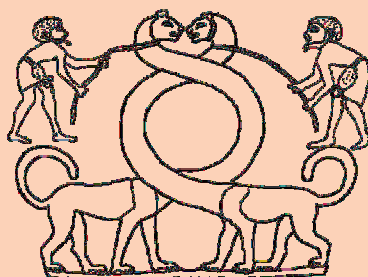


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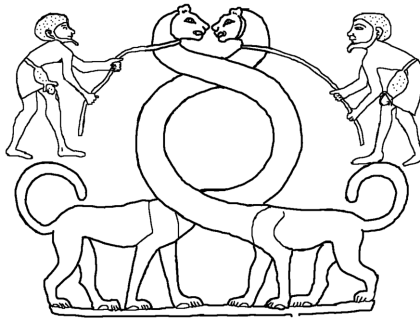
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<i>In Memoriam Rodolfo Fattovich (1945–2018)</i>	11
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COLABORACIONES / MAIN PAPERS

<i>Towards a Long-term Place Biography of Nahr el-Kalb (Lebanon)</i> ROCÍO DA RIVA	13
<i>Les neiges d’antan: “Early Rulers” and the Vanity Theme in Mesopotamian Wisdom Literature and Beyond</i> YORAM COHEN	33
<i>The Levantine War-Records of Ramesses III: Changing Attitudes, Past, Present and Future</i> PETER JAMES	57
<i>The Mudayna Sites of the Arnon Tributaries: “Midian alongside Moab”?</i> CHAIM BEN DAVID	149
<i>Tres puertos egipcios en el Mar Rojo durante el período faraónico: Una reevaluación de la evidencia</i> PIERRE TALLET	175
<i>Royal Justice or Realpolitik? The Diviner Zū-Ba’la and the Hittites Once Again</i> FRANCISCO CÉNTOLA	195
<i>Proyectiles de honda: ¿Tensiones y conflictos en la protohistoria del Próximo Oriente?</i> FERNANDO ESPEJEL ARROYO	223
<i>Hornos domésticos e industriales en Tell el-Ghaba, norte de Sinaí, Egipto</i> EDUARDO CRIVELLI MONTERO, SILVIA ALICIA LUPO & CLAUDIA IRENE KOHEN	243

RESEÑAS BIBLIOGRÁFICAS / BOOK REVIEWS

Rocío Da Riva, <i>Arqueólogos, etnólogos y espías. La misión de Leo Frobenius en Arabia y Eritrea (1914–1915)</i> , 2017.	
Por VÍCTOR M. FERNÁNDEZ MARTÍNEZ	285

Antonio J. Morales, <i>The Transmission of the Pyramid Texts of Nut: Analysis of their Distribution and Role in the Old and Middle Kingdoms</i> , 2017. Por CARLOS GRACIA ZAMACONA	288
Brian B. Schmidt, <i>The Materiality of Power: Explorations in the Social History of Early Israelite Magic</i> , 2016. Por JUAN MANUEL TEBES	293
Ianir Milevski & Thomas E. Levy (eds.), <i>Framing Archaeology in the Near East: The Application of Social Theory to Fieldwork</i> , 2016. Por CATALIN PAVEL	299
POLÍTICA EDITORIAL E INSTRUCCIONES PARA LOS COLABORADORES / EDITORIAL POLICY AND INSTRUCTIONS FOR CONTRIBUTORS	305
DIRECCIONES PARA ENVÍO DE ARTÍCULOS Y RESEÑAS BIBLIOGRÁFICAS / ADDRESSES FOR ARTICLES AND BOOK REVIEWS SUBMISSIONS	309
COLABORACIONES EN NÚMEROS ANTERIORES / PAST ISSUES PAPERS	311

IN MEMORIAM RODOLFO FATTOVICH (1945–2018)

El 23 de marzo de 2018 recibimos la muy triste noticia del fallecimiento de Rodolfo Fattovich, miembro del Comité Editorial de *Antiguo Oriente*. Queremos homenajear al Prof. Fattovich con un pequeño resumen de su vida académica, escrita por Andrea Manzo de la Università degli Studi di Napoli “L’Orientale”. Agradecemos al Prof. Manzo por permitirnos reproducir aquí dicho texto.

Rodolfo Fattovich (Trieste 1945-Rome 2018)

Before retiring in 2014, Rodolfo was teaching Ethiopian Archaeology, Egyptian Archaeology and for many years also Egyptology at the Università degli studi di Napoli “L’Orientale.” He was an honorary member of the ISMEO-Associazione Internazionale di Studi sul Mediterraneo e l’Oriente, research fellow of the Department of Archaeology of Boston University and, for many years, a visiting professor of Archaeology at Addis Ababa University. He was also an active member of several international scientific societies and editorial boards of journals.

Rodolfo had an extensive fieldwork experience in Egypt where he directed projects at the sites of Naqada (with C. Barocas and M. Tosi), Tell el-Farkha (with S. Salvatori) and Mersa/Wadi Gawasis (with K.A. Bard). In Sudan, he started a research project in the Kassala region. In Ethiopia, he directed excavations at Bieta Giyorgis (Aksum, again codirected by K.A. Bard). In recent years, he returned to Seglamen, a site where, at the beginning of his career, in the early Seventies, he had also worked with Lanfranco Ricci.

Rodolfo was a student of Claudia Dolzani, Sergio Donadoni and Salvatore Maria Puglisi. When Lanfranco Ricci wanted to start developing the field of Ethiopian Archaeology in Italy, Donadoni and Puglisi suggested his name. In this way, because of the will of Lanfranco Ricci, in 1974 Rodolfo became a faculty member at the Istituto Universitario Orientale (presently Università degli studi di Napoli “L’Orientale”). There, he joined a very vibrant and inspiring academic community, with scholars like Maurizio

Taddei, Claudio Barocas, Maurizio Tosi, Alessandro de Maigret, and some years later Paolo Marrassini, to remain in the fields of archaeology, Egyptology and Ethiopian Studies.

His research interests focused not only (as it could be expected since the beginning of his career) on the origins of social hierarchy in northeastern Africa, Egyptian Predynastic, pre-Aksumite and Aksumite cultures, the relations between Egypt and Africa, but also on the ancient Red Sea, the environmental history of northeastern Africa, and on the contribution archaeology could provide to the sustainable development of those regions. The breadth and variety of his interests immediately makes evident the intellectual curiosity and the open-minded approach which were his characterizing traits.

He has published more than two hundred publications, some of them certainly seminal works. He also mentored many pupils who, after starting their education under his tutorship, often specialized in several different fields, such as geoarchaeology, paleobotany, maritime archaeology, computer applications to archaeology, as well as, of course, Ethiopian and Egyptian archaeology, Egyptology and Nubian studies.

TOWARDS A LONG-TERM PLACE BIOGRAPHY OF NAHR EL-KALB (LEBANON)

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Summary: Towards a Long-term Place Biography of Nahr el-Kalb (Lebanon)

At the mouth of the Nahr el-Kalb, a river flowing into the Mediterranean some kilometers north of the Lebanese capital of Beirut, the visitor can find more than twenty rock-cut monuments, perfectly integrated in the surrounding anthropic and natural landscape, that are dated between the thirteenth century BCE and the dawn of the twenty-first century CE. In a privileged geographical emplacement, with breath-taking beauty and strategic character, kings and rulers, both local and foreign, left their inscriptions and stelae to celebrate their military achievements and to mark the endurance of their deeds. These monuments make Nahr el-Kalb a unique place to study how imperial power found its material expression, and how the symbolic and ritual aspects play a significant role in the configuration of this peerless open-air museum.

Keywords: Nahr el-Kalb – Monuments – Empires – Ancient Near East – Rituals

Resumen: Hacia una biografía a largo plazo de Nahr el-Kalb (Líbano)

En la desembocadura del Nahr el-Kalb, a algunos kilómetros al norte de la capital libanesa de Beirut, el visitante puede encontrar más de veinte monumentos excavados en la roca, perfectamente integrados en el paisaje antrópico y natural circundante. Los monumentos tienen una cronología de entre el siglo XIII a.C. y los albores del siglo XXI. En un emplazamiento geográfico privilegiado, con una belleza impresionante y un carácter estratégico, reyes y gobernantes, tanto locales como extranjeros, dejaron sus inscripciones y estelas para celebrar logros militares. Estos monumentos hacen de Nahr el-Kalb un lugar único para estudiar cómo el poder imperial encontró su expres-

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sión material, y cómo los aspectos simbólicos y rituales juegan un papel importante en la configuración de este incomparable museo al aire libre.

Palabras clave: Nahr el-Kalb – Monumentos – Imperios – Próximo Oriente Antiguo – Rituales

The monumental ensemble of Nahr el-Kalb is located at the mouth of the homonymous river, along Highway 51, which runs parallel to the coast from Beirut to El Aarida on the Syrian border (**Fig. 1**). Twelve km north of the Lebanese capital and slightly south of the bustling city of Jounieh, it is hard to miss the rock-cut monuments when driving along the coast. At the same time, the site is perfectly integrated in the anthropic and natural landscape and it forms a cohesive unit with the river, the coast-line, the two promontories on each side of the river and the frantic traffic of the roads.¹

Here, and particularly on the southern promontory called Ras el-Kalb, the visitor finds 22 monuments dated between the thirteenth century BCE (the oldest) and the dawn of the twenty-first century CE (the last monument dates to the year 2000). More than thirty-three centuries of events are recorded in the carved rocks at the mouth of the Nahr el-Kalb.² The great Ramses II inaugurated the tradition of monument making at the site, when he carved the first of his three reliefs in the fourth year of his successful reign (1275/1274 BCE), transforming the mouth of the river into a place of remembrance, display of imperial power and colonial metaphors. The Egyptian pharaoh chose an impressive location on the coastal route from Egypt towards the north of the Levant, marking, in both a symbolic and a material way, both the current frontier of his dominions and the limes he was aspiring to create.³ Yet, the place was far from being neutral, or pristine, at the time of the arrival of the Egyptian army, as C. Yazbeck has demonstrated in her study of the prehistoric remains in the cave of Ras el-Kalb; there, archaeologists have documented seasonal occupation at different time

¹ Maïla-Afeiche 2009: 17 fig. 6.

² Maïla-Afeiche 2009.

³ Loffet 2009.



Fig. 1. Map of Lebanon with location of Nahr el-Kalb.

points during the Middle Palaeolithic period, as well as some scattered remains dated to the Neolithic, Chalcolithic and Bronze Age.⁴ But the most impressive remains at the site are of course the rock-cut monuments, where kings and rulers, both local and foreign, commissioned inscriptions and stelae to celebrate their military achievements and to shore up their power and to mark the endurance of their deeds. The inscriptions are drafted in a great assortment of languages and writing systems, and some even appear decorated with impressive reliefs; the variety in chronology, workmanship and function of the stelae turns this exceptional natural landscape into a powerful and enduring master class in Near Eastern history.⁵

The privileged geographical emplacement, its breathtaking beauty and strategic character, and the symbolic and ritual value of the site have all played a role in the configuration of this peerless open-air museum. But tradition, mimetism and dialectic confrontation between rulers and powers over the ages have also played a significant role in the making and remaking of this unique emplacement.

Boxed between the sea and the mountains, the Ras el-Kalb, together with the capes of Ras ach-Chaqaa (the Greek Theouprosopon), Bayyada and Naqoura create a series of practically unpassable barriers along the coastal route of the Lebanon, the *Via Maris*.⁶ The impressive development of the modern highway systems has made communication much easier, but at the same time hinders the appreciation of the difficulties for transportation in pre-modern societies and of the symbolic challenge that the insurmountability of the passes must have posed to the ancient travellers.

The abrupt geology of the mouth of the Nahr el-Kalb creates a frontier and, at the same time, a place of passage. It is an inhospitable spot, but also an emplacement of collective social memory. A contested station in a dramatic geographical setting, over the millennia the mouth of the Nahr el-Kalb has formed a natural pass in the central Levantine coast. This dichotomy of untamed nature and monumentalized cultural

⁴ Yazbeck 2009: 183–193.

⁵ Maïla-Afeiche 2009: 37–39.

⁶ Sader 2000: 69–72; Stern 2000; Volk 2008.

landscape is one of the most characteristic features of the site and probably one of the main reasons Nahr el-Kalb was selected by so many rulers as the site for their commemorative monuments.

Geological studies undertaken at the site⁷ have demonstrated that the natural terraces, formed as a result both of fluctuations in sea level and of episodic tectonic uplift, were the basis for the footpaths and the roads in use over the centuries: from the prehistoric to the Roman periods, the Middle Ages and the modern era.⁸ The ample pictorial evidence at our disposal (drawings and, since the twentieth century, photographs) helps us to comprehend the appearance of a landscape which natural phenomena (the modification of the coast-line)⁹ and modern human activity (the construction of tunnels, bridges, railways and roads) have altered beyond recognition.¹⁰ The geomorphological configuration of the site dictated the movement of people along the promontories and also played a crucial role in the selection of the individual sites for the monuments. The physical transformations of the site may mislead us; as a starting hypothesis, one might propose that the monuments were made in order to be seen and experienced by the viewer/passers-by,¹¹ but today's monumental ensemble clearly differs from the site in the past, due to both anthropic and natural modifications.

The precise emplacements of the monuments in the promontories were not only determined by the geological and physical constraints of the site, but also by a deliberate decision to place the stele and inscriptions in visible and symbolic spots. Every new addition to the ensemble had to coexist with the previous monuments and adapt to the space available on the rocks, but each new monument also modified the whole cadre, sometimes even removing or destroying previous works—as when Napoleon III carved his inscription over an existing inscription of Ramses III.¹² The accumulation of monuments at Nahr

⁷ Leanderson 2009a; 2009b.

⁸ Maïla-Afeiche 2009: 51–54; Leanderson 2009b: 103–120.

⁹ Leanderson 2009a: 77–102.

¹⁰ Maïla-Afeiche 2009: 48–66.

¹¹ Da Riva 2015.

¹² Volk 2009: 328.

el-Kalb has created an increasingly complex choral effect in which new voices have been progressively adjoined to the existing ones in an ever-changing symphony.

The first monuments carved at the site, the Egyptian stelae nos. 14 and 16,¹³ have a clear military and political intention: they are linked to Ramses II's campaigns in the 4th, 8th and 10th years of his reign (1275–1259 BCE), and to the international context of Late Bronze Age in the Levant. Despite the deficient state of preservation of the inscriptions, their location confirms the crucial role of the coastal route in the Egyptian military operations, and the iconographic elements that can be distinguished in the reliefs corroborate the symbolic, political and diplomatic character of the stelae.¹⁴

Some centuries later, the increasing expansionism of the Assyrian monarchs added a new chapter to the history of Nahr el-Kalb. The Mediterranean coastline acquired a crucial role for this inland empire with global aspirations, and at the site of Nahr el-Kalb the dialectic of the political panorama of the last centuries of the second and the first half of the first millennium BCE is reproduced: the Egypto-Assyrian conflicts are reflected and reproduced on the rock surface, in the emplacement of the monuments and in their relative position with regard to the Egyptian stelae. Currently five Assyrian reliefs are preserved at the site, without counting a sixth Assyrian monument that is missing today (no. 8).¹⁵ They were dated by Boscawen between the reigns of Aššur-reša-iši and Esarhaddon (XII–VII centuries BCE): nos. 6, 7, 13, 15 and 17, but today only no. 17 is sufficiently well preserved to provide unequivocal historical and chronological data.¹⁶

Drafted at some point during the first decades of the sixth century BCE, Nebuchadnezzar II's inscription at Nahr el-Kalb (no. 1) is the only monument carved on the valley's northern slope.¹⁷ The choice of

¹³ There was a third Egyptian stele, but as mentioned above, Napoleon III destroyed it in order to carve his own monument; see Maïla-Afeiche 2009: 30, 43–44.

¹⁴ Loffet 2009: 195–239 and figs. 1–8.

¹⁵ Maïla-Afeiche 2009: 42, 44.

¹⁶ Roche 2009: 241–253 and figs. 1–9.

¹⁷ Da Riva 2009: 255–301 and figs. 1–22.

this site must undoubtedly have had a political and symbolic significance of its own. And, in my opinion, this significance was twofold: on the one hand, the carving of the inscription was the symbolic equivalent on the rock surface of the Neo-Babylonian challenge to the Egyptian presence in the Levant, and also to the Assyrian presence, even if the latter was no longer real.¹⁸ Yet the monument should also be understood in the context of the other Nebuchadnezzar monuments produced all over Lebanon (for instance, Brisa, Shir as-Sanam and Wadi as-Saba) as expressions of the Babylonian imperial presence and the king's aspirations to control the Levant and the coastal routes from Gaza to Syria.¹⁹

The next set of monuments can be dated between the beginning of third and the end of the fourth centuries CE, and are written in Greek and in Latin: nos. 3, 11 and 12. Emperor Caracalla (211–217 CE) commissioned the carving of the first of these inscriptions, and the most recent monument commemorates work done at the coastal route under Proculus, governor of Palestine and of Phoenicia in the last decades of the fourth century.²⁰ It is interesting to observe the presence of monuments which do not explicitly memorialize the military or political deeds of the foreign powers in the region, but refer to interventions in the road network. Some inscriptions from this period as well as a series of milestones and boundary marks erected along the Roman road are unfortunately not preserved today.²¹

At the end of the fourteenth century the Mamluk Sultan Barquq left an inscription (no. 2) in front of the southern side of the oldest bridge in Nahr el-Kalb on the occasion of restoration works undertaken there. Yet the significance of the inscription goes beyond the celebration of the works, as it also refers to the promulgation of decrees to protect the population.²² Other Arabic inscriptions such as the one by the Emir Bechir are no longer preserved.²³

¹⁸ Da Riva 2010.

¹⁹ Da Riva 2014.

²⁰ Yon 2009: 303–314 and figs. 1–6.

²¹ Maïla-Afeiche 2009: 45; Yon 2009: 310.

²² Bittar and Lamaa 2009: 315–323 and figs. 1–5.

²³ Maïla-Afeiche 2009: 45–46.

The monuments still visible today at the site date from the beginning of the nineteenth to the very beginning of the twenty-first centuries: nos. 5, 18AB, 9, 10, 4, 19, 20, 21 and 22.²⁴ Most of these monuments were erected by foreign forces occupying the country, by colonial and invading powers, either in the context of the European imperial expansion of the nineteenth century or during the First and Second World Wars in the Near East, while the most recent ones were commissioned by presidents of the Republic of Lebanon. The majority of these inscriptions are related to military deeds and other key events in the history of modern Lebanon, but some were drafted to commemorate the construction of the Ottoman bridge, the roads and the railway. From the above description it is clear that most of the monuments present at the site are the product of political statements expressed on the rock. The surfaces of the promontory are the symbolic political playing fields in which the history of the region unfolded.

As demonstrated by the privileged emplacement and by the richness and multi-temporality of the monuments present there, Nahr el-Kalb was never completely forgotten, and it did not have to be “discovered.” References to the mouth of the river and to its monuments abound in the written and iconographic works of travellers, adventurers, geographers, politicians, pilgrims, scholars and artists of different nationalities, cultures and creeds, and bear witness to the allure of the site over the millennia.²⁵ There is a history of the site of Nahr el-Kalb that goes beyond the mere history of the monuments carved there, a history that has to do with the long-lasting intellectual engagement with the site. The first references to Nahr el-Kalb, which surprisingly do not mention the rock-cut monuments, come from the work of the ancient classical travellers such as Strabo and Pliny the Elder. A different vision of the Levant is encountered in the work of Arab geographers during the first centuries of the Islam, who stress the site’s strategic and economic value. This value is confirmed by the chronicles dated to the times of the Crusades which often stress the physical abruptness and challenging character of the promontories, and by

²⁴ Maïla-Afeiche 2009: 33–37; Volk 2009: 327–344 and figs. 1–17.

²⁵ Maïla-Afeiche 2009: 123–157.

the pilgrims who crisscrossed the region between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. Under the Mamluk Sultans, the Nahr el-Kalb was a real administrative border, and chroniclers of the early Modern period mention the river as a frontier between the kingdoms of Jerusalem and Antioch. In fact the river is today the limit between the Keserwan and the Matn Districts in the Mount Lebanon Governorate.

From the middle of the sixteenth century onwards, the number of European travellers to the Levant (pilgrims, merchants, diplomats, soldiers) increased, and with it the amount of sources on the Nahr el-Kalb.²⁶ The river is a necessary stopover along the coastal route and in addition to the physical difficulty posed by the pass, many travellers mention the presence of the sculpted monuments. Yet the sources are qualitatively uneven, as the interest of the different authors in the monuments varies greatly as well as the level of detail contained in their accounts. Some of the visitors could read and understand the monuments, as the contexts, languages and writing systems were more or less familiar to them, but other inscriptions (such as cuneiform texts or hieroglyphs, which remained undeciphered, simply went unnoticed. At the end of the seventeenth century and during the eighteenth, the travellers begin to show a real scientific curiosity in the monuments and their inscriptions, and tried to contextualize them inside their general knowledge of the remote past of the region. In this period, artists produced the first drawings of the monuments; though not true reproductions of reality, they represent a romantic, free interpretation of the material past. With the development of navigation and the growing importance of the Levant inside the expansionist plans of the Europeans, the number of west European travellers with scientific interest in the Near East increased dramatically in the nineteenth century. For many of them, the Levant, Lebanon or even the site of Nahr el-Kalb represented the main focus of interest in their accounts and publications, which provide us with a rich picture of the monuments existing in the period.²⁷ These accounts are true products of their time,

²⁶ Maïla-Afeiche 2009: 123–136.

²⁷ Maïla-Afeiche 2009: 133–135.

full of romantic ideas about the inscriptions, their setting and the historical context in which their authors believed the monuments had been created. At the same time, artists reproduce the site and the stelae, at the beginning with engravings and, by the end of the nineteenth century, with the first photographs. Despite their idealized and often inaccurate perceptions of the reality, their orientalism, colonial distortion and Eurocentric perspective of the “other,”²⁸ the value of these accounts and drawings is immense for the reconstruction of the physical setting of the Nahr el-Kalb in the times before civil construction works modified the landscape and destroyed some of the monuments.

The nineteenth century is the foundational period of the scientific and humanistic disciplines as we know them today: philology, philosophy, geology, history, archaeology, geography, Egyptology and Assyriology, among others, and that the stelae of Nahr el-Kalb are among the first documents copied, studied and translated by scholars. This scientific engagement with the monuments culminated in the major studies of the stelae of Nahr el-Kalb published in the first decades of the twentieth century (in fact, before some of the stelae had been erected!), such as the studies by F. H. Weissbach and P. Mouterde.²⁹ The next comprehensive study of the site was coordinated by A.-M. Maïla-Afeiche of the Direction Générale des Antiquités and published in 2009.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, under the French Mandate, the first interventions were carried out to study *in situ*, manage, catalogue, date, assign a number and protect the monuments. The archives of the Direction Générale des Antiquités are rich in data (reports, plans, sketches, drawings and photographs) regarding these efforts. This process continued until the 1990s with the implementation of several projects, run by the Direction Générale des Antiquités and also by international agencies, to safeguard and enhance the site and to develop a legal framework to ensure the protection of the monuments such as the ALBA and ARTECAD projects.³⁰ Finally, in 2005, the

²⁸ See Volk 2009.

²⁹ Weissbach 1922; Mouterde 1932.

³⁰ Maïla-Afeiche 2009: 150–151.

