copper serpent / Nehushtan: The replacement of saraph in Num 21:8 with the copper serpent (נהש חנתושח) in the next verse reveals the homology of the two. This homology should be extended to the *Nehushtan*, another appellation used in 2 Kgs 18:4 for the copper serpent that was worshiped at the Jerusalem Temple.[14]
- Parallel with the flying saraph: The seraphim in Isa 6:2 are creatures that use a pair of their wings for flying. The verbal expression יְעוֹפֵף that specifies that their motion in this verse finds a correspondence in the appellation of this creature as a flying seraph (שרף מעופף) in Isa 14:29 and 30:6.[15]

These observations reveal that the various designations of the saraph all refer to the same reality.[16]

The saraph as a living serpent

Serpents that fly and breathe fire are fantastic creatures. Therefore, it is necessary to evaluate the extent to which they have a precise living counterpart.

- Coexistence with living species: The saraph is sometimes mentioned in the company of living creatures. In Deut 8:15, for example, it is associated with scorpions. In Isa 14:29, the flying seraph is linked to a living serpent

[14] Also Blenkinsopp (2000: 225) suggests a parallel between the seraphim in Isaiah 6 and the Nehushtan in the temple: "*It is tempting to associate this aspect of the vision scenario with the cult object in the Jerusalem temple known as Nehushtan [...]. This would at any rate explain the altar and the hot coals [in the Isaiah 6 vision], hardly consistent with the primary image of a throne room or audience hall.*"

[15] This parallel is suggested by Keel (1977: 74–110) on the basis of winged serpent motifs on seals from Israel in the monarchic period.

[16] Earlier scholars proposed a similar approach toward deducing the serpentine nature of the seraphim in Isaiah 6 (Day 1979: 150; Ornan 2012: 18; Rüterswörden 2004: 224) and alluded to the homology between the seraphim and the Nehushtan (de Savignac 1972: 322; Day 1979: 151).

species called *ṣepaʿ*. In Isa 30:6, it is mentioned in association with another living serpent, called an *epʿeh*, that is known for its dangerous venom (Isa 59:5). Such a collection of references indicates that the seraph in these verses denotes a living species.

- Serpent attack: Num 21:6–9 describes the attack by burning serpents in highly naturalistic terms. Nothing in the Israelites' attitude indicates that they have suddenly encountered a frightening mythic creature. They only complain about the lethal consequences of the snakebite, thereby confirming their view of the "burning serpents" as live serpents.
- Habitat: We learn in Deut 8:15 that the seraph is found in a dreadful arid wilderness. In Isa 30:6, it is described as the denizen of stony mountainous areas characterized by narrow canyons (בארץ צרה וצוקה). Such a geographical restriction is typical of the habitat of a living species of serpents.

These observations indicate that the biblical term "seraph" denotes both a fantastic creature and a real species living in the stony mountains of the arid desert that covers the southernmost part of Canaan. Their conflation reveals that the properties of the fantastic seraph should correspond to those of a living species.

Non-Biblical Literary Sources

Flying serpents are also mentioned in an Assyrian chronicle relating the Esarhaddon expedition in Egypt (671 BCE).[17] This source, though fragmentary, speaks of dangerous flying serpents that threatened the Assyrian troops en route to Egypt:

> *Four miles of land I travelled over alum, muṣû stones [and other stones] four miles of land, a journey of two days, I stepped repeatedly on two-headed snakes [...whose touch] is deadly, but continued; four 'miles' of land, a journey of [two days] – yellow snakes spreading wings (but continued); four miles of land, a journey of two days: in sum 16 miles of land, a journey of eight days, I marched very much [...]*.[18]

The text evokes an arid and inhospitable region not far from Egypt, probably in northwestern Arabia, Arabah, Negev, or Sinai. Herodotus (III, 107, 109) also refers to the existence of winged serpents in the geographical area that he defines as Arabia:

[17] This text is a series of fragments (K 3082, K 3086, Sm 2027) reported by Borger 1956: 111–113.

[18] Translated by Radner 2007: 354–355.

> *The trees which bear the frankincense are guarded by winged serpents, small in size and of varied colors, whereof vast numbers hang about every tree. They are of the same kind as the serpents which invade Egypt and there is nothing but the smoke of styrax which will drive them from the trees. [...] These winged serpents are nowhere to be seen except in Arabia where they all congregate together. This makes them appear so numerous.*[19]

Neither Esarhaddon nor Herodotus calls these creatures "seraph." Their testimony, however, although independent of the Israelite tradition, displays many affinities with it:

- Both the seraph and the creatures referenced by Esarhaddon and Herodotus are flying serpents.
- The flying serpents mentioned by Esarhaddon and Herodotus live in arid regions. The seraph is also encountered in arid areas (Deut 8:15, Isa 30:6).[20]
- Esarhaddon's chronicle evokes the flying serpents as genuine living serpents. Herodotus also defines them as genuine organisms that reproduce sexually (III, 109) and even describes a site where their bones accumulate (II, 75). If so, exactly as in the biblical sources, the flying serpent is a fantastic creature closely related to a real serpent that inhabits a desert area.
- Herodotus (III, 109) identifies the flying serpent as a viper: "*The Arabian winged serpents do indeed seem to be numerous; but that is because (although there are vipers in every land) these are all in Arabia and are found nowhere else.*" Also in the Bible, the saraph seems to be closely related to the *ṣepaʿ* and *epʿeh* snakes (Isa 14:19 and Isa 30:6, respectively), which are generally identified as viper species.[21]
- Herodotus refers to flying serpents that protect the incense trees of southern Arabia (III, 107). The Israelite copper serpent (conflated with the saraph) is also closely related to incense and incense burning.[22]

[19] Translated by Godley 1920.

[20] In Numbers 21, the Israelites' complaint about the extremely arid desert (devoid of food and water, v 5) immediately before their encounter with the living saraph (v 6) confirms the predilection of this serpent species for arid desert.

[21] See *HALOT* 1: 79 and 3:1049 for *epʿeh* and *ṣepaʿ* respectively. However, Rüterswörden (2004: 225) assumes that the seraph should not be totally identified with these serpents; it rather designates another species.

[22] This is revealed in 2 Kgs 18:4, where Hezekiah "*[...] broke the copper serpent which Moses had made; for till this time the children of Israel burnt incense to it—it was called Nehushtan.*"

These parallels suggest that Esarhaddon, Herodotus, and the biblical sources refer to the same fantastic creature and its closely related living species. Therefore, one may use them to determine which species of serpent should be identified with the saraph.

Identifying the saraph species

Some scholars have suggested that that the flying serpents reported by Esarhaddon and, especially the bones described by Herodotus, refer to fossils species that are observable in mountainous areas.[23] This interpretation, however, is hardly compatible with the explicit mention, in these sources, of these creatures' dangerous venom. Other scholars attempt to identify the flying serpent among living species of flying reptiles.[24] This proposition also fails because no such species is encountered in the Near East. Consequently, the sources that evoke this creature need to be reexamined.

Geographic Habitat

The account of the mass attack by burning serpents in Num 21:6–9 indicates that this species is abundantly encountered in the region between Mount Hor and the Red Sea (Num 21:4), corresponding to the Arabah Valley and its surrounding mountains.[25] The most common venomous serpent in this area is a species of viper, *Echis coloratus*. As shown in **Fig. 1**, two subspecies of *Echis coloratus* coexist in Canaan. One, *Echis coloratus terraesanctae*, inhabits the Negev and the mountainous areas around the Jordan Valley and the Dead Sea. The other, *Echis coloratus coloratus,* is a reddish morph encountered *only* in the Arabah Valley and its surrounding mountains, as well as in southern Sinai (**Fig. 2**).[26] If *Echis coloratus* is the living counterpart of the saraph / flying serpent, both should share the same habitat.

[23] See Radner (2007) and ref. therein.

[24] For review of the living species identified with the flying serpent, see Braun 2004: 272–273; Rollinger 2004: 929–930.

[25] The mention in Num 21:5 of an arid country devoid of water indicates that the account relates to the Israelites' walking not in the Arabah Valley itself (a savanna with sources of water) but in the surrounding stony mountains, another favored habitat of the living saraph. The proposal of this itinerary, probably running west of the Arabah Valley, is justified by evidence that the Arabah belonged to the territory of Edom, which the Israelites were enjoined against entering (Num 20:18–21).

[26] Babocsay 2003: 29–30. In Northern Arabia and southward at least as far as Jeddah, *Echis coloratus* is dark steel-blue with orange blotches. The reddish morph is specifically encountered in the Arabah and Sinai areas.

According to Herodotus, Arabia is the exclusive habitat of the flying serpent (III, 109). Its association with trees that were traditionally cultivated for incense in mountains of Yemen indicates that this serpent is found even in the southernmost part of the peninsula. Herodotus also mentions its presence in the mountainous parts of the eastern desert of Egypt: "*In the spring the winged snakes come flying from Arabia towards Egypt but are met in the gorge (near Buto) by the birds called Ibis who foil their entrance and destroy them all*" (II, 75). This text reveals that the flying serpent is rarely (= in spring only) observed in the eastern desert of Egypt and its habitat is bounded to the northwest by the northern part of the Nile Valley. By extension, the flying serpent should also inhabit the area between Arabia and the northeastern Egyptian desert: the Sinai and the Arabah Valley.

This geographic habitat of the flying serpent corresponds precisely to that of *Echis coloratus*, which inhabits the area from Yemen / Dhofar in the south to the northwestern parts of the Arabian Peninsula. This serpent also abounds in Arabah and Sinai (especially the mountainous southern part of this peninsula) and is rarely observed in the eastern part of the Egyptian desert. This area marks the western bound of the habitat of this species, which excludes the Nile Valley and the western Egyptian desert.[27] Therefore, the territory of the flying serpent and the geographic range of *Echis coloratus* correspond perfectly.

Biology

Both the biblical authors and Herodotus provide details about the mode of life of the saraph / flying serpent. This allows us to compare them with the biology of *Echis coloratus*.

- Rocky habitat: According to Isa 30:6, the saraph lives in a rocky / mountainous environment. Esarhaddon also reports that the flying serpent attack occurred during an eight-day journey in a stony, arid area.[28] Herodotus and Theophrastus confirm that the flying serpents inhabit mountainous / ravine areas.[29] Similarly, the *Echis coloratus* lives exclusively in difficult terrain.

[27] Babocsay 2003: 30.

[28] Radner 2007: 355.

[29] Theophrastus (*Hist. Plant*, ix, 6) confirms this by describing the flying serpent as a poisonous serpent that lives on trees growing in ravines (reference reported by Wiseman 1972: 109). The bone deposit mentioned by Herodotus is located in a mountainous area east of the Nile Valley, which represents the westernmost bound of this serpent's habitat: "*This place, where the backbones lay scattered, is where a narrow mountain pass opens into a great plain which adjoins the plain of Egypt. Winged serpents are said to fly from Arabia at the beginning of spring, making for Egypt; but the ibis birds encounter the invaders in this pass and kill them*" (II, 75).

This characteristic restricts its geographical distribution to the mountainous / rocky areas of Arabia, Arabah, Sinai, and the eastern Egyptian desert.

- Arboreal habitat: Both Herodotus and Theophrastus specify that the flying serpents live in trees. This characteristic is uncommon. Serpents may exploit the shady environment of bushes and small trees for nesting and ambushing, especially under arid conditions, but they rarely climb them. However, *Echis coloratus* is specifically encountered *within* desert bushes, where it ambushes its prey (**Fig. 3**).[30] This is another singularity that specifically links the flying serpent with *Echis coloratus*.
- Bird predation: *Echis coloratus* is one of the rare serpents that preys on birds.[31] In the Arabah valley, birds even constitute the main nourishment of *Echis coloratus coloratus*, which ambushes migrant passerines that pause by alighting on bushes and trees. This explains why this serpent spends most of its time in trees and bushes, especially in this region. In the mythical mind, the capture of birds such as migratory passerines indicates that the predator knows a great deal about flying. Furthermore, serpents swallow their prey whole, meaning that *Echis coloratus* ingests not only the birds' flesh but also their inedible feathers. This feature encourages the identification of this species with its avian prey and their flying motion. Even more, the ingestion of birds is a very long and difficult thing for a serpent to do: when the serpent presses on the bird's thorax in an attempt to swallow, it causes the bird's wings to open. Accordingly, the head of *Echis coloratus* may sometimes be observed as flanked by a pair of open wings until the bird is completely swallowed. As shown in **Fig. 4**, this transforms *Echis coloratus* into a temporarily winged serpent.

Venom Characteristics

Flying serpents are considered threatening creatures. Herodotus (II, 75) reports that the Egyptians worshipped Ibis birds because they protect the Nile Valley from serpent invasion. In Num 21:6–9, too, the Israelites complain about being killed by the venom of the saraph. This invites us to compare the

[30] Yosef, Roman and Zduniak (2012). In the southern Arabah region, this species is especially associated with the desert bush *Salvadora persica*. See Tsairi and Bouskila 2004.

[31] Concerning singularities of the regime of *Echis coloratus* in comparison with other species of the *Echis* genus, see Richards, Barlow and Wüster (2012). This characteristic corresponds to Herodotus' mention of flying serpent from in the eastern Egyptian desert especially observable in the spring. This season is the period of bird migration, in which *Echis coloratus* finds its prey in abundance.

effect of the venom of *Echis coloratus* with that of the burning serpents mentioned in Num 21:6–9.

- Burning effect: Two main types of serpent venom coexist in the wild: neurotoxic and hemotoxic. Neurotoxic venoms produce muscle paralysis accompanied by a cold and heavy sensation that spreads gradually from the bite wound. Hemotoxic venoms cause internal bleeding and rapid cell necrosis, stimulating a general inflammatory reaction due to the massive release in blood of cellular components. They provoke a sensation of intense burning that rapidly diffuses from the bite wound.[32] Such a distinction between the two types of venoms apparently existed in ancient Hebrew.[33] From the etymology of saraph (שרף = to burn), many scholars have deduced that the appellation "burning serpent" (נחשים שרפים) evokes the burning / fiery sensation provoked by the venom.[34] The venom of *Echis coloratus* also falls into the hemotoxic category; it stimulates an intense sensation of burning that rapidly diffuses from the bite wound.
- Relative lethality: The incidence of mortality caused by seraph bite is described as follows: "*And YHWH sent among the people the fiery serpents* (הנחשים השרפים)*, they bit the people* (העם) *so that died much people of Israel* (עם רב מישראל)" (Num 21:6). Whereas the second section of verse 6 describes the people at large (העם) as having been bitten by the seraph, the third section reports that the venom kills only some of them. This indicates that the venom of the saraph is not universally lethal. Similarly, the venom of *Echis coloratus* is moderately lethal, killing about 30% of bitten individuals.[35]
- Treatment: Jeremiah mentions two types of serpents: those whose venom may be neutralized by charms (לחש) and others whose venom resists such treatment (Jer 8:17). This distinction reveals an empirical knowledge about efficiency of charms and other artifices against the venom of some

[32] Warrell 2010: 79.

[33] This is indicated by the two nouns that denote serpent venom: חמה (literally, the *hot*, Deut 32:24, 33; Pss 58:15; 140:4), which evokes the burning sensation, and מרורה (= the *bitter*, Job 20:14), which corresponds to the very bitter taste that the neurotoxins of the venom leave in the mouth, occasioned by the abnormal reflux of bile and other digestive secretions due to the effect of neurotoxins on stomach smooth muscles.

[34] *HALOT* 3: 1360; Wyatt 2009: 32; Charlesworth 2010: 16, 330.

[35] Porath *et al*. 1992; Benbassat and Shalev 1993. Among the species of the *Echis* genus, *Echis coloratus* is considered the least dangerous. This singularity is apparently related to its specialization in ambushing and capturing small passerines, for which highly toxic and poisonous venom is not necessary. See Richards Barlow and Wüster (2012).

serpent species but not of others. Indeed, charms and similar features may do much to mitigate physiological stress among victims of snakebite, even preventing the lethal consequences of the venom in some cases.[36] The "miraculous" healing of the Israelites by the copper serpent in Numbers 21 should be credited to such stress-mitigating treatment. The venom of *Echis coloratus* kills small passerines and mammals almost instantaneously but affects humans more slowly.[37] Death is usually consequential to heart failure induced by the rapid diffusion of the venom and its attendant physiological shock. This means that, exactly as with the burning serpents in Numbers 21, mortality by *Echis coloratus* may be mitigated effectively by lowering the victims' level of stress.

This series of observations reveals a strong correspondence between the characteristics of the seraph / flying serpent and those of *Echis coloratus*. These two creatures display exactly the same geographic range and the same singularities of habitat. The venom of both has a similar burning effect. Even the flying quality of the seraph finds a correspondence in the bird predation that characterizes *Echis coloratus*, especially the subspecies that inhabits the Arabah and Sinai. Such an affinity with the saraph / flying serpent is not observed among any other species serpent in the Arabah.[38] Hence the seraph should be identified with *Echis coloratus* and, more particularly, with the *Echis coloratus ssp. coloratus* subspecies that inhabits the Arabah Valley and southern Sinai.

[36] The efficacy of such treatment for viper species living in this geographical area is well known. It efficiently counteracts the effect of sarafotoxin, a peptide identified in the venom of *Atractaspis engaddensis* and many *Echis* species that stimulates an abnormal vasoconstriction of the coronary arteries, inducing death by heart attack. See Warrell 2010: 79.

[37] Gilon, Shalev and Benbassat (1989). More rarely, death may occur within a few days, following complications (mainly renal) of the internal bleeding.

[38] The other snakes living in this area are the desert horned viper *cerastes cerastes* (and related species such as *cerastes vipera*) and the black desert cobra, *walterinnesia aegyptia*. None of these serpents, however, displays a significant level of similarity with the seraph or the flying serpent in geographic range, biology, and venom effect. The viper *Pesudocerastes persicus fieldi* also ambushes its prey—probably birds—on bushes but is mainly encountered in the Negev and not in the the Arabah Valley.

Consequences of the Saraph / *Echis Coloratus* Homology

The Question of Egyptian Influence

The Egyptian influence on the glyptic of winged serpents, especially apparent in Canaan in the Late Bronze/Iron Age, led most scholars to assume that the saraph symbol is of Egyptian origin (see Introduction). The foregoing findings, however, urge us to reconsider this assumption. Given that *Echis coloratus* is not encountered in the Nile Valley, its affinity with the saraph lends itself to two possible explanations: (i) the saraph is an Egyptian symbol that became identified with the Canaanite species *Echis coloratus* in the course of its naturalization; (ii) the saraph is a purely Canaanite symbol whose figuration was influenced by the Egyptian glyptic in the Late Bronze Age.

Herodotus reports having visited the site east of the Nile Valley where the invasion of flying serpents *from Arabia* is stopped annually (II, 75; III, 109). If so, the Egyptians regarded the flying serpent as a foreign creature. This evidence is hardly compatible with the belief that the Israelites borrowed the saraph from the Egyptian religion. The Egyptians' memory of the foreign origin of the flying serpents also suggests that the saraph symbol was already in use in Canaan *before* it was represented as an Egyptian uraeus in the Late Bronze Age. Accordingly, the biblical sources that typically identify the saraph as *Echis coloratus* probably refer to a south Canaanite tradition anchored in the Middle Bronze Age, if not earlier.

The seraph is also represented as a copper serpent, a cultic artifact encountered almost exclusively in Canaan.[39] It is neither figured as a cobra-like serpent nor inspired any more by the Egyptian glyptic. This means that in Canaan, the influence of the Egyptian glyptic on the saraph symbol coexisted in the Late Bronze Age with its indigenous representation as copper serpent. The latter form is encountered especially in sanctuaries and even in the holy of holies, indicating that the indigenous representation of the saraph maintained its religious importance alongside the Egyptian cultural influence.

[39] Koh 1994: 113–114; Münnich 2005: 39–41. Copper serpents have been identified at Meggido, Tel Mevorakh, Sichem, Gezer, and Hazor from the Late Bronze Age. All are similar in shape and size (about 10–20 cm) and all were unearthed in the sacred temple area. In Temple H at Hazor, two copper serpents (the first from Stratum IB [1400-1300 BCE] and the other from Stratum IA [1300–1200]), were unearthed from the holy of holies. Koh (*Snake cult*, p. 115) concludes: "*Taking all these factors in consideration, it is apparent that the metal snake symbols are strictly a southern Levantine development, more precisely a Canaanite heritage.*"

Essential Relationship between YHWH and the Saraph

The identification of the saraph as an authentic Canaanite symbol, along with its proximity to YHWH, suggests once again that this symbol may have belonged to the Yahwistic religious sphere from its very origin. This hypothesis is strengthened by the mention of YHWH as "originating" in Seir (Arabah Valley) and Sinai (Deut 33:2), the specific habitat of *Echis coloratus ssp. coloratus*. The essential link between the seraph and YHWH is confirmed by their shared association with metallurgy.

- The living saraph and areas of copper production: Due to its preference for rocky environments, *Echis coloratus* is encountered mainly in the mountainous parts of the Arabah and Sinai, where copper is mined (**Fig. 1**). The linkage with copper is reinforced by the reddish color of the morph specifically encountered in the southern Arabah and southern Sinai (**Fig. 2**),[40] which evokes the ruddy metal. The creature's mysterious motion on the rocks may easily be associated with the serpentine motion of liquid metal on solid ground, and its burning venom even recalls contact with copper in its molten state.
- The saraph as a symbol of metallurgy: The representation of the seraph as a copper serpent spontaneously associates it with copper metallurgy. Such a kinship is supported by the appellation of this artifact as *Nehushtan* (2 Kgs 18:4), a term stressing the semantic proximity of copper (נחש) and serpent (נחשת). It is also revealed by the association of the copper serpent found in the tent-sanctuary of Timna with the cultic metallurgy that took place there.[41]

[40] Mendelssohn 1965: 185–187; Babocsay 2003. This reddish morph is apparently an adaptation to the reddish color of the sandstone of the mountains in this area.

[41] See Rothenberg (1988: 147 and pl. 11) concerning the copper serpent from Timna. A metallurgical casting workshop with two furnaces has been identified at Locus 109 of Site 200 (the Timna sanctuary area). This workshop was active in the Egyptian period (Stratum III) and the "Midianite" period of the tent-sanctuary (Rothenberg 1988: 192–198). The nexus of cultic metallurgy and the copper serpent is confirmed by the discovery of a similar copper serpent in a metallurgical cultic context in the copper production area of Bithnah, Masāfī, Salūt and Sarūq al-Hadīd, in the Oman peninsula area (Benoist *et al*. 2015). Exactly as in Timna, the sanctuary (apparently operative between 1100 and 650 BCE) displays traces of cultic metallurgy from its earliest phase. Just as in 2 Kgs 18:4, the profusion of incense burners, especially identified at Bithnah, indicates that the copper serpent was worshipped with incense. As stressed by Benoist (2007: 50–51), affinities between this copper-serpent metallurgical cult and that of Timna are confirmed by the stylistic parallels between the painted ware found in the site and the Qurrayah

- YHWH and metallurgy: YHWH's association with metallurgy is revealed by his origin in areas that are known for the mining and production of copper: the mountains of Seir (Judg 5:4; Deut 33:2) near Punon; Mount Paran (Deut 33:2, Hab 3:3), located near the Wadi Abu Kusheiba mining area[42]; Teman (Hab 3:3), probably the southern Arabah Valley including the Timna mining district; and the mountainous area of Sinai (Deut 3:3; Judg 5:5), comprising the mining district of Serabit el Khadim (**Fig. 1**). Such a connection is confirmed by Zech 6:1, which states explicitly that YHWH dwells in *mountains of copper*.[43] This metallurgical background is further reinforced by the assumed pre-Israelite worship of YHWH among the Canaanite metalworkers (the Kenites),[44] the volcanic theophany of YHWH at Sinai (a typical characteristic of gods of metallurgy in antiquity),[45] the likening of YHWY's *kabod* with the radiance of molten metal,[46] and the deity's metallurgical modus operandi.[47] All this evidence implies that YHWH was acknowledged in Canaan for his essential relation with metallurgy before he was worshipped by the Israelites.

The convergence of these observations reveals an essential relation between the saraph and YHWH through copper metallurgy. The continuity of the serpent figuration as a religious symbol is evidenced in Canaan from the Chalcolithic to the Persian periods.[48] Accordingly, if in Canaan the serpent is related to copper metallurgy from the very origin of this activity (Chalcolithic) and if it is also essentially related to YHWH, the deity with strong metallurgical background, we may conclude that the cult of the god of Israel is rooted in the early development of copper metallurgy in Canaan.[49]

"Midianite" pottery found in northwestern Arabia, northern Sinai, the Arabah, and the Negev at this time (see Rothenberg 1998; Tebes 2007: 85; Ben-Yosef *et al*. 2012: 62–63).

[42] According to Deut 1:1, Paran is explicitly located in the Arabah Valley. This location probably corresponds to the outfall of Nahal Paran, the most important wadi in the Negev.

[43] The unrealistic description of the Promised Land as a mining area (a land where copper and iron are abundantly found—Deut 8:9) also finds justification in the representation of YHWH's dominion as a metallurgical area. See Amzallag 2013: 157–158.

[44] McNutt 1990: 237–244; Blenkinsopp 2008: 133–136; Mondriaan 2011.

[45] Amzallag 2014.

[46] Amzallag 2015a.

[47] Amzallag 2013.

[48] Joines (1974: 63) concludes that, in Canaan, "*The bronze serpent was a cultic symbol, and its use dated from at least the end of the Chalcolithic Age to the Persian period.*" This is confirmed by Koh 1994: 110–116.

[49] Amzallag 2016.

The Israelites' sin in Numbers 21

At first sight, the sin that brought on the attack of the burning serpents in Numbers 21 (v. 6) is the Israelites' indictment of Moses for having taken them from the fertile land of Egypt "to die in the wilderness" (v. 5). However, the Israelites express a similar protestation before (Ex 14:11–12, 16:3; Num 14:2, 16:3, 20:4) without precipitating a similar reaction of divine anger. In these precedents, the complaint is answered by mention of the power of YHWH against the Egyptians (Ex 14:13) and his ability to supply food (Ex 16:4) and water (Num 20:4). At worst, the punishment for such a grievance is none other than its fulfillment: the "complaining generation" is condemned to expire in the wilderness instead of conquering the Promised Land (Num 14:35, 26:65). For this reason, the serpent attack in Num 21:6–9 can hardly be interpreted as a divine reaction to the complaint voiced. If so, it was probably triggered by a different sin that Numbers 21 silences prudently.

The serpent attack occurs immediately after the Israelites are instructed to circumvent the land of Edom from the south (Num 21:4) after the Edomites deny them access (Num 20:18, 20–21). This interdiction against Israelite entry to the land of Edom (or at least some of it) is reiterated in Deut 2:1–5:

> *[1]Then we turned and journeyed into the wilderness in the direction of the Red Sea, as YHWH told me. And for many days we compassed Mount Seir. [2]Then YHWH said to me: [3]You have been compassed this mountain long enough. Turn northward* (פנו לכם צפונה) *[4]and command the people, "You are about to pass by the border of your brothers, the people of Esau, who live in Seir. They will be afraid of you [but] be very careful* (ונשמרתם מאוד)*. [5]Do not contend with them, for I will not give you any of their land, no, not so much as for the sole of the foot to tread on, because I have given Mount Seir to Esau as a possession.*

Here we learn that this injunction is not simply an expression of Edomite hostility to the Israelites but a divine interdiction. The Israelites are also warned about the hazard that inheres to entering the land that YHWH has given to Edom (v 4). The nature of the peril is not specified but it probably refers to none other than the burning serpents evoked in Numbers 21. Immediately before the attack, the biblical account reports that the Israelites became impatient (ותקצר נפש העם בדרך) due to the arduous detour attending to this interdiction (Num 21:4). We may conclude, therefore, that the serpent attack is a

reaction to the Israelites' attempt to shorten their journey by crossing the forbidden areas of the land of Edom.

According to Numbers 21, the serpent attack occurs after the Israelites leave Mount Hor (v. 4) and before they reach Oboth (v. 10). In Numbers 33, however, where the Israelites' itinerary is recapitulated, two additional stops, Zalmonah and Punon, are mentioned between Mount Hor and Oboth (Num 33:41–43). If their omission in Numbers 21 is intentional, we may guess that at least one of them is closely related to the Israelite sin that precipitated the serpent attack.