Lebanese National Commission of UNESCO proposed the inscription of the commemorative stelae of Nahr el-Kalb in the Memory of the World Register, and the proposal was accepted in the same year.³¹

The complex web of associations between the history of each single monument and the general history of the site bears witness to the monuments' versatility. On the one hand, at "local" level, the monuments are significant for daily users who perform activities associated with the site; and on the other, at "global" level, Nahr el-Kalb becomes part of a broader intervention of both domestic and foreign political elites. By carving their monuments here, these elites increased the significance of the site, transforming it from something local and elemental to something awe-inspiring and universal. At the same time, this entanglement of histories indicates that the monuments are still alive; they are live presences in the contemporary viewer's world, not fossilized remnants of history. Of course, the significance of the monuments changes as the configuration of the emplacement and the value of the setting shifts with time. By means of this mechanism of monument production, the Nahr el-Kalb is continuously being appropriated, used and reused through reconfiguration, addition and destruction.

Through their ever-increasing engagement with the site, the monumental reliefs turn the natural landscape of the mouth of the river into a landscape monument. I understand a "landscape monument" as a culturally significant site that acquires importance for specific human groups through daily experience, practice, performance and remembrance, and through the stories associated with the site. By means of these practices, the sites become assemblages of shared memories, generated and maintained by specific social and symbolic practices.

As our model for understanding this engagement with the monuments, we should dismiss the assumption of the isolated, solitary observer who approaches them from a scientific (archaeological, historical or philological) perspective. This is because, as we have seen,

³¹ <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/memory-of-the-world/register/full-list-of-registered-heritage/registered-heritage-page-2/commemorative-stela-of-nahr-el-kalb-mount-lebanon/> (web-page retrieved in May 2018).

the ensemble of Nahr el-Kalb is the product of more than 33 centuries of monument making, and also because each observer has her own background which must be contextualized within the parameters of a given culture, ideology, social position, and so on. At the same time, the performing engagement has to be understood as a multi-sensorial experience of the place, involving all the senses. As argued by Hamilakis in his groundbreaking study,³² both our culture and our intellectual heritage as scholars promote the visual field at the expense of other sensorial modalities. Since the Renaissance, the western gaze has constructed the past as a world dominated by visual signifiers, in which the elements of the material past (pottery, buildings, stelae) are treated as aesthetic values, chronometric devices, or passive functional categories. As a contrast to this mono-sensorial approach, the archaeology of the senses offers infinite possibilities for addressing multifarious experiences in the study of rock-cut monuments, to re-claim the other sensory devices through which human agents comprehend their world, create and destroy memory, and build social and political relationships, including relationships of power and domination—precisely the ones expressed by these rock-cut monuments.

Studying the monuments from a long-term diachronic perspective as authors like Harmanşah advocate,³³ we should bear in mind the effect of the viewer's cultural, intellectual and social background on her appreciation of the monuments. But we should also take into account factors that are extrinsic to the viewer herself but are determinant in her embodied perception of the monuments, such as the time of day, the season, the outside temperature, or her physical distance from the monument in question.

Considering the multi-sensorial experience of a place like Nahr el-Kalb will make us think about the acoustic effects of monument building. The construction of the monuments and the roads, bridges, railways and highways at the site must have created a loud, continuous noise, with workers and artisans carving the inscriptions and chiselling

³² Hamilakis 2014.

³³ Harmanşah 2015.

the reliefs, the shouts and cries of a great swarm of people moving from one place to the other, up and downhill; soldiers and officials; travellers and onlookers stopping at the site, chatting and experiencing it with all their senses. Rock monuments are often located close to running water, and the sound of water may also have been an important source of meaning: at Nahr el-Kalb the sea and the river create distinctive sound effects which are crucial for the embodied, sensorial experience and reception of the monuments. And we should also consider the sounds produced in the course of human engagement with the monuments through rituals and ceremonies, such as music and songs, movements in the course of processions of pilgrimages, and so on. Other sensorial aspects to consider are the sense of touch and the sense of position and movement. By exploring the texture and the tactile properties of monuments we see how transforming rock surfaces from rough to smooth and the experience generated in humans through the singular sense of touch are crucial aspects for understanding their production and the people's sensorial engagement with them. Thus, although obviously a visual phenomenon, rock-cut monuments are also linked to sound and to tactility, in terms of both their production and their reception.

Taste and smell would also have been important. Despite the lack of direct references from the texts preserved in the monuments, the possibility that ritual ceremonies were performed at site of Nahr el-Kalb has been suggested since the earlier stages of scientific study. Authors like W. Boscawen argued that the free spaces in front of the Assyrian stele at Nahr el-Kalb might have been used to perform sacrifices, in analogy to the scenes represented at the Balawat gates.³⁴ The idea was summarized as followed by H. Winckler: "It is assumed that specific sacrificial ceremonies accompanied the inauguration of each monument, based on inscriptions found on other Assyrian monuments."³⁵ In the course of this ritual interaction, one can presume the

³⁴ Boscawen 1882: 350–351.

³⁵ Winckler 1909: 13. On the issue of rites performed on occasion of the inauguration of monuments in the Ancient Near East, see Berlejung 1998; Dick 1999; Walker and Dick 2001; Ambos 2004; Walls 2005.

production of olfactory experiences, the intense smell of incense and other aromatic substances, the often pungent smell of the food offerings, the blood, urine and excrement of the sacrificial animals, and so on, as well as the sensation of taste associated with the consumption of these offerings. And finally, returning to the visual perception of the monuments, we should remember that in Antiquity they would not have been seen as they are seen now, as denuded, clean rock surfaces; some of them would have been painted in vibrant colours and the fading of these colours with the passing of time obviously conditions the way we see them today.

We cannot emphasize strongly enough the agency of rock art in eliciting specific bodily movements by the humans who engaged with it: for example, by dictating the itinerary to follow. Due to their characteristics and physical setting, the monuments of Nahr el-Kalb were, and still are, key elements of bodily performance and movement through the landscape: processions, spectacles, commemorations, pilgrimages, building works and scientific study. In the words of L. Volk:

Visiting and contemplating (...) requires climbing to their location on the hill, keeping bodily and cognitive memory closely linked. Memory scholars have been criticized for their preference for texts and textual analysis, so it is important to acknowledge that the act of commemoration at Nahr al-Kalb required (and still requires) strenuous bodily efforts: the physical feeling of accomplishment at having scaled a steep hill accompanied the reading of the victory inscription. Of course, the physical part of the commemoration became easier once more sophisticated roads and bridges were constructed. (...) However, this means that the contemporary visitor has to stand in the narrow valley, looking up at the old inscriptions overhead. Therefore, the landscape in which the

*historic texts are embedded plays a significant part in the creation and appreciation of the historic stelae.*³⁶

The landscape and the senses find their most obvious physical and symbolic association at Nahr el-Kalb in the role played by water at this particular site. As recently argued by Ö. Harmanşah,

*(...) landscapes of water (...) are hybrid products of natural and cultural processes. On the one hand, landscapes of water serve as habitats for distinct animal and plant communities, and form resourceful ecologies of dwelling for them. On the other hand, flowing water and bodies of water are essential components of what constitutes a place and what constitutes a sense of belonging to that place.*³⁷

The liminal aspect of water played a crucial role in the selection of this emplacement because, in addition to its potential strategic value, its association with ritual purity and physical cleanness, it offered a conduit to the divine.

The Mediterranean is a constant element in the material and symbolic experience of the monuments and their setting, as the particular emplacement of the Nahr el-Kalb stelae was dictated by the physical constraints of the coastal road between the mountains and the sea. The sea, the movements of the shoreline, and the erosion produced by the water has also played a crucial role in the history of the conservation of the stelae, as evidenced during the first evaluations of their condition.³⁸ Another significant element to consider, both from the physical and from the symbolic point of view, is the river itself. As seen above, over the centuries the Nahr el-Kalb was often a frontier, but the river was never completely impassable due to fluctuations in the sea level and the

³⁶ Volk 2008: 298.

³⁷ Harmanşah 2015: 54.

³⁸ Maïla-Afeiche 2009: 142–149.

coastline and due to the construction of the bridges across it. The velocity and volume of the water fluctuated with time, but Nahr el-Kalb was always considered a rough watercourse, to judge from the first name given to the river by Pliny the Elder: Lycos “the wolf.”³⁹ Apparently this name was quite popular for watercourses in classical times, as the Pauly-Wissowa Encyclopedia records thirteen entries with this denomination for rivers and waterways.⁴⁰ We do not know what the river was called in Egyptian, Assyrian, Phoenician or Neo-Babylonian times. At some point in history, the wolf was tamed and became a dog, as in the case of Nahr ed-Dib (“River of the Wolf”), an affluent of the Tigris in Iraq, which is popularly known today as the Nahr el-Kilab or “River of the Dogs.”⁴¹ The legends regarding the name, the fury and the sonority of the watercourse are also associated with a stone statue of a dog, now lost, which according to local tradition had magical powers. Today, only what is presumed to be the pedestal of the statue is preserved.⁴²

Legends and facts, military history and collective remembrance, macro-scale and micro-scale processes... the study of the site of Nahr el-Kalb from a long term diachronic perspective in the context of a critical archaeology of place is complex, yet enthralling and incredibly rewarding. The landscape is the product of a progressive process of human engagement through monument making and symbolic practices. Many of these practices have left no material remains, but we can reconstruct them on the basis of the archaeological evidence at our disposal if we analyse this evidence by applying unifying and critical approaches. From the above it is clear that Nahr el-Kalb is an ideal place to study the reception of monuments from a diachronic perspective, going beyond the single-period, single-focus culture and trying to enter the convoluted and entangled genealogy of places, as Harmanşah advocates in his recent book.⁴³ Many authors have called for the con-

³⁹ Maïla-Afeiche 2009: 56–60.

⁴⁰ Weissbach 1927: 2392–2393, the name Lycos is dealt with in pp. 2389–2417.

⁴¹ Weissbach 1922: 6.

⁴² Maïla-Afeiche 2009: 58–60.

⁴³ Harmanşah 2015.

struction of a theoretical edifice for understanding the relationship between the complex chronological framework of rock monuments, their geological and geomorphological aspects, and their ideological, social, and political implications at different social, temporal and historical moments. The best way to carry out this comprehensive analysis would be to combine a holistic, post-modern and post-processual archaeological approach with theoretical edifices from several social and humanistic disciplines and sub-disciplines, including aspects such as heritage studies, ethnography of landscapes, social memory, post-colonialism, political ecology, and cultural geography.

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**LES NEIGES D'ANTAN:
“EARLY RULERS” AND THE VANITY THEME IN
MESOPOTAMIAN WISDOM LITERATURE AND BEYOND**

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Abstract: *Les neiges d'antan*: “Early Rulers” and the Vanity Theme in Mesopotamian Wisdom Literature and Beyond

This article will examine the occurrence of the “Vanity Theme” in Mesopotamian wisdom literature and elsewhere. However, the main interest of this investigation lies in the list of rulers or illustrious men of old which is manifest in a variety of wisdom “Vanity Theme” compositions. We will argue that it will not suffice to speak about the “Vanity Theme” in various literatures of the ancient Near East and the Mediterranean. We should try to identify a particular literary expression that is associated with this type of composition. We contend that this expression is the list or naming of “Early Rulers” that comes to serve as an *exemplum* to the basic assertion of the “Vanity Theme.”

Keywords: Wisdom Literature – Vanity – Mesopotamia – Ancient Near East

Resumen: *Les neiges d'antan*: “Gobernantes antiguos” y el tema de la vanidad en la literatura sapiencial de Mesopotamia y más allá

Este artículo examinará la aparición del “tema de la vanidad” en la literatura sapiencial de Mesopotamia y más allá. Sin embargo, el interés principal de esta investigación radica en la lista de gobernantes u hombres ilustres de antaño que se manifiesta en una variedad de composiciones sapienciales con el “tema de la vanidad”. Argüiremos que no es suficiente con hablar sobre el “tema de la vanidad” en las diversas literaturas del antiguo Cercano Oriente y el Mediterráneo. Deberíamos tratar de identificar una expresión literaria particular que esté asociada con este tipo de composición. Sostenemos que esta expresión es la lista o denominación de los

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“gobernantes antiguos” que viene a servir como un ejemplo de la afirmación básica del “tema de la vanidad”.

Palabras clave: Literatura sapiensal – Vanidad – Mesopotamia – Antiguo Cercano Oriente

“EARLY RULERS” AND THE VANITY THEME: MAIN CONCERNS AND OBJECTIVES

This paper begins by introducing two pieces of literature very far removed from one another. The first is a Babylonian wisdom composition, usually named by modern scholars as the *Ballad (of Early Rulers)*, and the second, parts of François Villon’s poems *Ballade des dames du temps jadis* and *Ballade des seigneurs du temps jadis*.¹

The Babylonian wisdom composition opens with the statement that the fates of mankind are predetermined by the god Ea.² It then goes on to tell us that life is short and even the great heroes of the past perished.

*The fates are determined by Ea,
The lots are drawn according to the will of the god.
Since day of yore there are only these things,*

¹ This paper intends to offer an argument regarding the use and spread of the “Early Rulers” motif and the vanity theme in a variety of wisdom compositions. Obviously, the effectiveness of the argument must be limited by the range of supporting evidence which does not pretend to be exhaustive. Only select illustrative examples are brought here. A full-blown presentation is beyond the scope of this short article and necessarily beyond the abilities of the author: it would furnish a book-length study, comprising of studies of many specialists of various fields. An early version of the paper was read at the Tel-Aviv University Symposium, “Transmission, Translation, and Reception—Three Thousand Years of Textual Production and Dissemination in the Ancient Near East,” June 17–19, 2014; and at “Literary Change in Mesopotamia and Beyond” (*Second Workshop of the Melammu Project*), University of Innsbruck, October 13–14, 2016. My thanks go to the following colleagues for their advice, comments and discussions: Noga Ayali-Darshan, Sebastian Fink, Uri Gabbay, Amir Gilan, Madi Kablan, Christopher Metcalf, Noam Mizrahi, Andrea Rothstein, Nili Samet, Beata Sheyhatovitch, Maurizio Viano, Nathan Wasserman and Martin Worthington.

² Cohen 2013: 132–142; The Emar version is brought here, supplemented from other sources where broken.

*Has it never been heard before from the mouth of
 our predecessors?
 Those (came) after those, and others (came) after
 others,
 Above—the house where they lived, in the nether-
 world—the house where they stayed for Eternity.
 Like the heaven is distant, no one at all can reach
 (them),
 Like the depths of the netherworld, nobody can
 know (them),
 All life is but the wink of an eye,
 Life of mankind cannot last forever,
 Where is Alulu who reigned for 36,000 years?
 Where is Entena who went up to heaven?
 Where is Gilgameš who sought (eternal) life like
 (that of) [Zius]udra?
 Where is Hu[wawa who...]?
 Where is Enkidu who [proclaimed] (his) strength
 throughout the land?
 Where is Bazi? Where is Zizi?
 Where are the great kings of which (the like) from
 then to now
 Are not (anymore) engendered, are not bo[rn]?
 Life without light—how can it be better than death?
 Young man let me truly [instruct you] about your
 god (i.e., his eternal nature).
 Repel, drive away sorrow, scorn silence!
 In exchange for this single [day of h]appiness, let
 pass a time [of silence] lasting 36,000 [(years)].
 May [Siraš] (the beer-goddess) rejoice over you as
 if over (her) son!
 This is the fate of humanity.*

The main theme of the composition exposes the futility of life on the one hand and on the other calls upon its celebration, because after death comes only silence. It questions man's ability to comprehend the ways of gods. Since fate is undeterminable and death immi-

ment, the only escape is to reject sorrow and grief, and to enjoy life (by drinking). In order to bolster this view, the composition supplies an *exemplum*. It gives us a list of former great rulers of legendary achievements in order to argue that, despite their achievements, these failed to achieve immortality, hence, how can you, O Reader?

The list of illustrious rulers in the *Ballad* rests heavily on Mesopotamian historiographical and literary traditions.³ In particular, as its source material it draws upon two major Mesopotamian compositions—the *Sumerian King List* and the *Epic of Gilgameš*. The list arranges its figures according to chronological as well as literary considerations. Let us demonstrate this claim: Alulu can be identified with Alulim of the city of Eridu, the first king of the *Sumerian King List*, after kingship was lowered from heaven. Following Alulu comes Entena, or better known as Etana, the post-diluvium king of Kiš, the first city to which kingship was restored after the flood. The *Sumerian King List* informs us that after Kiš, kingship passed to Uruk, hence in the *Ballad*, it is Gilgameš king of Uruk who follows Etana. All three kings held a place of importance in Mesopotamian traditions: Alulu was a magic force, and Gilgameš and Etana, who tried, each in his own way, to overcome death, were venerated figures of the netherworld.

Once Gilgameš is mentioned in the *Ballad*, characters from his life story show up: Ziusudra (aka Atrahasis or Utnapištim), the only person to gain immortality, Huwawa and Enkidu. Bazi and Zizi, known as the kings of Mari from the *Sumerian King List*, are the last to appear. They are representatives of the western regions to where Gilgameš travelled with Enkidu to make a name for himself.

To conclude, the list in the *Ballad* serves as an *exemplum* for the vanity theme: it demonstrates that even famous figures have not survived.⁴

³ See in detail Cohen 2012, following Wilcke 1988.

⁴ An echo of the theme is found in Enkidu's description of the Netherworld (The Standard Babylonian Epic, Tablet 7, ll. 185–202; George 2003: 644–645): he describes the discarded crowns of former kings at the entrance to the Netherworld. Among the citizens of the Netherworld, Enkidu recognizes Etana, “who went up to heaven” (like the *Ballad* expresses it), but nonetheless is dead. Following George 2003: 482–483.

The exact date of the composition of the *Ballad* is not known, but it is preserved in an Old Babylonian Sumerian version. Akkadian versions of the piece are known from a later period. Manuscripts of the *Ballad* have been found at Late Bronze Age Emar and Ugarit. Although they were found outside of Babylonia, there is little doubt that they represent the Middle Babylonian version of the wisdom composition. The composition is also represented by a small fragment recovered from the Library of Assurbanipal hence it survived to, and was probably known, in the first millennium.⁵

When Daniel Arnaud first published the Emar manuscript of the composition, he called it *La Ballade des héros du temps jadis* (from which its English title—the *Ballad*).⁶ Obviously, he was thinking of François Villon’s poems *Ballade des dames du temps jadis* and *Ballade des seigneurs du temps jadis*.⁷ There is no doubt that Arnaud’s nod to Villon’s poems is indeed warranted. Here are some parts from Villon’s *temps jadis* poems.

*Où est la très sage Héloïse,
Pour qui fut châtré et puis moine Pierre Esbaillart
à Saint-Denis?
Pour son amour eut cette essoine...
Mais où sont les neiges d’antan?...*

*Qui plus, ou est le tiers Calixte,
Dernier décédé de ce nom,
Qui quatre ans tint le papaliste?
Alphonse le roy d’Aragon,
Le gracieux duc de Bourbon,
Et Artus le duc de Bretagne,*

⁵ For the literary history and transmission of the piece, see Cohen 2012 and Viano 2016.

⁶ Arnaud 1982: 51 (in translation only); Arnaud 1985–1987, no. 763.

⁷ It is assumed that Villon was following the well-known *ubi sunt* theme (‘Where are they [who were in the world before us]?’), ubiquitous in European literature; see below, note 42. Like in the *Ballad*, the *ubi sunt* long-dead rulers are mentioned only to emphasize the transient nature of life, reminding the reader to celebrate life; see Rubio 2009. It is this shared theme with European literature that prompted Wilcke (1988) to compare the sentiments expressed by the *Ballad* with the drinking songs of Europe, such as the famous student song *Gaudeamus Igitur*. The translation of Villon’s is mine.

*Et Charles septiesme le bon?
Mais ou est le preux Charlemagne?...*

[Where is the very wise Eloise?
For whom Pierre Abelard of Saint Denis was cas-
trated and made a monk,
Who suffered for his love...
Where are the snows of Yesteryear?]

[Where is Calixtus III,
The last one dead of this name,
Who held the papacy for four years?
Alfonso, King of Aragon,
The Gracious Duke of Bourbon,
And Artus, the Duke of Bretagne,
And Charles VII, the Good,
But where is the Precious Charlemagne?]

Villon in his poems provides a list of illustrious men and women, such as Alfonso V, Charlemagne and Eloise, who are gone and dead, some legendary and some near-contemporary, in order to demonstrate that all is vanity, as expressed by the refrain, “*Mais où sont les neiges d’antan?*”⁸

Generally speaking, it can be said that both works, in spite of their great distance in time and space from each other, share what can be called the vanity theme, sometimes also named as the *carpe diem* motif. This theme can be broadly described as expressing the view that nothing is of value because life is short but death eternal. Although not always explicitly expressed, the implication is that because life is short, one should better enjoy it before it ends.⁹

⁸ Pierre Abelard: 1079–1142; Pope Calixtus III: 1378–1458; Alfonso (V): 1396–1458; The Gracious Duke of Bourbon (Jean de France, Duke of Berry): 1340–1416; Artus (de Richemont, Duke of Brittany): 1393–1458; Charles VII: 1403–1461; Charlemagne: 742–814. All dates AD of course.

⁹ See Cohen 2013: 15, on the basis of Alster 2005, who was the first to treat this theme in Mesopotamian literature in detail.

This article will examine the occurrence of this theme in Mesopotamian wisdom literature and elsewhere. However, the main interest of our investigation lies in the list of rulers or illustrious men of old manifest in a variety of *carpe diem* compositions. We will argue that it will not suffice to speak about the vanity theme in various literatures of the ancient Near East and the Mediterranean. One should try to identify a particular literary expression that is associated with this type of composition. We contend that this expression is the list or naming of “Early Rulers” that comes to serve as an *exemplum* to the basic assertion of the vanity theme. Naturally, the aim of the article is not to demonstrate a direct thread of transmission from Babylonia to Villon. It wishes to call to attention that the manifestation of early rulers or illustrious men in compositions which can be seen to deal with the vanity theme may be indebted to a wide-spread topos in ancient Near Eastern wisdom literature, whose origin was possibly Babylonia.

A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE VANITY THEME IN MESOPOTAMIAN WISDOM LITERATURE

The earliest attestation of the vanity theme to stand at the core of an independent Mesopotamian wisdom composition is found in a series of Sumerian compositions dated to the Old Babylonian period.¹⁰ They are called collectively as *níg-nam nu-kal* and include the following sentences:¹¹ “Nothing is of worth, but life itself is sweet. When is a man not rich? When is he rich?”

These short compositions encapsulate the nihilistic sense found in later works, namely, that comprehension of the gods’ ways is impossible, and that material wealth is fleeting.

¹⁰ For a detailed history and development of the vanity theme in Mesopotamian wisdom literature, see Cohen 2015. See also Samet 2015.

¹¹ Alster 2005: 265–287; Consider also Samet 2015: 7: “When a man does not have wealth—[he] has [wealth]!”

Another work to feature the vanity theme is the Old Babylonian composition *Enlil and Namzitarra*.¹² In this short wisdom tale, the protagonist Namzitarra rejects a reward from the god Enlil for his good deeds, saying to the god:

“To where will I take your silver, your lapis lazuli gems, your sheep? The days of mankind are approaching, day after day—so it (life) will diminish, month after month—so it will diminish, year after year—so it will diminish, [...]—so it will diminish, 120 years¹³—so will be the limit of mankind’s life...from that day till now as long as mankind lived!”

This work articulates the nihilistic notion, which will be found in later works, such as *The Babylonian Theodicy* and *The Dialogue of Pessimism*, that gains such as wealth, happiness, or even children rewarded by the god(s) for pious behavior are to be rejected because they are futile.¹⁴ Death is fast approaching.

The wisdom composition *Šimâ Milka*, whose manuscripts are almost exclusively known from sites west of the Euphrates (Hattuša, Ugarit and Emar), contains a set of instructions delivered from father to son. After hearing the father’s instructions, the son rejects them as useless, telling him as follows:¹⁵

*“My father, you built a house,
You elevated high the door; sixty cubits is the width
of your (house).
But what have you achieved?
Just as much as [your] house’s loft is full so too its*

¹² Cohen 2013: 151–163; 2010, and Cooper 2011.

¹³ For the theme of man’s allotted time as 120 years, appearing also in Genesis 6, see Klein 1990.

¹⁴ Compare the words of the Sufferer in *The Babylonian Theodicy*, ll. 133–143 (Lambert 1960: 78–79; Oshima 2014: 156–157), as he rejects all wealth and *in extremis* behaves amorally.

¹⁵ Cohen 2013: 81–128.

storage room is full of grain.

(But) upon the day of your death (only) nine bread portions of offerings will be counted and placed at your head.

From your capital (var. (your) household) (consisting of) a thousand sheep, (only) a goat, a fine garment—that will be your own [sha]re.

From the money which you acquired either bribes or taxes (will be left); (var.: (so what will become of) your⁴ money? It will be lost!).

Few are the days in which we eat (our) bread, but many will be the days in which our teeth will be idle,

Few are the days in which we look at the Sun, but many will be the days in which we will sit in the shadows.

The Netherworld is teeming, but its inhabitants lie sleeping.

Ereškigal is our mother and we her children.

*At the gate of the netherworld, blinds are placed,
So that the living will not be able to see the dead.”*

In *Šimâ Milka*, as in *Enlil and Namzitarra*, the futility of material things and wealth is stressed because they serve none in the Netherworld.

All these works share the vanity theme with the Babylonian *Ballad*. Nonetheless, the *Ballad* is different because of its list of “Early Rulers.” Let us explore now some compositions outside of Mesopotamia whose topic is the vanity theme and in which a list of early illustrious men is manifest.

THE SONG FROM THE TOMB OF KING ANTEF

The following piece is an Egyptian composition known as *The Song from the Tomb of King Antef*.¹⁶ Generically speaking, it belongs to compositions called *Harper Songs*. The piece is known from New Kingdom copies. Although it was thought to have been composed in the Middle Kingdom, because there were some kings by the name Antef who reigned during the 11th dynasty (21st–20th centuries), and the 17th dynasty (16th century),¹⁷ this view has been contested. It was argued that the piece was written in the Amarna period or the Ramesside period.¹⁸

He is happy, this good prince!
Good is the fate.
Good is the injury.
A generation passes,
Another stays,
Since the time of the ancestors.
The gods who were before rest in their tombs,
Blessed nobles too are buried in their tombs.
(Yet) those who built tombs,
Their (burial) places are gone,
Look what has become of them?
I have heard the words of Imhotep and Hardedef,
Whose sayings are recited whole.
Look at their (burial) places.
Their walls have crumbled,
Their (burial) places are gone,
As though they had never been!...

¹⁶ The comparison between the *The Song from the Tomb of King Antef* and the Babylonian *Ballad* was suggested to me by N. Ayali-Darshan.

¹⁷ See Lichtheim 1974–1980, vol. 1: 194–197 and vol. 2: 115. Also, Lichtheim 1945.

¹⁸ Fox 1977: 400–401; Goedicke 1977; Parkinson 2002: 31. The translation follows Lichtheim 1974–1980 vol. 1: 194–197 and Fox 1977.

Hence rejoice in your heart!
Forgetfulness profits you,
Follow your heart as long as you live!
Put myrrh on your head,
Dress in fine linen,
Anoint yourself with oils fit for a god.
Heap up your joys,
Let your heart not sink!
Follow your heart and your happiness,
Do your things on earth as your heart commands!
When there comes to you that day of mourning,
The Weary-hearted (Osiris) hears not their mourning,
Wailing saves no man from the pit!

Make holiday,
Do not weary of it!
Lo, none is allowed to take his goods with him,
Lo, none who departs comes back again!

The vanity theme is voiced again and with very similar expressions as those met in the *Ballad*. Although death is not negated as in the Babylonian piece, a sense of nihilism creeps in this Egyptian composition as the celebration of life is called upon. Life is appreciated, when we learn that none come back from the grave. But the poem goes further by reflecting on the fact that the places of the dead do not last for eternity. The idea that the resting place of the dead does not remain is distinctly non-Egyptian in its outlook.¹⁹ As Lichtheim says, although *The Song of Antef* shares some traits with the pessimistic literature of Middle Egyptian period, “its attitude is unique and its advice runs counter to the letter and spirit of that literature.”²⁰ Indeed, it has been suggested that the nihilistic tone in the poem was unique to Egyptian wisdom literature and later toned down in other similar Harper Song compositions.²¹ This may imply that the vanity theme present in this

¹⁹ Fox 1977: 414–416.

²⁰ Lichtheim 1945: 207.

²¹ Lichtheim 1945: 197–201; Fox 1977.

composition was not originally Egyptian but rather imported from elsewhere, perhaps intermediated when the political and economic ties Egypt had with Syria and the Levant in the second millennium BCE were flourishing.²²

Beyond the shared vanity theme of the *Song from the Tomb of King Antef* and the *Ballad* stands out a similar literary device—the mention of historical or legendary figures from the past to serve as *exempla*. The use of two quasi-historical venerated figures of the Egyptian past—Imhotep and Hardedef—can be obviously compared with the mention of figures of old in the *Ballad*. The choice of the Egyptian figures was not incidental: Imhotep was the architect and advisor to King Djoser (*ca.* 2600), who achieved a status of a god in later times. And Prince Hardedef, son of Cheops (*ca.* 2500), was considered a sage and received a personal cult. Nonetheless, in spite of their fame, their burial places were destroyed.²³ The mention of these two figures is found again in a later Egyptian composition, clearly responding to *The Song of Antef*. *The Immortality of Writers* adopts the nihilistic attitude met here. But on the other hand it introduces the idea that while materiality does not last, books are eternal.²⁴

*Be a scribe, take it to heart,
That your name become as theirs.
Better is a book than a graven stele...
Man decays, his corpse is dust,
All his kin have perished;
But a book makes him remembered...*

²² Ayali-Darshan 2017: 204–205, noticing the similarity between the *Song of Antef*, the *Ballad* and Siduri's Speech in *The Epic of Gilgameš* (Old Babylonian Version iii, ll. 1–14; George 2003: 278–279). See also Uehlinger 1997: 194, who compared the *Ballad* with the Egyptian Harper Songs; and Lichtheim 1945, with previous literature, some from the 19th century (CE), which already had recognized the *carpe diem* theme in the *Song of Antef* (notably Müller 1899; Becker 1916: 105), although obviously not to Babylonian wisdom literature, hardly known at that time.

²³ Fox 1977: 414.

²⁴ Following Lichtheim 1974–1980, vol. 2: 175–178 (*i.e.*, the Ramesside Chester Beatty IV Papyrus).

*Is there one here like Hardedef?
Is there another like Imhotep?...*

Long dead heroes, to conclude, have survived in memory because of their books. Thus, the “Early Rulers” motif is turned on its head—there is an escape of oblivion, even if one is dead for eternity.

“EARLY RULERS” AND THE VANITY THEME IN *PAPYRUS OXYRHYNCHUS* 1795

As has long been pointed out by Martin West and others, the immortality of gods vis-à-vis the suffering and death of mortals was a theme played out in both Mesopotamian literature and Greek literature.²⁵ Hence, finding expressions of the vanity theme in Greek literature is not surprising. For example, this wisdom theme is reflected in *Iliad* 24, 527–548, where the poet speaks through the voice of Achilles of Peleus and then Priam, who, although blessed by Zeus, suffer like all mortals. Johannes Haubold justly compared these lines in the *Iliad* to Utnapišti’s speech in *The Epic of Gilgameš*, Tablet 10, where similar sentiments are expressed.²⁶ One can of course think of the underworld scene of the *Odyssey* 11 (long associated with Enkidu’s description of the Netherworld in the *Epic of Gilgameš*) as a discourse on a vanity-like theme.²⁷ Other examples can be brought from early Greek lyric poetry.²⁸

Another and perhaps sharper expression of the vanity theme and of more interest to the present study because it employs a list of

²⁵ West (1969) already explored the relations of Greek and ancient Near Eastern sources dealing with the theme we are interested in; and he was bold enough to suggest a literary connection between Horace’s *Exegi monumentum* (Odes III 30) and Gilgameš’s desire to make a lasting name for himself. The comparison in fact gathers strength, when Horace’s poem is thought to engage with the vanity theme, present also in the *Epic of Gilgameš*; e.g., in Siduri’s speech (Old Babylonian Version iii, ll. 1–14; George 2003: 278–279) and Utnapišti’s speech (Standard Babylonian Version, Tablet 10, ll. 301–322; George 2003: 505–507; 696–699).

²⁶ Haubold 2013: 46–49; George 2003: 505–507; 696–699, ll. 301–322).

²⁷ As Ch. Metcalf suggests to me. See the Standard Babylonian Version Tablet 7, ll. 165–215; George 2003: 642–647, and above, n. 4.

²⁸ Consider Simonides, Fr. 1 (Gerber 1999: 298–301); and Simonides, Fr. 520–522 (Campbell 1991: 416–419); Miller 1996: 22–23; 112–113.

“Early Rulers” is *Papyrus Oxyrhynchus* 1795. *Papyrus Oxyrhynchus* 1795 is a 2nd century AD fragment of a *scolion*, or drinking song, which was probably meant to be sung on the occasion of a symposium.²⁹ The song is arranged in alphabetically headed stanzas, originally from Alpha to Omega, but now only preserved from the letter Theta (partly) to Xi; the rest is lost. Hence seven stanzas remain. Of particular interest is the last, but in order that the theme of the song be appreciated, the last four stanzas are brought here.

*(Lamda) The Lydian pipe and play of the Lydian lyre,
And the Phrygian reed and ox hide kettledrums toil for me,
In life these (songs) I love to sing. And when I die,
Place a flute above my head and at my feet a lyre.
Play me the flute...*

*(Mu) Who ever found the measure of wealth, the measure of
poverty?
Who, I repeat, found out the measure of gold among men?
Now, he that has money wants more money,
And rich as he is, the wretched is tormented like the poor man.
Play me the flute...*

*(Nu) Whenever you see a body dead, or pass by silent tombs,
The common fate of mankind stares you in the face. The dead
man expected just the same.
Time is a loan; he who lent you life is cruel,
If he asks you for it, to your sorrow you will repay.
Play me the flute...*

²⁹ For an edition and commentary, see Hopkinson 1988: 80–81; 271–274. The translation here with some minor changes is based on Page 1950: 508–513. The poem was partly quoted by West (1969: 131), but no connection was made to the *Ballad*, because it was still insufficiently known. The *Ballad* was mentioned by West (1997: 83), but the tie to the *scolion* was not suggested.

*(Xi) A king was Xerxes, the one who claimed to share everything
with god.
Yet he crossed back the Lemnian water with a single oar.
Blessed/wealthy was Midas, thrice-blessed/wealthy was
Kinyras,
But what man went to Hades with more than an obol?
Play me the flute...*

The themes of this poem are well apparent: the finality of death, the shortness of life, and the transient nature of material wealth. And yet, the *scolion* stands out by listing three rulers, near-contemporary (like Villon’s heroes), semi-legendary and legendary. As in the Babylonian *Ballad* with its own list of dead rulers, the claim of the poem is obviously the same: these rulers, powerful and rich as they were, eventually died, their fate not different than the everyman.

Who are the rulers mentioned in the drinking song? Xerxes is the Persian king of world dominion, who however retreats back with one maimed ship after the failure at Hellespont.³⁰ His epithet, “the one who claimed to share everything with god,” reflects the Greek attitude of the vain oriental despot.³¹ Midas the Phrygian king was blessed or (here more likely) proverbially wealthy (*olbios*), but, as we all know, he was cursed by his touch of gold. Kinyras was king of Cyprus, although some ancient sources say he arrived to the island from Syria. He was considered of fabulous wealth. He was also thought of as the first musician, an inventor-king. He fathered Adonis by an incestuous relation with his own daughter, Myrrha, and committed suicide once learning of his illicit deed.³²

It would be foolish to seek an equivalent for each of the kings of the Greek poem in the list of the Babylonian *Ballad*. Xerxes, Midas and Kinyras are all non-Greek Orientals, but their origin is not an indi-

³⁰ For the Greek topos of Xerxes’ hubristic act of controlling the sea, Haubold 2013: 110–111; Hopkinson 1988: 273–274.

³¹ One wonders if an ancient Near Eastern topos was not evoked here. Xerxes’ epithet, “the one who claimed to share everything with god,” reminds one of Ziusudra (aka Atrahasis/Utnapišti), who achieved immortality, like the gods.

³² Franklin 2015; Graf 1999.

cation of the origin of the list in the *scolion*. It is but a reflection of the tastes of a Greek audience. A list of foreign kings and all their wealth and power stands as a reversal or mirror image of Greek ethos. Still, one wonders if the use of “Early Rulers” in the *scolion* stems from an ancient Near Eastern tradition, although not necessarily directly from the Babylonian *Ballad* or the Egyptian *Song of Antef*, that ties between the vanity theme and the deeds of famous but dead men.³³

The literary device of “Early Rulers” in the *scolion* (and perhaps in other similar but now lost works) as an *exemplum* for the vanity of life may have grown in its popularity throughout the Hellenistic world, because it was obviously known to Lucretius. As a devote Epicurean, he uses a list of dead heroes to prove the very same point of the works we met. In *De rerum natura*, III 1024–1052, a list of select characters shows us that even the famous and illustrious die: the virtuous Roman king Ancus died, as did he who tried to cross the Hellespont (Xerxes); and so did the son of the house of Scipio (Africanus). And not only kings and generals died but also inventors and companions of the muses, as Homer and Democritus, and even Epicurus himself, who turned the advice of the poets into a philosophy.³⁴

NOAH, DANIEL AND JOB IN EZEKIEL 14

It has been demonstrated that the literary device of providing a list of “Early Rulers” or illustrious men to serve as an *exemplum* for the vanity theme can be found in the literatures of Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Greece. The final example in this paper draws upon a source that introduces illustrious men from the past, however, with a different aim than that met in other compositions. It is not a wisdom composition, but it draws upon an ancient Near Eastern wisdom tradition, so it will be argued, to prove its point.

³³ For an important discussion regarding the transmission of the ancient Near Eastern vanity theme to the Greek world, perhaps by funerary inscriptions (or at least, by a Greek literary imagination of such inscriptions), see Fink 2014.

In one of the prophecies in the Book of Ezekiel (14: 12–23), which informs how God will destroy the world, a list of dead illustrious people of old is found:³⁵

The word of the Lord came to me: O mortal, if a land were to sin against Me and commit a trespass, and I stretched out My hand against it and broke its staff of bread, and sent famine against it and cut off man and beast from it, even if these three men—Noah, Danel and Job—should be in it, they would be their righteousness save only themselves—declares the Lord God...

Or if I let loose a pestilence against that land, and poured My fury upon it in blood, cutting off from it man and beast, should Noah, Danel, and Job be in it, as I live—declares the Lord God—they would save neither son nor daughter; they would save themselves alone by their righteousness...

What is the role of Noah, Danel, and Job, all non-Jews in this prophecy?³⁶ The prophet mentions the three righteous men in order to

³⁴ Some of the great men are not mentioned by their explicit name, but the allusions are clear enough to guarantee their identification; see Kenney 1971: 232; Kenney 1971, also recognizes the fact that Lucretius may have been under the impression of *P. Oxy.* 1795, because of the mention of Xerxes' crossing of the Hellespont in both works. Consider also Plutarch, *Consolatio ad Apollonium*, 110 D, (cited by Becker 1916: 101–102): “Where now are all those things magnificent—Great Croesus, lord of Lydia? Xerxes, too, who yoked the sullen neck of Hellespont? Gone all to Hades and Oblivion's house” (Babbitt 1927: 155).

³⁵ Following NJPS 1999, apart from the rendering of the name of one of the heroes as Danel, rather than Daniel; see below, n. 37.

³⁶ A review of the various modern commentators of Ezekiel does not solve the problem of why these particular figures of international Near Eastern fame were mentioned in this prophecy. See, e.g., Noth 1951: 251; Zimmerli 1979: 314 (who sees Jer. 15:1 as the prototype for Ezekiel's prophecy, where these are Moses and Samuel who try to no avail to intercede on behalf of Israel); Greenberg 1983: 257–258; Block 1997: 447–450. See also the attempts of Rashi, Kimchi, and Yosef Ibn-Kaspi to explain the presence of the three figures; Cohen 2000: 72–73.

demonstrate the God's retribution is universal in scope.³⁷ However, there is an ironic twist here in the choice of these famous men. God has decided the fates: he will destroy the land and its inhabitants, man and beast (contradicting his own promise after the flood).³⁸ But who will be saved? The common message of the "Early Rulers," as those who cannot escape death is changed here. It is these "Early Rulers"—Noah, Danel, and Job—who will be saved but the current generation lost. By using a rhetorical motif that has its roots in ancient Near Eastern wisdom tradition, the idea which we have seen throughout is reversed. Hence the irony which Ezekiel achieves in the prophecy. It is a surprising reversal of the readers' expectations: hearing that "Early Rulers," who for all the readers are concerned are long dead and gone, are now to remain.

CONCLUSION

This article discussed a sapiential theme in a few Babylonian, Egyptian and Greek works. This theme, which was called here the vanity theme, is to be considered not merely as a literary device but rather one that offers an alternative attitude: an attitude of nihilistic or negative wisdom which is critical of the order of things in the world of gods and men. It denounces wealth, fame and power and subtly attacks what is called the retribution principle, where good things come to those who find favour with the gods.³⁹ In order to support its claim, it adopts, as one of its strategies examined here, figures of the historical or leg-

³⁷ Noah was considered as righteous (Gen. 6:9; 7:1), as was Job (Job 1:1, 8; 2:3). Danel was wise (Ez. 28:3). The three figures may be taken to represent three geo-historical regions: Noah, as part of the flood tradition, perhaps represented Babylonia (although this is not explicitly acknowledged), Danel represented Phoenicia (Ez. 28:3), and Job, Edom. The identification of Danel with the Ugaritic Danel is generally accepted by modern scholarship; e.g., Day 1980, but see Block 1997: 449; Dressler 1979.

³⁸ Cf. Gen. 8:21.

³⁹ This is especially seen in *Šimā Milka*, where the son's reply is a rebuke of the father's advice that embodies conservative attitudes. See Cohen 2015 and Fox 1977: 417 and 422.

endary past now dead.⁴⁰ It is of interest to note that in the *scolion*, and verses from Ezekiel the figures of the legendary past were known to each cultural circle but were essentially foreigners. They stood not only as representatives of the past, but of a different and lesser world.

In the background of the discussion throughout, a possible Babylonian origin of this strategy was considered. A Babylonian origin can be argued for two reasons. The first is chronological: the appearance of the list of “Early Rulers” in the *Ballad* is the oldest source we have that employs this strategy.⁴¹

The second reason, and the more crucial, is concerned with the associations of the “Early Rulers” list in the *Ballad* to the *Sumerian King List* and the Mesopotamian epic tradition. By such it transforms what can be thought of as a general theme of wisdom—the vanity theme, as was seen in *Enlil and Namzitarra* or *Šimâ Milka*, and in some passages of *The Epic of Gilgameš*, into a work endowed with a typical Babylonian scholarly interest with the past. We do not claim that such an interest in the past found in works we have seen here was the direct outcome of an intimate knowledge of the *Ballad*. The evidence, however, is suggestive enough to inquire about points of transmission and contact when we come to write a history of the vanity theme in the early literatures of the Mediterranean and the ancient Near East, and even further afield.⁴² It is surely a good starting point for re-evaluating the history and heritage of ancient Near Eastern or Babylonian wisdom literature in a wider perspective.

⁴⁰ Another strategy of the vanity theme is to resort to the world of nature, where the cycle of life goes on regardless of positive or negative values. A prime example is found in *Šimâ Milka*, ll. 122’–132’ (Cohen 2013: 96–99) and *The Babylonian Theodicy*, ll. 48–51 (Lambert 1960: 72–75; Oshima 2014: 152–153).

⁴¹ Considering that the *Song from the Tomb of King Antef* was composed in the Amarna period or perhaps somewhat later, it is not outlandish to suggest that some version of the *Ballad* arrived to one of the scribal centers in Egypt where cuneiform was studied. If the *Ballad* was retrieved from Ugarit and Emar, and if Egypt shared a cuneiform curriculum with other centers of the western reaches of the cuneiform world, such a hypothesis is certainly permissible.

⁴² For the *ubi sunt* motif, see the oft-quoted but antiquated Becker 1916. For the motif in Arabic ascetic poetry (*zuhdiyyāt*), which may have its roots in the early Christian fathers (Cyril of Alexandria and Ephraim the Syrian) and the apocryphal books (notably, Baruch, 3: 16–23); see

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Hamori 1990; Becker 1916: 92–93; 104–105. Some of this poetry is interestingly close to the works we have introduced here, notably the verses of poet Abu al-‘Atāhiyya (748–828 AD), who says the following: “Why don’t we contemplate: Where is Khosarow? Where is Caesar? Where is who joined money with more money, so that it became plenty? I have already seen time destroying one group of people after another. No rich man stays (forever rich), neither a poor one. Where is who claimed to be superior in richness of the world and was proud? I wish I knew what would come after what I see” (the author thanks B. Sheyhatovitch for her help in translating these verses from the Arabic; for a German translation, Reşer 1928: 98; cf. 66–67; 234–235); for Abu al-‘Atāhiyya, see Kennedy 1998; Schoeler 1990: 286–290. Consider also lines found in *Al-Lāmmiyya* of the poet Ibn al-Wardī (1292–1349 AD); Raux 1905: 2. These poetry lines echo perhaps the earliest attestation of the vanity theme in Arabic literature that includes a list of glorious rulers—the verses of the poet ‘Adi bin-Zayd (ca. 600 AD), who asks, “Where is Khosarow, king of kings and Sabur who came before him;” Kennedy 1997: 89–90.

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THE LEVANTINE WAR-RECORDS OF RAMESSES III: CHANGING ATTITUDES, PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE*

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Summary: The Levantine War-Records of Ramesses III: Changing Attitudes, Past, Present and Future

This paper begins with a historiographic survey of the treatment of Ramesses III's claimed war campaigns in the Levant. Inevitably this involves questions regarding the so-called "Sea Peoples."¹ There have been extraordinary fluctuations in attitudes towards Ramesses III's war records over the last century or more—briefly reviewed and assessed here. His lists of Levantine toponyms also pose considerable problems of interpretation. A more systematic approach to their analysis is offered, concentrating on the "Great Asiatic List" from the Medinet Habu temple and its parallels with a list from Ramesses II. A middle way between "minimalist" and "maximalist" views of the extent of Ramesses III's campaigns is explored. This results in some new identifications which throw light not only on the geography of Ramesses III's campaigns but also his date.