In the early Iron Age, Punon was the most important site of copper mining and smelting activity in the Arabah. If the incident occurred there (or in one of the many other stations of copper production in its vicinity), as scholars have suggested,[50] we may deduce that (i) the invasion of the forbidden area of copper production is the hidden sin of the Israelites; (ii) it is the burning serpents that prevent access to this forbidden mining area in the name of YHWH. The use of burning serpents as guardians of copper mines in Numbers 21 is echoed by Herodotus' mention (III, 107) of the flying serpents that guarded the precious incense trees in southern Arabia. It also coheres with the guardianship of mineral resources and treasures that is traditionally attributed to the dragon in antiquity.[51]

The Israelites' sin is now clear: it is none other than their incursion into the forbidden metallurgical areas of the Arabah Valley, which are guarded by saraph serpents at YHWH's bidding. This conclusion explains why the true nature of this sin is so carefully silenced by the author of Numbers 21. The incident of the burning serpents occurred after the Sinai covenant transformed the sons of Jacob into the people of YHWH. As such, Israel expects to be authorized to cross, if not to inherit, the region where the cult of YHWH originated: the Arabah mountains (Seir, Paran, Timna). Accordingly, the explicit exclusion of the Israelites from these areas, by means of the serpent attack,

[50] More than a century ago, Lagrange (1900: 284–285) already localized the attack of the burning serpents at Punon: "*It could be added that when E[lohist] refers to a very difficult region infested with snakes where Moses made a serpent of brass or bronze (Num. 21.9), there is an unsought for, but nonetheless striking, coincidence with the situation of Araba and Faynan.*" This opinion is defended by some recent scholars, e.g., Sawyer 1986: 156 and Tebes 2009: 108. Other scholars suggest, however, that this story carries the memory of an incident at Timna. See Milgrom 1990: 175; Charlesworth 2010: 17, 327; Maneschg 1981: 157; Fabry 1998b: 380. The latter opinion is supported mainly by the discovery of a copper serpent at the early Iron Age stratum of the Timna sanctuary.

[51] Grottanelli 1987: 433–434.

reveals that the Sinai covenant has not eradicated the primeval covenant of YHWH with the metalworkers and that their control of the former holy sites of his worship is sustained. The silence surrounding this sin in Numbers 21 looks like a literary artifice that is needed for the preservation of Israel's status as the *exclusive* people of YHWH, as promoted by biblical theology.

Canaanite Influence on the uraeus Symbol

The uraeus symbol is already evident in the pre-Dynastic period and is specifically affiliated with Wadjet, the patron cobra-goddess of Lower Egypt. This is why scholars consider Wadjet the archetype of the burning and flying serpent.[52] This opinion, however, is challenged by the incongruity of the fiery / burning property of the uraeus and the cooling effect of cobra neurotoxic venom.[53] This discrepancy indicates that the Egyptian representation of the fiery and flying serpent as a cobra is not an original feature.

In the early pre-Dynastic period, the south Canaanite culture was the most important source of foreign influence in Lower Egypt.[54] Copper from the Arabah Valley was apparently of central importance in commercial trade between the Nile Valley and the south Canaanite civilization.[55] Maadi was the distribution center of goods imported from southern Canaan.[56] A population of south Canaanite origin dwelled permanently in Buto and Maadi and was apparently involved in the local development of metallurgy and trade in metallic implements.[57] These observations, together with the discrepancies between the characteristics and the figuration of the uraeus, suggest that this symbol emerged in Lower Egypt in close relation with the importation of copper from southern Canaan and the religious changes accompanying it. Therefore, it should be considered a naturalization, in the Nile Valley, of the Canaanite symbol of copper metallurgy through the substitution of the cobra, an impressive living species of local serpent, for the *Echis coloratus*.

[52] Rollinger 2004: 936.

[53] As a neurotoxin, cobra venom creates a cold and paralyzing sensation that spreads from the location of the bite wound. Alternately, it has been suggested that the fiery nature of the cobra venom gives evidence that it is sometimes projected and dispersed by the serpent and causes skin irritation (Szpakowska 2012). This explanation, however, is challenged by testimonies about saraphs' / burning serpents' specifically biting their victims.

[54] See Maczynska (2014) for a review of the data.

[55] Gophna and Milevski 2003: 223; Klimscha 2011: 199; Golani 2014: 130–132; Hauptman *et al*. 2015: 2.

[56] Wenke 1989: 140; Tutundzic 1993; Joffe 2000: 114.

[57] Maczynska 2014: 192–193.

Evolution of the Saraph Symbol

The foregoing findings, taken together, allow us to reconstitute the history and evolution of the saraph symbol in Canaan:

1 Emergence of the saraph symbol: At its earliest stage, saraph apparently denoted *Echis coloratus coloratus*. This venomous serpent species, common in the mining areas of the Arabah and Sinai, was identified as the guardian of these domains and, by extension, with copper production. It also became identified with religious changes that were stimulated by the experience of copper metallurgy, mainly the interpretation of copper smelting as the literal creation of matter and of furnace recycling as the rejuvenation of matter.[58] This identification is probably rooted in the earliest stages of copper production in the southern Levant.

2 Naturalization of the saraph in Egypt: The importation of copper to Lower Egypt precipitated the integration of the Nile Valley into the international network of copper trade that was centered in southern Canaan in the fourth millennium BCE.[59] This process promoted the emergence of complex societies and of new beliefs shaped by the experience and wonders of copper metallurgy. As the saraph symbol was naturalized, the foreign *Echis coloratus* species was replaced by a local cobra species but its original properties (flying, burning, and its association with metallurgy) were preserved.

3 Egyptian influence on the saraph symbol in Canaan: The Egyptian cultural influence in Canaan (especially important in the Late Bronze Age) encouraged the representation of the saraph as the uraeus cobra. This trend, however, coexisted with the local figuration of the saraph as a copper serpent.

4 Rejection of the Egyptian religious influence: At the end of the second millennium BCE, the original Canaanite metallurgical worship made a sudden recovery at the expense of the Egyptian substitute en vogue in the Late Bronze Age. This is revealed in the mining district of Timna, where the Egyptian temple of Hathor, destroyed in the thirteenth / twelfth century BCE, was replaced by a tent sanctuary with a copper serpent that in no way recalls any species of cobra. The worship in the Jerusalem Temple of a copper serpent "made by Moses" suggests a similar trend in the Israelite religion, at least in its early form.[60]

[58] Amzallag 2009, 2015b.

[59] Amzallag 2009.

[60] This assumption is supported by the account of YHWH fighting against Egypt upon the birth of Israel (the Exodus). The constantly repeated demand that Pharaoh *acknowledges* YHWH's

5 Reformation of the Yahwistic cult: Hezekiah's elimination of the copper serpent from the Jerusalem Temple (2 Kgs 18:4) reflects not the purification of the Temple of a foreign symbol / deity, but rather a general reformation of the cult of YHWH by removing entities/figurations traditionally associated with him (such as the pillars and the Asherah that are also mentioned in this verse).

The reconstitution presented here shows that the saraph symbol was originally closely related to metallurgy and to a species of serpent, *Echis coloratus coloratus*, that inhabited the mining areas of the Arabah and Sinai. Rather than a foreign symbol that gradually insinuated itself into the Yahwistic sphere, it appears to have been closely related to the god from the very origin of his cult. This indicates that the worship of YHWH is very ancient in Canaan[61] and probably closely rooted in the early exploitation of the copper mines of the Arabah Valley.[62] The present interpretation of the copper serpent and its significance even suggests that the Israelite religion, at least in its early stages, was a movement that rejected foreign cultural influences in order to renew the ancient and prestigious cult of YHWH in southern Canaan.

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supremacy even suggests that, exactly as in Timna, the opposition to Egypt was religious in nature. Such a trend is echoed in evidence that the conquest of the land of Canaan is treated in Jos 5:9 as the removal of the "shame of Egypt" (חרפה מצרים, that is, the Egyptian influence) on the country.

[61] See Amzallag 2016. This is suggested in Deut 33:27 by the reference to YHWH as אלוהי קדם (= the very ancient deity).

[62] This point is confirmed by the first mention of YHWH (neither as Elohim nor as YHWH-Elohim) upon the birth of Cain (= the first smelter) in Gen 4:1, a feature emphasizing the essential linkage between the development of metallurgy in Canaan and the "discovery" of YHWH.

Abbreviations

HALOT = Koehler, L. and W. Baumgartner, (ed.). 1994. *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Trans. M.E.J. Richardson. Leiden, Brill.

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FIGURES

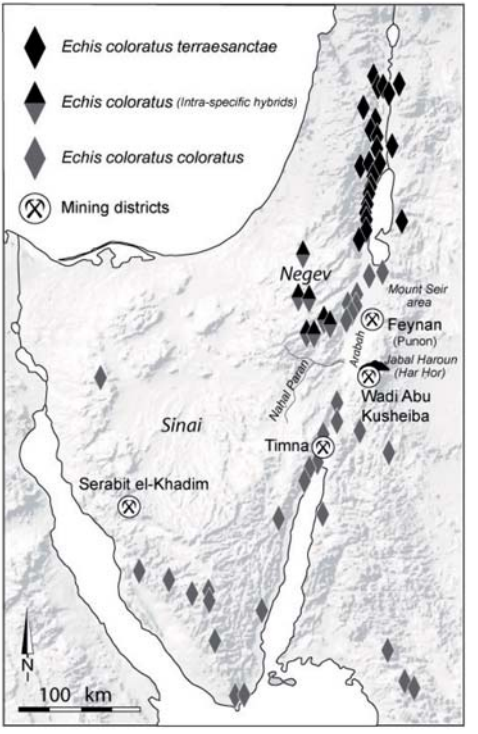

Fig. 1.
Geographic distribution of *Echis coloratus* in Canaan and Sinai.
(Drawn by Patrick Jean-Baptiste)

Fig. 2.
The *Echis coloratus ssp. coloratus* reddish morph.
(Courtesy of Gergely Babocsay)

Fig. 3.
The arboreal habitat of *Echis coloratus*
(Courtesy of Aviad Bar)

Fig. 4.
Bird predation in *Echis coloratus*.
(Courtesy of Hadas Hawlena)

Qohelet 11,1–6 or How to Survive in an Unsure World

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Abstract: Qohelet 11,1–6 or How to Survive in an Unsure World
This paper aimed at examining Qo 11,6–6 in order to ascertain the literary and rhetorical features of the unit and its single subunits with a particular look at Qo 11,1–2. After having reviewed the various solutions put forth for this subunit, my own will try to read it against the background of Hellenistic evergetism. A close examination of the rest of the unit will follow for showing as Qohelet calls man to work in the present time in spite of the ignorance about the outcome of the action and of the "right time" set by God.

Keywords: Book of Qohelet – Wisdom – Evaluation of Work – Evergetism – Human Ignorance about the Future

Resumen: Qohelet 11,1–6 o cómo sobrevivir en un mundo inseguro
Este artículo tiene la intención de examinar Qo 11,1–6 para comprobar las características literarias y retóricas de la unidad y subunidades con una visión particular de Qo 11,1–2. Luego de haber examinado las varias soluciones anteriores para esta subunidad, mi propia intención será tratar de leerla en contra del trasfondo del evergetismo helenístico. Se seguirá un análisis cercano del resto de la unidad para mostrar como Qohelet llama al hombre a trabajar en el tiempo presente a pesar de la ignorancia sobre el resultado de la acción y el "tiempo adecuado" establecido por Dios.

Palabras clave: Libro de Qohelet – Sabiduría – Evaluación del trabajo – Evergetismo – Ignoracia humana sobre el futuro.

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Introduction

This paper aims at offering a fresh examination of Qohelet 11,1–6 which is one of the most complex unit of all the book. As a painstaking bibliographical survey can easily show,[1] scholars have dealt at length more with the first two verses than with the overall meaning of the unit. Accordingly, a lot of questions stands still unsettled as for instance, the literary and theological function of Qohelet 11,1–6 within the general fabrics of the book, its historical and social context and in spite of them many solutions which have been put forth, the very meaning of Qo 11,1–2 as well. For answering these questions, I shall present at first the Hebrew text of Qo 11,1–6 along with an English translation of it and I shall discuss in the footnotes the textual problems. Then I shall move to establish the literary and the rhetorical borders of the unit, its place within the book and to individuate its subunits. At this point I shall examine them, giving a particular attention to the *vexatissima crux interpretum* represented by Qo 11,1–2. I shall examine the different solutions before advancing my own solution. The conclusion will present some new insights to understand the theological message of Qo 11,1–6.

The Text

שַׁלַּח לַחְמְךָ עַל־פְּנֵי הַמָּיִם כִּי־בְרֹב הַיָּמִים תִּמְצָאֶנּוּ׃
תֵּן־חֵלֶק לְשִׁבְעָה־גַם לִשְׁמֹנָה כִּי לֹא־יָדַע מַה־יִּהְיֶה רָעָה עַל־הָאָרֶץ
אִם־יִמָּלְאוּ הֶעָבִים גֶּשֶׁם עַל־הָאָרֶץ יָרִיקוּ־אִם־יִפֹּל עֵץ בַּדָּרוֹם־וְאִם בַּצָּפוֹן מְקוֹם שִׁיִּפֹּל הָעֵץ שָׁם יִהְיֶה
שֹׁמֵר רוּחַ לֹא יִזָּרֵעַ־רֹאֶה בֶּעָבִים לֹא יִקְצֹר׃
אֲשֶׁר אֵינְךָ יֹדֵעַ מַה־דֶּרֶךְ הָרוּחַ כַּעֲצָמִים בְּבֶטֶן הַמְּלֵאָה כָּכָה לֹא־תֵדַע אֶת־מַעֲשֵׂה הָאֱלֹהִים אֲשֶׁר יַעֲשֶׂה אֶת־הַכֹּל
בַּבֹּקֶר זְרַע אֶת־זַרְעֶךָ־לָעֶרֶב אַל־תַּנַּח יָדֶךָ כִּי אֵינְךָ יֹדֵעַ אֵי זֶה יִכְשָׁר הֲזֶה אוֹ־זֶה־וְאִם־שְׁנֵיהֶם כְּאֶחָד טוֹבִים

[1] Besides of the standard commentaries, the following studies are worth of noticing: Staeck 1942/43: 216–218; Stoute 1950: 223–234; Ogden 1983; Ogden 1988; Fredericks 1991: 95–114; Tsukimoto 1993: 34–52; Kamano 2002, 213–219; Hoeman 2002: 275; Shields 2005; Wiegard 2005, 114–121; Lavoie 2007: 75–90; Pinker 2009: 618–645; Withwell 2009: 181–187. For a useful and insightful survey on Qohelets's studies in the last fifteen years, see Lavoie 2013: 95–113.

(1) Send your bread upon the waters,[2] for you will find it after many days.

(2) Divide a portion into seven, even into eight; for you know not what evil shall be upon the earth.

(3) If the clouds be full of rain,[3] they empty themselves upon the earth; and if a tree[4] fall in the south, or in the north, in the place where the tree falls,[5] there shall it be.

(4) He that observes the wind shall not sow; and he that regards the clouds shall not reap.

(5) As you know not what is the way of the wind (life breath) in the bones[6] do grow in the womb of pregnant woman;[7] even so you know not the work[8] of God who does all things.

(6) In the morning sow your seed, and in the evening withhold not your hand; for you know not which shall prosper, whether this or that, or whether they both shall be alike good.

[2] חשׁל pi. usually means "to release," occasionally "to send," but only once "to throw" (see 1 Sam 20,20 "to shoot" (an arrow). Qo 11:1a suggests the image of someone placing or dropping his bread on the water and letting it float away, rather than throwing it into the water. This image is fostered by the preposition *'al penê*, literally "on the surface of" (rather than *bammāyîm* or *'el tokhammāyîm*). Fox 1989: 275 underlines the delicacy of the action. The alliteration between *hammāyîm* and *hayyāmîm* could explain Qohelet's use of the verb *šālaḥ.*

[3] We follow here A. Lauha (1978: 199), who expounded גֶּשֶׁם "rain" as the accusative of *materiae* of the verb יִמָּלְאוּ.

[4] Within this verse, we can look at two examples of the erratic use of the determinative article before the word *'eṣ*: it is lacking in the first instance, but it is present in the second. For the article in Qohelet, see Schoors 1992: 164–169.

[5] The verse harbors the greatest difficult of the unit, as the Hebrew יְהוּא can be understood both as the verb I הוא "to fall" or as the verb II הוה "to become." Though some manuscripts read it as the pronoun subject of third person singular "he", it is by far better to follow the ancient version and to explain it as the imperfect of the verb הוה "to be." The form which presents an 'alef added is a sign of the late stage of Hebrew Language (see again Schoors 1992: 42–43; 98–99).

[6] The Hebrew כָּעֲצָמִים has been read by some manuscripts, by the Targums, BHS and modern commentators, as for instance Fox 1989:76, בְּעֲצָמִים, but it can be maintained as a lectio difficilior.

[7] My translation gives to הַמְּלֵאָה the value of nomen rectum of בִּבְטֶן and the meaning of "pregnant woman." It is also possible, yet, to consider הַמְּלֵאָה as an adjective referred to the womb (Yebamot 16: 1).

[8] All the ancient versions have here the plural.

The Structure of Qo 11,1–6 and its Place in the Book of Qohelet

After having presented a translation of the unit, I would like to analyze its place within the book. There is a growing consensus on the fact that Qo 11,1–6 is an independent literary unit whose borders lye in Qo 10,20 and in Qo 11,7.[9] As far as Qo 10,20 is concerned, it ends the long and bewildering section that from 10,1 on described the strength and the feebleness of the wisdom and eventually invited to speak prudently before the king and the rulers.[10] At its turn, Qo 11,7 opens the very last section of the book where a praise for the sweetness of the light and for the youth (11,7–10) leaves soon room to the powerful description of the old age and of the impending death.[11]

Within this framework, Qo 11,1–6 shows a remarkably crafted structure. Three verbs at the 2 p.s. of the imperative stand at the beginning (1.2) and at the end of it (6). It is well known that the presence of the imperatives in Qohelet increases from the fourth chapter on and helps the author to condemn a point of view held by his contemporaries or to express, as it happens here, a positive advice about a behavior to keep in the life.[12] Not less remarkable are the use of the preposition *kî* in the vv. 1.2.6 for explaining the advice issued at the imperative or the various parallelism: numeric (v.1: seven //eight), antithetic (v. 2b: ignorance on the outcome of an action; always v. 2: water//earth; v. 6: morning//evening) and ascending (v. 5 As...so). Finally, there are many examples of alliterations (*māyîm* and *yāmîm*) and of word-plays (*rûaḥ* as wind and spirit) as well. On a thematic level the stress falls upon the natural elements (water, earth, clouds, rains) and upon the process of human and vegetal generation), whereas the use of the verbs "to find" and "to know not" set the main theological theme of the book that's to say the ignorance about the outcome of human deeds and of God's work. These observations suggest for Qo 11,1–6 the following structure: a) an introduction made of vv. 1–2 and built in a chiastic way (1a 1b 1b 2b), where the hearer is summoned to act but in an careful way, as he does not know what evil the future will bring about; b) an inquiry realized through the experience and showing

[9] The exceptions are Wright 1968: 330–332; Murphy 1992: 105–110 (10, 16–11,2 collection of proverbs and 11,3–11,6 "living on uncertainty and ignorance"); Pinker 2009 and Bonora 1992: 157–159 consider 11,8 as the end of the unit.

[10] For a thoughtful examination, see Crenshaw 1988: 168–178 and Fox 1989: 270–272.

[11] Still valuable are M. Gilbert 1981: 96–107 and Fox 1988: 55–57.

[12] See D'Alario 1992: 163–165.

another chiastic structure, underlines the never changing world of natural elements laws and the need to cope with them in spite of his ignorance about things (vv. 3–4); a comparison between the ignorance about the hidden generation of the man and the ignorance about God's work (v. 5); d) Conclusion: man cannot refrain at any time from action in spite of the uncertainty of the its positive or negative outcome (v. 6).

Qo 11,1–2

Bearing that structure in mind, we move to investigate the five subunits whose Qo 11,1–6 is made of. We have already pointed out as in the small chiastic unity composed by Qo 11,1–2 the v.1a matches the v. 2a and 1b the v.2b. Let us analyse closely its components. The first half of Qo 11,1 calls for the quite odd action of sending bread on the waters, whereas the second one—Qo 11,1b—assures that within a certain number of days it will be found it again. The apparently clear verse does not show any sign of textual corruption, but the search for its elusive meaning still defies the scholars. For the sake of brevity, we will summarize the principal proposals:[13]

a) Since the Targum's reading "Give your nourishing bread to the poor who go in ships upon the surface of the water, for after a period of many days you will find rewards in the world to come," Qo 11,1 has been credited with the moral teaching of being kind, helpful and charitable towards the others. The Midrash to Qohelet,[14] some of the fore-

[13] Pinker 2009 provides the most detailed *status quaestionis* on the interpretation of Qo 11,1.
[14] According to this Midrash, Bar Kappara saved a man who was shipwrecked and left naked on the shore, by giving him food and new clothes. The man was a Roman proconsul who lately helped the rabbi to free some Jews being in jail: see Mancuso 2004.

most Jewish exegetes,[15] the Fathers of the Church,[16] Luther[17] and Grotius,[18] an handful of scholars lived between the end of 1800 and the beginning of 1900[19] followed that exegesis. In the course of the time it has been endorsed by M.V. Fox,[20] T. Longman,[21] Ch. Seow,[22] N. Kamano[23] and M. Shields.[24] Support to that interpretation has been often found in the Oriental Wisdom, as a learned work of H.F. von Diez (1751–1818) shows.[25] In his translation of *Qabusnameh*[26] the German

[15] For a short survey of Jewish interpretation, see Lavoie 2013: 105–106. Commenting Moses' behaviour with Yethro's daughters, Rashi (1040–1105) made this statement: "Do good, act kindly to the person whom your heart tells you, 'You'll never see him again'—like a person who throws his sustenance upon the surface of the water." Moses would have acted, though he was sure of not being repaid. As to Rashbam (1085–1158), he presented that paraphrases, "Do a favour for a man whom you never expect to benefit, because in the far future he will do a favour for you" (Japhet and Salters 1985: 185).

[16] The Metaphrasisis of Gregory the Thaumaturgos (210–273) expressly speaks of philanthropy: on this work see Jarick 1989: 37–57. The same does the commentary of Saint Jerome (PL 23). As De Lubac (1976: 579–583) noticed, the Christian interpreters turned in the Middle Age to the typological sense, which saw Qohelet as a forerunner of Christ. Such an interpretation still surfaces in the proposal to consider the bread whose Qo 11,1a speaks as Christ, the Bread of Life, and the waters as the Gentiles (Stoute 1950: 222–226).

[17] M. Luther 1898: 184–185. On Luther's exegesis of the book that deny any human power and stresses God's will, see White 1987: 180–194.

[18] H. Grotius 1644: expounded Qo 11,1a in the following terms: 537 "*Ubi nulla spes sit recipiendi, Deus pro ista beneficientia in te conferet*" ("when nothing is expected to be received, God confers upon you beneficiencies").

[19] Barton 1909: 181 lists i.a. A.W. Knobel (1807–1863), Chr. D. Ginsburg (1831–1914), O. Zöckler (1833–1906), C.H.H. Wright (1836–1909), Wilhelm Nowack (1850–1928), C. Siegfried (1830–1930) and J.T. Marshall (1850–1923).

[20] Fox 1989: 275 states that Qohelet 11,1a would teach "to do unto the others *that* they may do unto you."

[21] Seow 1997: 335–336.

[22] Fox 1989: 275.

[23] Kamano 2002: 214–218.

[24] Shields 2005: 224–225.

[25] Von Diez 1811: 106–116; the text is available at: <https://archive.org/stream/ denkwrdigkeiten00diezgoog#page/n146/mode/2up>. The title of the work is *Denkwurdigkeiten* and not *Merkwurdigkeiten*, as it is often quoted (Crenshaw and Fox ad locum). Besides, the surname of the author is often misspelled as Diaz. For the German world see also Goethe's famous aphorism in *West-östlicher Divan*: "Was willst du untersuchen, Wohin die Milde fliesst! Ins Wasser wirf deine Kuchen! wer weiss wer sie geniesst?"

[26] See De Brujin 2010. Being a sort of "mirror of princes," the book was written by the prince Kaykavus b. Eskander (1030 C.E.) around 1082 for the son Gilanshah and earned a great popularity in the Islamic world.

erudite and diplomat presented the following story and its ties with Qo 11,1a. Once upon during the reign of Mutjakewil (847–861), a loyal servant of the Caliph, named Fettich used to swim in the Tigris near Baghdad. One day he drowned in the waters and the caliph unsuccessfully ordered to search for him. Lately, when someone reported to have seen the man alive and well in the river, the servants of the Caliph rescued him. Before him Fettisch revealed to him to own his survival to the bread flowing onto the Tigris and signed by Mohammed ben Hassan. This latter was summoned at court and revealed to follow this teaching: "Do the good; cast your bread on the water, one day you shall be rewarded." Accordingly, the Caliph awarded him a diploma and some properties. After having paralleled this teaching to Qo 11,1a, Von Diez assumed his Salomonic origin through the Queen of Saba. In such a way it would have belonged to the memory of Arabs![27] Although the explanation is obviously untenable and unaware of the historical context and of the theological realm of the book,[28] scholars willingly bring it as a parallel.[29] The examples coming from Egyptian wisdom draws closer to Qohelet's world: the Instructions of Onkhsheshonqi, a wisdom text from Egypt[30] dating from the Hellenistic age, puts forth this advice: "Do a good deed and throw into the water; when it dries you will find it."[31] As far as the parallel with Qohelet is concerned, it could be a fruit of a common international wisdom.[32]

As a critique to it, it has been widely noted as that interpretation goes quite beyond the scope of the author. As matter of fact, Qohelet's relationship with humankind is not so terse and he never advocated such a liberality. In the familiar realm Qohelet had troubled relations with women or with leaving his wealth to a unskilled sons, whereas the broader and unsafe context of society makes him praise a friendly, but

[27] Shields 2005: 222 holds such an influence, but does not explain how it worked. Should we to postulate the presence of an Arabic translation of Qohelet around IX century A.D.? However, it may be, those translations were available: see Sasson 2007a: 603–606 and Sasson 2015b.
[28] The theological flawless of the argument has become self-evident in the so called "Prosperity Gospel" which establish a tight linkage between a good deed and the retribution.
[29] Barton 1908: 181 and Crenshaw 1988: 178.
[30] Fox 1989: 274–275 also remembers a similar advice to be fund in the Wisdom of Ptahhotep about sharing his own wealth with others to be helped in time of disaster.
[31] Crenshaw 1988: 178–179.
[32] Uehlinger 1997: 225.

not disinterested friendship of two or three person for getting a profit and overcoming any danger or trouble (Qo 4,9–12) or to cast a cold eye on the misfortunes of the oppressed (Qo 4,1–3).[33] It is unclear, as Mark R. Sneed[34] remarked, if that observation aimed at showing more the injustices of the powerful than a genuine concern for the oppressed. Qohelet seemed more worried of the injustices undone to members of his own or higher class (e.g. Qo 6:1–6). At this juncture no scholar who support this hypothesis has never noticed the *exemplum* of liberality set by Salomon (1Kgs 5,1–5) and Nehemiah (Neh 5,18). Both of them hosted guests belonging to the members of the aristocracy or to the bureaucracy. Nehemiah boasts to have hosted at his table a group of officials and to have provided them, and at his own expenses with some good food. Did Qohelet dream the same, as a seemingly member of the affluent class?[35]

b) A second proposal explored the possibility that Qo 11,1a was a sort of paradoxal teaching.[36] By means of it Qohelet would like to prepare the hearers to the absurdity of human life and to the impossibility to preview the future: accordingly an absurd behaviour may bring a good outcome, as the following verse (Qo 11,2) would confirm.[37] Therefore, everyone must be ready to cope with all eventualities, given their ignorance about the future and their incapacity to change the events. The only thing man can do is to adapt themselves in face of the several possibilities that life proposes them without worrying of the wisdom.[38] That solution seems improbable, as Qohelet always declares to have acted with wisdom. His solution would make Qo 11,1 closer to a Buddhist *koan* which aimed at putting men before an hard truth and at overcoming it.[39] The problem lays in the human ignorance upon the future and the times that God has set for, as already Podechard pointed out.[40]

[33] See Pinker 2009: 624.
[34] Sneed 2000: 150.
[35] De Jong 1994.
[36] Fox 1989: 273.
[37] Vilchez Lindez 1994: 388–389. See already Hertzberg 1932: 200 and Lavoie 1997: 88.
[38] Fox 1989: 273.
[39] For this aspect, see Lavoie 2013: 118 n. 140.
[40] Podechard 1912: 198.

c) Being unsatisfied with the previous solutions, A. Pinker assumed that in an early stage of the transmission of the text, the *Urtext* of Qohelet 11,1a would have run as follows: "Whisper your dream upon the water, yea in many seas you will find it." Accordingly Qo 11,1a would have continued the maxims about the dreams and about the relation with the rulers being in Qo 10,20. Uneasy with its teaching, a pious scribe gave to the text its actual form[41] thanks two simples moves: a) a change of place between *shin* and *lamed* to read *lāḥaš* instead of *šālah* and b) the substitution of the vowels in order to read *yāmmîm* "seas" instead of *yamîm* "days." Although the hypothesis is clever and is well argued, it unfortunately lacks of the support of any textual witness[42] and it does not take into account the overall structure of the unit.

d) Not less puzzling is M.H. Homan's proposal to refer the verse to the fabrication of the beer also through the help of some Akkadian parallels.[43] Qohelet would have recommended both the production of beer by throwing bread into the waters and its consumption in perilous times.[44] Shields[45] has underlined the frailty of this hypothesis both on the Akkadian ground—brewing needed other recipients besides of the bread—or on the biblical one. As matter of fact, there is no trace of beer in Israel and in the Bible!

e) Since the beginning of the past century, it has widely assumed that Qo 11,1a refers to the overseas trading.[46] This assumption has found its way in the works of R. Gordis,[47] J.L. Crenshaw,[48] T. Longman,[49] R.