Keywords: Ancient Egypt – Canaan – Late Bronze Age – War Records – Toponymy

Resumen: Los registros de la guerra levantina de Ramsés III: Actitudes cambiantes, pasado, presente y futuro

Este artículo comienza con un recorrido historiográfico del tratamiento de las supuestas campañas bélicas de Ramsés III en el Levante. Inevitablemente esto implica pre-

* I would like to dedicate this paper to the memory of the late David Lorton for all his help on Egyptological matters. I know he would have enjoyed sharing his knowledge towards the present paper.

¹ No attempt has been made here to provide anything near a comprehensive bibliography of the burgeoning number of papers on the so-called "Sea Peoples," which would require a volume itself.

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guntarse sobre los llamados “Pueblos del mar”. Ha habido cambios extraordinarios en las actitudes en torno a los registros de guerra de Ramsés III a lo largo del último siglo y antes—aquí brevemente reseñadas y reevaluadas. Sus listas de topónimos levantinos también presentan problemas de interpretación. Ofrecemos un acercamiento a su análisis, más sistemático, concentrándonos en la “Gran lista asiática” del templo de Medinet Habu y sus paralelos con la lista de Ramsés II. Exploramos una interpretación intermedia entre las visiones “minimalista” y “maximalista” de la extensión de la campaña de Ramsés III. Esto nos lleva a algunas nuevas identificaciones que iluminan no solamente la geografía de la campaña de Ramsés III sino también su datación.

Palabras Clave: Antiguo Egipto – Canaán – Edad del Bronce Tardío – Registros de Guerra – Toponimia

INTRODUCTION

Just over a century ago the great orientalist Archibald Sayce described how the attitude of Egyptologists towards pharaonic claims of conquest could shift dramatically:

At one time it was the fashion to throw doubt on the alleged conquests of Ramses II. in Western Asia. This was the natural reaction from the older belief, inherited from the Greek writers of antiquity, that Ramses II was a universal conqueror who had carried his arms into Europe, and even to the confines of the Caucasus. With the overthrow of this belief came a disbelief in his having been a conqueror at all. The disbelief was encouraged by the boastful vanity of his inscriptions, as well as by the absence in them of any details as to his later Syrian wars. But now we know that such scepticism was over-hasty. It was like the scepticism which refused to admit that Canaan has been made into an Egyptian province by Thotmes III. and which needed the testimony of the Tel el-Amarna tablets before it could be removed.²

² Sayce 1912: 201–202.

As Sayce noted, it took the momentous discovery of the El Amarna letters to dispel doubts about an 18th dynasty Levantine empire. He had long had faith in the veracity of the New Kingdom accounts of political and military affairs in Syro-Palestine. Beginning as early as 1876, he used them—in the face of considerable scepticism—to develop the hypothesis that the Hittites once ruled an empire reaching from the Black Sea and the Aegean to northern Syria and that it was based at Boghazköy in central Anatolia. He must have been doubly gratified when the excavations began at Boghazköy in 1906, with the decipherment of cuneiform Hittite following in 1915.³ Not only was the reality of the Hittite Empire confirmed, but the archives from Boghazköy added flesh to the bones of Ramesses II's claims to have struggled with the Hittites for control of northern Syria.

Ramesses III also claimed to have campaigned in the Levant (as we know mainly from his Medinet Habu inscriptions). Yet there were evidently sceptics in Sayce's day, to whom he replied that we should bear in mind the cases of Thutmose III and Ramesses II: "We have no reason to doubt that the campaigns of Ramses III. in Asia were equally historical."⁴ Admittedly the evidence for Ramesses III's claimed Asiatic campaigns is of a different character to that of Thutmose III or Ramesses II. None of the written sources from the reign of Ramesses III is anywhere near as detailed as we might wish. There are, for example, no "annals" such as those we have from the time of Thutmose III;⁵ nor anything resembling the plentiful records (from reliefs to cuneiform records) of Ramesses II from which we can reconstruct his wars and subsequent diplomacy with the Hittites. As Breasted put it:

Had these [Ramesses III's] wars been reported in the sober and intelligible style of Thutmose III's Annals, we should have known much of them which it is now safe to say we shall never know. It is difficult to describe the character of these Medinet Habu inscriptions. Perhaps, under

³ For a brief account (with references) of Sayce's role in the discovery of the Hittites, see James *et al.* 1991a: 113–119, 362.

⁴ Sayce 1912: 202.

⁵ See Redford 1986 for pharaonic "annals" and other forms of ancient Egyptian "history writing."

*the influence of the Kadesh poem [of Ramesses II], it has now become impossible to narrate a war or victory of the Pharaoh in any other than poetic style. The record must be a poem.*⁶

Breasted's observation still stands—towards explaining the difference in character between Ramesses III's war records and those of his New Kingdom predecessors. The evidence for Ramesses III's campaigns is more equivocal and hence susceptible to more interpretations than those allowed, for instance, by the "annalistic" records of Thutmose III.

SOURCES FOR RAMESSES III'S ASIATIC CAMPAIGNS

The evidence for Ramesses III's Asiatic campaigns can be divided into three groups:

(A) The elaborate series of reliefs from his mortuary temple at Medinet Habu which include battles with the so-called "Sea Peoples," *i.e.* the Philistines (*Peleset*) and their allies. The most relevant scenes for the present matter are on the northern wall and their arrangement is generally accepted to progress from right to left in terms of date order, with additional information on reliefs in the interior of the temple.

Hence, starting from the right, Plates 17–18 and 22 deal with his first Libyan war.⁷ More detail is carried on scenes from inside the second courtyard in the temple, beginning with Plates 27–28, which date this campaign to Year 5. They also include two elements which are not necessarily connected to the first Libyan campaign. First something which Edgerton and Wilson described as a "generalised reference to a defeat of Amor."⁸ Kitchen translates this as "The Chief ('he of') of

⁶ *ARE* IV: 12–13. On the "shift" in style here see the brilliant essay by Spalinger (2017).

⁷ Unfortunately, the numbering of Kitchen (2008) is different as a system for the texts, while Drews (2000) introduces his own system of Panel numbers. For the sake of clarity Plate numbers given here are those of the appropriate volumes of the Epigraphic Survey and Edgerton and Wilson 1936.

⁸ Edgerton and Wilson 1936: 20.

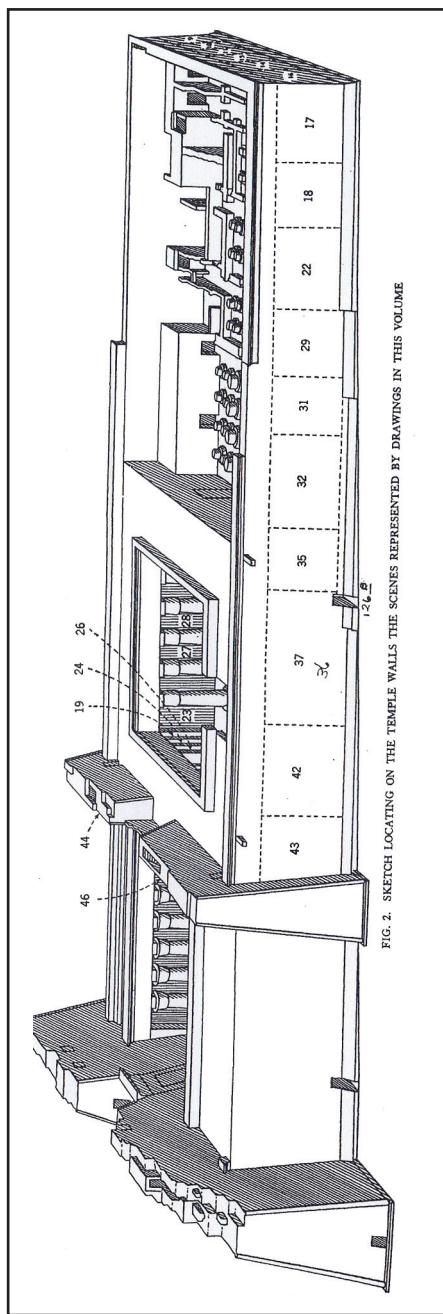


FIG. 2. SKETCH LOCATING ON THE TEMPLE WALLS THE SCENES REPRESENTED BY DRAWINGS IN THIS VOLUME

Fig. 1. Sketch showing the position of Ramesses III's battle reliefs at Medinet Habu. From *MH I*, 12, Figure 2. © University of Chicago Press 1930. The caption is from the original with some handwritten annotations, perhaps by an archivist at the Chicago Oriental Institute. 126 B refers to a Plate of that number in *MH II*, a photograph of an entrance in the northern wall.

Amurru is (but) ashes,⁹ his seed is no (more), all his people are taken captive, scattered, and brought low. Every survivor from his land come with praise, to behold the great Sun of Egypt over them..." There are no details of any campaign or actual fighting, though later in the same text we are told that the "northern countries shivered in their bodies," namely the *Peleset* and *Tjekker*, who attacked Egyptian territory—some came on land while others attempted to enter the Nile river mouths.¹⁰ The wording here can easily be read as a digest of the more famous "Sea Peoples" war in Year 8,¹¹ but of course it may well have been a precursor to the major conflict.¹²

Returning to the series of reliefs on the exterior north wall, Plate 29 shows the Pharaoh issuing arms to his troops,¹³ evidently against the *Peleset* who are described as "in suspense, hidden in their towns."¹⁴ On Plate 31 he is shown marching to Djahi (the traditional Egyptian term for Palestine-Phoenicia) "to trample down every foreign country that has infringed his frontier..." The enemies are not named but clearly the *Peleset* and their allies seem clear from context. The next Plates (32–34) show him in the famous land battle with the so-called "Sea Peoples." The caption is fragmentary and names no particular group, but the *Peleset* type known from other reliefs are depicted as the victims of Pharaoh's onslaught: "Ramses III in his chariot charges into the thoroughly disorganised Sea Peoples. He is supported by Egyptian infantry and foreign auxiliaries. The Sea Peoples flee on foot and in their chariots, while their women, children and baggage move away in heavy ox carts."¹⁵ The next Plate (35) depicts the Pharaoh, showing off

⁹ Kitchen 2008: 19. See Goedicke 2001 for the expression "made into ashes" with particular respect to "Asiatic" foes.

¹⁰ Edgerton and Wilson 1936: 30; Kitchen 2008: 22.

¹¹ Edgerton and Wilson 1936: 19: "This great inscription of 75 lines, written retrograde, bears the date 'year 5'. Yet an analysis of the contents makes it apparent that it contains also a record of events we usually date 'year 8.'"

¹² There is no reason why the Libyans could not have attacked Egypt together as a co-ordinated plan with the *Peleset* and *Tjekker*.

¹³ Edgerton and Wilson 1936: 35–36.

¹⁴ Kitchen 2008: 24.

¹⁵ Edgerton and Wilson 1936: 38.

his muscles by shooting lions. Next come the scenes (Plates 37–39) showing the graphic sea battle between Ramesses III and “Sea Peoples” in ships, who are depicted as both *Peleset* and *Sherden* types. Plate 42 shows officials bringing captives from this battle to Pharaoh. Plate 43 follows on, with captives (*Tjekker*) from the wars being presented to the Theban Triad. In Plate 44 captives, identified as *Peleset*, *Denyen* and *Shekelesh* are being dedicated to the goddess Mut.¹⁶

The detailed account of the events of Year 8 comes from the front of the Second Pylon, inside the Temple (Plate 46). Translations of this controversial record are too commonplace to repeat here: but the familiar points are the “foreign countries” making a “conspiracy in their isles,” their defeat of the Hittites and related states, a devastation somewhere in Amor (Syria), and how a coalition of *Peleset*, *Tjekker*, *Shekelesh*, *Denyen* and *Weshesh* were moving towards Egypt by land and sea and were defeated by the Pharaoh.

Just how far north Ramesses III marched into the Levant in this campaign has always been a moot point. The Year 8 inscription states that he organised his frontier defences against the invading “Sea Peoples” in Djahi.¹⁷ As the territory of Djahi seems to have started at the very border of Egypt, opinions have always varied as to where the famous land and sea-battles took place.¹⁸ The general consensus seems to remain that these battles took place not far from Egypt: in the case of the land-battle somewhere in Palestine and the sea-battle in the very mouths of the Nile. For convenience I have made a separate category (below) of the war scenes which are universally agreed to concern locations much further to the north.

¹⁶ Edgerton and Wilson 1936: 47–48.

¹⁷ Plate 46; Edgerton and Wilson 1936: 54; Kitchen 2008: 24.

¹⁸ Breasted (*ARE* IV: 40), along with Sayce, assumed that Ramesses III had marched into “Syria.” See also Cook (1931: 320–321) who understood that Ramesses III had taken his forces to Phoenicia (Djahi) to repel the so-called “Sea Peoples,” then (as his control of Syria weakened) to make “the last effort of Egypt against the Hittites.” For recent views see Kahn and Ben-Dor Evian references below.

(B) Five towns in all are depicted. Two (1–2) shown with Hittite-looking defenders (Plate 87)¹⁹ the name of one is lost, the other is labelled “the town of *irt*,” often read as “Arzawa” the name of a Hittite vassal state in western Asia Minor (see further below). (3) Storming of a fortress “Tunip of Hatti” with defenders in Syrian costume (Plate 88)²⁰—Tunip being a well-known Syrian city from New Kingdom records; (4) Another city (nameless) defended by Syrians (Plate 90);²¹ (5) the “town of Amor” (Plate 94)²² *i.e.* Amurru, once the main polity of Late Bronze Age Syria. Though these were bundled together by Breasted²³ there are clearly two campaigns here, depicted on two different walls, the Syrian one before the Hittite (to continue the left to right progression).

(C) Ramesses III also left a number of toponym lists which include Asiatic place-names. There are two long lists from the Great Temple at Medinet Habu, XXVII and XXVIII.²⁴ The first, with some 125 names, is often referred to as “the Great Asiatic List;” the second is of equal length but has fewer certain Asiatic names and is in much poorer condition—making it extremely hard to interpret. Five shorter lists with some Asiatic names also survive.²⁵ All these lists still lack rigorous modern analysis—with the partial exception of Kahn and Redford’s recent work (see below). Most earlier studies are coloured by

¹⁹ Edgerton and Wilson 1936: 94–95; Kitchen 2008: 61.

²⁰ Edgerton and Wilson 1936: 95–96.

²¹ Edgerton and Wilson 1936: 96–97.

²² Edgerton and Wilson 1936: 100–101.

²³ Breasted, *ARE* IV: 68–77.

²⁴ Simons 1937: 164–173.

²⁵ Simons 1937: 84, 174, XXIX, 13 names accompanying the “Blessing of Ptah,” Great Temple at Medinet Habu (*MH* II, Pls. 104–105; Edgerton and Wilson 1936: 120). Simons 1937: 85–86, 175, XXX, 14 names, Great Temple at Medinet Habu (*MH* I, Pl. 43; Edgerton and Wilson 1936: 46). Simons 1937: 176, XXXI, 7 names, Medinet Habu Pavilion; Simons 1937: 86–88, 176, XXXII, Karnak, small Amun temple, fragment, only two Asiatic names readable; Simons 1937, 88, 176, XXXIII: Karnak, small Amun temple of Ramesses III, 12 names, very badly damaged. Of these only the first three are well preserved enough to be susceptible of interpretation. They all fall into the Kitchen’s category 3 of Egyptian toponym lists, which he defines as follows (Kitchen 2009: 130): “*Lesser Lists*. (a) Abregés of longer listings; (b) ‘heraldic,’ often limited to traditional names (*e.g.* Nine Bows) or to major entities beyond Egypt.”

the assumption that Ramesses III slavishly copied *all* his lists from those of earlier pharaohs. The same cliché used to be trotted out for the toponym list of Shoshenq I of the 22nd Dynasty, rightly and forcefully discredited by Kitchen:²⁶ it has proved to be one of the most *original* of all such lists.

“MINIMALIST” VIEWS OF RAMESSES III’S CLAIMS

Returning to trends in attitudes towards Ramesses III’s campaigns, in 1906 Breasted was prepared to see both land and sea battles with the “Sea Peoples” as having taken place near the coast south of Arvad (northern Phoenicia).²⁷ British Egyptologist Henry Hall was far more cautious, placing the land and sea battles with the Sea Peoples close to the frontier of Egypt itself; he did allow, however, that Ramesses III later marched to Amurru to restore Egyptian authority there, although not as far as the Euphrates.²⁸ In Hall’s understanding the place names from the Euphrates region in Ramesses III’s toponym lists (such as Carchemish) were “due probably to a very bad habit begun in his reign, that of copying the names of cities captured in the wars of Thothmes III...”

Attitudes against the reality of Ramesses III’s claimed campaigns continued to harden in the mid-to-late 20th century. By then it was becoming the received wisdom that Ramesses III did not campaign as far as northern Phoenicia. This view was symptomatic of a more general one regarding the originality of his war records, which casually dismissed them often *in toto* as copies from the records of the “great” Ramesses. Of the Medinet Habu war records Faulkner wrote that “the inscriptions contain but a halfpenny-worth of historical fact to an intolerable deal of adulation of the pharaoh ...”²⁹

²⁶ Kitchen 1986: 432, n. 49.

²⁷ Breasted *ARE* IV: 34.

²⁸ Hall 1927: 382–383.

²⁹ Faulkner 1975: 241.

Regarding the Nubian battle scenes, the magisterial Alan Gardiner felt that they “seem likely to be mere convention borrowed from earlier representations.”³⁰ Likewise Faulkner: “...the scenes of a Nubian war at Medinet Habu are surely only conventional with no historical reality behind them.”³¹

Gardiner dismissed a Syrian campaign entirely.³² Faulkner was only slightly more generous: “...the scenes in question are anachronisms copied from a building of Ramesses II. Yet there may be a substratum of historical fact beneath them...”³³ Surprisingly, after his generally scathing remarks, Faulkner allowed that Ramesses III “may have attempted to follow up his success [defeating the “Peoples of the Sea”] by “pushing on into Syria to drive the enemy farther away from Egypt...”

George Hughes stressed “the fact that Ramses III patterned his mortuary temple after that of Ramses II, but on a smaller scale.”³⁴ Nims listed the many comparisons he observed between the two buildings, from the general arrangement to specific details of iconography and text:

*The evidence of the copying of the Ramesseum reliefs by the scribes who planned the reliefs in Medinet Habu shows that a large number of the ritual scenes in the latter temple had their origin in the scenes in the former and occupied the same relative positions in both temples.*³⁵

Most of the similarities concern cult and religious scenes *per se*, though with some differences with respect to the placement of military scenes:

³⁰ Gardiner 1961: 282.

³¹ Faulkner 1975: 244.

³² Gardiner 1961: 288.

³³ Faulkner 1975: 243–244.

³⁴ Epigraphic Survey 1963: x.

³⁵ Nims 1976: 175.

Ramses III used the rear face of the first pylon of Medinet Habu for accounts of his military exploits, just as Ramses II used the equivalent space at the Ramesseum for his. The long account of Year 8 of Ramses III was carved on the front face of the north tower of the second pylon at Medinet Habu; the parallel wall at the Ramesseum seems to have been occupied by the famous battle poem of Ramses II. The rear face of this pylon at the Ramesseum, on the other hand, shows battle reliefs below scenes of the Min Feast, as does the lower register of the east wall of the first hypostyle hall south of the axial doorway, while in Medinet Habu the corresponding walls have religious scenes.³⁶

Building on the observations of Nims, Lesko took the extreme position that *all* of Ramesses III's war records at his mortuary temple of Medinet Habu and elsewhere, were copied from the work of predecessors—with the exception of his second Libyan campaign, dated to Year 11.³⁷ In Lesko's view, even the famous records of the "Sea Peoples" battles were borrowed from the nearby (and now-destroyed) mortuary temple of Merenptah.

A major factor in the dismissal of Ramesses III's northern campaigns has been the assumption that the Medinet Habu reliefs show his troops storming two Hittite towns (see above). Indeed, the inhabitants of the two towns look Hittite in appearance. One is labelled "Tunip," while the name of the second has been frequently read as "Arzawa." As the location of the Hittite vassal kingdom of Arzawa in western Anatolia (on the Aegean seaboard) is certain,³⁸ the idea that Ramesses III would have been able to campaign this far, Sesostri-like, strikes as absurd.

³⁶ Nims 1976: 171.

³⁷ Lesko 1980: 1992.

³⁸ See e.g. Hawkins 1998.

Gardiner flatly stated that:

All these pictures are clearly anachronisms and must have been copied from originals of the reign of Ramessēs II: there is ample evidence that the designers of Medinet Habu borrowed greatly from the neighbouring Ramesseum. Confirmation is given in the papyrus [Harris I] cited above; this has no mention of a Syrian campaign, still less of one against the Hittites. All that is said is that Ramessēs III “destroyed the Seirites in the tribes of the Shōsu”; the Shōsu have already been mentioned as the Beduins of the desert bordering the south of Palestine, and ‘the mountain of Se’ir’ named on an obelisk of Ramessēs II is the Edomite mountain referred to in several passages of the Old Testament. It looks as though the defeat of these relatively unimportant tent-dwellers was the utmost which Ramessēs III could achieve after his struggle with the Mediterranean hordes...³⁹

With these words, a nadir was reached in the assessment of Ramesses III’s military activities. It still prevailed forty years later when Kenneth Kitchen wrote:

There is no evidence that he invaded Palestine in Year 12 (a rhetorical text of that date itself proves nothing). The Medinet Habu Syrian war-reliefs are most likely merely copies from those of Ramesses II, as they include entities no longer extant for Ramesses III to battle against. Ramesses III attacked not Israel, but Edom in south Transjordan, as the factual descriptions in Papyrus Harris I make clear.⁴⁰

³⁹ Gardiner 1961: 288.

⁴⁰ Kitchen 1991: 238.

By the “entities” which Kitchen described as “no longer extant for Ramesses III to battle against,” he meant various Anatolian states such as Hatti and Arzawa which were allegedly swept away by the “Sea Peoples” invasion of Ramesses III’s Year 8.⁴¹ Otherwise it is clear that in 1991 Kitchen, like Gardiner, was arguing that Ramesses III did not campaign any further than the Sinai/Negev area—as no campaigns further north are mentioned in the “factual descriptions” from Papyrus Harris. More recently Strobel went even beyond Gardiner, Kitchen, Lesko and others, writing what can only be described as a tirade against Ramesses III. For reasons of space only a few quotes follow:

Ramses III started his triumphal report on the walls of the temple in Medinet Habu, which was finished in his year 12, with his “Nubian War.” However, this war never happened. The same is true for the “Asiatic or Syrian War”, the last of the reported military deeds. Ramses’ ideological invention of these wars should bring his deeds on the same level as the triumphs of Ramses II and Merenptah, especially Merenptah’s Asiatic war. The texts and reliefs of Ramses III are no “war journal” or realistic picture of his military campaigns, but a triumphal self-representation on a highly ideological degree. The texts are first of all rhetorical and formulaic; the events are presented and described in a fixed ideological scheme and language...Ramses III was a “plagiarizer and self-

⁴¹ Cf. Cifola (1991: 20) on the geographical terminology of Ramesses III’s war reliefs: “...for the Asiatic campaign, there is the mention of the besieged fortresses; but these geographical references cannot be trusted since they would presume an improbable Egyptian advance towards northern Syria, as far as the border of Ḫatti; but, by this time, Ḫatti politically has come to an end.” The last statement cannot be true as we have no idea when such an event happened relative to Egyptian chronology. Kahn (2010: 17): “...it is impossible to precisely date the fall of the Hittite Empire or to assess its role, if any, in the Levant during the reign of Ramesses III.” There has also been far too much concentration on the collapse of the central polity at Boğazköy. There continued to be “Great Kings of Ḫatti” in the cadet kingdoms of Carchemish and Tarhuntassa. The literature on this is voluminous and patchy in quality. Some of the best studies remain those of Itamar Singer (2000), with other papers, particularly on Tarhuntassa in his collected essays (2011) as well as numerous papers by David Hawkins (for references see conveniently Hawkins 2009).

aggrandizer of the first order.” He ordered direct copies from the records and illustrations of the Ramesseum and without doubt, from the today destroyed funerary temple of Merenptah in his direct neighbourhood. He even took a quite important amount of blocks, recuts and not recuts, by quarrying other temples, especially those of his predecessors.⁴²

Were we to take all the negative opinions together, Ramesses III’s military efforts would have been confined to repelling Libyan invaders in his year 11 and a minor raid against “bedouin” in the Sinai area.

Such a picture seems unrealistic, to say the least. Ramesses III’s records talk of tribute from northern lands, the supply of his temples by goods and tribute from foreign lands (notably Djahi and Kharu), and the revenues drawn from temples maintained in the empire, including the construction of a new one in “Canaan.”⁴³ Ramesses III ruled Egypt for 31 years in relative security and prosperity, with tribute drawn from Levantine domains. One wonders how this feat was achieved, in economic terms, if the Egyptian army was so idle, only fighting defensive wars and never active beyond the frontiers—with the exception of an allegedly trivial foray against the Shasu of Edom. Such a picture goes totally against the grain of what we know of New Kingdom dominion and economics. It has also long run counter to the archaeological evidence from the Levant.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

In the days of Sayce (see above) the Amarna and Boghazköy archives were the “smoking guns” proving the reality of the campaigns of Thutmose III and Ramesses II. Was there an equivalent for Ramesses

⁴² Strobel 2011: 187–188. Strobel (2011: 245, n. 136) accepts all of Lesko’s negative stances with one exception, disagreeing with his assumption “that there was no first Libyan campaigns at all.”

⁴³ See Grandet 1983.

III? No, but what Ramesses III lacked in terms of new literary documents was amply recompensed in terms of archaeological finds—from small finds such as numerous scarabs,⁴⁴ a statue fragment from Byblos,⁴⁵ the “pen-case” of an officer at Megiddo⁴⁶ to the plethora of discoveries at Beth-Shean, beginning in 1923 with a seated life-size statue outside the “northern temple” to inscriptions from its doorways and jambs, and the “pen-case” of another local official.⁴⁷ Most of these finds had been made by the mid-20th century, such as the Megiddo pen-case in 1937. Taken together they should have had an impact on views about the reality of his Levantine expeditions further north than the Sinai region (where inscriptions are known from the mining centre of Timna, etc.).

So how did Egyptology react to such finds?

An interesting dichotomy arose.⁴⁸ While many Egyptologists have been reluctant to allow Ramesses III any military action in western Asia north of Sinai, archaeologists were identifying a phase at the transition from the Bronze to Iron Age in Palestine as a period of “Egyptian empire”—largely under the early 20th Dynasty. Evidence for this comes most clearly from southern sites like Tell esh Shari‘a, Tell el Far‘ah (south), Gaza and Deir el-Balah and, to the north, Megiddo and Beth-Shean in the Jezreel Valley.⁴⁹ At the latter, pottery and other evidence suggest an *increased* Egyptian presence during the early 20th Dynasty.⁵⁰ It is clear that his successor Ramesses IV maintained a presence at Beth-Shean,⁵¹ though it seems that he was the last pharaoh to hold sway so far north.⁵²

⁴⁴ See conveniently Higginbotham 2000: 251–252.

⁴⁵ Weinstein 1992: 142; Kitchen 2008: 215.

⁴⁶ Loud 1939: 1; Kitchen 2008: 214–215; Feldman 2009.

⁴⁷ See conveniently Mazar 1993: 217–222.

⁴⁸ As stressed in James 2010: 70.

⁴⁹ Weinstein 1981: 20–22; 2012: 164–167, 168–169.

⁵⁰ Martin in Mazar 2006: 127, 152; cf. remarks in James 2010: 69–70.

⁵¹ Porter 1998; 2008; Weinstein 2012: 169.

⁵² Zwickel 2012; van der Veen and James 2015.

With respect to the reality of Ramesses III's campaigns, the arch-minimalist Lesko noted: "Archaeological evidence should help to resolve these problems."⁵³ But he restricted his comments here to an alleged destruction of Beth Shean by Ramesses III (for which there is not a shred of evidence), mentioning but failing to appreciate the significance of an inscription of his Chief Steward from that site, *i.e.* the power of Ramesses III reached as far as the Jezreel Valley. The idea that Ramesses III's campaigning in Palestine was limited to Edom overlooks the archaeological evidence. Other mid-to-late 20th century Egyptologists, such as Wilson, appreciated more fully the importance of the archaeological finds:

*Ramses III still held his Asiatic empire in Palestine. His statue has been found at Beth Shan and there is record of him at Megiddo. He built a temple for Amon in Palestine, and the gods owned nine towns in that country, as his due-paying properties. The Egyptian frontier was in Djahi, somewhere along the coast of southern Phoenicia or northern Palestine.*⁵⁴

Wilson allowed Ramesses III's empire a fairly generous reach, but the implication is that he merely "held" it as an inheritance from his 19th dynasty predecessors (see below) without any active campaigning. Likewise, Kitchen states that "the Egyptians under Ramesses III maintained their overlordship over both the Canaanites and the newcomers..."⁵⁵

Weinstein was more positive. Stressing the scarcity of late 19th dynasty remains from Palestine,⁵⁶ coincident with "Egypt's domestic problems," he clearly attributed a more active policy to Ramesses III than one of inheritance: "Ramesses III seems to have done his best to restore a measure of control in Palestine."⁵⁷ Likewise Redford: "...

⁵³ Lesko 1980: 86.

⁵⁴ Wilson 1951: 259.

⁵⁵ Kitchen 2003: 143.

⁵⁶ For a more recent review of the evidence see James 2015: 246–247.

⁵⁷ Weinstein 1981: 22.

Rameses III had been able, by dint of military activity, to reassert his authority over much of Palestine and perhaps parts of Syria as well...⁵⁸
So also Morkot:

Rameses III certainly did emulate Rameses II—but in no superficial way. Archaeology is now showing that Rameses III did, in fact, manage to renew Egyptian control over parts of western Asia...⁵⁹

These writers appreciated the obvious: the “smoking” gun for Rameses III is provided by the archaeological and inscriptional remains from both southern Palestine (e.g. Lachish) and the Jezreel Valley (notably Beth Shean and Megiddo).

FURTHER PROBLEMS WITH THE “MINIMALIST” ARGUMENTS

The oft-produced argument (see Gardiner and Kitchen above) that—of all Rameses III’s claimed campaigns—only those mentioned in Papyrus Harris are “factual” is specious. As well as contradicting the archaeological evidence, it overlooks the character and historical context of the document. Papyrus Harris I was composed in the reign of Rameses III’s successor Rameses IV, its last four pages giving an invaluable historical retrospect (put in the mouth of Rameses III) beginning with the rise of Setnakht, founder of the 20th Dynasty.⁶⁰ It continues with a summary of Rameses III’s achievements, the military section being conspicuously short. There are many possible reasons for this, the most obvious being that Rameses IV may well have wanted to minimise their importance. While Rameses IV maintained control over Egypt’s Palestinian domains for a short while, the “empire” (north of the Gaza region) almost certainly collapsed during his reign.⁶¹

⁵⁸ Redford 1992: 290.

⁵⁹ Morkot 2000: 95.

⁶⁰ For a recent translation see Peden 1994: 215–223.

⁶¹ Zwickel 2012; van der Veen and James 2015.

The Ramesses III “minimalists” also seem to have overlooked the fact that all the military achievements of Ramesses III mentioned in Papyrus Harris I concern cases where large numbers of foreign captives had been introduced into Egypt: Sherden and Weshesh (allegedly by “hundreds of thousands”) were settled in fortresses; Shasu from Seir, who along with their goods and livestock were brought to Egypt and presented them “to the Ennead as slaves for their estates;” Meshwesh, Libu and others were also settled in fortresses bearing the pharaoh’s name (again “hundreds of thousands”). The legacy of Ramesses III’s foreign campaigns, these captives would have been a conspicuous and growingly familiar sight long after his death—as recognised in Ramesses IV’s composition of the Papyrus.

The idea that Ramesses III’s Shasu campaign was against “relatively unimportant tent-dwellers” as Gardiner called them has taken firm root in the literature. Faulkner called it a “minor campaign...probably no more than a punitive expedition against raiding nomads.”⁶² In his monumental study of the expeditions of Seti I, Murnane vacillated about the importance of that pharaoh’s campaign against the Shasu in his first year.⁶³ Seti claimed that the enemy were in disarray, but that does not mean they were easy meat.⁶⁴ His battles with them were recorded in a series of detailed reliefs which show them being defeated from the border city of Tjaru to cities generally identified as Raphia and Gaza—along the key route the “Ways of Horus” into Palestine. Despite all this, Murnane stated that the evidence “all pointed to a little war.”⁶⁵ So also Weinstein: “This military operation was clearly a minor affair.”⁶⁶ Why so?

⁶² Faulkner 1975: 244.

⁶³ Murnane 1990.

⁶⁴ Spalinger (2005: 188) remarked that on Seti’s march towards Gaza: “The first enemy encountered was the ever-present Shasu, the seminomadic marauders and troublesome tribal units that operated on the fringes of civilization. They have no horses and chariots, and most assuredly posed no major threat to the Pharaoh and his army.” One wonders what good chariots would have been in sandy-desert areas, where wheeled vehicles would have been useless.

⁶⁵ Murnane 1990: 40.

⁶⁶ Weinstein 2012: 171. Most extreme, Strobel (2011:189) even puts an exclamation mark after their mention in one of Ramesses III’s documents, viz “Bedouins (!).”

Such evaluations are value-judgments from a “modern,” western perspective—that somehow tent-dwellers must be inferior, politically, culturally or militarily. When the Portuguese arrived in “Ethiopia” in the 16th century it took them some time to find the grand court of the Abyssinian monarch—it was itinerant, effectively a roving city composed of tents.⁶⁷ Kitchen has made some very telling remarks here, for example with reference to the dynasty of tented kings from Old Babylonian Manana: his point being that ancient kingships should not be defined in terms of whether they had a stable or central capital city.⁶⁸ It is not the place to investigate the matter here, but one has to note a vagueness in the literature as to where exactly the core of Late Bronze Age Edom (attested in Egyptian texts as early as Merenptah)⁶⁹ may have lain—to the west or east of the Arabah—and whether it was merely a geographical term. This vagueness is paralleled by a scholarly tendency to ignore any value in the intriguing list of the Edomite “kings” (Genesis 36 and 1 Chronicles 1:43–54)—who were said to have ruled before there was a king in Israel. Notably they all seem to have reigned from different centres, “none of which can be identified with any confidence, regardless of the date assigned to the lists.”⁷⁰ Were we to take the medieval Abyssinian model, such centres need have been no more than major caravan sites near sources of water and other essential resources. Without mentioning this analogy, Kitchen makes a salient point: “The consequent scarcity of tangible physical remains in the archaeological record is, therefore, not surprising...”⁷¹ Current

⁶⁷ John Bimson has drawn my attention to two relevant passages in the Old Testament. In Numbers 13:19 Moses sends out his spies to Canaan to find out “whether the cities they dwell in are camps or strongholds.” This might be indirectly relevant in that it shows that, for the biblical writers at least, a “camp” (the same word is used for Jacob’s nomadic camp in Gen 32:21 and later for the Israelites on the move in the wilderness) could be considered a “city.”

⁶⁸ Kitchen 2003: 473–474. One of Kitchen’s most scathing comments (p. 474) is too irresistible to avoid: “...let us have no more daft theory that kingdoms need local equivalents of Buckingham Palace or the White House before snooty (and irrelevant) anthropologists will deign to recognise them!”

⁶⁹ See Kitchen 1992: 27.

⁷⁰ Edelman 1995: 5.

⁷¹ Kitchen 1992: 27.

research on the origins of an Edomite monarchy tends to concentrate on Late Iron Age “state formation” east of the Arabah, notably in the region of Bozrah,⁷² possibly to the detriment of wider possibilities both geographic and chronological.

As a further point, Ramesses’ campaign against the Shasu would surely have been a key factor in a wider ranging and comprehensive policy—to expand Egypt’s influence and commercial interests to the east and southeast. His achievements, as proclaimed in Papyrus Harris I included: an expedition to the land of Punt (on the African or Arabian coastline of the Red Sea) to procure incense (myrrh); a mining expedition to “Atika,” location uncertain though it is generally identified with the copper rich area of Timna in the southern Arabah, east of the Sinai peninsula;⁷³ and an expedition to the “malachite country” of Hathor, almost certainly Serabit el-Khadim in eastern Sinai, where nearby deposits of malachite⁷⁴ and an Egyptian temple of Hathor are known. Serabit el-Khadim has produced a dedicatory inscription of Ramesses III from his year 23.⁷⁵ The precise location of these sites aside, the archaeological evidence, including scarabs and a rock inscription of Ramesses III at Timna, shows that he had reclaimed the whole Sinai region for Egypt.

⁷² See van der Steen and Bienkowski 2006 and Tebes 2016.

⁷³ Papyrus Harris I (78, 1–4) boasts that Ramesses III’s agents retrieved an enormous amount of copper from Atika, carried by ship and on land by donkeys (see conveniently *ARE IV*, 204 and for a more recent translation Peden (1994: 32 and comments n. 4). Though much of her work is now neglected due to her more extreme ideas (*e.g.* locating Alashiya in Egypt rather than Cyprus!), the late Alessandra Nibbi produced a number of interesting challenges which should not be forgotten. With fair logic she identified Atika with (Gebel) Attāqah/Attaka, a mountain in Egypt which lies to west of the Gulf of Suez (see *e.g.* Nibbi 1981: 49, 146). Schulman (1976: 130, n. 77) raised a major objection—that no copper has been found at Gebel Attāqah despite heavy mining of the area. Nibbi (1997: 13–14, nn. 9–10; 305–312) attempted to tackle this problem but failed to find conclusive evidence from geologists that Attāqah was once copper-rich. Here we are left with a classic dichotomy: between Beno Rothenberg’s suggestion (1972: 201) that Atika was Timna (rich in copper), with no philological evidence at all; and Nibbi’s location at (Gebel) Attāqah, which is perfect philologically but, so far, uncertain geologically. Given that the copper veins may have been mined out, Nibbi’s case deserves further consideration.

⁷⁴ Lucas and Harris 1962: 204.

⁷⁵ Weinstein 2012: 171.

Control over the Shasu would have facilitated Ramesses III's further ventures. Like the campaign of Seti I, one of Ramesses III's first tasks would have been to subdue them and secure the coastal route to Palestine, the "Ways of Horus." Further, his ambitions clearly went further eastwards than the Sinai area. In 2011 a spectacular discovery was made at Tayma in the desert of north-eastern Arabia: an inscription of Ramesses III.⁷⁶ The style of the cartouches is closely matched by three from the Sinai and Timna; Somaglino and Tallet use these to offer a map giving a route from these sites to Tayma much further eastwards (see **Fig. 2** below).

This all suggests that establishing Egyptian control over Arabian trade-routes may have been a key part of Ramesses' eastern policy; subduing the Shasu of the Seir region (and likely further east) would have been an important step in securing such access to incense trade.⁷⁷

Finally, a close reading of Papyrus Harris I certainly does *not* rule out campaigns further north than Edom. The opening statement from the military section is: "I advanced the boundaries of Egypt on all sides," a claim certainly supported by the archaeological finds. Then follows the passage summarising Ramesses III's defeat of the so-called Sea Peoples:

*I slew the Denyen in their islands, while the Tjeker and the Philistines were made ashes. The Sherden and the Weshesh of the Sea were made non-existent, captured all together and brought in captivity to Egypt like the sands of the shore.*⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Somaglino and Tallet 2011: 2013.

⁷⁷ For a later period (Iron Age), see Tebes (2006: 45): "The archaeological evidence argues that the traffic in Arabian incense between southern Jordan and the Mediterranean was controlled by the nomads living in the Negev and Edom."

⁷⁸ Trans. Wilson 1969: 262.

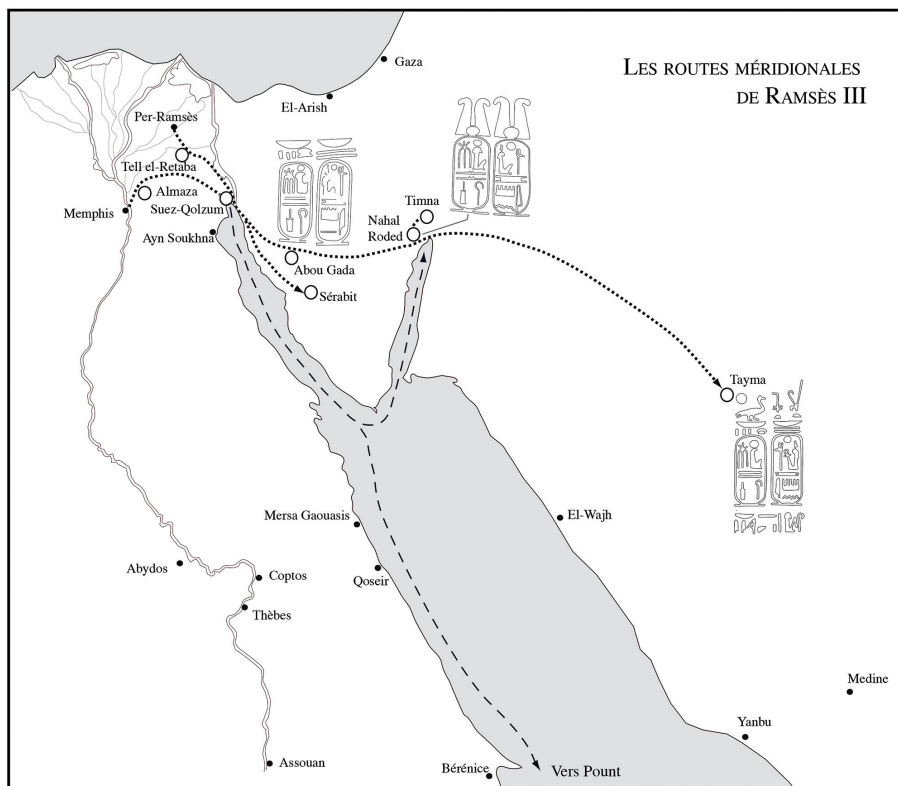


Fig. 2. Map showing the distribution of identical cartouches of Ramesses III on rock inscriptions from the Sinai area to Tayma in the Arabian desert.

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Whatever and wherever the “islands”⁷⁹ of the Denyen were (presumably off the Levantine coast, including Cyprus), they would certainly have been north of Edom! If we assume this referred to a coastal

⁷⁹ Redford (2000: 12) notes “The term “islands” (*iw.w*) has, by some been forced to yield a nuance of ‘coastal lands’, but this is unjustified as Egyptian has a number of words already for “maritime littoral...” This may well refer to Leahy (1988: 195), who had argued that the *iw* mentioned in an early inscription of Amasis is unlikely to have been Cyprus and that the term could apply to “high-lying areas of whatever kind.” But see here Jansen-Winkel (2014) who, working from a new collation of the Elephantine Stela, does not discern the term *iw* at all.

area of the Levant it accords with the statements from Ramesses III's other inscriptions that he reached the lands of his enemies. Thus he claimed to have attacked the Peleset in their land, "in suspense, hidden in their towns."⁸⁰ And in his famous Year 8 inscription, after recording the defeat of the enemy coalition, that he had brought "ruin to their cities, devastated at one time, their trees and their people having become ashes."⁸¹ It has long been argued that these are not mere rhetorical claims,⁸² a view now increasingly accepted.⁸³ The Peleset, Denyen and Tjekker are depicted identically on Egyptian reliefs, with the familiar "feathered" headgear, armour, kilts, etc. Granted that the Peleset were already settled (or settling) in Philistia, and that under the late 20th Dynasty Dor is called a city of the Tjekker (in *Wenamun*) a Levantine location or origin for the Denyen seems likely.⁸⁴

Wherever they were situated, if we assume (in agreement with Kitchen) that the Papyrus Harris account is "factual," in order to attack the Denyen in their land then Ramesses III must have brought his troops much further north than Edom. The texts recording the land battle are surely the series on the Medinet Habu reliefs, culminating in the famous land battle in which Ramesses III defeats an army wearing the costume typical to the Denyen, Tjekker and Peleset. Thus, contra Gardiner, Kitchen, *et al.* a Levantine campaign *is* mentioned in the Papyrus Harris, but in the same abbreviated form used to summarise Ramesses III's other military achievements.

Lesko's theory that Ramesses III copied his war-reliefs from the *destroyed* mortuary temple of Merenptah, ranks as a classically untestable hypothesis. Where it *can* be tested, with respect to the specific names of the so-called "Sea Peoples" enemies faced by the two pharaohs in question, there are huge differences. As stressed many years ago (see **Fig. 2**), there are only three peoples in common in the lists of allegedly maritime enemies from Merenptah and Ramesses III:

⁸⁰ Kitchen 2008: 24.

⁸¹ Kitchen 2008: 35; cf. Edgerton and Wilson 1936: Plate 46, ll. 34–35.

⁸² Nibbi 1972: esp. 48–49, 59; James 1995; 2000; Bikai 1992; Drews 1998: esp. 58; 2000.

⁸³ See *e.g.* Kahn 2011; 2015; 2016; forthcoming.

⁸⁴ See Simon (2015) for a detailed discussion of the northern Syrian and Cilician possibilities.

the Sherden, Teresh and Weshesh.⁸⁵ There is no hint of Ramesses III's major foes, the Peleset, Tjekker and Denyen, in the records of Merenptah.⁸⁶ As Kitchen put it:

*The style and content of the year 5 texts of Merenptah and Ramesses III are different, and the latter's year 8 text is also different from the year 5 text of Merenptah (there is—and was—no year 8 war and text of Merenptah...The events and protagonists are different...The Sea Peoples of Merenptah were not wholly identical with those of Ramesses III. Merenptah fought no Philistines, while Ramesses III faced no Aqaywasha, and so on.*⁸⁷

As noted above, the other source generally assumed for Ramesses III's copying is of course the works of Ramesses II. The plan of Medinet Habu is indeed based on the Ramesseum, though on a smaller scale. Nims listed the many similarities he observed between the two buildings, from the general arrangement to the specific details of iconography and the very texts themselves; but it should be noted that most of these similarities concern cult and religious scenes *per se*. With respect to military scenes there are differences, beginning with their placement.⁸⁸ With regard to composition, there is nothing remotely resembling the "Sea Peoples" reliefs of Medinet Habu on the Ramesseum or other building of Ramesses II. Both the reliefs and the accompanying texts are unique, with highlights like the stunning depic-

⁸⁵ The latter two are known *only* (briefly and fleetingly) from the records of these two pharaohs. See the excellent compilation of references to the "Sea Peoples" in Egyptian, Hittite and Ugaritic texts by Adams and Cohen 2013. From the records of Ramesses III, we have three references to the Weshesh and two to the Teresh. Re the Sherden, I have argued that the name simply indicates "mercenaries" (James unpublished 1995). They were ubiquitous in the Eastern Mediterranean, and long before the time of Merenptah. They are known as mercenaries at Byblos in the El Amarna period and as captive troops under Ramesses II. Their occurrence in enemy-lists of both Merenptah and Ramesses III has no significance, and certainly cannot be used to argue any "copying."