[41] Pinker 2009.

[42] This kind of solution had a forerunner in F. Zimmerman's hypothesis that the book of Qohelet would have been translated into Hebrew from an original Aramaic. Zimmerman assumed that the odd use of šlh and lhm betrayed the translator's failure to properly understand the Aramaic verb *pāras* "to spread out" (*i.e.* the sails) or "to break." The translator assumed the latter meaning, instead of rendering: "Set your sail upon the waters." This solution too does not find support in the text and it provides a more obscure explanation (Whitley 1989: 92–93).

[43] Hoeman 2002: 275.

[44] Weeks (2012: 95) remarks the improbability of such an explanation.

[45] Shields 2005: 224–225.

[46] See Barton 1908: 181–182. Barton listed i.a. J.D. Michaelis, J.-Ch. Döderlein, F. Hitzig, F. Delitzsch, J. Renan G. Wildeboer, P. Haupt and A.H. McNeile

[47] Gordin 1988: 331–332.

[48] Crenshaw 1988: 176.

[49] Longman 1998: 256.

Murphy.[50] Almost all these interpreters rightly propose to read the v. 1 and v. 2 together, as expressing Qohelet's line of thought. As they stem from the same Qohelet, Qo 11,1a and Qo 11,1b cannot be popular sayings which he commented in v. 1b and 2b with a *ki explicativum or adversativum.*[51] In such a case, the quotations would have been composed of a stich alone and their conclusions would have been left to the imagination of the reader. Against this rhetorical background, scholars have read the advice of v.2a to divide the bread in seven or eight part[52]—a numeric parallelism being found only in Micah 5,4[53]—as an invitation to diversify the financial assets[54] in prevision of a future evil or as an invitation to engage in the maritime trade.[55] Qohelet 11,1–2 would call to go ahead and engage in this venture. The Hebrew *leḥem*, translated as bread, thus, stands for any kind of commodity of trade, whence a gain may flow back to them in spite of the risks. All the scholars have been satisfied with a banalization of the teaching that is expressed in the following terms: "Do not put all the eggs in the same basket." Given the uncertainty about the future, Qohelet would simply advice to diversify the investments. Pinker has arranged the most full-fledged critics to that hypothesis through fifteen (!) points. If it is true, on one hand that *leḥem* never means "goods," but "bread" or "food," that the verse never speaks explicitly speak of ships and that Qohelet's main interest is the agriculture, on the other one Pinker seems to belittle the economic and historical data of the Hellenistic Age and of the Ptolemaic Period in Judah. As we will see below, grain became from the Achaemenid Period onwards a source of exportations and the Phoenician merchants seem to have played a certain role in it. Finally,

[50] Murphy 1992:106.

[51] See Michel 1988: 208. The presence of the imperative makes this choice prefereable to the idea of a *kî adversative* (though) defended by Herzberg 2001 and Laura 1978.

[52] *ḥēleq* is one of the favourite terms in Qohelet's reflections to describe what belongs to men, but here the word just means "part" (see Pinker 2009: 624). Di Fonzo 1967: 304 remarks that the Fathers of the Church gave to this statement a typological interpretation: the charity done in the present life (the number seven would refer to the earthly life) would have been awarded in the future life to which the number eight points to.

[53] The messianic King will fight with success an Assyrian invasion with "seven shepherds and eight chiefs of men" who eventually will rule the lands of Assur and Nimrod. About this numeric parallelism, see Di Fonzo 1968: 303–304.

[54] See for instance Hubbard 1994: 341–349.

[55] Longman 1998: 256.

the textual and rhetorical situation of the unit clearly favours another solution.

f) I would like to put forth my own solution that combines the idea of the overseas trade with the liberality. As far as the maritime trade is concerned, we cannot belittle two biblical allusions. The first refers to Is 18,2 where it is said that the Egypt "sends ambassadors on the Nile and in vessels of papyrus on the waters" (*haššōlēaḥ bayyām sîrîm ûbiklê-gōme 'al-penê-mayîm*).[56] The second evokes the vivid description of the tireless *'ēšethaḥayîl* in Prov 31.[57] According to Prov. 31:14 the woman "is like the merchant ships, bringing her bread/food from afar." It is uncertain if the author had in mind the trading enterprises of Salomon[58] or what Ezekiel wrote about the Phoenician town of Tyros, but this uncertainty does not change the reference to the sea trade. As matter of fact, since the V century B.C.E. onwards the inlands of Syria and Palestine started to export grain towards Greece and this trend became faster and soaring during the III century B.C.E. thanks to the safer commercial routes and the stable prices.[59] Although there were only two true harbours, that is to say Jaffa and Akko, the Phoenician cities were not far at all and it is not blatant to suppose that Qohelet visited them.[60] The reason of this undisputable maritime setting could be unveiled by an idea of N. Löhfink[61] who suggested to explain Qo 11,1–2 against the background of the evergetism well known in the Hellenistic World. The kings, the rulers and the private citizens often helped the cities of the Continental Greece struck by famines, wars or natural havocs by means of grain supplies and on return they get several kind of honours. I wonder if the echo of such a practise would have also reached also the region of Coelesyria and the far Judah. Two concrete examples belonging to the kingdom of Ptolemy II could have

[56] See Crenshaw 1988:178–189. As concerning Is 18,2, Kaiser (1980: 92) labelled the verse as an ideal and unhistorical scene.
[57] As Ben Zvi 2015: 27–51 has recently pointed out, Prov. 31 seemingly refers to the late Achaemenid and early Hellenistic time.
[58] There is here another possible allusion to the Salmonid fleet coming back after a long while with exotic animals and metals.
[59] Hengel 1974: 32–57; 41–42.
[60] See Bellia 2001.
[61] Löhfnik 1997: 132.

inspired Qohelet's verse: this king sent in 248 B.C.E. a fleet of sumptuary navies to help the island of Delos struck by a devastating earthquake, whereas in 238 B.C.E., as the decree of Canopus stated, he imported grain from Syria, Cyprus and Trace[62] to fight the famine that struck the Egypt because a scarce flow of the Nile. According to K. Buraselis,[63] Ptolemy III received the title of Evergetes just between these two momentous events. It is self-evident that both of them could be labelled, in Qohelet's terms, as a *ra'a'*, that is to say the evil looming in the future. Bearing this possibility in mind, Qohelet would advise to exploit such a situation and to send onto the sea the food/the grain—stored before a crisis. What sort of outcome would come from this situation? For Qoheleth no kind of memory survives beyond the death. Have we to suppose that the key word could be *ḥēleq*, namely "the portion" that everyone can share as their own? The word has a mixed value in Qohelet's reflection: it embraces all that of good or bad, the man could enjoy in this very world, although there is no certainty about enjoying, getting, keeping it. In our case the summon to divide it assures the reference to the material possessions (Qo 2,21) that God let the man enjoy (Qo 3,22; 9,9).

As far as the second halves of Qo 11,1 and Qo 10,2 are concerned, they present an epistemological reflection about the "finding" and the "knowing not" which is at the heart of Qohelet's thought. The verb *māṣā'* "to find" (16 x) reports a positive or negative data gained through a personal experience,[64] whereas the verb *yāda'*, "to know," built with the negative particle *'ēn* and the participle or preceded by the negation *lō'* states the human ignorance about the future or about the action of God.[65] This is one of the main and recurring themes of the section. As we have said above, another mark of Qohelet's thought is

[62] The decree of Canopus stresses Ptolemy III's care for his subjects during the famine. Besides of remitting taxes "they took care for importation of Corn into Egypt from the Eastern Rutennu (that's to say Canaan), from the land Kafatha, from the island Nabinaitt, which lies in the midst of the Great Sea, and from many other lands, since they expended much white gold for the purchase thereof. They transported the importation of provisions, to save those living in the land of Egypt, that these might know their goodness for ever…" (for this translation, see Birch 1878: 84 ll. 8–9).

[63] Buraselis 2013: 97–107; 101–102. About the relationship between the Hellenistic evergetism and the supplies of grain for Greece, see Moretti 1990: 319–422.

[64] Mazzinghi 2001: 176–187.

[65] Gorseen 1970: 282–324 and Piotti 2012: 92–93.

the presence of the word *rā'ā*. As to the psychological sphere it describes the pain for leaving the richness to someone who did not deserve (Qo 2,21) or whom did not do anything to create them (Qo 6,1–2) or a mishap of a father who condemns to the misery his son (Qo 5,12). In the psychological and moral world, it points at the destiny of death awaits the good and the bad men (Qo 9,5) on the earth (Qo 8,16). After having expounded these two verses, we can conclude that Qo 11,1–2 advices men to risk and to work. There is a hope for a profit, but a measure of caution due the human situation is always needed.

Qo 11,3–4

The vv. 3–4 suddenly changes the setting, as the elements of nature come on the forefront. Gordis[66] pointed out the presence of a chiastic structure, as these verses are arranged according the structure "clouds-failing tree-wind-clouds." In point of fact, the clouds (*'ābîm*) stand at the beginning of the v 3 and at the end of the v. 4. In v. 3b the fallen tree works as the subject of the conditional sentence and closes it. It is also worth of noticing how the v. 3 is built upon two conditional phrases: the natural world provides the protasis, whereas the results of the actions are the apodosis. In the protasis Qohelet draws the attention of the reader on the clouds close to bring the rain. Nevertheless Qohelet does not use the word '*ānān* to which the Bible gives a deepest religious meaning, but the less common *'ab* at the plural *'ābîm*.[67] That latter word is to be found especially in the book of Job (Job 37, 1–30) where God celebrates both his power on the clouds, the rain and the blizzard[68] and he stresses Job's ignorance about how nature works. Qohelet lacks of any reference to the divine activity, but he simply refers to the human experience: it can consider the fall of the rain from the heavy clouds as a part of the unavoidable law fixed by God but

[66] Gordis 1968: 332.

[67] The noun *'ānān* to be found 87 times in Old Testament is late and has a strong theological and religious overtone. On the contrary, the plural *'ābîm* occurs 30 times and in spite of its poetical flavour, it mainly deals with meteorology.

[68] Garbini 1995: 85–91.

unknown to the manhood.[69] Accordingly, it is a waste of time watching the clouds, as they will give rain at the fixed time according a relationship of cause and effect unknown to the man.[70]

The second stich of v. 3 strengthens this argument through another *exemplum* from the natural world and linked to a cause-effect relationship. Accordingly, the fallen tree is neither the tree being in some cultures and ancient cosmologies as the axis of "Tree of the World,"[71] nor is a rod used as a divinatory mean.[72] It is just a tree: the falling down is probably due to the force of the wind blowing everywhere, as the merismus south-north so close to the turn of the wind in Qo 1,6, suggest and it comes out of the human power.

This situation makes it unuseful to watch over the wind and the clouds without doing anything else. In my opinion, the reference to the wind in the v. 4 has a multifarious meaning: no only it recalls Qohelet's negative judgements about the human toil which he labels a "chasing the wind" or "hearding the wind" (Qo 1,14; 2,11.17.25; 4,4; 6,9), but also aims at the following verse.

Qo 11.5

This verse represents a transition subunit which works as a bridge between the previous and the following ones. In point of fact *rûaḥ* let Qohelet recall in the v. 4 the hidden action of the wind in the falling of the tree, the v. 5 faces us with an interpretative *crux* as to the meaning of ruah and the rest of the verse. The first solution is to give to *rûaḥ* the simple meaning of wind and to explain the preposition *kaf* as a way to

[69] The clouds also stand in Qo 12 as an unavoidable sign of death.

[70] Whitwell 2009, 181–197 thinks on the contrary of the randomness of the nature.

[71] Kruger 2004: 191–194.

[72] Some Jewish interpreters (for instance S.D. Luzzato quoted by Lattes 1980: 125) and the same Crenshaw find here an allusion to a divinatory practise. Crenshaw 1988: 179 refers to Hos 4,12 which reads: "my people inquire with a rod." Nevertheless, it is unclear if Hosea is thinking of divinatory tecnics as it does not use *maṭṭeh* (which has a magic meaning as far as Moses and Aaron are concerned), but the more general *maqqēl*. Others scholars refer Hosea's verse to the cult of Asherah. In any case, *eṣ* does not have a divinatory meaning, as at his time we do know very little about the Canaanite religion or popular religion.

strengthen the first comparison: just as (you do not know the bones of the pregnant woman), keeping the seemingly *lectio difficilior* of the Masoretic Text. The second solution is to translate *rûaḥ* as it meant "the breath of life" and to read the preposition *beth* instead of *kaf*, as did many ancient versions and modern interpreters. Qohelet would stress that he as man does not know the path of the breath of life inside the bones (foetus) of the pregnant woman. The human ignorance about these natural phenomena is underlined by an ascending parallelism built upon the prepositions *ka'ašer* "as" and *kākā* "so." By the way Qohelet is keenly interested of the process of human generation,[73] as the desperate reflection of Qo 6,3–6 about the fate of the abort to be preferred to that of the man unable to enjoy his richness. A handful of biblical texts deal with this topic. For instance, Ps 139,13–15 praises God for having wondrously created the man in mothers' womb like a precious dress.[74] On the contrary Job 10, 8–22 mourns to have been created by God only to be swept out and accordingly he envies the fate of the unborn. In this debate Qohelet seems to stand halfway: on one side he shares what we could define the common biblical knowledge about the process of the human generation,[75] but he only stresses the human ignorance about how the process really works.[76] Accordingly, Qohelet does not join to the praise for the creation, but he plainly states the human ignorance in front of God's deed (*ma'aśeh 'elohîm*). That expression has as subject almost always the man (16 times out of 21) who cannot find out either all the deeds of God 21 times (Qo 8,17) or can simply look at them without any change (Qo 7,13).[77] We wonder if the mysterious work of God could hide the global vision about the right time for every deed that escapes from the human mind and that Qohelet calls 'ôlām in 3,15.

[73] See Sauneron 1960: 19–27 for the Egyptian ideas about the human generation. According to some Egyptian text coming from the Persian Period and close to the Pre-Socratic Philosophers, the bones were the seat of the masculine semen.
[74] Ravasi 1998: 325–326.
[75] Tosato 2001: 160–164.
[76] Ravasi (1998: 326) thinks that *rûaḥ* could refer to the creation of man told in Genesis 1–2.
[77] Gorssen 1970: 282–324; Mazzinghi 2001: 411–412; Piotti 2012: 91–92.

Qo 11,6

The v. 6 plays the role of a general synthesis that underlines the need for the action. Once again the imperatives set the call to the action. The merism "morning-evening" serves to encompass all the day, although the preposition *kî* followed by a negation highlights the ignorance about the final outcome. The first imperative calls again to sowing,[78] a work usually done between October and November and once again between December and February, whereas the second imperative invites to refrain not from the work.[79] In spite of that tireless activity, nobody knows which of the two seed will fructify.[80] At this juncture it becomes evident the encounter and the conflict with the classical wisdom. As Frydrych[81] has remarked, the classical wisdom of the Proverbs and that of Qohelet agreed on the role of the wisdom to achieve a good life and they stressed the earthly horizon of the human life. Nevertheless, their ways parted first on the value given to experience. The book of Proverbs greatly esteemed the collective one, whereas in Qohelet's opinion only the individual experience counts. Moreover, they also parted as concerning the ethics. Proverbs' teaching takes together God's rule and justice with human experience, whereas Qohelet does not show to have an ethics of his own. As concerning the work, it is worth noticing as the book of the Proverbs praises the toilsome man, compares him with an industrious ant and is sure that he will be rewarded. On the contrary the lazy one[82] is ridiculed and lashed. Qohelet does not share such a conviction. In his vision the man does not know anything about the death, the future and God's work, and

[78] The ancient Jewish exegesis explained the verb *zāra'* and the noun *zera'* as an erotic allusion and as a reference to the begetting of children (S.D. Luzzato). Although other units of the work show such an interest (see the Salomonic fiction in Qo 2 and to the thousand sons in 6,21), Qo 11,5 clearly deals with the sowing.

[79] For some attempts of a comparison with the Chinese Wisdom tradition, see Lavoie 2013: 118 n. 140.

[80] See Di Fonzo 1968: 309 for a parallel with the Parable of the Talents (Mt 25,18.25). See also Glaeson 1983: 43–48 for an application to Wesley's predication.

[81] See Frydrych 2002.

[82] Simian Yofre 1999: 138–145; Cimosa 2003: 30–36.

also the so called *'ôlām* set by God for human deeds is beyond his power. Accordingly, the outcome of his work is relativized and it is limited to the only time which is into the power of the man that's to say the present.[83] In the present the man can work and take its part of joy, this is the only man's part in his life under the sun.

A Wager on behalf of the Action. A theological conclusion.

At the end of paper let us explore which could be the theological implications of Qo 11,1–6 for the contemporary readers. Our paper has already shown how this unit does not herald any prosperity gospel and how its message is by far subtler than the standard explanations. In my opinion, a way for keeping the call for the action, the acknowledgement of the human ignorance and the stress on mysterious divine action together could be found in Blaise Pascal's argument of the wager.[84] As it is well known, Pascal made use of this argument in order to overcome man's uncertainties about the existence of God.[85] According to him, the wager was not optional, but it was necessary, as man's fate in present lifetime and in the eternity depended from accepting or refusing it. As far as I see, the same idea could be applied *mutatis mutandis* to Qohelet 11,1–2,26. As matter of fact, the Preacher calls the man to work tirelessly, although lacking of any certainty about the final outcome and knowing not the divine will. In Qohelet's eyes, that uncertainty cannot lead the man to an endless search for information in order to achieve a sure success. Being the human knowledge limited to the

[83] See the excellent work of Schellenberg 2002.

[84] On Pascal's though, see Cole 1995. Murphy 1955: draws a comparison between Qohelet and Pascal almost as far as the structure is concerned.

[85] The *Pensees* of Pascal hold some references to Qohelet, which was the favourite book of the skeptics and of the philosophers of his time. The fragment 389, to be read against the background of human *misere*, reads as follows: "Ecclesiastes shows that man without God is in total ignorance and inevitable misery. For it is wretched to have the wish, but not the power. Now he would be happy and assured of some truth, and yet he can neither know, nor desire not to know. He cannot even doubt." There is also a paraphrase of Qo 3,10.16 in a polemical fragment against the denier of the immortality of the souls (on the subject see again Cole 1995: 213).

mere experience and far from getting the *'ôlām* that is to say the right but mysterious time fixed by God for each action, this search will ultimately lead him to a sort of paralysis. The only thing the man can hope is that his work will match that *'ôlām* and that he will enjoy the part of its work. This eventually prompts some of the saddest reflections on human life. Qohelet's invitation could sound quite ironic in our contemporary world where our life often hangs on a flood of information that raise anxiety or fear and make us unable to live or to accomplish our work. In such a way, Qohelet's words appear both a tribute to a sound "ignorance" and a call for using our talents at the best, even to venture into risky enterprises as sending food overseas, without worrying about the future outcome. This idea relativizes the value of the work and stands against the danger of becoming workaholics that the so called Solomonic fiction of Qo 1,12–2,26 highlighted so well. Such a reflection also hits our contemporary image of the work which many see as a sort of idol to which an entire life can be sacrificed, without taking care of the family and the holydays. As God really is the ultimate maker of all, the tireless human work can only hope that the wager on the right *'ôlām* be the right one and that he can enjoy his part. Otherwise, the work will become a source of alienation and pain, as it will not match all of the efforts done and it will not give any gain. Eventually, it will reveal itself as another side of the *hebel* judgement on the reality. As J.-J. Lavoie[86] remarked, even in this unit Qohelet reveals himself once again as "l'avocat de notre dur metier: celui de vivre".

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[86] Lavoie 1995: 103.

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Northern Arabia and its Jewry in Early Rabbinic Sources: More Than Meets the Eye

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Abstract: Northern Arabia and its Jewry in Early Rabbinic Sources: More than Meets the Eye
Early Rabbinic textual comments on the Jews of Arabia are widely considered terse and general, leading to the assumption that they have little information to offer and prompting scholars to seek knowledge in other sources. The article confronts this conventional wisdom by citing Mishnaic, Talmudic, and Midrashic references to Arabian geography and settlements that yield important if not conclusive findings on points that have been inadequately discussed thus far.

Keywords: Ḥijāz – Ḥegger – Teima – Jews

Resumen: El norte de Arabia y su comunidad judía en las fuentes rabínicas tempranas: más allá de lo que parece a simple vista
Los primeros comentarios rabínicos sobre los judíos en Arabia son ampliamente considerados como concisos y generales, llevando a la suposición de que tienen escasa información para ofrecer y motivando así a los investigadores a buscar información en otras fuentes. El presente artículo confronta esta opinión convencional, mediante la cita de referencias misnaicas, talmúdicas y midrásicas sobre la geografía de Arabia y sus asentamientos, las cuales dan lugar a hallazgos importantes, si no concluyentes, acerca de temas que han sido discutidos inadecuadamente hasta el momento.

Palabras clave: Hejaz – Ḥegger – Teima – Judíos

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Introduction

When the Jews of Arabia are discussed, the question of sources that one may use to study the subject arises. The material falls into two main types: textual and epigraphic. The former comprises, *inter alia*, post-Biblical Jewish sources such as the Mishna, the Talmuds, and the early Midrashim. Their references to the Jews of Arabia are few, terse, and mostly general—so it seems—leading to the assumption that they have little to offer by way of information. As Goitein puts it, "The Talmudic literature offers important testimony on the great Arabian migration of which the victory of Islam is merely the most salient eruption, but is poor in information about Arabian Jewry."[1]

What can we learn about Arabian Jewry from early Rabbinic literature such as the Mishna, the Talmuds, and the Midrashim? To pursue such a discussion, one must first consult the sources on the Jewish communities of Arabia and establish the boundaries of "Arabia" as precisely as possible. As I show below, this territory includes the Ḥijāz and the references to this area in these sources, although few in number, contain important information that research has not extracted thus far, mainly about the religious life of the Jews in this area. They also show that although there were many proselytes among these Jews, their culture—at least in al-Ḥijr (also known as Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ) and Taymāʾ—was quite high, and they had contact with Jewish communities outside Arabia.

Roman Arabia: Does It Include the Ḥijāz?

Before discussing the meaning of Arabia (ערביא) in Rabbinic sources, one must address oneself to Roman Arabia, since it is likely that the Jews under Roman rule in the Land of Israel in Talmudic times were familiar with that term and, more or less, with the borders of the area that it denoted. The term "Arabia" was originally used by Greek and Roman geographers; thus, it was probably borrowed by Jews, given that the Bible calls the land of the Arabs *ʿArav* (עֲרָב, *e.g.*, Is. 21:13; Jer. 25:23–24). The Biblical references to Arabia plainly refer to northern Arabia because they mention Dedan and Teima.

In the early twentieth century, after Jaussen and Savignac's *Mission archéologique en Arabie*, scholars assumed that the Ḥijāz was not part of

[1] Goitein 1931: 411.

Roman Arabia. Three decades later, this premise was challenged by Seyrig on the basis of his discoveries of Roman outposts on the road to Medina.[2] Consequently, scholars almost completely abandoned Jaussen and Savignac's view[3]—with one exception[4]—and research after Seyrig reinforced his stance.[5]

In view of this broad consensus, it would not be unreasonable to claim that Arabia in Rabbinic sources refers, *inter alia*, to the Ḥijāz as well. The consensus regarding the territory of Roman Arabia is crucial to the discussion about the information on the Jews of northern Arabia, mainly regarding those in Ḥegger/Ḥagrā, that emerges several times from Rabbinic sources. Now that this matter has been clarified among scholars, the Rabbinic literature can teach us more about the Jews of northern Arabia than is known today.

Ḥegger and Ḥagrā

Early Rabbinic sources mention Ḥegger and Ḥagrā (in three variations) several times. Most opinions in academic literature refer to Ḥagrā but not to Ḥegger, although both names denote the same place.[6] They bring to mind al-Ḥijr in northern Arabia. Indeed, the academic discussion of Ḥegger and Ḥagrā in its variations favors their identification as al-Ḥijr. Those who argue to the contrary do not explain the rationale behind their stance. Judging by the publication dates of their works, they apparently follow Jaussen and Savignac and predate Seyrig, whose opinion has become the common one among scholars.

Below I discuss four references to Ḥegger and Ḥagrā in Rabbinic sources. The discussion will be broader than the previous treatment of these sources; it will offer new insights, strengthen the identification with al-Ḥijr, and challenge those who deny the identification of these place names.