⁸⁶ See Yurco 1997: 503–504.

⁸⁷ Kitchen 2012: 16.

⁸⁸ Nims 1976: 175, 171.

	Peleset	Tjekker	Denyen	Shekelesh	Weshesh	Teresh	Sherden	Ekwesh	Luka
"feathered" helmet	•	•	•						
lands, towns near Egypt	•								
later settled in Palestine	•	•							
Rameses III, Year 5	•	•							
Rameses III, Year 8	•	•	•	•	•				
enemy in land battle reliefs	Peleset-type								
enemy in sea battle reliefs	Peleset-type						Sherden-type		
Rameses III, other	•	•	•			•	•		
horned helmet							•		
turban						•			
Merenptah				•		•	•	•	•
pre-Mer. raiders or mercenaries							•		•
"-esh" name				•	•	•		•	
"of (the countries of) the sea"					•	•	•	•	

Fig. 3. Chart showing an analysis of the three groupings of the so-called "Sea Peoples." They should not be lumped together and, while they may have acted in concert at times, there is little in common between the enemies of Rameses III and those of Merenptah, who were allies of the Libyans. © P. James, handout from James 1995.

tion of a naval battle with the Philistines and their allies. And although the scenes showing wars with the Libyans and Nubians are held to be stereotypical, they have many details which show them to be original compositions.⁸⁹

“ALL CHANGE!”

There has never, of course, been any consensus on the reality and extent of Ramesses III's claims to northern conquests. As documented above, in the 1970s the majority view of leading Egyptologists was that most of them were fictional. The last few decades have seen a sea-change in opinion regarding the reality of Ramesses III's military exploits. Two factors must have played a part here: the archaeological evidence—including the find of a statue of the pharaoh as far north as Byblos—and the complete change of mind by Kenneth Kitchen. This presumably came about as he studied further and published his translations and commentaries on the Asiatic toponym lists of Ramesses III. Now there has been a complete turnaround, where the old “southern” school has now changed largely into a far “northern” one.

As we have seen, the idea that Ramesses III's campaign to Djahi (Palestine and/or Phoenicia) was a historical reality has become increasingly appreciated. An array of reliefs depicts his preparations and efforts to fight the Philistines and their allies and it has become increasingly obvious that this was in *their own lands*. The land-battle reliefs show women and children in ox-carts amongst the enemies. The traditional interpretations have always been that these display the tail-end of a massive migration of itinerant “Sea Peoples,” who for some unknown reason marched all the way from the Aegean to the borders of Egypt, destroying the Hittite Empire and picking up some Anatolian oxen on the way. Drews offered the brilliant insight that the famous battle scene between Ramesses and the *Peleset* and their allies does not

⁸⁹ Kahn (2010: 20, n. 45) lists in some detail the differences between the Nubian war reliefs of Ramesses II and III. Most significant of these, surely, is the appearance of mercenaries on the Egyptian side of the *Peleset/Tjekker* type, wearing the characteristic “feathered” headdress. Warriors dressed in this style do not appear on the extant reliefs of Ramesses II.

show the Pharaoh repelling an invasion by land from these enemies—but far more likely *his* invasion of Palestine, to retaliate against them and their sea-borne allies for incursions on Egyptian territory and attempts to penetrate the Nile river mouths.⁹⁰

Even more radical are the ideas published in various papers by Kahn, which offer arguments in support of Ramesses III's claimed campaigns in Syria. The reliefs depicting these wars show rather conventionalised scenes of Syrian and Hittite cities being besieged, usually assumed to have to been copied from those of Ramesses II. But Kahn has recently defended the originality of the northern siege scenes, pointing out major differences between those of Ramesses III and Ramesses II:

While comparing the war reliefs of Ramesses III with those remaining from his Ramesside predecessors (mainly Ramesses II and Merenptah), it becomes clear that there are no exact original reliefs to copy from—none are even similar in composition, division of registers, or even scene details. The scenes in the different temples differ in the details of the heavily fortified town and the fierce resistance of the defenders upon the walls.⁹¹

As to the notorious problem of Ramesses III attacking Hittite towns, the evidence here has been clearly misread. One scene shows an attack on a town, with Syrian inhabitants, labelled “Tunip of Hatti”—which is reasonable as the city would have long been within the Hittite orbit. Another scene shows an attack on two towns where the inhabitants have a “Hittite” appearance; the name of the second is missing, while the reading of the first name as “Arzawa” has always been problematic (see later). The orthography of this name (*i-r-t*) is slightly different from the spelling *i-r'-t*w (generally read as Arzawa) in the Year

⁹⁰ Drews 1998; 2000.

⁹¹ Kahn 2010: 16. More recently Redford (2018: 143) has joined the defence of these scenes against the charge of being “generic and unhistorical...slavishly copied from the military art of Ramesses II.”

8 inscription.⁹² That the inhabitants of these two cities are depicted as Hittite in appearance does not mean that they were located in Anatolia—again, Hittites had been ruling over and settling in northern Syria for centuries. The problem was recognised by Kitchen, who proposed a reading of the name as “Arzi,” with the note: “This name is not Arzawa, could be for Ullaza, but is most likely an error for As/zir.”⁹³ Ullaza or Ulassa lies on the Lebanese coast about 20 km north of Byblos. In an extraordinary *volte face* from his 1991 position (above), Kitchen can now write that:

Here opinions vary all the way from taking these scenes in some measure seriously to treating them as pure fiction, just recopies of scenes of Ramesses II at that Ramesseum—the more so as the Chicago translators.... wrongly identified one “Hittite” fort as Arzawa (deep in Asia Minor!) instead of Ullaza (Phoenician coast). Not even Ramesses II could ever have reached Arzawa; and this spurious identification lent Ramesses III’s reliefs an equally spurious air of unreality that has stimulated widespread skepticism among scholars (including myself).⁹⁴

Further evidence for Ramesses III’s Syrian campaign(s) may come from the toponym lists he inscribed at Medinet Habu. These have always attracted far less serious study than those, for example, of Thutmose III, perhaps because of the assumption that they are simply copies of the lists of Ramesses II. So, Weinstein:

The Asiatic references in the only “topographical lists” of the 20th Dynasty—those of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu—were largely copied from earlier sources...so their mentions of Syrian place-names are evidently without military significance.⁹⁵

⁹² Transliterations from Edgerton and Wilson 1936: 95, 37. See Kahn 2010: 17.

⁹³ Kitchen 2008: 61 and n. 1; cf. Kahn 2010: 17.

⁹⁴ Kitchen 2012: 12.

⁹⁵ Weinstein 1992: 142–143.

Many sections of the Great Asiatic List of Ramesses III⁹⁶ are indeed paralleled by that of Ramesses II. But as Simons remarked long ago: "... the lack of originality of even the lists of Ramses III at Medinet Habu should not be exaggerated."⁹⁷ There are major differences between the two lists, not only in the arrangement of those sections.⁹⁸ As Kitchen notes: "The first 69 Asiatic names (S. Tower) do not seem to appear in any other known list..."⁹⁹ This actually constitutes *over half the list*. While the absence of a similar composition from earlier lists does not prove beyond any possible doubt that it is original to the time of Ramesses III, it should certainly give us serious pause for thought about the usual assumption that all the lists of Ramesses III are mere slavish copies.

Kahn and Redford have also stressed the uniqueness of this portion of Ramesses III's "Great Asiatic list."¹⁰⁰ Kahn rightly questioned Astour's attempts to locate many of them at randomly scattered and often obscure sites throughout the whole of Mesopotamia!¹⁰¹ Those toponyms that are clearly identifiable (such as Carchemish and Emar) strongly suggest a focus on northern Syria.¹⁰² Kahn has combined this evidence with that from the reliefs that depict the siege of Syrian or Hittite towns to reconstruct a campaign by Ramesses III against

⁹⁶ By "Great Asiatic List" I mean Simons' *XXVII* (Simons 1937: 164–169), which comprises some 125 entries. Edgerton and Wilson (1936: 109): "The list is chiefly Semitic, but it has African padding at its southern end (Nos. 95–97 and 123–125)." The prisoners' heads on these are African (Simons 1937: 78). List *XXVIII* (Simons 1937: 170–173) is about the same length (124 entries) but contains many more (apparently) African names (Nos. 1–72), thought to be taken from the African lists of Thutmose III and Seti I (Edgerton and Wilson 1936: 114).

⁹⁷ Simons 1937: 80, n. 4.

⁹⁸ I hope to deal with the entire Great Asiatic List of Ramesses III in some detail elsewhere.

⁹⁹ Kitchen 2009: 134. Strictly speaking, many of the names *do* occur on earlier toponym lists, e.g. No. 28 *mtn* is clearly Mitanni and No. 29 *krkmš* Carchemish. This does not spoil the point that this part of the list as a whole seems to be a composition unique to the time of Ramesses III.

¹⁰⁰ Kahn 2011: 4 and Redford 2018: 142.

¹⁰¹ Astour 1963; 1968.

¹⁰² Kahn 2011: 11. While I largely accept Kahn's identifications, there are instances of disagreement which I hope to deal with elsewhere (James in prep.) See now Redford's analysis (2018: 143–147) which has many agreements with Kahn's work but also significant differences.

Amurru. Though naturally with some major differences, it is effectively a return to the position of Sayce, almost exactly a century earlier.¹⁰³

Kahn's examination of the northern war reliefs is encouraging, though caution is needed. In his earlier publications he overlooked some further war scenes, from the exterior west wall of Ramesses III's south temple at Karnak in the precinct of Mut. The best preserved shows the king in triumph after the end of a Libyan war.¹⁰⁴ Less well preserved scenes depict the pharaoh battling Syrians, with this inscription accompanying a scene showing captives:

*Receiving captures, being what the (mighty) sword of His Majesty brought off, when (he) overthrew the fallen ones of Qadesh, along with all the chiefs of foreign lands who has come with them, (when) His Majesty was alone, without his army with him—when he gave charge to his army-leaders, saying: “Bring you the captures from my captives, (from) when I was alone, there being no infantry with me, and no chariotry.”*¹⁰⁵

Here we see exactly the familiar claim made by Ramesses II, that he charged alone against the vast coalition of armies brought by the Hittites to defend Qadesh.¹⁰⁶ So Mosjov, who stated confidently that the scenes from the precinct of Mut were:

*...copied from the southern enclosure wall of the Karnak Temple. They represent Ramesses II and the battle of Kadesh. The sculptors did not notice that the inscription they were copying referred to the famous single-handed battle of Ramesses II against the Hittites and could have no possible application to any achievement of Ramesses III. These monuments of Ramesses II were copied even when inappropriate.*¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ Sayce 1912: 141–142, 202–207.

¹⁰⁴ Mojsov 2012: 290.

¹⁰⁵ Trans. Kitchen 2008: 67.

¹⁰⁶ Gardiner 1960: 98.

¹⁰⁷ Mosjov 2012: 290.

It seems unfair to claim that the sculptors were blindly copying inscriptions of Ramesses II. (For one thing any blame should be laid on scribes.) On the other hand, the “victory” claim, with the Pharaoh depicted as charging alone against the enemies is surely borrowed from Ramesses II’s Qadesh inscriptions. In these the main foe faced by Ramesses II is not the ruler of Qadesh, but the King of Hatti and all his allies and subject states. Kahn (forthcoming), rather half-heartedly tries to defend some originality in the Ramesses III version, but admits that: “It is hard to tell.”

All the same, Kahn has taken a further step, arguing that it was the Philistines who were attacked in Ramesses III’s north Syrian campaign. He locates them (at some point in their alleged migrations) far to the north of traditional Philistia in the Amuq valley region. While forcing us to re-examine old ideas, Kahn’s model raises more questions than it answers. Much of Kahn’s case relies on an interpretation of Ramesses III’s Great List of Asiatic towns, where it is has long been realised that the first 69 entries, including clear references to Carchemish and Mitanni, show that we are in the north Syrian area at least as far as the Euphrates. Kahn rightly rejects the scatter-gun approach of Astour but his own, concentrating on the region around Alalakh, has tended to “hoover” northwards toponyms which might well be better located much further south.¹⁰⁸

Oddly enough Kitchen is now one of the main advocates in locating Ramesses III’s toponyms in the north, many of which have perfectly good southern correlates in the south. A good case in point concerns the toponym *y-r-d-n* which occurs in parallel lists (see below) of Ramesses II (no. 15) and Ramesses III (no. 91). Against the grain of common sense, Kitchen follows Helck in reading this as an unknown

¹⁰⁸ For example, Kahn (2016: 162) argues that the “cluster” of names 70–78 belongs to northern Canaan. These include the usual examples of Harnaim and Shebtuna, though Kahn himself notes that: “Several of these toponyms are known from the Qadesh inscriptions of Ramesses II but do not occur in any of his surviving topographical lists.” Similar names do, however, occur in the toponym lists of Ramesses III but their context suggests that there were southern rather than northern Canaanite towns (see below).

toponym Ardana or Arduna, identified with modern Arde near Tripoli.¹⁰⁹ There are no grounds for rejecting the obvious reading Jordan, because *ì-r-d-n* is not accompanied by a water determinative. In the well-known Satirical Letter (Papyrus Anastasi I), the writer teases another scribe on his knowledge, including the question: “The stream of Jordan [*Yrdn*] how is it crossed?”¹¹⁰ The context, placing it near Beth-Shean makes it clear that this is the familiar Jordan.¹¹¹ Gardiner was in no doubt on this despite the lack of the determinative for water.¹¹² The arbitrary relegation of this toponym to the Tripoli area merely deprives us of an obvious clue as to where we should locate this section of the lists of Ramesses II and III.

THE BLESSING OF PTAH FROM MEDINET HABU AND KRAHMALKOV’S “ROAD” THEORY

A century ago Sayce and his contemporaries seem to have appreciated that there was no need for a “maximalist” or “minimalist” approach: rather we should be considering the clues given us by the toponym lists, analysing their meaning, and not bundling them together because of preconceptions in either direction.

Something of a “middle way” was suggested by Krahmalkov (1994), a senior expert on West Semitic philology who argued that various itineraries or “roads” could be detected in Egyptian New Kingdom records—and that these confirm the routes taken by the Israelites in

¹⁰⁹ Kitchen 1999: 69; 2008: 74. He seems to have an aversion to reading “Jordan” in the toponym lists. The name (*yrđn*) occurs in the list of Shoshenq I, but he claims (1986: 441) that due its context (# 150 at the end of his Row X) near Negebite names it could be a “South-West Palestinian name like Jorda.” No such place is known. Furthermore, its position at the end of a line (in terms of the sculpture) means that it may well be grouped with the entries in the following Row. As Kitchen himself notes: “In the VIth to Xth rows, no clear segments of march-routes can be mapped; too many names are unknown, and even of those that are known but few can firmly be located. Row XI is so incomplete that its geographical contribution is nearly negligible.”

¹¹⁰ Trans Gardiner 1911: 24*; Wilson 1969: 477.

¹¹¹ Aḥituv 1984: 123.

¹¹² Gardiner 1911: 24*, n. 16; cf. Aḥituv 1984: 123.

their march into and conquest of Canaan. Naturally these were in Transjordan and Palestine. With respect to Ramesses III, Krahmalkov cited the short toponym list accompanying the “Blessing of Ptah”¹¹³ The text merits close examination as, for other reasons, it has bearing on the originality of Ramesses III’s inscriptions.

The “Blessing of Ptah” consists of a long address by the god to the Pharaoh, to which Ramesses III replies outlining the good works he has done for the deity. It is dated to his Year 12. Interestingly this matches the date “in or shortly after the year 11,” deduced by Breasted for a major Asiatic campaign of Ramesses III—that depicted in the reliefs showing the storming of cities in Amor and elsewhere to the north.¹¹⁴

Overall the text mirrors that from the Abu Simbel stela of Ramesses II, year 35.¹¹⁵ It is not a straightforward copy however: Breasted carefully noted all the differences between the two versions.¹¹⁶ One is particularly significant. The Ramesses II version commemorates his marriage to the daughter of Hattusili III, stating that Ptah had “made for thee the land of Hatti into subjects of thy palace...His eldest daughter is in front thereof, to satisfy the heart of the Lord of the Two Lands...”¹¹⁷ The Ramesses III version renders this as “every land” instead of “Hatti” and “their sons and daughters as slaves to thy palace” instead of mention of a Hittite bride.¹¹⁸ It omits the final part altogether, which referred to friendly Egypto-Hittite relations.¹¹⁹ The text clearly reflects a changed political situation, to which the Egyptian scribes had responded sensitively. It can only mean that the central polity of Hatti based at Hattuša had weakened to such an extent that specific reference to an old marriage alliance (now redundant) was no longer worth boasting about; or that a new Hittite power centre or centres had replaced it.

¹¹³ Simons 1937: 174, List XXIX.

¹¹⁴ Breasted, *ARE* IV: 79

¹¹⁵ See Kitchen 1996: 99–110.

¹¹⁶ *ARE* III: §§394–414; cf. Kitchen 1996, 99–110.

¹¹⁷ Trans. Breasted, *ARE* III: §410.

¹¹⁸ Breasted, *ARE* IV: §134; cf. Kitchen 1996, 107.

¹¹⁹ Kitchen 1996: 107; 1999: 161.

If the “imperial” centre at Hattuša had collapsed, at least two new polities where “Great Kingship” was claimed were in existence: Tarhuntassa in southeastern Anatolia and Carchemish on the Euphrates, initiating what Kitchen has nicely described as an age of “mini empires.”¹²⁰ The indications from military scenes and lists of prisoners of Ramesses III suggest that Egyptian relations with these mini-Hittite kingdoms were not friendly. Either the ruler of Tarhuntassa but most likely Carchemish could represent iconically “the [or more exactly “a”] despicable chief of Hatti as prisoner”¹²¹ in a row of bound captives which appears to depict the seven main northern enemies of Egypt.

While Egyptologists have often decried Ramesses III’s “copies” for their errors, it is interesting to note that to Breasted’s eye the Ramesses III version of the Ptah Blessing was less corrupt and the grammar better than the Ramesses II version at Abu Simbel.¹²² From their own analysis, Edgerton and Wilson (emphasis added) concluded:

*The Medinet Habu text was not copied from the Abu Simbel Text. In the first place, it was liberally re-edited, both as to the political situation and perhaps for better phraseology. In the second place the Abu Simbel text is itself obviously secondary, for it contains such corruptions as could have originated only in copying through the hieratic from a hieroglyphic text. The connecting link must be sought elsewhere. One might hazard a guess that the text was first prepared for a temple at Memphis (that of Ramses II?), perhaps on the occasion of a royal jubilee there. The Abu Simbel text was then a copy of this, without deliberate alteration. The Medinet Habu text was adapted and edited for a different king and different location.*¹²³

¹²⁰ Kitchen 2003: 98–100, 616, Fig. 15.

¹²¹ Kitchen 2008: 80.

¹²² Breasted, *ARE III*: 175, n. b.

¹²³ Edgerton and Wilson 1936: 119–120.

As the subtle changes in Ramesses III's "Blessing of Ptah" demonstrate, his version was no slavish copy of that prepared for Ramesses II.

Both versions of the Blessing are accompanied by a list of towns that Ptah had placed in the power of the Pharaoh. Regarding the list that accompanied Ramesses II's Blessing, Kitchen notes: "The topographical list at Karnak is badly damaged and appears to differ in arrangement and content from that of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu."¹²⁴ In short, nothing like the toponym list from Ramesses III's Blessing of Ptah is known from earlier Egyptian records. It is reasonable to assume, then, that its composition is original to Ramesses III. Besides, the removal of any reference to the Hittite marriage alliance from the text of the Blessing itself shows that the scribes who prepared it were well aware of Egypt's foreign relations at this time.

These facts make an analysis of the accompanying place-names worthwhile. The first observation regarding the "Blessing of Ptah" toponyms is that they are also known from the Great Asiatic List of Ramesses III—as can be seen from the comparisons made by Simons tabulated below.¹²⁵ The transliterations are Simons' with the odd correction from Edgerton and Wilson and Kitchen.

Blessing of Ptah (XXIX)

1. *t-ś-t*
2. *ì-r-<y>*
3. *ì-n-t-k*

Great Asiatic List (XXVII)

25. *t-ś-ḥ*
26. *ì-r-<y>*
44. *ì-n-t-k*

BELOW SCENE: FACING LEFT

4. *k-r-n*
5. *ì-t-?*
6. *t-r-b-ś*
7. *t-r-n*

40. *k-r-n*
41. *ì-q-?*
42. *t-r-b-ś*
43. *t-r-n*

¹²⁴ Kitchen 1999: 160.

¹²⁵ Simons 1937: 164–169.

BELOW SCENE: FACING RIGHT

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------|
| 8. <i>h-r-n-m</i> ¹²⁶ | 70. <i>h-r-n-m</i> |
| 9. <i>r-b-n-t</i> | 71. <i>r-b-n-t</i> |
| 10. <i>h-b-r</i> | 77. <i>h-b-r</i> |
| 11. <i>itr</i> | 101. <i>itr</i> |
| 12. <i>r-h-b</i> ¹²⁷ | 105. <i>r-h-b</i> |
| 13. <i>y-h</i> | 115. <i>y-h</i> |

Despite small variations in spelling (and one difference in order) there can be no doubt about the close relationship between the two lists. See Simons who described the Ptah list as “an extract from the longer Asiatic list (*XXVII*) on the same tower.”¹²⁸ As it is composed of three extracts, Kitchen’s choice of the word “abregé” might be more accurate: by definition the Blessing of Ptah list would fall into Kitchen’s category 2 (*a*). *i.e.* “Abregés of longer listings.” But is the Ptah list merely this, a random summary of names from the longer list “of no importance”?—as Simons said in an uncharacteristically dismissive remark. At the very least, analysis of the list might reveal something of the mechanics of the selection used by its compilers.¹²⁹

There are barely any recent discussions of this list, with the notable exception of Krahmalkov (1994, 56, 61) who offered some interesting suggestions regarding the identifications of the last four names in the list (Nos. **10–13**). These he argued represent an “Egyptian road” running from north to south, from southern Judah to places in the Negev. Thus:

h-b-r = Hebron.

itr = Athar, which gave its name to the “way of Atharim” (Numbers 21.1) which seems to have run from Arad to Kadesh-barnea.

¹²⁶ For some unexplained reason Kitchen (1996: 101) reads this as “Naharin,” *i.e.* Mitanni. See remarks below, n. 157.

¹²⁷ As Krahmalkov (1994: 62, n.16) noted, the reading of *r-h-d* given in Simons has been corrected by Kitchen to *r-h-b*—see Kitchen 1996: 101 and 1999, 160, where he locates this Rehob as the well-known township some 4 miles from Beth-Shean.

¹²⁸ Simons 1937: 12, n. 1.

r-h-b = a Rehob, which Krahmalkov identified with the oasis of Ruhayba, south of Beersheba.

yh = Yahu. His map and text indicate a location in north central Sinai. Krahmalkov's suggestions are attractive, in particular the suggestion that *h-b-r* was Hebron (see below). Though he does not mention it, his placement of *yh* is well supported by other New Kingdom texts. The "Shasu land of Yahu" (*šsw yhw*) is mentioned by Amenhotep III in a list of three "Shasu lands" and in a list of six "Shasu lands" by Ramesses II.¹³⁰ From other evidence these were likely placed in the Edom/Seir region.¹³¹ The biblical association of Yahweh with Mt Seir (Deut. 33:2; Judges 5:4) makes this a likely location for the "land of Yahu."

At first glance Krahmalkov's "road" theory might seem plausible. Redford had already used the great toponym list of Thutmose III to identify a campaign itinerary of 15 names in Transjordan.¹³² Some of the identifications remain uncertain and Redford's hypothesis, as Kitchen put it "remains such, but has much to recommend it."¹³³ Krahmalkov offered his own version of the list, running from south to north—the reverse direction to that proposed by Redford! Given the different interpretations possible, it would be safer to call the Transjordanian toponyms in question a group or cluster. Further, Redford's case has a distinct advantage here in that he checked the

¹²⁹ The first three entries on this list are obscure. Breasted (*ARE* IV: §134–135) assumed they are "African," an idea which Kitchen (1999: 160) took further, stating that all the names before no. 8 "appear to be African and obscure at present." Here we encounter an unfortunate tendency among Egyptologists when interpreting difficult to read place-names, to describe anything that appears unintelligible as "African," without offering any philological evidence for the supposition. Breasted himself noted that the thirteen name rings are accompanied by "thirteen Asiatic (sic!) prisoners" (*ARE* IV: §134), adding "sic!" as if the Egyptian artist had made some mistake! The heads of the prisoners surmounting the name rings are clearly Asiatic and not African (see *MH* II, Pl. 105). Simons (1936: 84) did not repeat Breasted's "African" suggestion, quite rightly describing it as an "Asiatic list."

¹³⁰ Giveon 1971: 25–28; 74–77.

¹³¹ Redford 1992: 272–273; cf. Kitchen 1992: 25–27. Oddly, Kitchen (1999: 160) is lukewarm about the identification of *yh* with the Shasu land of *yhw*.

¹³² Redford 1982.

¹³³ Kitchen 1992: 25.

topography on the ground. He also took in 15 names from the Thutmose III list, whereas Krahmalkov was extremely selective, only using a small selection of four (numbers 95, 98, 99, 100).

The same problem affects his “itinerary” interpretation of the list from the Ptah Blessing. Krahmalkov took only a selected portion, nos. 10–13, ignoring, without any explanation, entries 8 and 9 on the same panel, let alone 1–7 many of which are (to us) presently unlocatable. As can be seen from the table above, the toponym list from the Blessing of Ptah is without a shadow of a doubt a much compressed version of the Great Asiatic List of Ramesses III. It is not a “road.”

TOWARDS A NEW METHODOLOGY

Krahmalkov’s “cherry-picking” from one list or another to suit some biblically-based ideas (specifically an Israelite Conquest *c.* 1200 BC) was unsound, though his much ignored paper offered some promising identifications to be examined shortly.

What should one expect from Ramesses III’s lists and how can we discern “truth” from pure “fiction,” or more accurately propaganda? This can be approached by using the control of his other “historical” records and more important archaeology. From the buildings and inscriptions at Beth Shean and Megiddo we know that he had a military presence in the Jezreel valley (see above). A statue fragment of Ramesses III found at Byblos¹³⁴ might suggest a measure of influence this far north. But with the possible exception of Tyre no Phoenician towns appear to be mentioned in his toponym lists, a point which Sayce drew attention to well over a century ago.¹³⁵ On the other hand, as I hope to show below, the toponym lists are fairly clear in showing

¹³⁴ Kitchen 2008: 215; 2012: 13.

¹³⁵ Sayce 1912: 206: “One point about this list is very noticeable. None of the great Phoenician cities of the coast are mentioned in it. Acre, Ekdippa, Tyre, Sidon, and Beyrout are all conspicuous by their absence. Even Joppa is unnamed.” As noted below Tyre *may* be mentioned in Ramesses III’s Great Asiatic List (XXVII, 121). Otherwise, we need to note the point made by Bikai (1992: esp. 133) that there is no evidence of the destruction of any Phoenician town at the LBA/IA transition.

groups of towns claimed to be under his control, which would have been needed to reach the Jezreel valley sites—and further north.

First and foremost, it must be stated that they *do* contain repetition of place-names from the great lists of Thutmose III and Ramesses II—as appreciated long ago by the Sayce. Yet, regarding Ramesses III’s “Great List” he noted that:

*...the names, however are practically those already enumerated by Ramses II., and they occur in the same order. But the list given by Ramses III, could not have been copied from the older list of Ramses II. for a very sufficient reason. In some instances, the names given by the earlier monarch are misspelt, letters having been omitted in them or wrong letters having been written place of the right ones, while in the list of Ramses III. the same names are correctly written.*¹³⁶

To what degree Sayce was correct here remains to be seen, but a century later Kitchen would agree at least in some instances.¹³⁷ This reinforces the point that the lists of Ramesses III were not mere copies of those of Ramesses II, but that they both derived from a common template. Such templates would have kept by scribes on papyrus—there is no question of sculptors running from one monument to another as some see to infer.

Some compositions, such as the long toponym list of Thutmose III show much cohesion in terms of the geographical arrangement of their entries (see above Redford re Transjordan)—even though one of the name clusters has been largely relocated by modern scholars from south to north.¹³⁸ With respect to Ramesses III, most of his lists have received little or no recent analysis. From our perspective some appear

¹³⁶ Sayce 1912: 202.

¹³⁷ E.g. with respect to Ramesses II 10 (Kerak), Kitchen (1999: 68) notes: “The second *k* lacks its ‘handle,’ an error remedied in the copy in Ramesses III’s Medinet Habu list...” Kitchen (1999: 70) also prefers the Ramesses III reading (76) of *m-š* to the *m-š* at the beginning of Ramesses II (25).

¹³⁸ Compare the map of Petrie 1896: 324 with that of Aharoni 1979: 155.

unintelligible and randomly organised. One is the long List XXVIII, the first half of which nos. 1–72) appears to largely cover African and Red Sea names (including Punt).¹³⁹ The second half seems to be largely Asiatic, but with barely any readable names. Yet it includes (no. 77) a possible Ain-Gihon (“spring of Gihon”), as restored tentatively by Edgerton and Wilson—a reading “not excluded” by Simons.¹⁴⁰ Gihon was the mainspring of water at Jerusalem and this appears to be the only possible instance of such a place name in Egyptian records. At present our understanding of the arrangement of difficult and damaged lists such as XXVIII is far too rudimentary to make informed guesses.

We *do* have a better handle on matters when we are able to compare lengthy parts of one pharaoh’s toponym lists to those of others. Simons (1937: 75) did the basic groundwork here, providing a handy comparison of the lists of Thutmose III, Seti I and Ramesses II.¹⁴¹ It is clear that the latter two have little reliance on those of Thutmose: the 19th dynasty lists are clearly original compositions which must reflect the campaigns of Seti I and Ramesses II. Aharoni drew up a map using Seti’s toponyms.¹⁴² which is extremely plausible—and may well, as he understood it, reflect a military itinerary. Otherwise Simons’ listings show that one of Ramesses II’s lists (XXIV) matched that of his father Seti (XIII) so closely that there is little doubt that it was derivative.

Other lists of Ramesses II are quite different and certainly reflect his more extensive campaigns, largely aimed at the growing power of the Hittites in northern Syria. Still this should not mean that all the place-names concerned were far to the north. After his effectual defeat at Qadesh, Ramesses II had to reassert his authority over much of Canaan, as did his successor Merenptah who famously claimed to have conquered Gezer, faced rebellions in the south.¹⁴³ It should be no coincidence that the survey work of Peter van der Veen and his team

¹³⁹ See O’Connor 1982: 933, n. 1.

¹⁴⁰ Edgerton and Wilson 1936: 115; Simons 1937: 172.

¹⁴¹ Simons 1937: 75.

¹⁴² Aharoni 1979: 178–180; Simons 1937, XIII.

¹⁴³ See conveniently Kitchen 1982: 67–68, 215; 2004.

has uncovered a surprising number of fragmentary inscriptions and statuary (including a bust of an Egyptian princess!) which point strongly to an interest in the Jerusalem region in the late Ramesside period.¹⁴⁴

There are names in common between lists of Ramesses II and Ramesses III, especially with regard to two: Ramesses II XXIII and Ramesses III XXVII often known as his “Great Asiatic List.”¹⁴⁵ The similarities are inescapable (see tables below). However, they do not necessarily mean that Ramesses III’s list was a slavish copy of his predecessor’s, any more than his version of the “Blessing of Ptah” was copied from that of Ramesses II. As shown above this text was a standard one which was scrupulously edited by the scribes of Ramesses III to reflect new conditions (notably the collapse of a Hittite alliance). The most cautious understanding of the similarities between the two is that the scribes were working from a standard copy-book of places presumed to be under the Pharaoh’s control.

As a rudimentary methodology, a simple technique is used for analysing these lists. In the tables below I have compared them, beginning with the Ramesses II version first and in the second the Ramesses III version—using the transcriptions compiled by Simons with the odd correction. At the outset it needs to be stated that there is nothing like these compositions from the records of earlier pharaohs such as Thutmose III or Seti I. Krahmalkov’s “road” theory has been shown to be faulty. Rather we should think in terms of “clusters,” which may well contain mini-itineraries in the sense of mental maps. Avoiding the question for the moment of the location of any of the toponyms, I offer a simple analysis, comparing the two lists and breaking them into groups.

The rule followed here is simple: where one list or the other jumps to a different position numerically, a break or change of locale is assumed: so, I have drawn a line. Some of these changes may be “false” but are included for the sake of caution—the exercise being to

¹⁴⁴ Theis and van der Veen 2012; van der Veen 2013; van der Veen and Ellis 2015; Burger Robin 2015.

¹⁴⁵ Simons 1937: 157–159.

determine which toponyms are agreed by both versions to belong together and afford us with some ideas of geographical “clusters.”

Ramesses II, List XXIII

1. $r-\langle i \rangle-\check{s} q-d-\check{s}$
2. $y-[n]-\underline{d}-t$
3. $[^c n-n]-g-r$

Ramesses III, List XXVII

108. $r-\check{s} q-d-\check{s}$
109. $y-n-\underline{d}-t$
110. $^c n-n-g-r$

-
111. $r-w-i-r$
 112. $b-r$
 113. $q-m-q$
 114. $q-b-r-^c$
 115. $y-h$
 116. $t-\langle w \rangle-r$
 117. $\acute{s}-n-n-r$
 118. $m-n-d-r$
 119. $\underline{d}-b-b$
 120. $i-m-t$
 121. $\underline{d}-\langle w \rangle-r$
 122. $k-r-n$
 - 123-25. “African”

-
4. $r-h-\underline{d}$
 5. $\acute{s}-i-b-t$
 6. $k-\underline{t}(i)?$
 7. $q-\acute{s}-r-^c$
 8. $q-\underline{t}-i-\acute{s}-r$
 9. $y-^c q-b-r$
 10. $k-r-k$
 11. $q-(m)-\acute{s}-p-t$
 12. $i-\underline{t}-r$

-
105. $r-h-\underline{d}$
 106. $\acute{s}-i-b$
 107. $k-\underline{t}(i)?$
 102. $q-\acute{s}-r-^c$
 103. $q-s-\underline{t}-i-\acute{s}-r$
 104. $y-^c \{q\}-b-r$
 98. $i-k-\acute{s}$
 99. $k-r-k$
 100. $q-\acute{s}-[b?]-p-t$
 101. $i-\underline{t}-r$

13. <i>q-ś-n-r-m</i>	89. <i>q-ś-n-r-m</i>
14. <i>q-r-p-n</i>	90. <i>q-r-t-p-n</i>
15. <i>ì-r-d-n</i>	91. <i>ì-r-d-n</i>
16. <i>h-r-t̄</i>	92. <i>h-r-t̄</i>
17. <i>q-r-h̄</i>	93. <i>q-r-h̄</i>
18. <i>ì-k-t</i>	94. <i>w-r-w</i>
19. <i>ì-b-r</i>	95-97. “African”
20. <i>q-r-m-n</i>	84. <i>q-t-m-n</i>
21. <i>q-ś-r y-b-n</i>	85. <i>q-ś-t-b-r-n</i>
22. <i>š-m-š-n</i>	86. <i>š-m-š-n</i>
23. <i>h-d-ś-t</i>	87. <i>h-d-ś-t</i>
24. <i>ì-t̄-r</i>	88. <i>ì-r-t̄</i>
25. <i>m-ś....</i>	76. <i>m-š-k-t-(ś?)-n-r</i>
26. lost	77. <i>h̄-b-r</i>
27. <i>y-[n—m]</i>	78. <i>y-n-m</i>
28. <i>d-r-b-n</i>	79. <i>d-r-b-n</i>
29. <i>ì-p-q</i>	80. <i>ì-p-q</i>
30. <i>ì-b-h-y</i>	81. <i>ì-b-h-y</i>
31. <i>m-[k-t̄-r]</i>	82. <i>m-k-t̄-r</i>
32. <i>[q-r]-t̄</i>	83. <i>q-r-t̄-k</i>
33. <i>q-.....</i>	
34. ??	
35. <i>y-.....</i>	
36. <i>c-.....</i>	
37. <i>ì-.....</i>	
38. lost	
39. lost	
40. <i>b-r-[?]</i>	
41. lost	
42. <i>k-r-?</i>	

43. *g-b-?*
44. lost
45. lost
46. lost
47. lost
48. *?-r-m-?*
49. lost

Here is the same comparison but with the Ramesses III version used as the template:

Ramesses III, List XXVII

Ramesses II, List XXIII

70. *h-r-n-m*
71. *r-b-n-t*
72. *b-y-t d-q-n*
73. *q-r-b-q*
74. *k-r-m-y-m*
75. *š-b-d-n*

-
76. *m-š-k-t-(š?)-n-r*
 77. *h-b-r*
 78. *y-n-m*
 79. *d-r-b-n*
 80. *ì-p-q*
 81. *ì-b-h-y*
 82. *m-k-t-r*
 83. *q-r-t-k*

-
25. *m-ś.....*
 26. lost
 27. *y-[n—m]*
 28. *d-r-b-n*
 29. *ì-p-q*
 30. *ì-b-h-y*
 31. *m-[k-t-r]*
 32. *[q-r]-t*

-
33. *q-.....*
 34. *??*
 35. *y-.....*
 36. *c-.....*
 37. *ì-.....*

38. lost
 39. lost
 40. *b-r-[?]*
 41. lost
 42. *k-r-?*
 43. *g-b-?*
 44. lost
 45. lost
 46. lost
 47. lost
 48. *?-r-m-?*
 49. lost

-
84. *q-t-m-n*
 85. *[q]-ś-t-b-r-n*
 86. *š-m-š-n*
 87. *ḥ-d-ś-t*
 88. *ì-r-t̄*

-
20. *q-r-m-n*
 21. *q-ś-r y-b-n*
 22. *š-m-š-n*
 23. *ḥ-d-ś-t*
 24. *ì-t̄-r*

-
89. *q-ś-n-r-m*
 90. *q-r-t̄-p-n*
 91. *ì r-d-n*
 92. *ḥ -r-t̄*
 93. *q-r-ḥ*
 94. *w-r-w*

-
13. *q-ś-n-r-m*
 14. *q-r-p-n*
 15. *ì-r-d-n*
 16. *ḥ -r-t̄*
 17. *q-r-ḥ*

95-97. “African”

-
98. *ì-k-ś*
 99. *k-r-k*
 100. *q-ś-[b?]-p-t*
 101. *ì-t̄-r*
 102. *q-ś-r^c*
 103. *q-s-t̄-ì-ś-r*

-
18. *ì-k-t*
 19. *ì-b-r*
 10. *k-r-k*
 11. *q-(m?)-ś-p-t*
 12. *ì-t̄-r*
 7. *q-ś-r^c*
 8. *q-t̄-ì-ś-r*

- | | |
|--|--|
| 104. $y^c\text{-}\{q\} b\text{-}r$ | 9. $y^c\text{-}q\text{-}b\text{-}r$ |
| 105. $r\text{-}\underline{h}\text{-}\underline{d}$ | 4. $r\text{-}\underline{h}\text{-}\underline{d}$ |
| 106. $\acute{s}\text{-}\dot{i}\text{-}b$ | 5. $\acute{s}\text{-}\dot{i}\text{-}b\text{-}t$ |
| 107. $k\text{-}\underline{t}\text{-}(i)?$ | 6. $k\text{-}\underline{t}\text{-}(i)?$ |

-
- | | |
|---|--|
| 108. $r\text{-}\acute{s} q\text{-}d\text{-}\acute{s}$ | 1. $r\text{-}\langle i \rangle\text{-}\acute{s} q\text{-}d\text{-}\acute{s}$ |
| 109. $y\text{-}n\text{-}\underline{d}\text{-}t$ | 2. $y\text{-}[n]\text{-}\underline{d}\text{-}t$ |
| 110. $^c n\text{-}n\text{-}g\text{-}r$ | 3. $[^c n\text{-}n]\text{-}g\text{-}r$ |

-
111. $r\text{-}w\text{-}\dot{i}\text{-}r$
 112. $b\text{-}r$
 113. $q\text{-}m\text{-}q$
 114. $q\text{-}b\text{-}r\text{-}^c$
 115. $y\text{-}h$
 116. $t\text{-}\langle w \rangle\text{-}r$
 117. $\acute{s}\text{-}n\text{-}n\text{-}r$
 118. $m\text{-}n\text{-}d\text{-}r$
 119. $\underline{d}\text{-}b\text{-}b$
 120. $\dot{i}\text{-}m\text{-}t$
 121. $\underline{d}\text{-}\langle w \rangle\text{-}r$
 122. $k\text{-}r\text{-}n$
 123–125. “African”

INITIAL PREMISES

The lists contain two long series Ramesses III’s entries (111–122) and Ramesses II (34–50) of roughly the same number of names—15 and 17 respectively allowing for damaged text. Despite the very damaged character of the Ramesses II version¹⁴⁶ it is clear that it bears no resemblance to the Ramesses III cluster or any other toponym list, as far as we can see. One must assume that the two sections were composed for each pharaoh. The Ramesses III version contains a number of interest-

¹⁴⁶ Simons 1937: 157–159.

ing names which require much further investigation. To identify *i-m-t* (120) with Syrian Hamath and *ḏ-<w>-r* (121) with Phoenician Tyre is tempting. But there is always the problem of homonyms, particularly in the case of Hamath. Seti's Beth-Shean stela shows that the ruler of a much closer Hamath was powerful enough to have taken Beth-Shean: it evidently lay south of the latter in the Jordan valley.¹⁴⁷ Discussion of this section (111–125), not paralleled in the Ramesses II version, is beyond the aims of the present paper.

Both Kitchen and Kahn have stressed that the first 69 names in Ramesses III's Great Asiatic list are a unique composition, not known from the extant lists of any earlier pharaoh. Excluding the remote possibility that it was copied from a missing list of Thutmose I or III, it would seem that the list comprises places that Ramesses III claimed to have conquered or controlled. The inclusion in the list of Carchemish, centre of a cadet branch ("Great Kings") of the Hittites is consistent with the change in attitude towards the latter clear from the "Blessing of Ptah" and the depiction of a "chief of Hatti" as a prisoner (see above). Yet any idea that Ramesses III *actually* seized or conquered the 69 cities in hostile territory so far from Egypt is vanishingly unlikely. No one would countenance the idea that Thutmose III attacked the 350 cities given in his Great List.¹⁴⁸ The Pharaoh himself clearly explained. The king of Qadesh and numerous allies were holed up in Megiddo and before its surrender Thutmose proclaimed to his officers during the siege that: "...the capture of Megiddo is the capture of a thousand towns!"¹⁴⁹ Significantly Qadesh appears first in the Great List. It seems very likely that many of the minor place-names in the early part of Ramesses III's Great List were from records of a local regional power such as Alalakh or even Carchemish. Still, that there were some struggles in northern Syria is strongly suggested by a combination of the evidence.

¹⁴⁷ *ANET*, 253 and n. 5; Murnane 1990.

¹⁴⁸ Simons 1937: 109–122.

¹⁴⁹ Trans. Lichtheim 1976: 33.

Agreement regarding the originality of the composition of 1–69 certainly does not lead to acceptance of Kahn’s speculation that these toponyms reflect Ramesses III’s wars against the Philistines and that they first settled in the Amuq region in northern Syria before moving to southern Palestine. The case depends largely on a *single tentative* reading of the spelling “Palistin” rather than “Walastin” on an inscription of king Taita from Aleppo.¹⁵⁰ Hawkins himself concentrates on the locally made Mycenaean-style pottery as evidence for a new dynasty under king Taita, centred at Tell Tayinat. With his usual candour he added this caveat, when turning to the possible connection between the ethonym Philistines “and the kingdom of Palistin/Walastin... concluding that it is not implausible. In a sense, however, the plausibility or otherwise of the suggestion is of no great significance.”¹⁵¹ Singer was directly critical: “Although there is almost nothing intrinsically impossible in history, Kahn’s recent historical reconstruction of an Egyptian intervention in Taita’s land of Palastin is implausible.”¹⁵² For a further appeal for caution in this matter see Adams and Cohen.¹⁵³ Kahn supports his case by reference to the large amounts of apparent Mycenaean IIC-style pottery in the Amuq region.¹⁵⁴ Yet as Adams and Cohen stress: “...this ceramic tradition with local variation is a feature of most coastal regions of the Levant and Cyprus in the early Iron Age where it is variously identified with whatever “Sea People” group is geographically preferred by any given author.” But for the moment Kahn has yet to offer an explanation for the million-dollar question: why, how and *when* could the Philistines have moved from Amuq to southern Palestine to create the small kingdoms of their traditional pentapolis?

¹⁵⁰ Hawkins 2009: 171; 2011.

¹⁵¹ Hawkins 2011: 52.

¹⁵² Singer (2017: 628) adds: “...the equations between Egyptian and Alalahian suggested by Kahn (2011) are much too precarious and problematic...” Redford (2018: 120) is lukewarm, noting that Taita’s “Land of Palastin” need be nothing more than a geographical location wherein some remnants of the Peleset sought refuge *en route* to the fray, or after the abortive attempt on the Delta...”

¹⁵³ Adams and Cohen 2013: 662–663, n. 19.

¹⁵⁴ Kahn 2011; 2015; 2016; followed by Ben-Tor 2017: 164–165.

Further discussion of the opening section of Ramesses III XXVII (1–69) will have to be saved for elsewhere.¹⁵⁵

ANALYSIS OF TOPONYMS 70–110 FROM RAMESSES III'S "GREAT ASIATIC LIST"

While the tendency of 19th century scholars such as Sayce was to locate group 70–75 in Palestine, current trends now attempt to place them in Syria and Lebanon.¹⁵⁶ Likewise Kitchen who, after his “conversion on the road to Amurru” (as it were), completely changed his mind about Ramesses III not having campaigned further north than Edom. While this is an encouraging development one feels that a new bandwagon has been jumped on, moving clusters of places to the far north. As we shall see many of them have not only a southern “Canaanite” feel to them but an Israelite or Judahite one.