(A) Ha-Ḥegger (החגר): Mishna, *Giṭṭīn* 1:1 reads: "He who brings a bill of divorce from abroad must say: In my presence it was written and in my presence it was signed. R. Gamaliel says: also he who brings one from ha-Reqem or from ha-Ḥegger […]."[7] Klein claims that Ḥegger (and Ḥagrā) is in the east-

[2] Seyrig 1941: 218–223.
[3] *E.g.*, Sartre 1981; Bowersock 1983: 95–97, 103, 157.
[4] Graf 1988.
[5] For a review of works that support Seyrig's findings, see Graf 1988: 172–173. See also, Bowersock 1983: 97.
[6] Cf. Goodblatt 1995: 16, 18, 21, 24.
[7] See also, J.T. *Giṭṭīn* 1:1 (1:1); BT, *Giṭṭīn* 2a.

ern part of Trachonitis.[8] He misidentifies Ḥegger because he also misidentifies Reqem. While Josephus, a Jew who lived in the first century CE under Roman rule, explicitly claims that Reqem is Petra,[9] Klein identifies it as al-Raqīm, drawing on the finding of the Muslim geographer al-Muqaddasī, who lived about a millennium later (*ca*. 946 CE–*ca*. 1000 CE), that there is a location of this name near Damascus.[10] Klein even ignores a Jewish contemporary of Josephus in the Land of Israel, Onkelos, who renders Qadesh (in the Negev) as Reqem in his translations of Gen. 16:14 and Gen. 20:1. Since the two places are mentioned in proximity in the Mishna, Klein claims, they must be close. To identify Ḥegger, he also relies on Wetzstein, according to whom the ʿAnzī tribes call two tribes east of Damascus *Ahl al-Ḥujr*.[11] Ben Zeʾev criticizes Klein for his view because Mishna, *Giṭṭīn* 1:2 reads: "From Reqem eastward and Reqem as [part of] the east." Thus, he argues, one should search for Ḥegger in the northern Ḥijāz; on this basis, he identifies Ḥagrā as al-Ḥijr.[12]

Mazar, basing himself on the definite article that precedes the word "Ḥegger" in the Mishna, argues that the term denotes not a settlement but the *limes Palaestinae*, a series of Roman fortifications along the southern border of the Land of Israel.[13] The root *ḥ.g./j.r.* in Semitic languages, he adds, denotes a circumference, a wall, or a fence; thus, Ḥegger is a geographical region or a string of fortified localities. It may therefore be, according to Mazar, that Ḥagrā of Arabia is the fortified area of *Provincia Arabia*, *i.e*., the *limes Palaestinae*. Interestingly, while Mazar suggests this, he opines that Ḥagrā in Nabataean inscriptions is al-Ḥijr.[14] By implication, according to his view, Ḥagrā in Rabbinic sources is not the Nabataean Ḥagrā—an argument that has nothing on which to rely. Mazar's opinion is accepted by Avi-Yonah.[15] Similarly, Bar-Ilan claims that ha-Ḥegger denotes a desert area beyond the southern border of the Land of Israel, where there were stockade fortifica-

[8] Klein 1928: 206–207. Cf. Klein 1939b 1: 43, 161.
[9] Thackeray 1926: 553 (IV: vii. 1).
[10] Klein 1929: 21–22.
[11] Klein 1928: 206; Klein 1929: 21–22.
[12] Ben Zeʾev 1931: 19, 25.
[13] The first to suggest this idea, albeit very briefly, was Krauss (1899: 2: 253), whose view will be mentioned below in the discussion of Ḥagrā.
[14] Mazar 1949: 317. Cf. Rappel 1984: 83.
[15] Avi-Yonah 1974: 2:88 (map no. 135).

tions.[16] Albeck notes, similarly but somewhat equivocally, that ha-Ḥegger is "apparently in the southern border of the Land of Israel."[17]

Another scholar who follows Mazar is Davies: "It seems probable," he says, that Ḥegger, as Mazar goes on to suggest, came also to have the collective sense of "a line of forts" and was applied to *limes Palaestinae*, which extended from Rafah on the Mediterranean coast to the Dead Sea. It is legitimate, Davies continues, to suppose that the Ḥagrā of the Targumim has no connection with Hegra in Arabia, but is instead a toponym that relates to the region south of the Land of Israel. Davies notes that while the inscriptions from al-Ḥijr clearly points to the presence of Jews, Mishna, *Giṭṭīn* 1:1 probably relates to a region closer to the Land of Israel.[18]

Goodblatt criticizes Mazar and Bar-Ilan on several grounds: (1) Even if one accepts the meaning of Ḥegger as a fort, one cannot possibly know that ha-Ḥegger is a series of fortifications or a fortified border. After all, it was not unusual in the Mishnaic era to preface names of cities with the definite article. (2) According to the current broad scholarly consensus, the *limes Palaestinae* was built 200 years after R. Gamaliel's lifetime (late first century CE–second century CE) and some say that there was never a system of fortifications along the southern border of the Land of Israel in the Roman period. Thus, ha-Ḥegger cannot be the *limes Palaestinae* and one should search a specific settlement that carries the name ha-Ḥegger. (3) Al-Ḥijr prospered under Nabataean rule, mainly in the first century CE, close to R. Gamaliel's lifetime, and was more famous than any other Ḥegger. Thus, it is very likely that R. Gamaliel would mention famous places as al-Ḥijr.[19] (4) Inscriptions from the first century CE show that Jews lived in al-Ḥijr at that time; there is also evidence that they continued to do so until the eve of Islam. Eventually, Goodblatt concludes that ha-Ḥegger is al-Ḥijr.[20]

(B) Ḥagrā (חגרא): BT, *Yevamōt* 116a tells of a man named ʿAnan bar Ḥiyyā from Ḥagrā, who spent some time in Nehardea. The text does not specify what ʿAnan's purpose in Nehardea was; it mentions him only in regard to the bill of divorce that he sent his wife. Krauss claims that the word Ḥagrā is actually a corruption of *Ḥaqrā*, a fort.[21] His opinion recurs in Mazar's argument,

[16] Bar-Ilan 1991: 107 n.28.
[17] Albeck 1958: 273.
[18] Davies 1972: 157–158, 159 n.1.
[19] Cf. Hirschberg 2007: 2:294.
[20] Goodblatt 1995: 17–18, 20–21, 24.
[21] Krauss 1899: 2:253.

which, as we have seen, is futile. Goodblatt, who identifies ha-Ḥegger as al-Ḥijr, states that the location of Ḥagrā in BT, *Yevamōt* 116a is not clear.[22] Obermeyer suggests that Ḥagrā is actually an abbreviation of Hagrunia (הגרוניא), a suburb of Nehardea[23] and Davies argues—on the basis of the context, which describes an incident in Babylonia—that Obermeyer's proposal of Hagrunia seems more likely than a reference to al-Ḥijr.[24] Oppenheimer notes that Obermeyer may be right.[25]

The identification of Ḥagrā in BT, *Yevamōt* 116a as Hagrunia, however, is groundless because the Talmud mentions this suburb specifically and by name in several places. It seems to have been the home of no few sages, such as R. Elʿazar ben Hagrunia (BT, *ʿEirūvīn* 63a; *Bavā Meṣīʿā* 69a; *Taʿanīt* 24b), Avīmī of Hagrunia (BT, *Bavā Batrā* 174b; *Bavā Meṣīʿā* 77b, 97a; *Ketūbōt* 109b; *Makkōt* 13b; *Yevamōt* 64b), Samuel bar Abbā (BT, *Bavā Qammā* 88a), R. Ḥilqiah (BT, *Hōrayōt* 8a; *Yevamōt* 9a), R. Yehuda (BT, *ʿAvōda Zara* 39a); R. Ashī (BT, *Sōṭa* 46b) and R. Shīmī bar Ashī (BT, *Berakhōt* 31a).[26] In addition, Rabbah bar bar Ḥannā mentions the Tower of Hagrunia as a metaphor for something huge (BT, *Bavā Batrā* 73b).[27]

Goitein considers it unlikely that ʿAnan had come from al-Ḥijr, noting that several places bear the name Ḥagrā but offering no examples. Since Goitein states *ad loc.* that he consulted with Klein on a related issue,[28] it would be within the bounds of reason to argue that he followed his view regarding Ḥagrā. Hirschberg notes that although several places are called Ḥagrā, some references to them—he gives BT, *Yevamōt* 116a, as an example—undoubtedly refer to al-Ḥijr. He adds that al-Ḥijr was an important center in the first century BCE and therefore was known in the Land of Israel and Babylonia.[29]

[22] Goodblatt 1995: 20.
[23] Obermeyer 1929: 266.
[24] Davies 1972: 159 n.1.
[25] Oppenheimer 1983: 138.
[26] *Idem*.: 134–140.
[27] The name Hagrunia may be a diminutive for Hegra, the Graeco-Roman version of al-Ḥijr, akin to "Little Ḥagrā," possibly indicating that Jews originally from Ḥagrā lived there and plausibly explaining the purpose of ʿAnan bar Ḥiyyā's stay in the vicinity of Nehardea. The presence of a man from Ḥagrā in Nehardea suggests that the Jews of these communities had some form of relationship, by kinship or other. If this is the case, the Jews of northern Arabia were not disconnected from Jewish communities outside Arabia. The person who reported the news of ʿAnan's stay in Nehardea presumably knew to identify him as someone from Ḥagrā and thought it worth mentioning.
[28] Goitein 1931: 411 n.7.
[29] Hirschberg 2007: 2:294.

Most scholars who discuss the subject indeed appear to identify Ḥagrā as al-Ḥijr. Horovitz, for example, considers ʿAnan a "native" of al-Ḥijr.[30] A series of scholars in different disciplines also identify Ḥagrā as al-Ḥijr; examples are Abel, Ben Zvi, Naveh, Preis, and Friedheim.[31]

(C) Ḥagrā of Arabia (חגרא דערביא): On several occasions, some major sages insert into their exegetics non-Hebrew words that were used in Arabia. For example, Zeph. 1:17 reads: "And I will bring distress upon men, that they shall walk like blind men, because they have sinned against the Lord: and their blood shall be poured out as dust, and their *leḥumam* (לְחֻמָם) as the dung."[32] R. Isaac interprets the verse as speaking about the Israelites who were killed pursuant to the sin of the golden calf and notes that their flesh was "tossed aside like dung." R. Levi supports this explanation by noting, "In Arabia they call meat *laḥmā*" (בערביא קורין לבשרא, לחמא).[33] Given that *laḥm* in Arabic means meat, R. Levi's recourse to the vernacular of Arabia for support seems precise and reliable. This example and several others led some scholars, such as Cohen, to assume that a Jewish colony had settled in northern Arabia in the Talmudic era.[34]

One might get the impression that these sources refer to northern Arabia. Hoyland states: "Since these statements mostly originate with Palestinian authorities (*tannaim* and *amoraim*) of the first to fourth centuries CE, we might suppose that they chiefly intend to southern Palestine and the Transjordan, that is, the Nabataean heartlands and subsequently, after their annexation in 105/106 CE, the Roman province of Arabia." Thus, he adds in regard to the presentation of such sources in support of the Talmudic references to Arabia, "One suspects that that part of Arabia just across the Jordan from Jerusalem is meant rather than faraway Hijaz [*sic*]." Still, Hoyland admits that in some Rabbinic references to Arabia, "It cannot be doubted that occasionally the southern-most reaches of Nabataea/Roman Arabia are intended." As an example, he mentions the visit by R. Ḥiyyā, R. Shimʿōn bar Ḥalaftā, R. Shimʿōn, and Rabbah to "Ḥagrā of Arabia" to discover the meaning of several Aramaic words that they had forgotten (Genesis Rabbah

[30] Horovitz 1929: 170.
[31] Abel 1938: 2:436; Ben Zvi 1960: 134; Naveh 1978: 181; Preis, 1977: 122; Friedheim 2000: 170 n.24.
[32] Translation taken from *The King James Bible*.
[33] Exodus Rabbah, 42:4. See further, Cohen 1912; Krauss 1916.
[34] *Idem*.: 224.

79:7).[35] Oppenheimer also places Ḥagrā of Arabia in northern Arabia;[36] Davies admits to uncertainty but notes that Ḥagrā of Arabia may be al-Ḥijr.[37] While most scholars point in the direction of al-Ḥijr, Klein, based on his misidentification of Reqem, argues that this is not so.[38]

R. Ḥiyyā, R. Shimʿōn bar Ḥalaftā, R. Shimʿōn, and Rabbah journey as far as Ḥagrā of Arabia to rediscover the meaning of words that "they had forgotten from the Targum." The source of this information, however, does not specify which Targum it was. Although much of Genesis Rabbah is in Aramaic, they seem to have come to learn the meaning of words in Hebrew. The text reports that a resident of the place told his friend, "Hang these *yahavā* on me" (תלי הדין יהבא עלי); from the context, they deduced the meaning of *yahav* ("השלך על ה' יהבך והוא יכלכלך". Ps. 55:23), as a burden. The text then describes additional situations in which the sages learned the meanings of other words from listening to conversations there.

If so, these sages viewed the inhabitants of Ḥagrā of Arabia (some of whom were probably Jewish) as having preserved the authentic meaning of Biblical words, at a time when sages in the Land of Israel struggled to understand Biblical texts in their original language. Therefore, when a Jewish source states that "in Arabia they refer to such-and-such as so-and-so," it is very likely that it does refer to the Ḥijāz, where, as stated, Jews cognizant of Hebrew dwelled.[39] This insight is of immense importance for our discussion; it shows that the references to northern Arabia in early Rabbinic sources are not as few as is widely assumed.

BT, *Roʾsh ha-Shana* 26b and BT, *Megīlla* remark that the sages did not understand Ps. 55:23 because they found it difficult to explain the word *yahav*. Rabbah bar bar Ḥannā solved the problem with an anecdote: "One day I walked with one *Ṭayyaʿā* while carrying a burden and he told me take *yahavkha* and throw it onto my camel" (יומא חד הוה אזלינא בהדי ההוא טייעא, הוה דרינא טונא, ואמר לי שקול יהבך ושדי אגמלאי). The word *Ṭayyaʿey* (sg. *Ṭayyaʿā*) in the Talmud refers to Bedouin, especially those in the vicinity of Iraq, and is a generic term for Arabs in Syriac sources.[40] It is not clear, however, where

[35] Hoyland 2011: 92.
[36] Oppenheimer 1993: 21.
[37] Davies 1972: 158 n.3.
[38] Klein 1929: 23.
[39] A recent work suggests that the Jews of northern Arabia used Judaeo-Arabic as early as the fourth century CE and that the earliest examples of the Arabic language were written in the Hebrew alphabet by Arabian Jews. See Hopkins 2009.
[40] Shahîd 2000: 402.

Rabbah bar bar Ḥannā's epiphany had taken place.[41] Still, the sages again used the Arabs' language (the identity of the language not being clear) to explain a Biblical word. This raises an important question: why would a major sage such as Rabbah bar bar Ḥannā need to learn the meaning of a word in Hebrew from a non-Jew? The question remains moot.

In Arabic sources, the *Ṭayyaʿey* are known as the Banū Ṭayyiʾ, a large tribe originally from northern Arabia that was one of the first Arab tribes to reach the Land of Israel. Eventually, it split into several branches that still exist today. Interestingly, Islamic sources state that one of the Banū Ṭayyiʾ married a woman from the Banū al-Naḍīr, one of the Jewish tribes in Medina, and their son Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf was one the leaders of the tribe.[42] It is very likely that his father converted to Judaism.[43] Was the *Ṭayyaʿā* from whom Rabbah bar bar Ḥannā learned the meaning of *yahav* a convert? There is no telling, but such a hypothesis would explain why he would trust the man's explanation. When one takes into account the large extent of conversion to Judaism among pre-Islamic Arab tribes, it seems quite likely.[44]

(D) Hegra (הגרה): Ḥagrā is also mentioned in Num. Rabbah 13:2, this time in its Greek version, Hegra. The text reads:

> *An alternative [interpretation]: "Awaken O North" [Songs. 4:16] shows that the winds will be jealous of each other. The southerly wind says: I bring the exile from Yemen and the exile from Hegra and all of the south, and the northerly wind says: I bring the northern exile. The Omnipresent ordains peace between them and they enter through one entrance, to fulfill what is written: "I will say to the north, Give up; and to the south, Keep not back: bring my sons from far etc. [Is. 43:6]."*

[41] It seems that Rabbah bar bar Ḥannā had many encounters with *Ṭayyaʿey* in different situations. See further, Baer 2007; Kiperwasser 2008.

[42] Ibn Hishām 1987: 3:12–17.

[43] On Arabs converting to Judaism due to their marriage with Jewish women, see Lecker 1987: 17–18; Mazuz 2014: 44–45.

[44] For a survey of primary sources from all Abrahamic faiths on the extent of proselytism in Arabia, as well as secondary sources on the subject, see Gil, 1984; 1997 1:3–19; 2004: 3–19. See further, Ben Zeʾev 1931: 29–31; Lecker 1995; Tobi 2012: 22, 26–27; Robin 2013.

The text offers several insights. First, Hegra is not within the borders of the Land of Israel; it is south of the country. Thus, any attempt to locate it at the north of the Land of Israel is futile. Secondly, the text is a Midrash on Is. 43:6 and Songs. 4:16 that speaks of the end of the exile and the ingathering of Israel from the Diaspora. It describes Yemen as the southernmost point of the exile and then refers to Hegra and then all of the south, meaning that Hegra cannot be anywhere close to the border of the Land of Israel. Accordingly, it must be located between Yemen and the territories to the south of the Land of Israel, more or less corresponding to al-Ḥijr. Therefore, it is to this place that the text refers. Thirdly, it suggests that in the eyes of the Midrash there was a Jewish settlement in Hegra.[45]

Apart from the confusion regarding Ḥagrā and the mistakes in making deductions about it, some scholars have overlooked several points of relevance to the discussion: (1) The academic literature has not pinpointed the location of Ḥagrā in Rabbinic sources thus far; even Klein's suggestion is vague. (2) Ha-Ḥegger is actually the Hebrew rendering of al-Ḥijr. (3) The definite article preceding the word Ḥegger in the Mishna suggests that this is a generic name for several settled localities. Al-Ḥijr is also known as Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ, *i.e*., the cities of Ṣāliḥ, a Qurʾānic figure, meaning that it was not only one settlement but many. (4) The Arabic root *ḥ.j.r.* indeed denotes prevention/obstruction, but walls and fortifications were not unusual in Arabia. Islamic sources describe forts such as al-Ablaq of the Jewish king of Taymāʾ al-Samawʾal b. ʿĀdiyā and of the Jews of Medina and Khaybar.[46] (5) Reqem has been identified as Petra, the famous "twin" of al-Ḥijr among the Nabataean settlements. Thus, when Ḥegger is mentioned in proximity to Reqem, it is very likely that it is indeed al-Ḥijr.

Teima

Hoyland argues: "The only contender for a rabbi from the north Arabian Peninsula (as opposed to the Roman province of Arabia and Iranian province

[45] This argument is supported by epigraphic evidence from al-Ḥijr, such as Jewish inscriptions dating back to the first century CE. See *CIS II/I*: 257 (no. 219); Jaussen and Savignac 1909: 148–149 (Nab. no. 4), 242 (Nab. no. 172 *bis*); Horovitz 1929: 170–171; *CII* 2:344 (no. 1422); Altheim and Stiehl 1968: 305–310, 500–501; Stiehl 1970; Hirschberg 1975: 144–147; Noja 1979: 289–293; Healey 1989; Graf 2001: 268; Hoyland 2011: 93–97, 99; Robin 2014: 58. These findings, although few, argue in support of a strong Jewish presence there. (One should not expect to find many written findings, since oral transmission was the norm at that time and in that culture. See Macdonald 2010).

[46] See Hirschberg 1946: 184–186; Tobi 2012: 35–37.

of Beth Arabaye) is a certain Simeon the Temanite/Taymanite (championed by Torrey, *Jewish Foundation*, "lecture 2"), though even this is unsure inasmuch as the adjective could refer to the Edomite city (or district) of Teman (Petra area)."[47] Klein traces Shimʿōn's provenance to Timnah.[48] Shimʿōn ha-Teimanī/Taymanī/Tīmnī (שמעון התימני) is a Tanna who lived between the first and second centuries CE. His name suggests that he is from Yemen (תימן), Teima (תימא), Timnah (תמנה) in the Judean foothills, or Timnaʿ (תמנע) in the southern ʿArabah. Horovitz claims that he was "probably a native of Teima."[49] Three Nabataean inscriptions may support this view, since they use a term that resembles Teimanī/Taymanī/Tīmnī to denote people from Teima—Teimaniyā/Taymaniyā/Tīmniyā (תימניא) in reference to a man from this location and Teimanītā/Taymanitā/Tīmnītā (תימניתא) in regard to a woman from there.[50]

While it is possible to debate Shimʿōn ha-Teimanī/Taymanī/Tīmnī's origin, there are two Tannaim who definitely come from the Ḥijāz: The first is Yehuda ben Teima,[51] "son of Teima," a place that had a strong Jewish presence in the Talmudic period.[52] The second is Yehuda ben Ḥagrā,[53] "son of Ḥagrā," which, as we have seen, is al-Ḥijr. Teima and Ḥagrā are proximate settlements in northern Arabia. This may suggest that a number of Jewish sages was present in that area. Support for this comes from an inscription from al-ʿUlā that states: "Blessing to ʿAṭūr son of Menaḥem and Rabbi Yirmiah" (ברכה לעטור בר מנחם ורב ירמיה).[54] Given that four major sages such as R. Ḥiyyā, R. Shimʿōn bar Ḥalaftā, R. Shimʿōn, and Rabbah took the trouble of traveling to that vicinity to learn the meaning of Biblical words from the locals, it definitely seems possible.

[47] Hoyland 2011: 111 n.48.
[48] Klein 1939b 1:157.
[49] Horovitz 1929: 172.
[50] Doughty 1884: 47 (no. 13); Euting 1885: 33 (no. 4), 40 (no. 8), 63–64 (no. 22); *CIS II/I*: 227–228 (no. 199), 235–236 (no. 205); Jaussen and Savignac 1909: 141 (Nab. no. 1), 162–163 (Nab. no. 12).
[51] *E.g.*, Mishna, *Avōt* 5:18; JT, *ʿEirūvīn* 13a (1:10); JT, *Mōʿed Qaṭan* 18a (3:7).
[52] See Hirschberg 1946: 134–135; Altheim and Stiehl 1968: 305–310, 500–501; Stiehl 1970; Hirschberg 1975: 146–147; Noja 1979: 291–293; Chiesa 1994a: 167–168, 193–194; 1994b: 167–168, 195; Al-Najem and Macdonald 2009; Tobi 2012: 35; Robin 2014: 58.
[53] JT, *Peʾah* 24a (4:7); JT, *Ketūbōt* 4b (1:3).
[54] Winnett and Reed 1970: 163 (by J.T. Milik). In an inscription from Teima published by Altheim and Stiehl (1968: 310), the word *ḥb[r'*, appears. Both scholars assume that the term

The Hebrew word *ben* (and its Aramaic cognate, *bar*) denotes not only the son of a father but also the son of a birthplace. The Mishna (*ʿEduyyōt* 7:8–9), for example, mentions Mehaḥem ben Sagnā, Sagnā being a city in the Galilee;[55] Yōḥanan ben Gudgoda hailed from an eponymous location mentioned in Deut. 10:6–7, near Yotvata. The aforementioned R. Elʿazar ben Hagrunia (BT, *ʿEiruvīn* 63a; *Bavā Meṣīʿā* 69a; *Taʿanīt* 24b) is another case in point. An inscription from al-ʿUlā, apparently from the fourth century CE, mentions ʿAbday bar Teima (עבדי בר תימא), *i.e.*, ʿAbday of Teima.[56] A related locution is *ben ha-maqōm*, a son of the place, *i.e.*, a local person. This use also occurs in the plural, as in *bnei Yerushalaim*, sons of Jerusalem.

Arab Proselytes

Yehuda ben Ḥagrā is mentioned only twice in the Talmud. One reference appears in a discussion about whether a proselyte must observe the commandment of *leqeṭ*,[57] in which the poor are allowed to glean grain that drops in the course of a harvest. Many references to Yehuda ben Teima occur in the context of laws pertaining to divorce outside the Land of Israel.[58] Such information suggests that these sages had to solve situations related to these subjects, *i.e.*, that Yehuda ben Ḥagrā had converts in his milieu and that Yehuda ben Teima was asked about divorce laws outside the Land of Israel, probably by Jews from the Diaspora, perhaps from Teima, or by Jews from the Land of Israel who married them.

Interestingly, two reports about the Banū Balī from Islamic sources support the hypothesis that Yehuda ben Ḥagrā had converts in his milieu. According to the Muslim geographer Yāqūt (1179–1229 CE), one branch of the Balī lived in al-Ḥijr.[59] This information is important because the members of this branch may have been proselytes. This possibility is based on the writings of another Muslim geographer, al-Bakrī (d. 1094 CE), according to

denotes a *ḥaver*, a Jewish term that denotes a Pharisee, a believer in the oral tradition and a Jewish sage. Noja (1979: 296) disagrees. On the term *ḥabr*, see further, Nehmé 2005–2006: 197–198; Mazuz 2014: 21–23.

[55] See further, Klein 1939a: 231–232.

[56] Euting 1885: 71 (no. 30); *CIS II/I*: 298 (no. 333); Huber 1891: 395 (no. 5).

[57] JT, *Peʾah* 24a (4:7).

[58] Tōseftā, *Giṭṭīn* 5:13; JT, *Nazīr* 7a (2:4); BT, *Bavā Meṣīʿā* 94a; BT, *Giṭṭīn* 84a.

[59] Yāqūt 1990: 4:81.

which many of the Balī converted to Judaism when they reached Taymāʾ because the Jews there had made this a condition for their settlement there.[60] The Jewish presence in Taymāʾ was so dominant that Islamic sources called it "Taymāʾ of the Jew" (تيماء اليهودي).[61] Given the proximity of these settlements, those of the Balī who settled in al-Ḥijr, another locality with a strong Jewish presence, may have converted too.

Let us return to Mishna *Giṭṭīn* 1:1, which treats a person who delivers a bill of divorce from ha-Reqem and ha-Ḥegger as one who has delivered it from overseas; *i.e*., he must declare that it had been written and signed before him. This wording demonstrates that Jewish settlement existed at that time at least as far as ha-Ḥegger, *i.e.*, al-Ḥijr. Theoretically, it is also possible that some Jews from the Land of Israel were married to inhabitants of ha-Reqem and ha-Ḥegger; this might explain why a bill of divorce would be sent from there. But why must a courier who delivers such a document from ha-Reqem and ha-Ḥegger declare that it had been written and signed before him? The apparent answer is that some people in Reqem (and therefore, most likely, also in Ḥegger) were proselytes and thus were not well versed in the laws. The Mishna (*Nīdda* 7:3) implies as much: "All stains from Reqem are pure and R. Yehuda pronounces them impure because they are proselytes and mistaken."

Jews in the Land of Israel and those in Ḥegger/Ḥagrā appear to have maintained a bilateral relationship: the former learned the meaning of Biblical words from the latter; the latter consulted them on bills of divorce and, perhaps, menstrual laws, two highly sensitive areas of *Halakha*. Such relations may support the view that the Jews of northern Arabia absorbed teachings from the Land of Israel and were Talmudic.[62] These findings challenge arguments about shallow Jewish culture due to the absence of contact with Jewish communities outside Arabia and proselyte background, although proselytes were common in northern Arabia.

Conclusion

The concept of Arabia in Rabbinic sources includes the Ḥijāz. This alone allows us to broaden the use of Jewish sources to gain insights into north Arabian Jewry. The discussion focused on references to al-Ḥijr and Taymāʾ in

[60] al-Bakrī 1876–1877: 1:21. See further, Hirschberg 1946: 116–117.
[61] *E.g*., Yāqūt 1990: 2:78.
[62] See Kister and Kister 1980; Mazuz 2014.

the Mishna, the Talmuds, and the Midrashim. The investigation of this material showed that it accommodates more than was known so far about the north Arabian Jews' religious life and their relations with religious authorities in the Land of Israel, irrespective of the extent of proselytism among them.

This discussion addressed only several references to north Arabian Jews in Rabbinic sources. The potential of the material there and the insights that may be produced from them are far from being exploited. Scholars should accept the challenge and develop a new and extensive discussion on the Rabbinic material and even offer new methodologies for analyzing it.[63] By investigating all the information that appears in the Rabbinic literature and reading the sources closely, one may draw far-reaching conclusions about north Arabian Jewry. Costa's recent article attempts to head in this direction, sending an excellent message and promoting research.[64] This subject is highly important for several disciplines other than Jewish studies, such as Late Antiquity and Early Islam. Interdisciplinary collaboration would surely yield abundant fruit.

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Abbreviations

CII 2 = *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum*: *Recueil des inscriptions juives qui vont du IIIe siècle avant Jésus-Christ au VIIe siècle de notre ère, vol. 2: Asie – Afrique*. 1952. Edited by J.B. Frey, Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana.
CIS II/I = Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum II/I: Inscriptions Aramaicas Continens. 1889. Paris: n.p.
The King James Bible = The King James Version of the English Bible: An Account of the Development and Sources of the English Bible of 1611 with Special References to Hebrew Tradition. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1941.

[63] An example is my recent work on the religious and spiritual life of the Jews of Medina, in which I identify Talmudic elements in the Islamic descriptions of these Jews. See Mazuz 2014.
[64] See Costa 2015.

Yāqūt = al-Ḥamawī al-Rūmī al-Baghdādī, Y. 1990. *Muʿjam al-Buldān*. 7 Vols. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya.

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Can I Have a Word?: Methods of Communication in Judges 6*

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Abstract: ***Can I Have a Word?*: Methods of Communication in Judges 6**
Human-divine communication takes on many forms in the Hebrew Bible. From dreams and prophetic visions to spoken oracles, there are a variety of depictions of communication between humans and the divine. Judges 6 fits within the body of passages in which communication is of vital importance; the chapter focuses on the divine call of Gideon and his response. What precipitates this call is invasion and attacks on resources. Judges 6 begins with Israel encountering Midianites, Amalekites, and other unnamed groups. Israel's livelihood is compromised because its agricultural activities and produce are disrupted by outside attacks. In the midst of these conflicts, Gideon is commissioned by Yahweh to provide needed relief. An uncertain agriculturalist turned warrior, Gideon has two divine encounters before going to battle—one on a wine press and another on a threshing floor. In these encounters, Yahweh communicates via agrarian products and the natural environment, namely the world surrounding Gideon is used to deliver divine messages and approval for war. This article examines these methods of communication using principles of ecological hermeneutics.

Keywords: Communication – Agrarian space – Ecological Hermeneutics – Gideon

Resumen: ***¿Puedo decir algo?:* métodos de comunicación en Jueces 6**
La comunicación hombre-divinidad toma diferentes formas en la Biblia hebrea. Desde sueños y visiones proféticas a oráculos hablados, hay una variedad de representaciones de comunicación entre humanos y lo divino. Jueces 6 encaja en el cuerpo de pasajes en el cual la comunicación es de vital importancia; el capítulo se centra en la llamada divina de Gedeón y su respuesta. Lo que precipita esta llamada es la invasión y los ataques de los recursos. Jueces 6 comienza con Israel enfrentándose a los madianitas, amalecitas y otros grupos sin nombres. El modo de vida israelita está comprometido porque sus actividades y producción agrícola son interrumpidas por

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los ataques externos. En el medio de estos conflictos, Gedeón es comisionado por Yahvé para proveer el alivio necesario. Un incierto agricultor convertido en guerrero, Gedeón tiene dos encargos divinos antes de ir a la batalla—uno en una prensa de vino y el otro en un piso para trillar las cosechas. En estos encuentros antes de ir a la batalla, Yahvé se comunica mediante productos agrarios y el ambiente natural, a saber, el mundo que rodeaba a Gedeón es utilizado para entregar mensajes divinos y la aprobación para la guerra. Este artículo examina estos métodos de comunicación usando los principios de la hermenéutica ecológica.

Palabras clave: Comunicación – Espacio agrario – Hermenéutica ecológica – Gedeón

Introduction

Judges 6[1] is a chapter filled with foreign invaders, divine intervention, miraculous signs, and human actions. In the midst of all of this, Gideon emerges as an uncertain and insecure agriculturalist who is commissioned by God to save Israel from years of attack. Much of Judges 6 hinges on human-divine communication, as Gideon has direct and indirect divine encounters before going to war. In each of these instances, the biblical author[2] utilizes agrarian elements and spaces and the natural environment to depict divine communication and approval. On the surface, the use of agriculture and nature may seem predictable considering ancient Israel was an agrarian society. Naturally, agrarian items and spaces were ubiquitous in the region. Yet, within the call of Gideon there is a prevalence of agricultural and natural elements that serves a purpose beyond the ordinary: the rationale behind Gideon's call is an attack on agriculture; Gideon performs agricultural work during his first divine encounter; two agrarian spaces are the settings for Gideon's divine

[1] The book of Judges contains narratives focused on premonarchic Israel. Many of the stories are legends that may come from the Northern Kingdom before its fall in the eighth century BCE. Judges is within the Deuteronomistic History (Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, 1–2 Samuel, 1–2 Kings) and reflects Deuteronomistic ideology. Judges also contains less formalized religious practices, such as the rituals described in chapter six.

[2] Like many biblical texts, the Gideon narratives reflect a complex compositional history where multiple oral and written sources have been combined together, likely with more than one author and redactor. Evidence within the text suggests multiple traditions have been combined together (*e.g.* Two names are used for Gideon throughout Judges 6–8, Gideon and Jerubbaal). Martin Noth notes the composite nature of the Gideon narratives with various elements and traditions incorporated together with a Deuteronomistic introduction, style, and formulae. See Noth 1981: 45–46.

encounters; Yahweh uses agrarian and natural elements when communicating with Gideon. The mere presence of agriculture and nature is not surprising, but the manner in which these elements are utilized in the call of Gideon is noteworthy. To more precisely understand these aspects of the narrative, select principles of ecological hermeneutics will help shed a new light on communication in Judges 6.

Ecological Hermeneutics

There has been growing interest in recognizing and uncovering the relationship between biblical interpretation and ecological issues.[3] The work of Norman C. Habel has been especially influential to scholars seeking a methodology for doing ecological hermeneutics with an intended goal of recovering the lost voice of the Earth in the Bible. Habel[4] proposes a threefold methodology (*suspicion-identification-retrieval*) for achieving an ecological hermeneutic. He rightly notes that in many studies of biblical passages, the land, resources, and non-human elements are forgotten or overlooked. To resist this tendency, he recommends an acceptance of a necessary *suspicion* that a text is likely anthropocentric or that it has traditionally been read with an anthropocentric lens that might bias interpretation. He asserts a need for *identification* of the non-human elements of a passage to raise awareness of the Earth[5] within it. Once these elements have been identified, a *retrieval* of the lost voice of the Earth is possible.[6] There are certainly merits and successful uses of this model. This schema can advance a critical study of ecology in biblical passages while also attempting to articulate the perspective of the Earth.[7] Although there are passages where this methodology is effective, not all texts

[3] There have been several interdisciplinary works published in the 2000s that have sought to address these topics. Recent publications include Habel and Trudinger 2008; Horrell, Hunt, Southgate, and Stavrakopoulou 2010; Trainor 2012; Clingerman, Treanor, Drenthen, and Utsler 2013.

[4] Much of the work in developing standards and methods for ecological hermeneutics has been a collaboration of scholars. Habel is highlighted here, but many others are acknowledged in his works, in particular scholars who participated in the SBL Consultation for Ecological Hermeneutics (2004–2006) and scholars active in The Earth Bible Project.

[5] Earth refers to the entire ecosystem including the natural environment and its non-human constituents.

[6] Habel 2008: 4–5.

[7] Examples of successful studies include Miller 2008: 123–130 and Turner 2008: 113–122.

fit easily in this framework. For instance, sometimes the non-human elements of a narrative are only minimally mentioned and an inquiry would not produce an adequate analysis of the text. Similarly, sometimes there are overt references to ecological elements, yet the passage is anthropocentric in its focus. Judges 6 fits within the latter category. The interest within the narrative is anthropocentric, but the presence of the Earth is palpable, not for its own sake but for how it is affected by and contributes to humanity. On the surface, my study may not clearly align with ecological hermeneutics since it does not seek to reclaim the lost voice of the Earth. However, my study does provide a meaningful adaptation of this methodology by using it to evaluate a text that has a significant amount of ecological content but with an anthropocentric and theocentric focus. Such a text is not a typical candidate for ecological hermeneutics, but this article will push the boundaries of this methodology to test whether it can shed light on ecologically packed passages. Similarly, there are additional ecological principles that will assist in analyzing texts where ecology figures prominently, as in Judges 6.

Beyond the threefold model, Habel also articulates six principles that can guide an exploration of ecology and the Bible. As noted above, these principles "were refined in consultations and workshops concerned with ecology in general, and ecological concerns linked to theology and the Bible more specifically."[8] Principles 1 and 3 highlight the intrinsic value of the Earth and the need to celebrate the Earth's voice. Principles 5 and 6 highlight the mutual relationship between all members of the Earth community and the need to resist human injustices. Principles 2 and 4 are informative to this study of Judges 6, as these concepts can be detected within the narrative:

> *"The principle of interconnectedness [Principle 2]: Earth is a community of interconnected living things that are mutually dependent on each other for life and survival…*
> *The principle of purpose [Principle 4]: The universe, Earth and all its components are part of a dynamic cosmic design with which each piece has a place in the overall goal of that design."*[9]

[8] Habel 2008: 2.
[9] Habel 2008: 2. For more discussion of the principles of ecojustice, see The Earth Bible Team 2000: 38–53.

Principle 2 stresses that members of the Earth community are allies with one another. An implicit assumption is that there is a need for solidarity amongst all living things since the community benefits and suffers on account of others. Principle 4 elaborates on this by emphasizing that all things play a role in promoting and sustaining the universe. The author of Judges 6 strategically uses Gideon's environment as a tool for communication, and these two underlying principles can be detected within the narrative.

Guided by these ecological principles, this study of communication in Judges 6 will also have an intentional agrarian lens. Doing an agrarian reading does not involve following a formal framework but instead calls for a deliberate agricultural attentiveness. On the subject of agrarian reading, Ellen Davis aptly notes it is not a formal hermeneutic but instead, "it is a mind-set, a whole set of understandings, commitments, and practices that focus on the most basic of all cultural acts—eating."[10] In the discussion that follows, ecological principles along with an intentional agrarian emphasis will contextualize this analysis of Judges 6. Ecological elements, natural and built environments, and agrarian, food-centered activities play a significant role in the human-divine communication in Judges 6. Both the environment and agriculture facilitate how Yahweh calls Gideon and how Gideon responds. Right at the beginning of Judges 6, the rationale behind this ecologically packed chapter is the destruction of natural resources and food sources which sets the tone for the exchange.

Environmental Degradation (Judges 6:1–10)

Prior to the call of Gideon, the land of Israel is under attack. Judges 6 describes Israel dealing with encroachments from the Midianites, Amalekites, and other unnamed peoples from the east. In Judges 6:5, these groups are said to infiltrate and destroy the natural environment:

> "*For, they came up with their livestock, and they brought their tents like a swarm of locusts; neither they nor their camels could be counted; so they wasted the land as they came.*"
> כי הם ומקניהם יעלו ואהליהם יבאו כדי־ארבה לרב ולהם ולגמליהם אין מספר ויבאו בארץ לשחתה

[10] Davis 2009: 22.

The arrival of these outside groups destabilizes the Israelite community who is dependent upon the land. Poetically, the presence of these unwanted groups is compared to a swarm of locusts, an event that brings chaos and destruction. More specifically, locusts are plant-eating animals that feed on vegetation, which is exactly what the invaders are doing. The mention of locusts also recalls the plague of locusts in Egypt that destroys the land, in particular trees and fields (Exod 10:3–6). The author figuratively compares the human actors to natural animal actions and both result in land degradation.

To further weaken the land and the community, these groups tamper with the Israelite food supply by obstructing the planting of seeds and taking away Israel's livestock (Judg 6:3–4). Both acts take away sustenance, cause instability, and can lead to famine. Attacking the agrarian processes and products serves to debilitate Israelite society by seizing its food, an effective military tactic employed especially when laying siege to an area. These outside groups are vying for possession of this area, and they claim land and interrupt agriculture as a means to gain control. In this context, the land and its products appear to be like pawns in the struggle between Israel and these outside groups.

The text specifies that these attacks on the natural environment and agricultural activities are not happenstance. Rather, Yahweh causes these actions on account of Israel's worship of foreign gods (Judg 6:9–10). Because of Israelite infidelity, their land, resources, and food supply suffer as Yahweh gives Israel into the hand of Midian for seven years (Judg 6:1b). The oppression that the Israelites experience is because of their actions, yet the people do not suffer alone. For seven years, the land is an explicit victim of Israel's unfaithful behavior. Yahweh communicates dissatisfaction with Israelite apostasy not by verbally scolding their behavior, but instead by taking away their environmental and agrarian resources.

The ecological principle of interconnectedness [Principle 2] provides added dimension to what is being described in Judges 6:1–6. One of the foundational principles of ecological discourse is the emphasis on the reciprocal relationship between humanity and the environment. The principle suggests that humanity's actions can have positive or negative effects on the Earth. At the beginning of Judges 6, the author articulates this principle of interconnectedness in a theologically charged manner for his Israelite community. Apparently, it is not just how the Israelites treat the Earth that can have an impact on it. Instead, how the Israelites relate to Yahweh and how well they follow divine commands also impacts the land. So interconnected are Israel,

the land (which is a divine gift),[11] and Yahweh that disobedience to Yahweh can result in the land suffering on account of Israel. The suffering of the land causes Israel to suffer from lack of food.

This symbiotic relationship continues with Israel's response to the attacks. Israel reacts by hiding in the caves, mountains, and strongholds, taking refuge in the land that is under attack (Judges 6:2). While a victim of Israel's infidelity, the land still serves as a safe haven with natural buffers to keep the foreigners at a distance. In this action, the interconnectedness is highlighted not just because the land suffers, but also because the Israelites must rely on the land for their life and survival.

After seeking refuge within the land, Israel cries out to Yahweh for relief, and Yahweh's response is twofold and highlights both land and agriculture. First, Yahweh sends an unnamed prophet to summarize the salvific event of the exodus from Egypt. The reference to the exodus is to remind the Israelites that they were liberated by Yahweh from a land of oppression, and they have been given a promised land that is a tangible reminder of their covenantal relationship with Yahweh. The prophet reiterates that the land that enables Israel to survive and thrive comes with specific requirements, namely the faithful worship of Yahweh alone. Moreover, following divine law is essential to maintaining the sustainability of that land. Israel's land and its produce are divine gifts that come with contingencies, and if Yahweh is displeased with Israelite behavior, the land can be used to reflect divine disapproval. In addition to the prophet, Yahweh also responds to their pleas by calling Gideon to lead a military campaign against Midian. As much of the Midianite oppression occurred as an attack on the agriculture, similarly, this second divine response is couched in agrarian terms.

Call of Gideon at the Winepress (Judges 6:11–24)

In Judges 6:11–24, Yahweh commissions Gideon to lead the militaristic response to the invaders. When Gideon has his first experience of the divine, he is portrayed engaging in agricultural activities on an agrarian space: He threshes wheat at a wine press. Threshing is the act of beating or hitting crop stalks to release grains. Typically, threshing would be performed on a threshing floor;

[11] The gift of land is stated in the patriarchal stories (Gen 15:18–21, 28:13) and after the exodus (Exod 23:31). Within the Deuteronomistic History, the land is highlighted as a divine gift promised to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (Deut 1:8).

however, Gideon shrewdly uses the wine press in order to keep the crops away from the Midianites who are targeting agrarian products. A wine press is a built agrarian space used for pressing fruit to extract juice to be fermented to make wine. Here it acts as a refuge to protect grain from being stolen.

While Gideon is engaged in agricultural work, an angel of Yahweh[12] appears and is positioned in relation to the natural environment. For example, the angel is described as sitting on a rock that is under a nearby oak tree near the wine press. The specificity of the location of the angel heightens the interest in the environment that is palpable in the narrative. Similarly, the angel communicates with Gideon in close proximity to his agricultural work.

The angel tells Gideon that he will lead the campaign against the Midianite incursions in the land, as Yahweh will deliver Midian into his hand. Like other biblical figures, Gideon first resists this assignment.[13] He explains he is from the smallest tribe, Manasseh, and is not strong enough or worthy of the task. Likewise, Gideon expresses reluctance and uncertainty about the mission itself, and he requests a sign to confirm that it is in fact a legitimate, divine message. The angel acquiesces to communicate the validity of the task by performing a sign using food.

Judges 6:19 describes Gideon retrieving the offerings to present to the angel:

> "*So Gideon went and prepared a kid and unleavened bread from an ephah of flour; the meat he put in a basket, and the broth he put in a pot, and brought them to him under the oak and presented them.*"
> וגדעון בא ויעש גדי־עזים ואפת־קמח מצות הבשר שם בסל והמרק בפדור ויוצא אליו אל־תחת האלה ויגש

When Gideon returns to the wine press, the angel instructs him on how the offering is to proceed. He tells Gideon to put the meat and bread on a rock, a quasi altar, and pour the broth on top of them in the manner of a libation offering. Then, while holding his staff, the angel reaches out its tip and touches the meat and bread, and fire springs up from the rock and consumes the food. The angel then vanishes from Gideon's sight. Having seen the fire and the spectacular exit, Gideon realizes he was in the presence of Yahweh and is confident in his mission, although his confidence wanes later in the narrative.

[12] In the narrative, this divine messenger is also called angel of God and Yahweh.

[13] Similar reluctance and uncertainty to being commissioned can be found in figures such as Moses (Exod 3:7–4:17), Isaiah (Isa 6:1–8), and Jeremiah (Jer 1:4–10). For further discussion of commissioning narratives, see Kutsch 1956: 75–84; Habel 1965: 297–323; Akao 1993: 1–11.

This story of Gideon's commissioning portrays non-human elements as instruments of communication between Gideon and Yahweh. The agrarian products—kid, unleavened bread, broth—are symbolic, valuable, and effective. The goat is a sacrificial animal associated with atoning sins (cf. Lev 16:10). Its use here reflects the need to atone for Israel's unfaithful behavior that has caused the land, resources, and food supply to be compromised. The selection of the goat shows that Israel is culpable for what has been happening over seven years. The unleavened bread is an item often provided in grain offerings. This product recalls the wheat-threshing that Gideon was doing at the beginning of the pericope and represents divine gifts of food along with the human creation of an edible foodstuff. The choice of unleavened bread is also reminiscent of the exodus (cf. Exod 12) which was mentioned earlier in the passage. The broth functions as a libation offering that is poured on these items. The goat and bread are more expected in an offering, but oil or wine would be a more typical libation offering. The use of broth could reflect the dearth of resources at hand where oil and wine are unavailable. Alternatively, if the broth is from the goat, this could reflect a sustainable practice of using the maximum allowable parts of the animal so as not to waste. All of these foodstuffs have been targeted during the invasions of the Midianites, so Gideon is offering valuable items, particularly during a time of attack on the food supply. His offering is an important step in restoring the food that is lacking in his community.

This story conveys aspects of the ecological principle of purpose [Principle 4]. The components of the Earth are depicted as dynamic aspects of cosmic design. More specifically in this text, the products of the Earth enable and enhance human-divine communication. The agrarian space and the repeated mentions of nature amplify the interest in food and the environment. The items utilized convey Gideon's interests and also are symbolic of the damaged relationship that exists between Israel and Yahweh. Even after the food offerings are made, the divine response is not articulated orally, but instead occurs as a natural phenomenon. Fire appears as Gideon's sign of the validity of the command. Again, there is a need for Yahweh to convey information and approval to Gideon, and when Gideon seeks a sign, agriculture and the environment are instruments of communication.

After the angel disappears, Gideon becomes aware that he has just encountered Yahweh, and he is immediately afraid because he has seen the face of Yahweh. Yahweh tells him not to fear and then sends him on his first act to end the apostasy that has led to the trouble in the land.

Execution of Orders (Judges 6:25–35)

After commissioning Gideon, Yahweh commands him to eliminate worship of the gods Baal and Asherah. To accomplish this, Gideon is instructed to destroy an altar erected for Baal, cut down an Asherah pole, build an altar to Yahweh, and offer a seven-year-old bull on it. In the middle of the night, Gideon and ten of his servants complete these tasks. They use a bull to tear down the Baal altar, an irony given Baal's association with bull imagery. To destroy the Asherah pole, they burn it as firewood for the offering to Yahweh. This desecrates the pole while also repurposing the wood for a valid offering to Yahweh. This shows the dynamic aspects of this item; even an illegitimate cultic object can be reimagined and reused for proper Yahwistic worship. The offering of a seven-year-old bull on the new altar shows the return to proper Yahwistic worship, and the seven years coincides with the seven years of oppression by the Midianites and the Amalekites.

After this important event to restore proper cultic activities, the focus shifts back to the impending confrontation with the invading groups. The groups have crossed the Jordan, have encamped in the Jezreel Valley, and are readying themselves for battle. The specifics of where the groups are in relation to the hill country heighten the importance of the land within this narrative, and there is a divine response to these advances. Yahweh fills Gideon with a divine spirit that causes Gideon to sound a shofar to rally his troops. This military action is the divine deliverance promised at the wine press. Nonetheless, even though the divine spirit is within him, Gideon wavers again and seeks to communicate with Yahweh once more. He still is not fully confident in the success of his battle. Interestingly, he chooses another agrarian space, a threshing floor, as the location for additional divine confirmation.

Divination Ritual on the Threshing Floor (Judges 6:36–40)

At the end of Judges 6, Gideon goes to a threshing floor, the location where crops are threshed or winnowed to collect grain. In addition to this agrarian function, threshing floors are also associated with divine presence, control, and blessings, a topic I have written on elsewhere.[14] In Judges 6, Gideon does not thresh at the threshing floor because he strategically uses the wine press

[14] For an overview of these spaces, see Waters 2015: 1–14.

to keep the crops away from the invaders. Instead, Gideon goes to the threshing floor to communicate with Yahweh, and he uses the space, a fleece, and dew as his supplies.

Gideon goes to the threshing floor to perform a divination ritual to receive another sign that his battle will be successful. He waits until nighttime, the optimal time for dewfall, and places an animal fleece on the threshing floor. He asks Yahweh for dew to be formed on the fleece but not on the dry ground of the threshing floor. In essence, Gideon asks Yahweh to make a natural occurrence as a way to discern the divine will. If overnight dew forms only on the fleece but not the threshing floor, then that will serve as confirmation of the success of his battle. The following day Gideon inspects the fleece and finds it soaked with dew (Judg 6:38b). This is the divine confirmation he sought, yet again he makes another request. He asks for the sign to be reversed, with the dew forming only on the ground and none on the fleece, and Yahweh complies (Judges 6:40). Since fleece is absorbent, the lack of dew on it is exceptional. Here, Yahweh has manipulated the dew to behave in an unnatural way as a means to convey to Gideon that his battle will be successful.

Gideon's request is for a display of divine control over the natural environment, and the biblical author affirms that Yahweh governs everything and can use the Earth as needed. Yahweh does not only verbally deliver instructions but can communicate divine intention via the environment. This is an instance of components of the Earth (weather phenomenon, animal fleece, threshing floor) being used in an alternative way for a greater purpose. It illustrates aspects of Principle 4 regarding the larger purpose that all things can serve. In this narrative, Gideon is aware that Yahweh can and will use agricultural and natural components of the Earth in a dynamic way to communicate divine intention.

Conclusion

Comparing the two scenes on agrarian spaces provides a few key insights into how communication works in the call of Gideon. On the wine press, the primary agent is Yahweh. It is his angel who appears and initiates the human-divine exchange. Furthermore, though Gideon chooses the kid, bread, and broth, it is the angel who tells him what to do in order to provide the sign he seeks. The angel is also responsible for the appearance of fire and is closely situated in relation to the natural environment. Gideon's introduction highlights his agricultural roots that permeate the rest of his call narrative. On the

threshing floor, the ritual that is performed highlights human agency at first. Gideon selects the threshing floor, the fleece, and even instructs Yahweh on how the ritual is to happen in order to reveal his intention. This is a reversal of the first scenario where the angel instructs Gideon on the ritual, now Gideon directs Yahweh on how this second ritual is to be performed to determine its effectiveness. In both cases, whether by divine or human agency, agricultural spaces, food, and natural elements are effective in serving as vehicles for communication in these ritual activities.

There is a beautiful metaphor and plan at work in Judges 6 that highlights reciprocity. At the outset, Yahweh causes the land and agriculture to suffer on account of human acts of disobedience, yet in the call of Gideon, these same elements provide confirmation of divine deliverance to humanity. The Earth is both affected by and effective for humans and the divine. The author skillfully uses the environment and agriculture as tangible communicative elements. Though Judges 6 appears to be anthropocentric and theocentric, it showcases the Earth as the linchpin necessary for the outcomes of the narrative. By reading Judges 6 with ecological and agrarian lenses, we obtain a thought-provoking interpretation that elucidates the author's mindset of the interconnectedness between the environment, humanity, and the divine.

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Narrow Base Dipper Juglets (NBDJ) Imported from the Syro-Lebanese Littoral to the Shephelah and the Coastal Plain of Israel

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Abstract: Narrow Base Dipper Juglets (Nbdj) Imported from the Syro-Lebanese Littoral to the Shephelah and the Coastal Plain of Israel
Narrow Flat Base Dipper Juglets (NBDJ) were found in many excavations in Israel, as well as in the Syrian-Lebanese Littoral and Cyprus, mainly as offerings deposited in tombs. They are similar to the well-known dipper juglets, which were locally-produced juglets with sharply pointed bases. Petrographic analysis conducted on the NBDJ showed that these vessels were produced in workshops located in the Syro-Lebanese littoral, and were exported to Cyprus and the southern Levant through dynamic trade routes. The widespread distribution of NBDJ along Israel's coastal plain indicates that these vessels were exchanged primarily in a maritime-based commerce. The NBDJ's distribution patterns in the southern Levant are consistent with their origin of production along the Syro-Lebanese coast.

Keywords: Dipper Juglets – Syro-Lebanese Littoral – Import – Maritime trade – Petrographic analysis – Narrow base

Resumen: Jarras de base plana y estrecha importadas del litoral sirio-libanés a la Sefelá y la planicie costera de Israel
Se encontraron jarras con pico de base plana y estrecha en muchas excavaciones en Israel, como también en el litoral sirio-libanés y en Chipre, principalmente como

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ofrendas depositadas en las tumbas. Estas son similares a las conocidas jarras con pico, que eran jarras producidas localmente con bases puntiagudas afiladas. El análisis petrográfico realizado en ellas mostró que esas vasijas eran producidas en talleres ubicados en el litoral sirio-libanés y eran exportadas a Chipre y al sur del Levante a través de rutas dinámicas de intercambio. La extensa distribución de estas vasijas a lo largo de la planicie costera de Israel indica que eran intercambiadas primariamente en un comercio de base marítima. Sus patrones de distribución en el sur del Levante son consistentes con el origen de su producción a lo largo de la costa Sirio-Libanesa.

Palabras clave: Jarras con pico – Litoral sirio-libanés – Importación – Intercambio marítimo – Análisis petrográfico – Base angosta

Introduction

The end of the Middle Bronze Age and the Late Bronze Age in the southern Levant are characterized by notable cultural and social phenomena, including repetitive events of massive migrations, foreign interventions and military campaigns that led to different extents of influence or domination and periods of relative independence**,** in which city-states flourished. The southern Levant witnessed the development of vibrant urban cultures typified by fortified cities displaying architectural characteristics such as the *glacis* and earthen rampart, as well as distinctive features in other fields, like material culture, cult and burial practices. In this framework, a dynamic network of both terrestrial and maritime trade flourished. Far-ranging trade networks were established, conveying a variety of commodities between different destinations in the eastern Mediterranean basin. These supplies included distinctive ceramic assemblages. In several excavations conducted at sites in Israel (**Fig. 1**), numerous narrow-base dipper juglets (henceforth NBDJ) were found, that were found to have been imported from the Syro-Lebanese littoral.

Archaeological Contexts

The earliest samples of these juglets from tombs on the Syrian coast, dated to the MB II a-b period were found in the region between Sidon and Beirut: In Tomb 74 in the eastern cemetery at Sidon,[1] Tomb 4 at Beirut[2] and mortuary contexts at Kharji.[3] Similar vessels were retrieved from Late Bronze assem-

[1] Guigues 1938: Fig. 93, a, c.
[2] Badre 1997: Fig 14:1.
[3] Saïdah 1993–1994: Pl. 12:1.

blages at Sidon[4] and in Cemetery K at Byblos.[5] More occurrences are known from Tell Kazel, on the lower floor of the Level VI Courtyard and on the upper floor of the Temple *Cella*,[6] and in Stratum Va at Alalakh (**Fig. 1**).[7] Similar vessels were found in various sites dating to the LB I-II periods, most of which are located in the coastal plain and the northern valleys of Israel (**Fig. 1**). Examples include Jatt, Tombs 7 and 13 (**Figs. 2:1, 6**),[8] Palmahim (in tombs of the 14th century B.C.E),[9] 'Ara (in Tomb I and fragments in Tomb II, labeled as type JTD4)[10] (**Figs. 2:2–5; 7–9; 3**), Tomb 1504 at Lachish (**Fig. 2:10**),[11] Stratum XV at Tel Michal (**Fig. 2:12**),[12]Meggido (Tombs 2127 and 3028; Strata IX–VIII),[13] Hazor (Area A),[14] Horbat Zelef (on the northeastern slope of Mount Tabor)[15] and Tel Abu Hawâm, Stratum V **(Fig. 2:11**).[16] This type of juglet was also found at Enkomi in Cyprus[17] and was most likely exported from the Syro-Lebanese coast. Since the overwhelming majority of vessels found in Israel were retrieved in sites distributed along the Coastal Plain, a scenario of maritime commerce emerges as the most plausible explanation for the distribution of these vessels.

Description of the Syrian imported juglets

These juglets (**Figs. 2; 3**) have a flat or slightly rounded base, an ovoid or slightly piriform body, a cylindrical neck and a trefoil rim. The body and the neck are delicately pared and treated with a dense, vertical burnish. Neither the clay from which the juglets are made nor the process of firing is uniform. Most are made of yellowish clay mixed with black inclusions, while a few are made of light pink clay containing red and white inclusions.

[4] Saïdah 2004: Figs. 24:55; 28:64; 38:89; 40:106.
[5] Salles 1980: Pl. 22:7.
[6] Badre and Gubel 2000: Figs. 24:j-o; 11:g-j.
[7] Wooley 1955: Pl. 113: 50.
[8] Yannai 2000: Figs. 5: 54–55; 2005: Figs. 10:29–30.
[9] Yannai *et al*. 2013: Figs. 13:3; 24;3; 35:4; 38:4.
[10] Yannai 2014: 136–137; Figs. 6.3:9–15.
[11] Tufnell 1958: Pl. 86: 995.
[12] Negbi 1989: Figs. 5.7: 7–8.
[13] Loud 1948: Pls. 50:8; 58:16.
[14] Ben-Tor *et al*. 1997: Fig. II.15:14.
[15] Covello-Paran 2011: 27; Fig. 23:3.
[16] Hamilton 1934: No°. 260.
[17] Lagarce and Lagarce 1985: Figs. 35:182–184.

Petrographic Data

The vessels that underwent petrographic analysis were sampled and examined following standard laboratory procedures[18] and related by means of comparison to geological environments in Israel and the Levant.[19] The typical geological and lithological attributes provided the basis for the assessment of their provenance. The results of the analysis were compared with existing data retrieved from the petrographic database of the Laboratory of Comparative Microarchaeology (Institute of Archaeology of the Tel Aviv University).[20]

Despite the fact that the juglets were first found in Cyprus, where they were labeled Plain White Wheel Made Ware (PWwmw) and considered local,[21] a Cypriot origin was dismissed, as the geological environs of the island do not match the results derived from the analysis.

The petrography of Cypriot ceramics has been intensively studied in recent years. From the early classification of macroscopic fabric categories[22] up to the most recent research,[23] the petrographic signature of Cypriot pottery has been shown to be substantially different from the samples examined in the present study.

Cyprus presents different geological environments: in the northern area (Kyrenia) an uplift of deep water sediments (from lower to upper Miocene) created hills along the seashore showing sedimentary clays.[24] On the other hand, the Late Cretaceous Troodos Complex, in the central and southern range of the island, consists of a series of maffic—ultramaffic igneous rocks (ophiolites), which is a distinctive igneous formation. According to the plate tectonics model of the earth's crust, the ophiolites are the result of a process in which oceanic plates were pushed, pressed and thrust against a continental plate.[25] The southwestern edge of the island is characterized by formations of

[18] *E.g.*Whitebread 1995: 365–396; Goren 1995; 1996.
[19] *E.g*. Porat 1986–87; 1989; Goren 1992; 1995; 1996; Greenberg and Porat 1996.
[20] The authors are indebted to Yuval Goren (Ben Gurion University of the Negev, then Tel Aviv University) for his kind assistance and advice during all stages of the present study.
[21] Åström 1972: 245; Fig. LXVII:1.
[22] Sjöqvist 1940: 34–38.
[23] *E.g.* Courtois 1981; Vaughan 1977.
[24] For Cypriot clays see Vaughan 1997: 342–345.
[25] At the end of this long process the ophiolite formations can eventually include oceanic sediments such radiolarian chert, gabbros, dolerite complexes, basalts, pyroxenites and peridotites. In some cases ophiolites metamorphize into amphibolite facies and green schist. Such formations are known in Cilicia, Northwest Syria and Cyprus. They are also common further west,

sedimentary rock.[26] The point should be stressed that none of the above-described lithological features were observed in our petrographic analysis, precluding the Cypriot provenance of the raw material used in the manufacturing of the sampled vessels.

The examined samples showed a matrix characterized by foraminiferous calcareous clay (marl). The color of the matrix, in which some silty-sized quartz (up to 1–2%) is noted, is light orange to brown under Plane Polarized Light (PPL herein). Rounded concentrations of iron oxides (limonite) can be seen sparsely distributed as well.

Temper includes sub-angular to rounded quartz grains and limestone fragments (40ų up to 80ų) and occasional angular calcite and chert (60ų up to 80m), as well as fossils of the *Amphiroa sp*. *algae*.

The raw material in the matrix was identified as marl, which was broadly used in the ceramic industry, particularly in the Negev region.[27] Outcrops of this raw material are broadly distributed in the Levant. They are exposed in the Judean Desert, the Northern Negev, along the western part of Samaria and the Judean Anticlinorium. Due to its wide distribution, it is difficult to determine provenance according to its presence.

However, the particular combination of marl and the non-plastic (temper) assemblage described above enables the further definition of the locale of the marl outcrop under discussion here. The alga *Amphiroa sp. algae* is a very indicative directing fossil, typical of the coastal beach rock dated to the Pleistocene. It occurs in Israel in recent bioclastic formations, e.g. Hefer, Kurdane and Peleshet formations.[28] Further north, similar components were observed in contemporary beach rocks and sands on the Lebanese littoral.[29] Therefore the presence of this fossil in the samples of this group strongly suggest a coastal origin.

Further pinpointing of a precise location along the Eastern Mediterranean seashore is made possible by the relatively small amount of coarse quartz

in the Aegean area (see Whitechurch, Juteay and Montigny 1984. For ophiolitic raw material used in imported vessels found in Israel see *e.g.* Gorzalczany 1999: 189; 2005: 213; 2006a: 193; 2006b: 42*; 2006c: 60; 2012: 53–54 and see there discussion and more parallels). The Cypriot provenance of vessels made of similar raw material (namely, Persian period mortaria) was corroborated by NAA analysis in Tel Hesi (Bennett and Blakely 1989: 199–203).

[26] Millar Master 2001: 29–30; Bear 1963; Constantinou 1995.

[27] Goren 1995: 302.

[28] Sivan 1996: 48–53; Buchbinder 1975; Almagor and Hall 1980.

[29] Sanlaville 1977: 161–167; Almagor and Hall 1980; Walley 1997.

grains (coastal sand), which is very common all along the Israeli seashore but sharply decreases in quantity from Haifa-Akko (Acre) northwards, hinting towards a coastal source further north. In the Israeli southern coastal plain, the coastal sediments are characterized by abundant quartz derived from Nilotic sand and transported northwards along the coast by the marine currents, with its presence gradually decreasing further north. Microscopic examination of thin-sections made from Holocene coastal sand from different sites located along the Israeli coast indicate that at the Haifa Bay the sand is still mostly composed of quartz, the alga fossil fragments being very rare. However, from Akko (Acre) northward, the beach sand displays a predominant carbonate component. The sand becomes increasingly calcareous to the north where the carbonates form more than 70% of the sand components.[30] The above description fits the situation at Rosh HaNiqra on the Israeli-Lebanese border as well as further north in Lebanon, where sand dunes near Tyre are essentially made of bioclastic carbonates, with quartz being a minor component.[31]

The Senonian or Eocene chert observed in the samples completes the scenario. The specific combination described above points to the only geographical environment that presents in close proximity outcrops of marl, widespread sub recent to recent calcareous marine sediments (beach rocks) and more inland-originated Senonian and Eocene limestone, chert and chalk.

This area, usually defined as the Phoenician Coast, is the Lebanese and Syrian littoral region, mainly the section between Beirut and Lattaqiyeh, which suits the particular description above.[32]

Other samples show a ferruginous matrix pale to dark brown under PPLight with microfossil content, and the non plastic components include poorly sorted micritic limestone (rounded to sub rounded), rare angular to sub angular chert and sometimes quartz (coastal sand).

Similar samples retrieved at the Tel Aviv University database were made of raw material originating in Neogene formations in Lebanon.[33] The presence of some coastal sand on one hand, and the lack of more northern components (as radiolarian chert) on the other, seem to point towards a coastal provenance, south of Tyre and Sidon. In the cases in which the quartz was not observed, the suggested provenance is the more inland Miocene or Neogene

[30] Nir 1989: 12–15.
[31] Sanlaville 1977: 162–164.
[32] Sanlaville 1977: 15–17, 165–167.
[33] Bourriau, Smith and Serpico 2001: 134–35, Pls. 7. 39–40.

formations. Similar formations are known from different areas in the Southern Levant. However, on the grounds of the typological similarity with the coastal group of flat base juglets, and the abundance of this type of vessels in coastal contexts, the choice of the Lebanese littoral area and its hinterland as provenance of this ware should be favored.

Discussion

Based on the petrographic examination, we can securely determine that none of the juglets were manufactured in Israel. Most of the juglets were made on the Syrian coast, while the provenance of a few of the Juglets was not unequivocally established. Both their outer shape and the proportions of the body and the neck are very similar to juglets from Ugarit. However, the Ugarit juglets are made of black and gray ware and despite the external morphological similarity, the petrographic examination indicates that the juglets discussed here were clearly not produced in Ugarit.

Based on parallels of other imported vessels from the Syro-Lebanese coast analyzed by the authors,[34] we can propose that the juglets were made at one or more workshops situated on the Syro-Palestine coast, between Ugarit in the north and Akko (Acre) in the south.

The Juglets fit into the ongoing developing picture of the importation of pottery vessels from the Syro-Lebanese coast to Israel. Some of the families of vessels were made as imitations of (or inspired by) the imported vessels from Cyprus and were part of the dynamic trade network which had developed between Cyprus, Syria and Canaan. The flat-base juglets were not made as imitations of the Cypriot or Canaanite Juglets simply because similar juglets do not appear in the ceramic repertoire of either region.

Based on their origins, the NBDJ are the true "Syrian juglets," whereas the definition of "Syrian juglet" as gray juglets belonging to Black Lustrous Wheel Made Ware, generally referred to in Canaanite ceramic research, is in actuality a misnomer.[35] In light of the petrographic analysis, the origin of the latter juglets lies in Cyprus and their accepted definition as "Syrian juglets" is incorrect.[36] Even if we were to accept the supposition that not all of the gray juglets were made in Cyprus (further analysis of such juglets is currently

[34] Yannai, Gorzalczany and Peilstöker 2003.
[35] Amiran 1969: 167–170.
[36] Yannai 2000: 55; 2007; 2009; Yannai and Gorzalczany 2007.

being undertaken in order to determine whether any of these juglets were actually produced in Cyprus), the use of the term "Syrian juglets" has become ambiguous and therefore should not be used in the discussion of the NBDJ. In our opinion, the juglets should not be defined according to their supposed origin since such term may change as result of research developments. It may be correct in light of today's research, but as the study of ceramics progresses with the implementation of new research methods, there will likely be "fine-tuning" in the atribution of the vessels' origin. Therefore we propose a definition that we have chosen based on the shape of the juglets rather than on their production origin. The rim, neck, body and even the handle of the juglets mentioned here are quite similar to the contour of the juglets referred to in Israel and Syria as "dipper juglets," which were widely used from the beginning of the MB IIA until the end of the Late Bronze Age in the southern Levant. Their definition as "dipper juglets" (namely for the purpose of extracting liquids from large jars and pithoi) is based on having been found inside jars and pithoi and their shape which is sharply pointed and lacking a base. The juglets discussed here have a small base and not a pointed one (although we should not negate the possibility that juglets with pointed bases were also made on the Syro-Lebanese coast). Based on the shape of the base and its diameter, one can assume that the juglet was not free-standing, as its base is quite narrow and would render the vessel unstable. Therefore, the definition of these juglets as "dipper juglets" is plausible in light of their shape**,** which strongly resembles the standard "dipper juglets" from Israel. The definition of the juglet according to functional terminology is not customary in the prevailing research nomenclature, which is based primarily on morphologogy rather than on function. "Dipper juglets" were defined based on their shape but according to the archaeological finds, mainly from tombs, their definition appears to be functionally accurate.[37] Based on the typological definition, the main difference between the juglets mentioned here and the "dipper juglets" from Israel and Syria is the unique shape of the base; hence, we saw it fit to define the vessels as "Narrow Flat Base Dipper Juglets" (NBDJ).

The widespread distribution of the juglets along the coastal plain and the few found in the Shephelah and in northern Israel attest to the fact that the exchange of these juglets was primarily maritime**-**based and their distribution patterns are consistent with their production origins along the Syro-Lebanese coast.

[37] Kenyon 1960: Pls. 24:1, 25:2.

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Figures

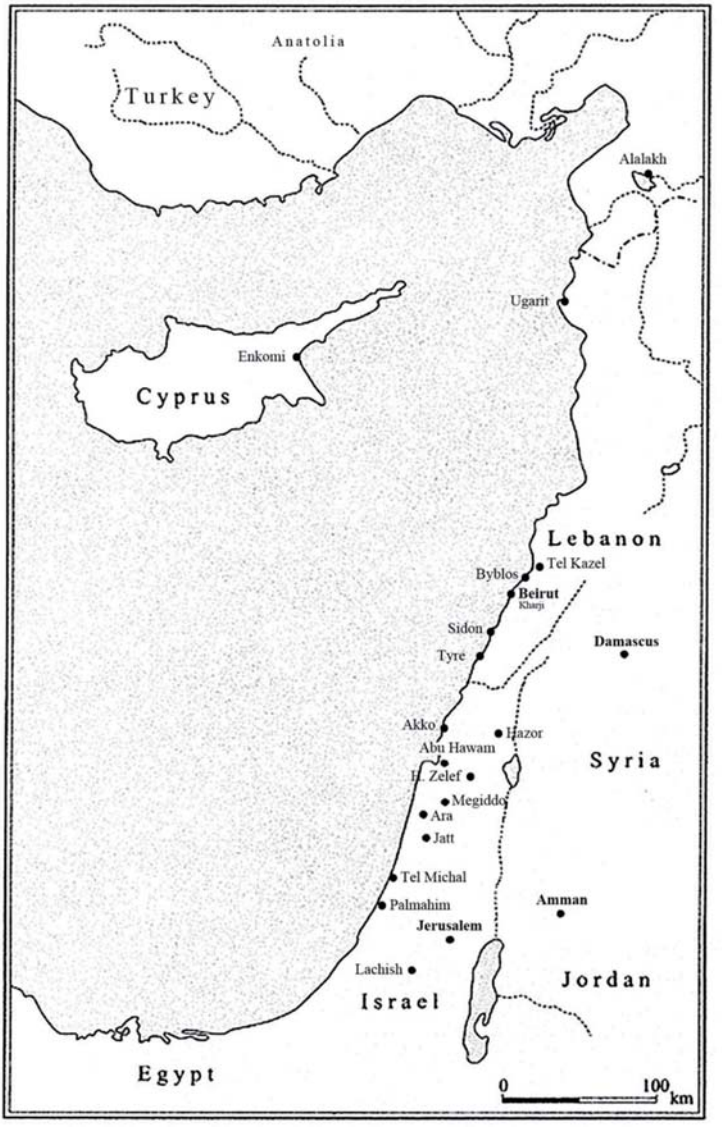

Fig. 1.
Location of the sites in Israel, Cyprus and the Lebanese Litoral where the NBDJ were found

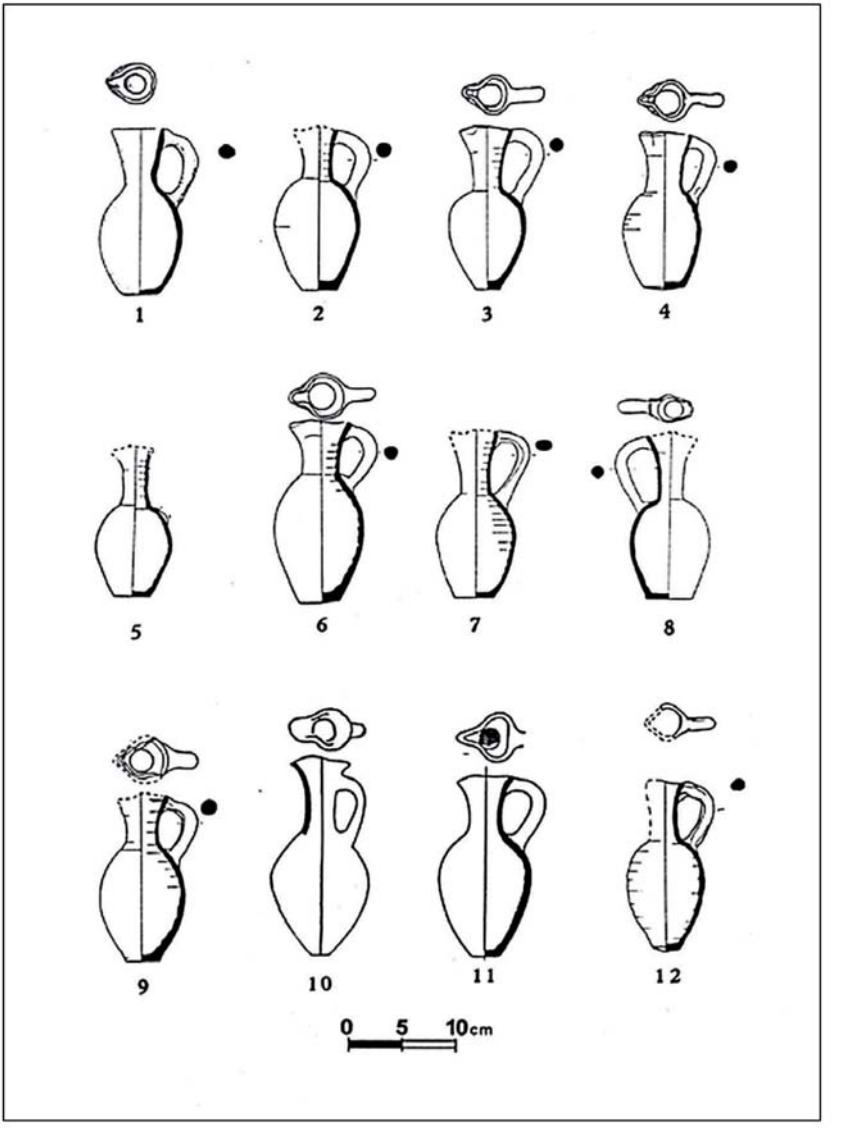

Fig. 2.
Narrow Base Dipper Juglets in Israel Coastal Plain

Fig. 3.
Narrow Base Dipper Juglets found in Israel
(from left to right, Figs. 2:4; 2:2; 2:3 and 2:7)

LA REPRESENTACIÓN DE LAS ELITES EGIPCIAS EN LAS *ADMONICIONES DE IPUWER*

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Summary: The Representation of the Egyptian Elites in the *Admonitions of Ipuwer*
The following article reflects upon the representations of the Egyptian elites which appear in a literary text of the Middle Kingdom known as *The Admonitions of Ipuwer*. Taking into account the different representations of the society conveyed in the *Admonitions,* we will try to highlight how the Egyptian elites are represented at the moment of facing the social revolution outbreak. We not only try to describe and analyze the different elites representations, but also try to understand the reasons that the Middle Kingdom ruling class would have had to elaborate a text where its own elites are represented as the ones suffering the consequences of the revolution. Bearing this last subject in mind, we are interested in investigate how such an elite representation could have affected the ways to reproduce not only an ideal society, but also their own place in such society. All in all, we will try to emphasize the implicit coercive function that the concept and idea of a social revolution implies in such a text. In this way, we can clearly see how the ruling elite warns the popular working class of the Egyptian society not to alter the established social order.

Key words: Elites – Representations – *Admonitions of Ipuwer* – Egypt – Middle Kingdom

Resumen: La representación de las elites egipcias en las *Admoniciones de Ipuwer*
Este trabajo se propone reflexionar sobre las representaciones de las elites egipcias contenidas en un texto literario del Reino Medio conocido bajo el nombre de las *Admoniciones de Ipuwer*. En base a las diversas representaciones de la sociedad que encontramos en las *Admoniciones*, nos interesa destacar cómo aparecen representadas las elites egipcias frente al estallido de una revolución social. La intención de este trabajo es no sólo describir y analizar las diversas representaciones de las elites sino también intentar comprender los motivos que habrían llevado a la

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clase dirigente egipcia del Reino Medio a elaborar un texto en el cual las propias elites son representadas sufriendo las consecuencias de la revolución. Y en relación con esto último, nos interesa indagar sobre los mecanismos que dicha representación de las elites pudo haber tenido a la hora de reproducir no solo un ideal de sociedad, sino también el lugar que las propias elites debían tener en esa sociedad. En suma, intentaremos destacar la función coercitiva, implícita, que cumple el concepto y la idea de una revolución social en este texto como una advertencia clara por parte de la elite gobernante hacia los sectores populares y trabajadores de la sociedad egipcia, de no intentar sublevar el orden social dado.

Palabras claves: Elites – Representaciones – *Admoniciones de Ipuwer* – Egipto – Reino Medio

INTRODUCCIÓN

En el marco de los núcleos problemáticos que plantea el estudio de las elites en el Cercano Oriente antiguo—como lo es la relación de las mismas con la estructura del Estado y el lugar que ocupan en su reproducción económica, social e ideológica—este trabajo se propone reflexionar sobre las representaciones de las elites egipcias contenidas en un texto literario del Reino Medio (2055–1650 a.C.)[1] conocido bajo el nombre de las *Admoniciones de Ipuwer*[2].

[1] La cronología citada en este trabajo es tomada de Shaw 2003 [2000]: 480–489. Hemos adoptado esta cronología y no otras más recientes o específicas como la de Hornung, Krauss y Warburton (eds.) 2006 debido a que discrepamos con su periodización del Reino Medio egipcio. Nuestra intención es considerar como parte del Reino Medio a las dinastías XI, XII y XIII. Al respecto, si bien la gran mayoría de los historiadores están de acuerdo en cuanto al comienzo de dicho período con la unión de Egipto por parte de Mentuhotep II en la dinastía XI, el fin de dicho período es discutido. Véase al respecto Callender 2003 [2000]: 137, Diego Espinel 2009: 209 y Ryholt 1997. El debate se ha producido en torno a la dinastía XIII. En este sentido, compartimos la opinión de Quirke 1990: 3, Callender 2003 [2000]: 137, Grajetzki 2006: 63–75, Diego Espinel 2009: 209 y Wegner 2010: 121–122, quienes han considerado que al menos la primera mitad de la dinastía XIII correspondería al Estado unificado del Reino Medio. Quien ha puesto en duda esta consideración ha sido Ryholt 1997: 5; 293; 311 quien ha argumentado a favor del establecimiento de nuevos límites temporales para el Segundo Período Intermedio, al cual sitúa inmediatamente a fines de la dinastía XII.

[2] El texto se encuentra conservado en el recto del Papiro Leiden I 344. El primer análisis literario del texto de las *Admoniciones de Ipuwer*, junto con su traducción, fue realizado por Gardiner 1909 en su obra *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage, from a Hieratic Papyrus in Leiden (Pap. Leiden 344 recto)*. Se destacan a su vez las traducciones y análisis de Faulkner

Dicha narración, cuyo principio y final se encuentran perdidos, trata sobre una situación particular en la cual se relata una serie de sucesos caóticos que hacen referencia al recuerdo que durante el Reino Medio se habría elaborado y conservado del Primer Período Intermedio (2160–2055 a. C.)[3]. En dicho texto, un personaje—Ipuwer—relata ante la corte de un faraón, del cual no poseemos identificación alguna, cómo el orden se ha convulsionado. Así, el texto representa con gran lujo de detalles lo que parece haber sido un movimiento popular sin precedentes en el cual el orden político, económico y social es alterado profundamente. Emerge de esta forma un escenario en el cual lo dado y esperado por parte de la sociedad y sus individuos es quebrantado y el orden es trastornado estrepitosamente, mostrándonos un mundo al revés, trastocado, en el cual los ricos ahora son pobres, mientras que estos últimos disfrutan ahora de los bienes de los ricos, los amos son servidores y quienes no poseían bienes ahora acumulan grandes fortunas. El orden que había sido establecido en los tiempos primordiales por las divinidades ha sido alterado aflorando pues una situación que a los ojos

1964 y 1965, Lichtheim 1973: 149–163; Helck 1995; Parkinson 1998: 166–199 y 2002: 204–216; Tobin 2003: 188–210; Quirke 2004a: 140–150 y Enmarch 2005 y 2008.

[3] En cuanto a su datación, a partir de una lectura histórica y demasiado literal del texto, algunos autores como Gardiner 1909: 112; Erman 1927 [1923]: 93, Spiegel 1950: 44, Hassan 2007: 363 y Castañeda Reyes 2003: 200–201, entre otros, han considerado que las *Admoniciones de Ipuwer* relataba una serie de sucesos acaecidos a fines del Reino Antiguo o durante el Primer Período Intermedio y que habrían sido compuestas en este último período o a inicios del Reino Medio. Una datación a mediados de la dinastía XII o durante la etapa final del Reino Medio, esto es entre el reinado de Sesostris III y la primera mitad de la dinastía XIII, fue propuesta por Lichtheim 1973: 149; 1996: 240, Ockinga 1983: 93; Vernus 1990: 189–190, Parkinson 2002: 308, Quirke 2004a: 140 y Enmarch 2008: 24 a partir de ciertos criterios lingüísticos presentes en el papiro, así como por las conexiones y la intertextualidad que presenta el texto de las *Admoniciones de Ipuwer* con otros textos afines del Reino Medio. Una fecha diferente de datación para el texto fue planteada a mediados del siglo XX por Van Seters 1964: 23, quien basado en el estudio de ciertos términos presentes en el relato que son propios del Reino Medio, postula la hipótesis de que el texto debió de haber sido elaborado a fines de la dinastía XIII, considerando así al Segundo Período Intermedio como el escenario histórico del relato. Por otra parte, si bien recientemente han aparecido trabajos como los de Gnirs (2006), Stauder (2013) y Moers, Widmaier, Giewekemeyer, Lümers y Ernst (eds) (2013) que han cuestionado las dataciones de los textos literarios del Reino Medio y han propuesto una posible redacción para varios de estos relatos durante la dinastía XVIII en el Imperio Nuevo, dichos trabajos se concentran más en textos como la *Profecía de Neferty*, las *Instrucciones para Merikare*, el *Cuento de Keops y los magos* y las *Lamentaciones de Khakheperreseneb* antes que en el texto de las *Admoniciones de Ipuwer* que aquí nos concierne y cuya datación para el Reino Medio es ampliamente consensuada.

del narrador y compositor de las *Admoniciones de Ipuwer*, no es otra cosa más que una situación por demás caótica. De esta manera, se describe un escenario signado por el caos y el desorden en donde el ideal de sociedad y cosmovisión del mundo egipcio se encuentra afectado por múltiples causas y factores que parecieran desembocar, y a la vez ser parte, de una revolución contra las normas, la jerarquía y la autoridad egipcia.

En muy pocas fuentes egipcias se puede apreciar una descripción tan gráfica y pormenorizada de la sociedad egipcia con sus trabajadores, sus ocupaciones, sus funcionarios y sus élites como la que encontramos en las *Admoniciones*, por lo cual es singular su aporte para una posible reconstrucción de rasgos o aspectos de la sociedad y el pensamiento egipcio que aparecen velados en las fuentes históricas. De esta manera, en base a las diversas representaciones de la sociedad que encontramos en las *Admoniciones*, nos interesa destacar y develar cómo aparecen representadas las elites egipcias frente al estallido de una revolución social.

Al respecto, consideramos y fundamentamos el empleo de una fuente literaria del Reino Medio como lo es el texto de las *Admoniciones*, dado que la misma no sólo contiene narraciones y ficciones, sino que también en ella convergen expresiones sobre lo político, referencias históricas y discursos míticos e ideológicos que nos permiten enriquecer y ampliar el conocimiento sobre la sociedad egipcia del período que habría producido dicho relato, así como sobre las ideas y las expresiones políticas, sociales, culturales y religiosas presentes en dicho período. Así, la literatura puede ser considerada como un medio para expresar ideas, imágenes y visiones sobre las sociedades presentes y pasadas. En otras palabras, los textos literarios expresarían formas de percepción del mundo y contienen en su interior las visiones ideológicas que determinadas clases o grupos dominantes de su época tuvieron la intención de transmitir y conjugar[4]. En este sentido, el estudio a partir de textos literarios procedentes del antiguo Egipto nos ofrece la posibilidad de acercarnos a las ideologías dominantes del poder faraónico y las elites egipcias, al tiempo que vislumbrar las múltiples formas de expresión y articulación política, social y cultural presentes en ellos.

La intención de este trabajo es no sólo describir y analizar las diversas representaciones de las elites sino también intentar comprender los motivos que habrían llevado a la clase dirigente egipcia del Reino Medio a elaborar un texto literario y ficticio en el cual las propias elites son representadas

[4] Eagleton 2013 [1976]: 41.

sufriendo las consecuencias de una revolución. Y, en relación con esto último, nos interesa indagar sobre los mecanismos que dicha representación de las elites pudo haber tenido a la hora de reproducir no solo un ideal de sociedad, sino también el lugar que las propias elites debían tener en esa sociedad. En suma, intentaremos destacar la función coercitiva, implícita, que cumple el concepto y la idea de una revolución social en este texto como una advertencia clara por parte de la elite gobernante de no intentar sublevar el orden social dado.

Imágenes y representaciones de las elites egipcias en un mundo trastocado

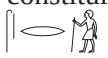
Antes que nada debemos partir de la pregunta acerca de qué entendemos por elite en el antiguo Egipto. Para esto partimos de una definición brindada por Sally Katary para quien el término elite refiere a todas aquellas personas poseedoras de grandes riquezas, privilegios e influencias capaces de intervenir en el sistema y el gobierno político de en una sociedad dada[5]. A su vez, consideramos el uso del término élite como una categoría que engloba a la población no productora de bienes en una sociedad[6].

Ahora bien, a partir de las descripciones realizadas por Ipuwer en sus *Admoniciones* sobre la revolución social podemos realizar un análisis sobre las imágenes y las representaciones de las elites egipcias del Reino Medio[7]. Representaciones que no necesariamente tienen que ser un reflejo de la realidad puesto que la representación de una sociedad no nos informa de una realidad, sino de cómo en un determinado contexto histórico social un sector determinado habría concebido e imaginado a una sociedad. En este caso, cómo el Reino Medio habría elaborado una representación de su propia elite, pero situando tal representación en un escenario caótico como lo habría sido el recuerdo que dicha clase habría tenido y construido del Primer Período Intermedio. Al respecto, Richard Parkinson ha argumentado cómo la representación de los individuos en la literatura sólo puede ser atestiguada en

[5] Katary 2009: 263.
[6] Richards 2005: 16.
[7] Si bien otros textos literarios del período como *las Instrucciones para Merikare* o la *Profecía de Neferty* nos informan en sus narraciones de un clima político y social para nada estable, en este trabajo sólo tomaremos el texto de las *Admoniciones de Ipuwer* dado que es el único texto literario en el que se menciona a un vasto número de miembros de la elite representados de forma trágica frente al estallido de una revolución social.

el marco social de la literatura, puesto que su representación en textos ficcionales no nos informaría de su rol social o de la composición de la sociedad en el Reino Medio[8]. Con esto en mente, nos detendremos pues a observar y analizar cómo aparece representada la elite egipcia en las *Admoniciones* y quiénes eran los miembros que la conformaban.

Entre los personajes de mayor rango social que aparecen representados en la fuente egipcia nos encontramos con la figura del faraón, el cual habría sido objeto de agresiones y ataques por parte de la población egipcia durante la revolución social. Sin ir más lejos, el relato narra cómo los pobres han logrado deponer al rey (*Adm*. 7, 2).

Por debajo del faraón, se encontraba un grupo selecto de notables constituido por los nobles y los altos funcionarios. Eran los denominados  *sr*, "noble", "funcionario" o "magistrado"[9]. Salvo algunas excepciones, *sr* no era un título común durante el Reino Medio, sino que más bien era utilizado para designar a los altos funcionarios del Estado y era frecuente encontrarlo como un término genérico empleado en plural para referirse a toda la clase de altos funcionarios[10]. Estos *srw*, funcionarios, magistrados o nobles aparecen representados en las *Admoniciones* en varias oportunidades sufriendo las consecuencias y los ataques de la revolución social. Así, Ipuwer describe cómo estos individuos ya no confraternizan con la población egipcia (*Adm*. 2, 5), quizá a causa del tumulto y el desorden. Al mismo tiempo en el texto se describe la situación de miseria de estos funcionarios al señalar cómo se encuentran sumidos en la miseria y padecen hambre (*Adm*. 5, 2), lo cual los hace entrar en los almacenes quizá a causa del hambre (*Adm*. 7, 10). Asimismo, Ipuwer narra con indignación cómo ahora los funcionarios y magistrados son humillados por los nuevos ricos a quienes son obligados a alabar (*Adm*. 8, 2). Mientras que las últimas menciones que encontramos sobre estos funcionarios ligados a la nobleza, refieren más bien al recuerdo de los buenos viejos tiempos en

[8] Parkinson 1996: 140.
[9] Gardiner 2007 [1927]: 591; Faulkner 2009 [1962]: 235; *Wb*. IV: 188 y Hannig 2006a: 2070 y 2006b: 786.
[10] Ward 1982: 153, N° 1317. Estos también podían ser denominados con el nombre de *šps*, "noble" u "hombre de riquezas". Véase Gardiner 2007 [1927]: 447 y 595; Faulkner 2009 [1962]: 265; *Wb*. IV: 448–449).

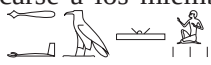
dónde estos sujetos eran respetados por la sociedad egipcia y gozaban de un prestigio social al realizar sus funciones (*Adm*. 13, 11; 14, 2).

Las esposas de estos personajes solían recibir el título de *špst*, "dama noble" o "distinguida"[11]. Son estas mujeres, las *špswt*, las mujeres o damas nobles quienes aparecen representadas en las *Admoniciones* como las principales víctimas y objeto de ataque durante la revolución social. Sin duda alguna es contra ellas que se produce la mayor violencia y ultraje por parte de los rebeldes y pobres de la tierra. De hecho, es el estrato social que más veces aparece mencionado en la fuente recibiendo el golpe de la revolución social y siendo víctimas directas de la misma. Ellas son descriptas por Ipuwer—con cierta indignación, lástima y sorpresa—en la más absoluta miseria. Por la actual condición de la tierra, estas mujeres nobles aparecen mencionadas ahora en la extrema pobreza, vistiendo harapos y sufriendo de tristeza (*Adm*. 3, 4), comparando dicho sufrimiento con en el que otrora habrían poseído las sirvientas (*Adm*. 4, 12). También se dice de ellas que se encuentran sobre balsas (*Adm*. 7, 10), que regalan a sus hijos para poder obtener un lugar donde dormir (*Adm*. 8, 8), que están hambrientas (*Adm*. 9, 1) y que huyen para poder salvarse (*Adm*. 8, 13).

En el texto se menciona a su vez a las *nbwt pr*, las señoras de la casa[12], un título femenino muy frecuente en la sociedad egipcia que más que una ocupación o tarea relacionada con el mantenimiento del hogar, expresaría un alto estatus social ligado a una filiación marital y social[13]. De esta forma se menciona a este título a la hora de referirse a las esposas como señoras de la casa. Estas señoras de la casa, cuyo poder socio económico era destacable en la sociedad egipcia, aparecen mencionadas en las *Admoniciones* deseando poder obtener algo para comer (*Adm*. 3, 3), lo cual es una muestra más de la transformación social de la cual Ipuwer parece ser testigo.

Otro de los actores sociales ligados a la elite y mencionados en las *Admoniciones* son los *wrw*, cuya traducción plausible sería, los

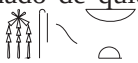
[11] Gardiner 2007 [1927]: 594; Faulkner 2009 [1962]: 265, *Wb*. IV: 449 y Hannig 2006a: 2440–2441 y 2006b: 881.
[12] Hannig 2006a: 1252–1260 y 2006b: 425.
[13] Ward 1982: 99, N° 823 y Frood 2009: 477.

grandes o jefes[14]. El término egipcio *wrw* era de un uso más bien restringido y solía aplicarse a los miembros de la alta administración, diferenciándose del término  *ꜥ3w*, cuyo significado es similar, los grandes[15], pero cuyo ámbito de referencia estaría más bien ligado y relacionado a los notables del ámbito rural[16]. Estos personajes también son representados sufriendo las consecuencias del movimiento social, a causa del desabastecimiento que se produce en Egipto y producto del cual se dice que no llegan los aceites necesarios para poder embalsamarlos (*Adm*. 3, 8). Así, pues, estos sectores ligados a la clase dirigente y a la elite cortesana, aparecen como víctimas indirectas del caos político, social y económico que se encuentra atravesando Egipto, puesto que no pueden obtener los productos necesarios que puedan garantizarle los procedimientos requeridos que le garanticen una vida en el Más Allá.

Por otra parte, también encontramos referencias en el relato de las *wryt*, grandes damas[17]—un epíteto de las esposas de los funcionarios y nobles egipcios—quienes son dueñas de riqueza pero que sin embargo, de acuerdo a lo narrado por Ipuwer, se encuentran regalando a sus hijos por una cama (*Adm*. 8, 8). Otros miembros procedentes del sector femenino de la aristocracia egipcia que aparecen representados en las *Admoniciones* son las *ḥnwt*, las señoras o amas[18], mujeres ricas poseedoras de sirvientas y criadas. En el texto de Ipuwer se las menciona impartiendo órdenes o hablándoles a sus criadas *ḥmwt*, para quienes dichas palabras no solo son fastidiosas, sino que al mismo tiempo le contestan rudamente a estas señoras *ḥnwt*, muestra de una indudable desobediencia social (*Adm*. 4, 14).

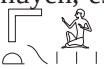
Los hijos de los nobles y altos funcionarios, los *msw srw* también aparecen representados en las *Admoniciones*. Sin ir más lejos su destino parece ser similar al de sus padres puesto que serán objeto de ataque por parte de la población sublevada. De hecho, la violencia de la cual son

[14] Faulkner 2009 [1962]: 64 y Hannig 2006a: 694.
[15] Hannig 2006a: 477.
[16] Moreno García 2004: 93.
[17] Hannig 2006a: 700–702.
[18] Faulkner 2009 [1962]: 172 y Hannig 2006b: 576.

víctimas es mayor aún que la de sus padres, puesto que el texto menciona cómo estos niños o bien son arrojados y golpeados contra las paredes y los muros (*Adm*. 4, 3; 5, 6) o bien son abandonados en las calles (*Adm*. 6, 13). Por su parte, Ipuwer también menciona a los *ḫrdw nw nḥbt*,[19] niños de pecho, es decir los recién nacidos[20] que ante el estado calamitoso en que se encontraba el país son llevados a las tierras altas (*Adm*. 4, 3; 5, 6). Las tierras altas especificaría el lugar en donde todos los difuntos son abandonados[21], por lo cual dicha mención implicaría que debido a la actual condición en la que se encontrarían estos nobles de Egipto, ante la muerte de sus pequeños recién nacidos, ya no pueden construir una tumba para ellos, por lo cual deben abandonarlos en las tierras altas, en el desierto sin una sepultura digna. Sumado a lo anterior, nos encontraremos también con referencias sobre los *s3 s*, es decir el hijo de un hombre[22], término que refiere a aquellos niños de hombres de bien[23] u hombres de rango[24]. El texto menciona cómo debido a la alteración del orden social reinante en Egipto, es imposible reconocer al hijo de un hombre bien posicionado de quien no lo es (*Adm*. 2,14; 4, 1) al tiempo que se señala como el  *ms nbt*[25] niño de señora, es decir los niños de las grandes damas egipcias, ahora se han convertido en hijos de sus servidoras (*Adm*. 2,14), visualizando así no sólo la ruptura del antiguo orden social, sino a su vez, la caída en dependencia de estos individuos, otrora ricos. La frase presente en *Adm*. 2, 14, en la cual se expresa que el niño de su señora se ha convertido en hijo de su servidora ha sido interpretada en base a una comparación mediante la cual, en tiempos de revolución social como los que relata Ipuwer, no era posible distinguir a los hijos de los ricos de los hijos de

[19] La palabra correcta se escribe de ese modo, sin embargo en la línea 5, 6, aparece como *ḫrdw nw nḥt* que significaría "niños del deseo/alabanza" que refiere a los hijos deseados por sus padres. Al respecto, véase Enmarch, 2008: 96. Gardiner 1909: 36 ha sugerido que el término *nḥbt* "cuello" carecía de sentido en *Adm*. 4, 3 por lo cual debía ser enmendado por *nḥt* "deseo" como aparece en *Adm*. 5, 6. Adoptando la posición de Faulkner 1964: 27 traducimos ambas palabras por niños de pecho, es decir recién nacidos.
[20] Faulkner 1964: 26–27, Fischer-Elfert 2001: 87 y Enmarch 2008: 96.
[21] Enmarch 2008: 96.
[22] Hannig 2006a: 2070.
[23] Enmarch 2008: 83.
[24] Gardiner 1909: 30 y Faulkner 1964: 26.
[25] *ms*, niño según Faulkner 2009 [1962]: 116; *nbt*, señora según Faulkner 2009 [1962]: 129.

los humildes[26]. Con todo, lo cierto es que tal paradoja no hace otra cosa más que lamentar la ruptura del orden tradicional de lo que se esperaba que fuese la sociedad egipcia[27].

Otro de los actores de importancia que aparecen mencionados en las *Admoniciones* son los *ḥryw nt tȝ*, jefes de la tierra, es decir los líderes, patrones y altos funcionarios provinciales y estatales. Estos aparecen representados en una especie de actitud cobarde en la fuente, dado que deciden huir de Egipto luego de que la Corona hubiese sido abatida por los humildes, puesto que pareciera que ya no hubiese un propósito para ellos ante la falta de un soberano (*Adm*. 8, 14). Misma situación se describe para los *ḳnbt nt tȝ*, los magistrados de la tierra, quienes a diferencia de los *ḥryw nt tȝ* y las *špswt* que huyen, éstos son expulsados por todo el país (*Adm*. 7, 9). La palabra egipcia  *ḳnbt* refiere a un sector de notables que podía incluir desde los ancianos de las comunidades hasta los asesores o consejeros del rey[28], aunque también podía ser utilizada para referirse a la masa general de funcionarios, magistrados o jueces del consejo local[29]. Mientras que la denominación *ḳnbt nt tȝ* podía referirse a los funcionarios y magistrados de la administración central egipcia[30]. Con todo, estos magistrados o funcionarios estaban confinados a tareas puramente administrativas desde época heracleopolitana y hasta el Imperio Nuevo (1550–1069 a. C.), cuando habrían adquirido ciertas funciones judiciales[31].

Al igual que sucedía con los hijos de los nobles, los *msw ḳnbt*, los niños de los magistrados[32] también aparecen sufriendo las consecuencias del levantamiento popular y el nuevo orden social en Egipto. De ellos se dice que se encuentran en harapos (*Adm*. 8, 9), sumidos en la miseria cual los hijos de los otrora pobres. Es claro pues, que con la revolución social triunfante, los magistrados estatales han sido

[26] Gardiner 1909: 30.
[27] Enmarch 2008: 84.
[28] Enmarch 2008: 134.
[29] Faulkner 2009 [1962]: 280; Quirke 1990: 54; 56; Hannig 2006a: 2525 y Enmarch 2008: 134.
[30] Enmarch 2008: 134.
[31] Hayes 1955: 140.
[32] *knbt*, magistrados según Faulkner 2009 [1962]: 280.

relevados de sus funciones y despojados, al igual que los nobles y la gran mayoría de la clase dirigente y la elite egipcia de todos sus bienes por parte de los humildes, cayendo en la pobreza y miseria.

La narración de Ipuwer sobre la alteración del orden social parece afectar también a los poseedores de riqueza, propiedades y bienes. Así es posible observar en las *Admoniciones* cómo los *nbw wꜤbwt*, los señores y dueños de tumbas[33], es decir aquellos sujetos cuyo poder económico y prestigio social posibilitaba la construcción de una tumba, son ahora llevados a las tierras altas, abandonados en el desierto sin ningún tipo de sepultura (*Adm*. 7, 8), cómo hemos apreciado previamente para los niños de pecho. Por su parte, también se menciona cómo un *nb ḫt*, señor de propiedades o riqueza, lo ha perdido todo, ha sido expropiado y pasa la noche sediento (*Adm*. 7, 10–11), mientras que los *nbw ḏ3ywt*, los dueños de vestidos y ropa son descriptos en harapos por Ipuwer (*Adm*. 7, 11)

Es interesante también cómo aparece representado en el texto un alto funcionario egipcio como lo es el *imy-r-niwt*, el Supervisor de la ciudad[34], el cual es descripto caminando sin su escolta, es decir sin guardia alguno (*Adm*. 10, 7). El término *imy-r-niwt* era uno de los títulos más comunes con los que podía asociarse la figura del visir[35]. De hecho, como señala Wolfram Grajetzki es a fines del Reino Antiguo (2686–2160 a. C.) cuando el título *imy-r-niwt* comienza a ser introducido como un título para referirse a los visires que representaba la responsabilidad de estos sujetos en la administración de las ciudades de las pirámides, para convertirse a partir de la dinastía XI en un título tradicional de los visires.[36] En las *Admoniciones*, la falta de seguridad y protección para con este funcionario, asociado al visir, reflejaría y enfatizaría pues el colapso social por el cual se encuentra lamentándose Ipuwer, puesto que la anarquía y la inseguridad es

[33] Faulkner 2009 [1962]: 57 y Enmarch 2008: 133.
[34] Quirke 2004b: 111; Faulkner 2009 [1962]: 18 y Hannig 2006a: 216. Como señala Grajetzki 2009: 19, este título no debe ser confundido con el de *ḥ3ty-Ꜥ*, gobernador.
[35] Grajetzki 2009: 19.
[36] Grajetzki 2009: 19.

tan dramática que el Supervisor de la ciudad, al caminar sin escoltas, se encuentra vulnerable de ser atacado en cualquier momento[37].

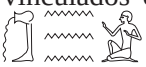
Al lado de ello, una serie funcionarios estatales ligados a la elite aparecen representados sufriendo—de acuerdo a lo narrado por Ipuwer—los ataques y las consecuencias de la sublevación popular. Tal es el caso de los *sšw* escribas[38] que son asesinados y cuyos escritos son tomados y destruidos (*Adm*. 6, 8–9). La agresión contra los escribas y sus escritos ejemplificaría el ataque que—en medio de la revolución social—los sectores rebeldes habrían intentado infringir contra la cultura y el conocimiento de la elite egipcia a la cual intentaban derrocar[39], puesto que los escribas no sólo registraban las tareas administrativas estatales, sino que reproducían con sus creaciones culturales y sus escritos didácticos, los valores dominantes de la elite social egipcia.

La figura del *wpwty*, mensajero[40], también aparece representada en las *Admoniciones*. La función del mensajero en la antigüedad era muy importante, puesto que estos eran los portadores de cartas y mensajes que actuaban no sólo hacia el interior del país como representantes de funcionarios ante la Corona y viceversa, sino que a su vez poseían un rol importante en las relaciones internacionales al ser emisarios o embajadores de la realeza.[41] Por lo tanto, el rol del mensajero, si bien se encontraba en una posición cercana a las esferas del poder político, no por ello dejaba se der un funcionario dependiente cuya obligación era enviar todo tipo de cometidos. Lo curioso es que si bien el mensajero, cuyo vínculo con el poder es más que claro aparece mencionado en las *Admoniciones* como un claro beneficiario del nuevo escenario, dado que Ipuwer señala cómo el mensajero—el cual aparece mencionado en general—ha dejado de ser un subordinado para pasar a ser él quien ahora se posiciona en un nivel social más elevado al punto tal de que puede enviar a otro personaje a cumplir su anterior tarea (*Adm*. 8, 3). Una situación parecida de insubordinación en donde se aprecia la inversión del orden social es posible

[37] Enmarch 2008: 168.
[38] Faulkner 2009 [1962]: 246.
[39] Enmarch 2008: 118.
[40] Faulkner 2009 [1962]: 60 y Hannig 2006a: 658.
[41] Liverani 2008 [1995]: 374 y 2003 [2001]: 111–117. Sobre el rol del mensajero egipcio se recomienda las lecturas de Valloggia 1976 y El-Saady 1999.

observar en la línea 10, 2–3 de las *Admoniciones* en donde Ipuwer exhorta a destruir la realización de todas las diligencias que fueron hechas en las cuales los mensajeros habían enviado a otras personas para realizar su trabajo[42].

Los *sḏdw* [*mdw*], contadores de historias[43], personajes ligados a la corte real cuyo trabajo era el de narrar historias en el seno mismo del palacio y la corte también aparecen representados en el texto. De acuerdo con el relato, producto de la revolución social desatada sobre el territorio, estos individuos se encuentran ahora sobre piedras de moler (*Adm*. 4, 13), es decir realizando las tareas y trabajo duros que eran propios de los sectores más bajos de la sociedad egipcia. Mediante tal alusión y representación, es posible imaginar la posición social de estos personajes cuya vida parecía transcurrir en la corte, ligados a la diversión de la nobleza y la aristocracia egipcia. El hecho de que ahora dichos contadores de historias sean puestos a realizar los trabajos duros para los cuales no estaban preparados ni acostumbrados sería un ejemplo del cambio social dado con la revolución social.

El texto de las *Admoniciones* también presenta una representación de ciertos personajes asociados y vinculados con la elite sacerdotal y los trabajos del templo. De entre los individuos procedentes de esta elite—vinculados con las tareas religiosas del templo—nos encontramos con los  sacerdotes *wꜤb*[44]. Estos son mencionados sufriendo las consecuencias del desorden social y político puesto que al igual que sucedía con los *wrw*, la escasez de productos suntuarios hace que sea imposible lograr un enterramiento acorde a sus necesidades. En el antiguo Egipto, la figura del sacerdote se encontraba arraigada a la realidad política y social del país[45]. De ahí que dichos personajes sufran las mismas consecuencias que los altos funcionarios o los denominados “grandes” de la sociedad egipcia.

[42] Enmarch 2008: 139.
[43] Si bien la segunda parte de la palabra se encuentra dañada en el papiro, Enmarch 2008: 101–102 sostiene que la misma hace referencia a *mdw* (palabras) y reconstruye la palabra “contadores de historias”.
[44] Faulkner 2009 [1962]: 57 y Hannig 2006a: 633–639.
[45] Pernigotti 1991 [1990]: 148.

Por último, nos encontramos con las *ḫnyt*, las cantantes *henyt*[46], las cuales aparecen retratadas fuera de sus ocupaciones habituales puesto que se encuentran ahora trabajando en los telares como tejedoras e impartiendo lamentos a la diosa Meret[47] (*Adm*. 4, 12–13). Las cantantes *henyt* pertenecían al grupo de músicos del templo y eran mujeres bailarinas que cantaban, entonaban música y tocaban ciertos instrumentos como los sistros y las panderetas[48]. Por tanto, que este grupo de mujeres cantantes adoradoras de la diosa Meret y vinculadas al templo ahora se hallen trabajando en talleres o telares, evidencia un cambio en las relaciones sociales y es una muestra del desorden social reinante.

Resumiendo pues la posición y la condición de los nobles y ricos—y por tanto de la las elites—el texto de Ipuwer es contundente al referirse a todos ellos bajo el término egipcio *špsw*, nobles u hombre de riqueza[49], marcando cómo esta población ha caído en desgracia a causa de la revolución social que atraviesa Egipto. Es así cómo Ipuwer señala cómo mientras los nobles en general, se encuentran sufriendo por la situación, los pobres se regocijan (*Adm*. 2, 7). Sintetizando de este modo la inversión del orden social que atraviesa gran parte del discurso de Ipuwer.

De esta manera, podemos observar en las *Admoniciones de Ipuwer* cómo son representadas las elites egipcias en un escenario por demás adverso, en el cual se las describe sufriendo las consecuencias de una revolución social que las ha expropiado de sus bienes y apartado de sus privilegios. Ahora bien, resta indagar el por qué de tal representación. Y en este sentido, creemos que dicha situación y representación habría actuado como una posible estrategia de reproducción social de las elites destinada a reforzar su estatus y lugar en la sociedad egipcia.

EL DESORDEN COMO ESTRATEGIA DE REPRODUCCIÓN SOCIAL DE LAS ELITES

Llegados a este punto, es necesario adentrarnos en el problema de re-pensar el desorden como garante de un orden dado y la funcionalidad política que la

[46] Faulkner 2009 [1962]: 192 y Hannig 2006a: 1892.
[47] Diosa tutelar del canto según Enmarch 2008: 101.
[48] Ward 1982: 132, N° 1126–1128; Quirke 2004b: 129 y Enmarch 2008: 101.
[49] Faulkner 2009 [1962]: 265 y Hannig 2006a: 2439–2440.

teatralización de un mundo al revés pudo haber tenido en las *Admoniciones de Ipuwer* a la hora de actuar como una estrategia de reproducción de las elites.

Está claro que la plasmación de un relato en donde el orden se ve alterado súbitamente por la conjunción de ciertos factores políticos, económicos y sociales introduce el problema significativo de pensar una revolución. Este hecho tan particular y notorio que se desarrolla literariamente nos demuestra la existencia—si no en el imaginario social y colectivo de una parte de la sociedad egipcia del Reino Medio, sí por lo menos en el imaginario de la clase dirigente egipcia que habría instado a producir dicho texto—de una visión alternativa de las cosas, que lo dado podía mutar y transformarse, que la realidad era permeable, aun cuando en este relato esa mutación sea empleada como una dura advertencia en contra de alterar el orden establecido. Ahora bien, el hecho de pensar una revolución social se encuentra emparentado y asociado con los mensajes que la clase dirigente egipcia del Reino Medio necesitaba y estaba interesada en transmitir. Esto es, un mundo en el cual la sublevación del orden no tuviese otra consecuencia válida más que el caos y la ruina de toda la sociedad y la cultura egipcia.

Así, si bien Ipuwer nos muestra un mundo dado vuelta—que atenta contra la imagen de la sociedad ideal en donde cada sector social debía cumplir una función específica—no por ello debe ser considerado este texto como una obra subversiva, como un discurso contra las normas oficiales, puesto que al ser una elaboración cultural producida dentro del mismo ámbito estatal, generalmente termina reafirmando el statu quo[50]. Así, el mensaje que intenta plasmar dicha narración es el de reforzar la autoridad y el poder del faraón, del Estado y de las elites frente a situaciones de crisis a través de una visión caótica, apocalíptica de lo que sería un mundo sin autoridad, sin el poder del faraón y sin un Estado. No es casual por ende el horror y la desazón que manifiesta Ipuwer al observar la ruina de los valores tradicionales así como el ascenso y la irrupción de las masas y los miembros más humildes de la población a los espacios que eran reservados a los estratos privilegiados de la sociedad egipcia. Y en este sentido, encontramos más que interesante el aporte ofrecido por el antropólogo Georges Balandier para quien mediante la ficcionalización de un desorden y la creación de un discurso basado en el caos, el desorden puede ser domesticado traduciéndose

[50] Parkinson 1999: 71.

en orden[51]. De esta manera, las apelaciones a un mundo al revés—tal como sucede en las *Admoniciones de Ipuwer*—pueden ser interpretadas a nuestro entender en base la teoría del "poder por el desorden"[52].

De esta manera, creemos que este relato habría sido utilizado como una fuente de legitimación política, transmisor de ideas y valores destinados a proporcionar cohesión a la sociedad egipcia[53]. Y esto se emparenta con una cuestión fundamental, abordada desde el campo de la sociología moderna, como lo es el del estudio de las estrategias de reproducción social. Al respecto, uno de los interrogantes fundamentales de esta cuestión ha sido planteado por Pierre Bourdieu a la hora de analizar cómo y por qué el mundo adquiere un determinado sentido, se preserva y se perpetúa cierta imagen de ese mundo en un orden social[54]. Y en este sentido, Bourdieu ha planteado que "hay que recusar la cuestión de saber si las señales de sumisión que los subordinados acuerdan permanentemente a sus superiores constituyen y reconstituyen sin cesar la relación de dominación o si, a la inversa, la relación objetiva de dominación impone los signos de sumisión"[55]. En otras palabras, debemos indagar acerca de los mecanismos y los sistemas simbólicos que permiten que un determinado grupo social se posicione y reproduzca en cierto orden social del mundo.

Cierto es que el rol que ocupan los sistemas simbólicos es fundamental, pues son estos los que contribuyen a constituir el mundo, a brindarle un sentido para quienes se encuentran inmersos en él, transformándose así en objetos de disputa en su camino por imponer una determinada manera legítima de ver el mundo, de conservarlo o simplemente transformarlo si se transforma su representación[56]. Así, las estrategias de reproducción social apuntarían a legitimar una dominación, a fundamentarla y a naturalizarla en el tiempo[57]. Es decir que en base a las representaciones que de sí misma se haga una sociedad puede llegar o no a cambiar el modo en que un determinado sector social se represente y establezca en un orden social dado. Esto es justamente lo que creemos que sucede en el texto de las *Admoniciones de Ipuwer* cuando se representa a una sociedad dada vuelta

[51] Balandier 2003 [1988]: 112–137.
[52] Balandier 2003 [1988].
[53] Rosell 2010: 243.
[54] Bourdieu 2011: 31.
[55] Bourdieu 2011: 31.
[56] Gutiérrez 2011: 21–22.
[57] Bourdieu 2011: 37.

que atenta contra la imagen de lo que la clase dirigente egipcia suponía como una sociedad ideal, en la cual debía existir una separación notoria entre los espacios destinados y privilegiados de los sectores altos y pertenecientes a la elite de aquellos en los que debían estar confinados los sectores bajos. No hace otra cosa más que reafirmar el lugar en el que cada sujeto debe permanecer de acuerdo a ese mundo social que la propia elite egipcia impone y reproduce. Y esto se puede explicar por la propia dinámica de las elites que basan su poder, prestigio y legitimidad en base a la apropiación de un orden fundado en la inequidad y desigualdad[58]. Así, uno de los mecanismos o estrategias de reproducción social de las elites antiguas, como la egipcia, consistía en adquirir la legitimidad no sólo de los ojos de los demás, es decir de los sectores bajos, sino también para sí mismas[59]. De esta manera, las elites logran crear una ideología legitimadora que las cohesione ante sus competidores así como también a sí mismas como clase dominante. Precisamente, las elites necesitan reproducir su propia imagen tanto por medio de la reactualización de sus acciones pragmáticas destinadas a mantener la desigualdad social como por medio de la comprensión y la reafirmación de su propia posición en un orden social[60]. En otras palabras, necesitan recrear constantemente una representación de sí mismas destinadas a cohesionarlas en momentos de crisis y necesidad de legitimación. Y para ello, se habrían valido—en este caso—de la literatura como un vehículo de transmisión ideológica para poder dirigir y extender su posición y su lugar en la sociedad egipcia[61].

El orden que cada individuo debe ocupar en una sociedad diferencia, clasifica, jerarquiza e impone ciertos límites hacia el interior de una sociedad que se ven reflejados en las prohibiciones y en las pautas de conductas aceptables. De esta forma, la inversión simbólica de ese orden mediante su burla, parodia o ficción enmascararía un acto legitimador por parte de los sectores dirigentes en una sociedad, puesto que mediante tales amenazas al orden pueden beneficiarse sacando un provecho de tal desorden, convirtiéndolo en un instrumento de poder destinado a fortalecer un régimen de gobierno o a una clase en el poder[62]. Así, creemos que en las

[58] Baines y Yofee 1988: 213.
[59] Baines y Yofee 1988: 213.
[60] Baines y Yofee 1988: 213.
[61] Baines y Yoffee 2000: 17.
[62] Balandier 1994 [1992]: 45.

Admoniciones, las imágenes y las representaciones de las elites egipcias habrían servido para reforzar el rol y la posición de las propia elite egipcia mediante la ficcionalización de un mundo al revés en el cual se demuestra que solo ella puede garantizar y mantener el orden social, a la par que ejemplificar lo que debe ser una sociedad ideal.

Consideraciones finales

En este trabajo hemos intentado reflexionar sobre las representaciones de las elites egipcias contenidas en el texto de las *Admoniciones de Ipuwer*.

Nuestra intención fue más allá de describir y analizar las diversas representaciones de las elites contenidas en dicho texto puesto que también nos hemos concentrado en comprender los motivos que habrían llevado a la propia clase dirigente egipcia del Reino Medio a elaborar un texto en el cual las representaciones e imágenes de las elites estuvieran permeadas por el estallido de una revolución social que las hubo de despojar de todos sus bienes, derechos y privilegios.

De esta manera, hemos analizado cómo la representación literaria de una revolución social en las *Admoniciones de Ipuwer*, conjuntamente con las descripciones y representaciones de las elites egipcias, habría servido para garantizar el orden, reforzar el statu quo y legitimar al Estado y a la monarquía egipcia mediante la teatralización y la re-presentación de ciertas imágenes sobre el desorden y el caos social. Así, destacamos la función coercitiva, implícita, que cumple el concepto y la idea de una revolución social en este texto como una advertencia clara por parte de la elite gobernante hacia los sectores populares y trabajadores de la sociedad egipcia, de no intentar sublevar el orden social y rebelarse contra la máxima autoridad egipcia, dado que la anarquía social, el caos y la desolación invadirían Egipto.

Por último, hemos indagado en los mecanismos de reproducción que la propia elite egipcia habría desarrollado a partir de dichas representaciones para poder reproducir no solo un ideal de sociedad, sino también delimitar el lugar que las propias elites debían tener y ocupar en la sociedad egipcia. En este sentido, hemos observado como tales representaciones no hacen otra cosa más que reafirmar el lugar en el que cada sujeto debía permanecer de acuerdo a ese mundo social que la propia elite egipcia imponía y reproducía.

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Reseñas bibliográficas / Book Reviews

Nissim Amzallag, *Esau in Jerusalem: The Rise of a Seirite Religious Elite in Zion in the Persian Period.* Cahiers de la Revue Biblique 85. Pendé, J. Gabalda et Cie, 2015. ISBN 978–2–85021–242–0. Paperback 62,00 €.

In the introduction to his Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel, Julius Wellhausen explains that prior to his having composed that foundational work in the field of the critical study of Hebrew Scripture, it was widely held

> *that the great mass of the books of the Old Testament not only relate to the pre-exilic period, but date from it… they are remnants of the literature of ancient Israel which the Jews rescued as a heritage from the past, and on which they continued to subsist in the decay of independent intellectual life. (. . .) in dogmatic theology Judaism is a mere empty chasm over which one springs from the Old Testament to the new…*[1]

Notwithstanding an overwhelming antipathy to post-exilic Judaism, even Wellhausen remarks as follows concerning the religious and literary creativity of Judaism[2] in the Achaemenid period:

> *(…) apart from the Pentateuch the pre-exilic portion of the Old Testament amounts in bulk to little more than half of the entire volume. All the rest belongs to the later period, and it includes not merely the feeble after-growths of a failing vegetation, but also productions of the vigour and originality of Isa. XL–LXVI and Ps.LXXIII.* [3]

During the first half of the 20th century C.E. it was widely held by academic scholars of the Hebrew Scriptures that while the cultic regulations of Ex. 25–31; 35–40 and the law corpora found in the book of Leviticus were created in the period following the destruction of King Solomon's temple by the army

[1] Wellhausen 1883: 1.
[2] See below.
[3] Wellhausen 1883: 2.

of King Nebuchadnezzar in 586 B.C.E., many of the narratives of the Pentateuch and of Joshua-Judges, Samuel, and Kings represented pre-exilic Israelite literature. However, in the last three decades of the 20th century C.E. this consensus was shattered by Thomas L. Thompson's *The Historicity of the Patriarchal Narratives: The Quest for the Historical Abraham*[4] and John van Seters' *Abraham in History and Tradition*[5] followed by many others. Scholars who insisted that most of the narratives in the Pentateuch and Joshua-Kings were written after 586 B.C.E. were called minimalists. Scholars who argued that a relatively greater amount of the Pentateuch and the so-called Former Prophets had been composed prior to the Exile were called maximalists.

A tacit assumption of both maximalists and minimalists was that post-exilic writings must of necessity be less reliable historically and less authoritative spiritually in keeping with Wellhausen's having characterized the Jewish community of Yehud in the Achaemenid period in the following words:

> *The Jews had no historical life, and therefore painted the old time according to their ideas, and framed the time to come according to their wishes. They stood in no living relation with either the past or the future; the present was not with them a bridge from the one to the other; they did not think of bestirring themselves with a view to the kingdom of God. They had no natural and historical existence, and made no preparations to procure such a thing for themselves; they only hoped for it as a reward of faithful keeping of the law.*[6]

In the midst of the debate between maximalists and minimalists as to which Scripture texts might be properly defined as post-exilic, Avi Hurvitz produced a whole series of researches into the characteristics of pre-exilic, exilic,[7] and post-exilic Hebrew, culminating in *A Concise Lexicon of Late Biblical Hebrew*.[8] Many of the minimalists do not want to countenance the possibility of scientific proof for linguistic differences between pre-exilic and post-exilic texts. Indeed, Thomas L. Thompson went so far as to declare that the oldest

[4] Thompson 1974.
[5] van Seters 1975.
[6] Wellhausen 1883: 502–03.
[7] Hurvitz 1982.
[8] Hurvitz 2014.

testimony to the existence of Hebrew Scripture comes from "the Hasmonean state, created by the Maccabees."[9]

In 1908 Solomon Schechter argued against the attribution of a large part of Hebrew Scripture including not only the Priestly Code of the Pentateuch but also Song of Songs and Ruth to the period 450–150 B.C.E.[10] He stated, "No period in Jewish history…is so entirely obscure."[11] As Schechter would have it,

> *All that is left of those ages are a few meagre notices by Josephus, which do not seem to be above doubt, and a few bare names in the Books of Chronicles of persons who hardly left any mark on the history of the times.*[12]

It is against the background of this long debate as to how much of Hebrew Scripture might be assigned to the Achaemenid period (539–330 B.C.E.) that Nissim Amzallag (Ph.D. in biblical research, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Beer Sheva 2015), a Ph.D. in botany (Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), the author of 30 scientific articles in biblical studies, three books on the history of ideas and philosophy of science, 13 scientific articles on the history of ideas, and 40 scientific articles on plant biology, emerges into the field of biblical studies, full blown like Athena from the head of Zeus, and offers a totally new way of looking at one aspect of the history of Judaism and its literature in the Achaemenid period.

Unquestionably, Wellhausen's assigning Leviticus to the decadent Achaemenid era was no sign of admiration for the book that first taught "Love thy neighbor as thyself." Likewise, Schechter did not find in the assigning of Ruth and Song of Songs to that era a compliment. Now emerges a highly gifted and original scholar, Nissim Amzallag, to declare that the province of Yehud in the Achaemenid period "was the hub of such intense intellectual and literary activity as to be regarded as the host of the golden age of Hebrew literature" (*Esau in Jerusalem*, p. 1). Moreover, Amzallag explains, "This extraordinary literary outpouring was accompanied by deep theological transformations of the official religion of the pre-exilic Judean kingdom" (p. 1).

[9] Thompson 1999: 294.
[10] Schechter 1908: 42
[11] Schechter 1908: 43
[12] Schechter 1908: 43.

Elaborating upon the hypothesis formulated by Juan Manuel Tebes in 2011, according to which in the Achaemenid period, people with an Edomite background formed one of the choirs that sang at the services at the temple of YHWH in Jerusalem,[13] Amzallag argues extensively and convincingly that the Judahite clan of Zerah is a local extension of a group originating in Edom, which was assigned a Levitical lineage in 1 Chr. 6. Their non-Israelite origin is attested in 1 Chr. 2:6, and it is corroborated by 1 Kgs. 5:11. Levitization of persons of non-Israelite origin is demonstrated by the Chronicler's assigning the family of Obed Edom to the Korahites and/or Merarites in 1 Chr. 15 (pp. 15–31). In addition, Amzallag argues that the 200 unnamed male and female singers referred to in Ezra 2:65 must be the descendants of Heman and Jeduthun because in post-exilic writings the descendants of Asaph are mentioned with precisely these other two groups of performers in 1 Chr. 15; 16; 25; 2 Chr. 5; 35.

Having made this point in the opening chapter of *Esau in Jerusalem*, Amzallag devotes the second chapter of the book to exploring the background of the Ezrahites (pp. 33–51). He shows how reference to metallurgy, the Edomites's specialized activity, reveals that the anonymous singers of Ezra 2:65 were heirs both to the prestigious tradition of song-poetry in Canaan and to Yahwist traditions that were older than Israelite religion. Consequently, Amzallag explains, they were recruited by the post-exilic Israelite community for the musical worship of YHWH (p. 51). In Chapter 3 of *Esau in Jerusalem*, "The Paradox of the Edomite Presence" (pp. 53–74), the author argues that during the Iron Age, two Yahwisms coexisted, one in Israel and one in Edom. Moreover, Amzallag argues, the story of the rivalry between Jacob and Esau, in which Esau is the firstborn son of Isaac and Rebekah, alludes to the rivalry between the two Yahwisms (pp. 53–58). Later, Amzallag elaborates, Edom's having sided with Babylonia in 586 B.C.E. resulted in the Judeans's demonization of Edom (pp. 58–74). Nevertheless, Amzallag explains, the post-exilic Judean community in Yehud chose to recruit Edomite singers for one of their temple choirs "to reacquaint the Asaphite singers with the musical traditions that their ancestors had lost in exile."

In the second of the three larger divisions of *Esau in Jerusalem*, Integration of the Ezrahite Singers, the author traces the evidence for the process, by means of which the Ezrahite singers were integrated into the clergy of the post-exilic Judean community of Yehud. In Chapter Four Amzallag

[13] Tebes 2011: 253.

argues that the central purpose of the Nehemiah Charter contained in Neh. 10 is to integrate the Ezrahite singers into the community and to pay them for their religious services. The Ezrahites, in turn, agreed to abandon their Edomite identity and traditions (p. 91). In Chapter Five, "The Levitization of the Ezrahites," the author argues that 2 Chr. 31:1–21 provides the details as to how the provisions of Neh. 10 with respect to the integration of the Ezrahites into the community were implemented. No less interesting is our author's explaining how Neh. 11 sought to integrate other Edomites into Judah (pp. 103–106). In the 3d section of Chapter Five, Changes in Musical Worship, Amzallag explains that in the 17-verse account of the ceremony of dedication of the wall of Jerusalem in Neh. 12, most of the text describes the antiphonal singing involving the Asaphites led by Zechariah and the Ezrahites by Jezrahiah (see especially, p. 113). According to our author,

> *the musical ceremony recounted in Neh. 12:27–43 celebrates not only the completion of the city wall but also the integration of the Ezrahites in the community, their promotion to the rank of a religious elite, and their financial support by the community.(p. 112).*

Amzallag's painstaking arguments in the course of the first five chapters of *Esau in Jerusalem* prepare us for chapter 6, which analyzes in great detail the various sources of opposition to Nehemiah's charter beginning with Noadiah the last named prophetess in Hebrew Scripture, and culminating with the authors of Ps. 14, who were threatened by the fact that the Ezrahites were not satisfied with being integrated into Israel. They sought, instead, to become Israel's new intellectual and religious elite. Indeed, it was the very great success of the Ezrahites in achieving precisely this goal and this status that is explored in Part 3, The Ezrahites as a new religious elite (pp. 143–219).

Part 3 of *Esau in Jerusalem* includes an introduction and three chapters, 7 (the theological shift in Nehemiah's charter); 8 (the Levites's position in regard to the reform); and 9 (the Ezrahite credo). In Chapter 7 the author argues that Neh. 9 is not a prayer but rather a preamble to the charter (Neh. 10). It purpose was to integrate the Ezrahites into Judah by emphasizing the covenant with Abraham rather than the covenant with Jacob. In Chapter 8

Amzallag analyzes various possible meanings of Ps. 106. He concludes that the purpose of this psalm was for the non-Ezrahite Levites to acknowledge the superiority of the Ezrahites' musical traditions and to promote the Ezrahites to the rank of a new religious elite. In the final chapter of the body of the book, Chapter 9, The Ezrahite Credo, Amzallag shows how Ps. 89 exalts the Ezrahite elite and how Psalms 111–112 are two parts of a song that the Ezrahites performed antiphonally.

In the book's conclusion (pp. 221–235) it is suggested that there may be a pro-Edomite bias in Genesis (p. 233) and in Chronicles (pp. 232–233). The author briefly discusses the possibility of an Edomite origin of the book of Job as part of the abiding legacy of Nehemiah's having integrated the Ezrahites into the Levites and into the Jewish community of Yehud.

Esau in Jerusalem is a fascinating piece of highly original and meticulously argued and documented research. It is interesting to read, and it demonstrates how original thinking can shed new light on questions not previously pondered. The writing is lucid, and it is thoroughly grounded in the history of research. The author avoids scholarly jargon. The book is provided with excellent indices, and it includes a rich bibliography that sheds much light on the until now not sufficiently appreciated legacy of Nehemiah son of Hacaliah. The book is highly recommended for biblical scholars, university students and seminarians, as well as clergy and educated laypersons. One looks forward to reading many more highly original books and articles by Nissim Amzallag.

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Peter James & Peter G. van der Veen (eds.), *Solomon and Shishak. Current Perspectives from Archaeology, Epigraphy, History and Chronology. Proceedings of the Third BICANE Colloquium held at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge 26–27 March, 2011*. BAR International Series 2732. Oxford, Archaeopress, 2015. xii + 281. ISBN 978–1–4073–1389–4. £47.00

En 1991 la publicación del libro *Centuries of Darkness: A Challenge to the Conventional Chronology of Old World Archaeology*, escrito por un grupo de historiadores británicos liderados por Peter James,[14] estimuló un extenso debate respecto de la cronología del antiguo Cercano Oriente y el mundo mediterráneo. Es que la hipótesis principal del modelo Centuries of Darkness (CoD), como se lo ha dado en llamar, iba en contra de la mayoría de los postulados cronológicos aceptados hasta ese momento. A partir de una serie de "anomalías" detectadas en las evidencias epigráficas y arqueológicas de principios de del Hierro, James *et al.* argüían que la cronología convencional de este período estaba artificialmente alargada en unos 250 años, principalmente debido a los serios problemas presentados por la periodización egipcia. No es este el lugar para extendernos en los detalles del modelo CoD, pero podemos enfocarnos en su argumento principal: la egiptología ha creado una extensión temporal demasiado larga del Tercer Período Intermedio (tradicionalmente, 1069–664 a.C.), lo que ha tenido una consecuencia no querida en la periodización de las áreas que dependen de la cronología egipcia para la datación de sus restos arqueológicos, básicamente todo el mundo antiguo desde Irán hasta Gibraltar antes del siglo VIII a.C. Períodos arqueológicos anómalamente largos de principios de

[14] Véase la traducción castellana: James *et al*. 1993 [1991].

la Edad del Hierro, tales como los excavados en el mundo egeo, Anatolia, Levante, Mesopotamia y la Península Arábiga, fueron incorporados en modelos de "siglos de oscuridad" que incluían invasiones externas, crisis sistémicas y colapsos de las civilizaciones de la Edad del Bronce Tardío. La solución propuesta por CoD era drástica, sugiriendo una re-datación del final de la Edad del Bronce Tardío a finales del siglo X a.C., eliminado así largos períodos arqueológicos con poca o nula evidencia material. Aunque más de un cuarto de siglo después la hipótesis CoD sigue siendo todavía aceptada por una minoría de investigadores, la necesidad de dataciones más bajas ha sido recogida por otros modelos cronológicos con reducciones menos drásticas pero no menos polémicas, especialmente la cronología baja de la Edad del Hierro defendida por los arqueólogos de la Universidad de Tel Aviv.[15]

Las consecuencias de las dataciones bajas propuestas por CoD se sintieron especialmente en la arqueología del Levante, dadas las fuertes implicancias que tenían para la historia del surgimiento del estado de los antiguos israelitas y de sus monarcas más famosos, David y Salomón. *Solomon and Shishak* presenta los artículos presentados en un coloquio realizado en Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, en 2011, dedicado a la cronología de la monarquía unida israelita y sus relaciones con Egipto. La edición está a cargo del mismo Peter James junto con Peter G. van der Veen, investigador postdoctoral de la Universidad de Maguncia, Alemania. Aunque editado por dos defensores de la cronología CoD, los artículos presentan perspectivas variadas y muchos no apoyan (de hecho algunos rechazan abiertamente) este modelo cronológico.

En el primer artículo, John J. Bimson ("Shishak and Shoshenk: A Chronological Cornerstone or Stumbling-block?") estudia el ancla cronológica más importante en la cronología convencional: la identificación del faraón bíblico Shishak (1 Reyes 14:25–26; 2 Crón 12:2–9) con el rey Sheshonk I, de Dinastía XXII Libia, del que se conserva una lista topográfica de pueblos conquistados en Palestina (Puerta Bubastita en Karnak). Como Bimson demuestra claramente, esta identificación, a primera vista bastante obvia dada la similitud en el nombre de ambos faraones, no está exenta de problemas, especialmente la diferente ruta tomada por Sheshonk de aquella mencionada en el texto bíblico, sumado a la extraña ausencia de Jerusalén y las ciudades fortificadas de Roboam en la lista de Karnak. En una suerte de contrapunto, el corto artículo posterior de Aidan Dodson ("Shoshenk I: A Conventional(ish) View") presenta una defensa de la ecuación Shishak = Shoshenk I. La exis-

[15] *E.g.* Finkelstein 2008.

tencia de varias campañas militares de Sheshonk I en Palestina permitiría explicar, según Dodson, las diferencias entre el relato de la Biblia y la lista topográfica de Karnak. Otro corto artículo de Shirly Ben-Dor Evian ("Shoshenq I and the Levant: Synchronising Chronologies") investiga los hallazgos de objetos egipcios en el Levante durante la Edad del Hierro IIA (tradicionalmente datado en el siglo X a.C.), tales como la cerámica, percas del Nilo, y sellos post-ramésidas. Asumiendo claramente la validez de la cronología convencional, Ben-Dor Evian concluye que la distribución espacial de los hallazgos egipcios coincide con las regiones geográficas mencionadas en la lista de Karnak. A la evidente influencia egipcia en la iconografía del culto, los números hieráticos, y las conexiones con Biblos, habría que agregar la presencia de arquitectura egipcia o egipcianizante en el Negev, tal como la estructura tipo "residencia de gobernador" descubierta en el estrato II de Tel Masos (edificio 480), construcción de estilo ramésida encontrada en un contexto demasiado tardío según la periodización tradicional[16].

Con el artículo de Robert Morkot y James ("Dead-reckoning the Start of the 22nd Dynasty: from Shoshenq V back to Shoshenq I") el libro pasa al análisis más general de la cronología de la Dinastía XXII. El trabajo conjunto de Morkot y James ya es bien conocido desde *Centuries of Darkness* y un gran número de artículos posteriores en revistas científicas.[17] El argumento central de sus investigaciones ha sido siempre la necesidad de la reducción de la extensión temporal del Tercer Período Intermedio: en este artículo, se centran en la existencia del supuesto rey "Osorkon IV", que el egiptólogo Kenneth Kitchen identifica con el rey del mismo nombre de la famosa estela de Piye y con el Shilkanni de las fuentes asirias (fuentes de finales del siglo VIII a.C.). En base a un minucioso análisis, los autores concluyen que "Osorkon IV" nunca existió, y que de hecho es el bien conocido Osorkon III de la Dinastía XXII el que debe identificarse con el personaje de las fuentes citadas, lo que bajaría las fechas de Osorkon III en unos 40–50 años (y, consecuentemente, la datación de Sheshonk I a la segunda mitad del siglo IX a.C.). En la misma dirección se dirige el estudio de Ad Thijs ("From the Lunar Eclipse of Takeloth II back to Shoshenk I and Shishak"), que en base a datos astronómicos y arqueológicos—especialmente las "anomalías" en los enterramientos de toros en el Serapeum de Menfis—también redata a Sheshonk I en la segunda mitad del siglo IX a.C.

[16] Tebes 2004: 100.
[17] *E.g.* Morkot y James 2009.

Posteriormente, una serie de artículos se enfocan exclusivamente sobre Sheshonk I y su tradicional identificación con el Shishak bíblico. Siguiendo la opinión convencional, Troy Sagrillo ("Shoshenq I and Biblical Šîšaq: A Philological Defense of their Traditional Indentification") estudia las propuestas de identificación de Shishak con otros faraones, especialmente Ramsés II o III. En base a argumentos exclusivamente filológicos—tales como la extrema rareza de los hipocorísticos *ssysw*, *ssw*, y *ss* para el nombre "Ramsés"; y la falta de correspondencia entre el semítico /š/ y el egipcio /s/—, Sagrillo concluye que tal identificación es imposible de sostener, por lo que la evidencia disponible sugiere que el mejor candidato para Shishak sigue siendo Sheshonk I. Desde la vereda de enfrente, el estudio de van der Veen ("The Name Shishaq: *Šošenq* or *Šyšu/q*? Responding to the Critics and Assessing the Evidence") defiende los argumentos de una posible identificación de Shishak con alguno de los Ramsés, en particular que la utilización del hipocorístico Sesu no fue tan rara; y la representación bíblica de las letras šin/śin para el egipcio /š/ y *samek* para el egipcio /s/ o /z/. En un estudio enfocado en la evidencia arqueológica, Bimson ("Ramesses as Biblical Shishak? Some Notes on the Archaeological Evidence") propone identificar a Ramsés III con Shishak y relaciona las campañas militares del primero en Canaán y Amurru con lo poco que el texto de Crónicas tiene que decir sobre la ruta de la invasión del segundo. Siguiendo también el modelo CoD, van der Veen y James ("Zeraḥ the Kushite: A New Proposal Regarding His Identity") identifican la invasión de Judá por Zerah el kushita, en tiempos del rey Asa de Judá, con las campañas militares de Ramsés IV o de Userḫau, "supervisor de las tierras septentrionales". Los mismos autores ("When *did* Shoshenq I Campaign in Palestine?"), que redatan a Sheshonk I en el siglo IX a.C., sitúan su campaña militar en el contexto de los conflictos entre Israel y Hazael de Damasco, siendo uno de los objetivos de Sheshonk el de proveer ayuda a los israelitas ante la amenaza aramea.

Con el artículo de Rupert Chapman ("Samaria and Megiddo: Shishak and Solomon"), volvemos a la evidencia arqueológica levantina. En él, Chapman estudia los restos materiales de Samaria y Megiddo, estando de acuerdo con la re-datación propuesta por Finkelstein y otros del estrato VA-IVB de Megiddo en el siglo IX a.C. Esto tiene importantes consecuencias para la cronología egipcia, ya que Chapman sitúa en el mismo estrato la posición original del fragmento de estela de Sheshonk I de Megiddo[18], lo que implicaría una re-datación de este faraón en el siglo IX a.C. El corto estudio de Wolfgang

[18] Chapman 2009.

Zwickel ("Solomon's Temple, its Cultic Implements and the Historicity of Solomon's Kingdom") investiga posibles paralelos arqueológicos del templo de Salomón en Jerusalén, tal como es presentado en el texto bíblico. Zwickel concluye que, aunque no existen evidencias arqueológicas de su construcción, dicho templo encaja perfectamente en lo que sabemos de la arquitectura cúltica del Levante del siglo X a.C. Nikos Kokkinos ("Josephus and Greek Chronogaphy: Troy, Solomon, Shishak and Ramesses III") investiga la cronología del mundo antiguo construida por Flavio Josefo, siguiendo a anteriores cronógrafos griegos, especialmente Manetón para el caso egipcio. Kokkinos demuestra los problemas insuperables que plagaron a la cronología de Josefo a través de todos sus escritos, en especial su predilección por dataciones demasiado altas para el reinado de Salomón, mantenidas por su creencia en la mayor antigüedad de la civilización judía por sobre la griega pero también por la carencia de datos fiables sobre períodos tan lejanos en el tiempo. En "Early Iron Age Epigraphy and Cronological Revision: A Summary Article", van der Veen presenta un compendio de los hallazgos epigráficos palestinenses tradicionalmente datados a principios de la Edad del Hierro, pero que, en su opinión, podrían datar de períodos arqueológicos más tardíos.

Quizás el problema más significativo que presenta el modelo CoD son las dataciones de radiocarbono que, hasta el momento, parecen seguir apoyando las aproximaciones más convencionales. Es por ello que dos artículos están dedicados íntegramente a las cuestiones metodológicas relacionadas con este sistema de datación. Uwe Zerbst y van der Veen ("Does Radiocarbon Provide the Answer?") presentan la serie de problemas que han surgido en la datación por Carbono 14, la calibración dendrocronológica y la aproximación bayesiana para las dataciones arqueológicas del antiguo Cercano Oriente en general, especialmente Egipto y el Levante, tales como en los fechados de la erupción de Thera, el naufragio de Uluburun y la destrucción de Nínive. Entre las razones potenciales aducidas para la discrepancia entre las fechas de radiocarbono calibradas y las históricas, se mencionan los cambios atmosféricos en el equilibro entre C^{14} y C^{12} y los errores en la curva de calibración o en las curvas de los anillos de los árboles. Las discrepancias son tantas que los autores sugieren concentrarse en muestras tomadas de contextos de los que sí está segura su fecha histórica, y tomar los mayores recaudos cuando se excluyen valores atípicos solo basados en estadísticas bayesianas. Problemas similares encuentra Robert M. Porter en su artículo "Recent Problems with Dendrochrono-

logy". Porter se enfoca especialmente en los resultados dendrocronológicos de I. Kuniholm en base a anillos de árboles de enebro de Anatolia que, tal como él lo demuestra, son muy poco fiables. Problemas análogos plagan la periodización de otros sitios del Cercano Oriente, tal como la datación de la destrucción de Nínive por los babilonios y medos, que las fuentes históricas fechan, como bien es sabido, en 612 a.C., pero que recientes dataciones de radiocarbono calibradas fechan en 795 a.C.! Es evidente que, a pesar de la ayuda inestimable que ofrece la datación radiocarbónica, su utilización todavía muestra muchos problemas que deben ser resueltos.

Los tres últimos capítulos se enfocan de nuevo en la arqueología del Levante, con James ("Kings of Jerusalem at the Late Bronze to Iron Age Transition – Forerunners or Doubles of David and Solomon") sugiriendo un contexto del Bronce Tardío para los reinados de David y Salomón; Simone B. Robin ("Analysis, Interpretation and Dating of a Problematic Egyptian Statuary Fragment Discovered in Jerusalem"), y van der Veen y David Ellis ("'He Placed His Name in Jerusalem': Ramesside Finds from Judah's Capital'") presentando hallazgos egipcios encontrados en Jerusalén; y finalmente Dan'el Kahn ("The Campaign of Ramesses III against Philistia"), con un artículo ya publicado sobre las campañas militares de Ramsés III contra los Pueblos del Mar, que este autor sitúa en Siria.

Solomon and Shishak está dirigido a lectores ya adentrados en los áridos debates cronológicos del primer milenio a.C. del Levante y Egipto, y asume mucha familiaridad con el modelo CoD, por lo que habría sido necesario al menos un capítulo introductorio sobre los postulados centrales de *Centuries of Darkness*, y las respuestas y contra-respuestas posteriores. Para aquellos interesados, se recomienda pues al menos una lectura general de la obra original de CoD. *Solomon and Shishak* exhibe de manera clara que la cronología del antiguo Cercano Oriente, lejos de estar consensuada y libre de problemas, muestra una diversidad de aproximaciones que no tienen miedo de debatir. Aunque es cierto que los postulados de CoD no concuerdan con lo aceptado por la mayoría de la academia, el libro presenta muchos de los problemas de la cronología convencional que, más de 20 años después de *Centuries of Darkness*, todavía no han sido resueltos, especialmente en torno a las dataciones de radiocarbono. Por lo que se debe agradecer a los organizadores, editores y autores por la honesta apertura intelectual realizada para dilucidar uno de los dilemas más significativos de la historia del mundo antiguo.

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