70. *h-r-n-m*

Kitchen (2008, 74) reads as “Harnam.” As well as beginning a cluster here it also appears at the head of a new section in the Blessing of Ptah list (XXIX:8, see above).¹⁵⁷ Though not known from other toponym lists it would seem to be of some importance. Still, it has long been noted¹⁵⁸ that *Hrnm* occurs in the satirical Papyrus Anastasi I, 22, 4,¹⁵⁹ where the scribe under criticism is told: “Thou has not gone to the land of Takhshi, Kur-mereren, Timnat, Qadesh, Deper, Azai or Harnaim.”¹⁶⁰ Some of these locations are definitely Syrian (Takhshi and Deper), and probably Qadesh (though there was more than one place of that name).

¹⁵⁵ James in prep.

¹⁵⁶ E.g. Kahn (2011; 2015; 2016; forthcoming) and Ben-Dor Evian (2015; 2016).

¹⁵⁷ Note needs to be made of the highly eccentric reading of Kitchen (1999: 160) which takes no. 8 in the Ptah list as “Naharin,” i.e. Mitanni in the far north! To the best of my knowledge no other scholar has accepted this reading which, from the Chicago copies (*MH* II, Plate 101; see also Edgerton and Wilson 1936: 109) is clearly *hrnm*.

¹⁵⁸ Sayce 1892: 31, 38; Edgerton and Wilson 1936: 109; Jirku 1937: 45.

¹⁵⁹ Gardiner 1911: 24*.

¹⁶⁰ Trans. Wilson 1969: 477.

Hence the majority of scholars have assumed that this is the Harnem or Harmel on the route to Qadesh,¹⁶¹ known notably from the war records of Ramesses II (*Irnem/Aronama* in the reading of Gardiner).¹⁶² However, the location of other named sites is unknown and there is, of course a southern Timnat (the Timna valley in the southwestern Arabah). The rhetorical and tricky nature of the text, which seems to jump deliberately from region to region in challenging the knowledge of its addressee, makes it difficult to locate this *hrnm*.¹⁶³ Immediately after the mention of *hrnm* the scribe is accused of being unaware of Kirjath-anab and Beth-Sepher which, despite some complications, Gardiner had “little doubt” about their location in the hill-country of Judah.¹⁶⁴ There is then a fair case for considering a southern location for the *hrnm* in Papyrus Anastasi I.

Both Cook and Dussaud offered an interesting reading (close to that of Wilson’s)¹⁶⁵ for the Papyrus Anastasi reference: “Horonaim,” the ending of which suggests a dual case. There was a Horonaim in Moab as known from Jeremiah (48:3, 48:5, 48:34) and Isaiah (15:5): they both refer to “the road to Horonaim,” showing that it was on a strategic route, while it is also known from the famous inscription of king Mesha.¹⁶⁶

Regarding the Horonaim in the letter of the satirical scribe, Dussaud suggested an identification with the two Beth Horons, Upper and Lower.¹⁶⁷ This use of Horonaim seems to be attested in an important Septuagint variation to the Massoretic text in the account of the flight

¹⁶¹ See e.g. Kahn 2010: 16.

¹⁶² Gardiner 1960: 8 and 17, P61.

¹⁶³ Gardiner (1911: 24*, n. 4) felt that the *t-m-n-t* here was surely not the Timnath of Judah, “for while of the seven names given here four are unknown, the other three are N. of Damascus.” Still, Gardiner noted that the places “appear to range from the North of Syria to the extreme South of Palestine.”

¹⁶⁴ Gardiner 1911, 24*, n. 7.

¹⁶⁵ Cook 1931: 326 and Dussaud 1928: 74.

¹⁶⁶ See Dearman 1989: 188–199 and Lipiński 2006: 348–351 for the possible locations of Moabite Horonaim. For a guesstimate see Aharoni 1979, 338, Map 26.

¹⁶⁷ “H-r-n-m est, selon nous, à lire Horonaim (voir Syria, 1927, p. 258); il ne s’agit pas de la ville de ce nom en Moab, mais plutôt de Bet-Ḥoron divisée en deux sites dont l’ensemble a pu aussi être dénommé Ḥoronaim.”

of Absalom (2 Samuel 13:34): “And the watchman came and told the king, and said, I have seen men coming from the way of Oronen, by the side of the hill.” Because of the geographical setting (involving a report from Jerusalem) this *Oronen* is often understood as a dual form, *Horonaim—for the two Beth Horons and accordingly restored in the text.¹⁶⁸ The dual form may be reflected again in the Ὠρωὶν of Septuagint Joshua 10.10–11.

71. *r-b-n-t*

Not known from earlier lists but obviously a *Lebonath/Libnath. See Kitchen: “Rabnat is phonetically comparable with (*e.g.*) Hebrew/W. Semitic Libnah, and cf. the ‘Shasu-land’ R/Laban, the Amarah West lists...”¹⁶⁹ Possibly Libnah (Shephelah) or Lebonah (northern kingdom). Aharoni noted the Libnath mentioned in Joshua 19:26–27 in the boundary description of Asher: “which reacheth to Carmel westward, and to Shihor-libnath; and it turneth toward the sunrising to Beth-dagon...” He added that the *r-b-n-t* of Ramesses III could well be this Libnath, there mentioned alongside a Beth-Dagon.¹⁷⁰ The Septuagint (followed by Eusebius and Jerome) treats Shihor and Libnath (Labanath) as separate places. Aharoni suggested that the biblical Libnath may have been the important trading centre of Tell Abu Hawam.¹⁷¹ However, there were other Beth-Dagons. One is mentioned by Sennacherib as a city belonging to the kingdom of Ashkelon and thought to lie s.e. of Joppa.¹⁷² Significantly, Joshua 15:41 places another Beth Dagon in the south, only three entries before Libnah. Joshua 15:37–44 groups it with Lachish and Migdal-gad: “Zenan, Hadashah, Migdal-gad, Dilean, Mizpeh, Joktheel, Lachish, Bozkath, Eglon, Cabbon, Lahmam, Chitlish, Gederoth, Beth-dagon, Naamah, and Makkedah: sixteen cities

¹⁶⁸ See *e.g.* Gordon 1986: 265. It is fair to note that Simons (1959: §776) was sceptical of these emendations.

¹⁶⁹ Kitchen 1999: 160.

¹⁷⁰ Aharoni 1979: 258, 283, n. 194.

¹⁷¹ Aharoni 1979: 258.

¹⁷² See conveniently Aharoni 1979: 389–390, *Map 32*.

with their villages. Libnah, Ether, Ashan, Iphtah, Ashnah, Nezib, Keilah, Achzib, and Mareshah: nine cities with their villages.” Since a Beth-dagon and a Libnah are included together here in city lists of the Shephelah,¹⁷³ these would be logical locations for these toponyms, especially if we have correctly identified the surrounding entries, with the preceding as the two Beth-horons. NB, Joshua 10:28 places the Israelite capture of Libnah just after the battle at Beth-horon and the capture of Makkedah.

72. *b-y-t d-q-n*

Not known from any other Egyptian toponym lists, including that of Ramesses II, but obviously a Beth Dagon (“house”/“temple” of Dagon): “...as all commentators have recognised.”¹⁷⁴ From the southern context preferred here, this could either be the one mentioned by Sennacherib south of Ashkelon or the one mentioned in Joshua as near Libnah (see entry 71 above).

73. *q-r-b-q*

Presently unintelligible.

74. *k-r-m-y-m*

Simons compares to Thutmose III, List I:96, *krmn*. Jirku read as *krmm*.¹⁷⁵ The name is generally read as “Carmel” (with Egyptian *n* for *l*) but this was a common toponym. Thutmose I:49 *krymn* is likely to be near the Mount Carmel headland as the previous entries are Acco (I:47) and Rosh-Qadesh, “the Holy Head” (I:48).¹⁷⁶ As for Thutmose I:96, this must have been in a different location from I:49. Petrie argued from his

¹⁷³ See Simons 1959: §318.

¹⁷⁴ Edgerton and Wilson 1936: 109; cf. Kitchen 2008: 74.

¹⁷⁵ Simons 1937: 118; Jirku 1937: 45.

¹⁷⁶ Simons 1937: 117. See Aharoni 1979: 66, 149; Ahituv 1984: 124.

understanding of the context that it should be identified with the Arab village of Kurmul 7 m south of Hebron.¹⁷⁷ Carmel is listed shortly after Hebron in Joshua 15:55 as an attendant village.¹⁷⁸

75. *š-b-d-n*

Simons: “Not improbably = *š-b-t-n* [Thutmose III] I:73, a, c).”¹⁷⁹ Otherwise no similar names are known from toponym lists. Breasted assumed that this is the same as the Shabtuna on the Orontes,¹⁸⁰ just south of Qadesh in Syria.¹⁸¹ However, it should be noted that the orthography is different (*d* instead of *t*) and that the general context here does not favour a Syrian location. (*i.e.* no confirmed Syrian toponyms in preceding or succeeding entries). Even if this is the same as Thutmose III List I:73 it is not clear that the latter is Shabtuna in Syria as assumed by Aharoni and others). On his map of Thutmose III’s campaigns, Aharoni cautiously includes a question mark next to his location of a Shabtuna south of Qadesh.¹⁸² His caution may have derived from the fact that it does not appear in a clearly Syrian context in the list. Indeed, the last identifiable preceding entry is 70, which Aharoni located at Jett in Sharon.¹⁸³ Petrie offered a southern alternative for the *š-b-t-n* of Thutmose III, *i.e.* Shebtin, 9 miles east of Ludd.¹⁸⁴ We thus arrive at a plausible set of identifications, all in southern Palestine, with a rough north to south order.

¹⁷⁷ Petrie 1896: 329.

¹⁷⁸ Also, Samuel 25: 2, ff. The importance of this Carmel in the 10th century BC is shown by the story of David and his future wife Abigail; she was the widow of Nabal, clearly a rich landowner based at Carmel, where he was said to have kept a thousand goats and three thousand sheep for shearing. For its location see Simons 1959: 149 and Aharoni 1979: 288, Map 20.

¹⁷⁹ Simons 1937: 168.

¹⁸⁰ *ARE* IV: 131.

¹⁸¹ Gardiner 1960: 59.

¹⁸² Aharoni 1979: 155, Map 9.

¹⁸³ Aharoni 1979: 161.

¹⁸⁴ Petrie 1896: 327 and 324, Fig. 163.

To continue with the next sections of Ramesses III's list, which are paralleled in that of Ramesses II:

76. *m-š-k-t-(š?)-n-r*

Very hard to interpret—as Simons noted “All signs extremely crowded in this name-ring and some slightly damaged.”¹⁸⁵ Undeterred, Kitchen offers a completely manufactured place-name “Mashkat-Senir” which he locates near Kefr Meshke at the west foot of the Hermus range.¹⁸⁶

77. *h-b-r*

While *h-b-r* is missing in the Ramesses II version, it is reasonably assumed that it should be restored in space No. 26. True to style, for this Kitchen suggests an unlocated and totally unattested place-name “Khibur.”¹⁸⁷ From the context (see above and below) it should seem obvious that Hebron is meant. Surprisingly such an identification has been ignored in recent years—though it was obvious to an earlier generation of scholars such as Sayce, who described it as “long since been recognised.”¹⁸⁸ Krahmalkov remarked that “...the name Hebron is spelled without final -n in the Egyptian according to a common convention in the transliteration of Semitic place-names in Egyptian.”¹⁸⁹ The possibility that such a historic centre should be mentioned somewhere in Egyptian documents is hardly surprising.

78. *ynmw*

For this toponym there is some controlling evidence. A similarly spelt place-name heads a short toponym list of Seti I.¹⁹⁰ The name recalls the

¹⁸⁵ Simons 1937: 168.

¹⁸⁶ Kitchen 1999: 70; cf. Ahituv 1984: 139.

¹⁸⁷ Kitchen 1999: 70, 160.

¹⁸⁸ Sayce 1892: 39.

¹⁸⁹ Krahmalkov 1994: 62, n. 15.

¹⁹⁰ Simons 1937: 146, XVIa/1.

well-known Yenoam, but the orthography is different. Jirku restored it as *yn(')m*,¹⁹¹ though Edgerton and Wilson were less sure.¹⁹² Kitchen rejects the identification as he believes this part of the list should be located in the Lebanon region: hence “Yeno‘am of Galilee would seem out of place here.”¹⁹³ A stronger objection remains the spelling. Noth preferred not to restore the ayin, reading it as “Yanum” and identifying it with modern Yunim, 10 km northeast of Baalbek; while Kuschke took it as modern Yammuneh, 20 km northwest of Baalbek.¹⁹⁴ A better match for *ynmw* which requires no amendment was suggested by Krahmalkov—Janim or Janum (Josh. 15: 53), a city in the hill-country of Judah, near Tappuah (west of Hebron).¹⁹⁵

79. *drbn*

Simons notes that Daressy and Müller read the last group as *tw*;¹⁹⁶ likewise Jirku gives *Drbnt*,¹⁹⁷ which might suggest a possible corruption of Daberath (a place-name in Issachar). However, Edgerton and Wilson note “Final sign 3, not *tw*,” leaving *drbn* as the most likely reading.¹⁹⁸ Kitchen reads “Durbana,” citing Helck’s suggestion of Tarbul in the Beqa‘, 35 km north of Kefr Meshke.¹⁹⁹ Krahmalkov argued that the name “could be a simple misspelling of Dibon, a city in Judah mentioned with Hebron in Nehemiah 11:25. Spelling errors of this kind (a false *r*) are common in the Medinet Habu topographical list of Rameses III.”²⁰⁰ Alternatively, might this not be a defective spelling of Debir, a major city of southern Judah? In Joshua 15:48 Debir occurs in the group immediately to the west of Hebron.

¹⁹¹ Jirku 1937: 45.

¹⁹² Simons 1937: 146, XVIa/1; Edgerton and Wilson 1936: 109–110.

¹⁹³ Kitchen 1999: 70

¹⁹⁴ References in Kitchen 1999: 70.

¹⁹⁵ Krahmalkov 1994: 61

¹⁹⁶ Simons 1937: 168.

¹⁹⁷ Jirku 1937: 45.

¹⁹⁸ Edgerton and Wilson 1936: 110.

¹⁹⁹ Kitchen 1999: 70.

²⁰⁰ Krahmalkov 1994: 62, n. 15

80. *i-p-q*

Obviously an Apheq as all agree. Kitchen cites Noth in identifying it with “the ‘obvious’ Apheq, at Afqa close to the sources of the Nahr Ibrahim, at the springs of Adonis...”²⁰¹ There is nothing “obvious” in the matter when there are good candidates much further south. In the time of Samuel (1 Sam. 4:1; 1 Sam. 29:1) Apheq NW of Jerusalem in the northern Sharon was evidently a Philistine stronghold. However, as suggested long ago by Sayce this could be the Judahite Apheq(ah) (Joshua 15:53), described as being near Hebron.²⁰² Given that this site belongs to an apparent “Hebronite” cluster (see above), this Apheq(ah) is preferred.

81. *i-b-h-y*

Kitchen reads as “Abkhiya,” with no comment on location.²⁰³ At present this name seems impenetrable.

82. *m-k-t-r*

Reading uncertain as the spelling is actually *mktr* rather than *mktr* as often transcribed. Hence Kitchen reads as an unidentifiable “Maks/zir.” Strictly speaking he is correct, though of course the possibility remains that the Egyptian artists made a slip. The name has been read by all other scholars as a variant spelling of *mktr* and hence simply “Migdol” or “Migdāl,” the common West Semitic term for a fortress.²⁰⁴ In this context “Migdol” could have been Migdal-gad of Judah (Joshua 15:37), as suggested by Sayce,²⁰⁵ or (less likely) the Migdal-Eder near Bethlehem (Genesis 35:21).

²⁰¹ Kitchen 1999: 70; cf. Ahituv 1984: 62.

²⁰² Sayce 1892: 39; 1912, 206.

²⁰³ Kitchen 1999: 70

²⁰⁴ Simons 1937: 168; Jirku 1937: 45; Edgerton and Wilson 1936: 110; Seguin 2007: 42; Burke 2007: 33, 35.

²⁰⁵ Sayce 1892: 39.

83. *q-r-t-k*

Here the Ramesses III version *q-r-t-k* is a puzzle, not solved by Kitchens's random (and unknown) "Qurzik(k)a."²⁰⁶ If we follow the Ramesses II spelling [*q-r*]-*t*, then a much simpler reading, "Kerioth/Keriath" is more intelligible. There was a Keriath-Hezron in the far south of the territory of Judah (Joshua 15:25) but a more likely candidate may be Keriath-jearim to the west of Jerusalem in the Shephelah. Joshua 15:25 states that it was also known as Keriath-Baal, 1 Chron. 13:6 as Baalah. It was evidently an important site, presumably once the centre of a cult of Baal, and the place where the Ark of the Covenant resided for a while until King David moved it to Jerusalem (2 Sam. 6: 2–4).²⁰⁷

So far, the results of the northern school of thought (as exemplified in Kitchen's analysis) with regard to the above place-names are far from impressive. Not a *single* one relies on an ancient place-name. For four (77, 81, 82, 83) there are no reasonable identifications suggested at all, while such associations of *m-š-k-t-(š?)-n-r* (76) with Syrian Kefr Meshke are a long shot to say the least. In most cases Kitchen's readings seem to have been made hastily—though hardly surprising given the more than herculean task of transcribing, translating, editing and adding commentary to the vast corpus of Ramesside texts. It is not meant as a criticism of Kitchen's extraordinary feat to challenge some of his identifications. Does a "southernist" approach here make better sense of the above two clusters? Names like "Apheq," "Migdol" and "Kerioth," especially when they occur together, and in the company of a probable "Hebron" (*h-b-r*) are redolent of southern Palestine, indeed the area of the tribe of Judah. As Krahmalkov remarked, the grouping of *h-b-r* (77), *ynmw* (78) and *ipq* (80) forms a striking parallel to the grouping of a Janim and Apheqah with Hebron in Joshua 15:52–54, describing one of the regions allotted the tribe of Judah: "Arab, Dumah, Eshan, Janim, Beth-tappuah, Apheqah, Humtah, Kiriath-arba (that is,

²⁰⁶ Kitchen 1999:70.

²⁰⁷ Aharoni 1979, 249, Map 18. Miller and Hayes 1986: 127 and 131, Map 12.

Hebron), and Zior: nine cities with their villages.” The grouping, based on an ancient source, provides a context completely missing from the northernist school which is largely based on modern Arab place-names.²⁰⁸

To summarise the identifications suggested above:

<u>Rameses III, XXVII</u>	<u>Suggested Location</u>
70. <i>h-r-n-m</i>	*Horonaim, the two Beth Horons
71. <i>r-b-n-t</i>	Libnah
72. <i>b-y-t d-q-n</i>	Beth Dagon
73. <i>q-r-b-q</i>	unknown
74. <i>k-r-m-y-m</i>	Carmel in Judah
75. <i>š-b-d-n</i>	Shebtin in Judah
76. <i>m-š-k-t-(š?)-n-r</i>	unknown
77. <i>ḥ-b-r</i>	Hebron
78. <i>ynmw</i>	Janim
79. <i>drbn</i>	Debir
80. <i>ìpq</i>	Apheqah
81. <i>ì-b-h-y</i>	unknown
82. <i>mktr</i>	Migdol-gad

The many plausible matches strongly support a “southern” school of interpretation for this part of the list. To continue with this line of investigation, we continue with the next two clusters in Rameses III’s Great List.

84. *q-t-m-n*

In the Rameses II version (20) this is given as *q-r-m-n*, but the Rameses III *q-t-m-n* may be more accurate. The “Song of Deborah”

²⁰⁸ Krahmalkov 1994: 61. It might be objected that the case is weighted against in favour of the southern locations as there is nothing like the rich biblical onomasticon of place-names in the north. However, the Old Testament does, after all, mention many places in the Lebanon and Syria, while the rich onomastica from Ugarit, Alalakh and Emar surely balance the picture.

(Judges 5:21) refers to: “That ancient river, the river Qishon.” Following the Hebrew text more literally (as does Krahmalkov), one can read “The River Qishon is the River Qedumim (קְדוּמִים)” *i.e.* “the ancient river” with Qedumim as a second name for the river. Krahmalkov argues that the biblical text here needs correction: “...the Hebrew Qedumin has d for the original r, a very common spelling error...”²⁰⁹ It sits uncomfortably to correct the biblical text by use of an uncertain Egyptian toponym. If we use the Ramesses III version, then *q-t-m-n* could = biblical Qedumin without problem (*d* and *t* are common equivalents in Egyptian and Asiatic texts). Alternatively, and to follow the Ramesses II spelling *q-r-m-n*, this could be a place in the vicinity of Mt Carmel²¹⁰ If the following entry does concern the river Qishon this would fit well as the river debouches into the sea near Mt Carmel.²¹¹

85. [q]-ś-t-b-r-n

Kitchen transcribed the Ramesses III version as “<Q>aw<s>{h}i<r>-Y’a {ti} bur,”²¹² which seems unintelligible. It is agreed that the Ramesses II version no. **21** is less corrupt. Edgerton and Wilson read this as *q-ś-r-Y-b-n*, with Kitchen in agreement rationalising this as “Qasir-Yubana.”²¹³ As the Egyptian use of *r* for *n* in Asiatic place-names is well known, the first element could well be read as Qishon, a town to the northwest of the nearby homonymous (**84** above) river. It was reckoned as a “Levitical” city with “its suburbs” in the tribal area of Issachar (Joshua 19:21).²¹⁴ Regarding the second element,

²⁰⁹ Krahmalkov 1994: 79.

²¹⁰ Aḥituv 1984: 124.

²¹¹ In his study of Deborah’s wars, focussing on the differences between the prose and poetical versions, Gass (2017: esp. 328–331) discusses the biblical references to the Wadi Qishon, usually identified with the *Nahr el-Muqaṭṭa*’ which drains the Jezreel valley westwards into the Mediterranean. Gass postulates a second Qishon in the eastern Jezreel.

²¹² Kitchen 2008: 74.

²¹³ Edgerton and Wilson 1936: 110; Kitchen 1999: 70.

²¹⁴ Simons 1959: 185; Aharoni 1979: 303, Maps 9, 22, 23.

Krahmalkov suggested “Qishon of Jabin.”²¹⁵ Judges 4–5 relates in some detail the nearby defeat by Deborah and the Israelites of Sisera the general of Jabin, “king of Canaan.” Krahmalkov argued that Qishon was where the latter assembled his troops, explaining how the town was named after him. But it seems fairly clear that the Qishon involved was the river, while Jabin’s capital is specified as Hazor.

Perhaps a simpler reading might be arrived at. The alleged massacre of Jabin’s troops at the river is mentioned so many times in the Old Testament (Judges 4:7; 4:13; 5:21; 1 Sam. 12:9; Psalms 83:9) that it became iconic. The last reference calls for damnation on Israel’s enemies (“Sisera, as to Jabin, at the brook of Qishon”) includes “Assur” illustrates a late date for the composition. (See also 1 Kings 18:40 where the site of Elijah’s slaughter of the prophets of Baal is emphasised as being the Qishon.) The idea that Qishon should be named by tradition after a powerful king who was defeated there is not out of court. Though similar examples are rare, the name of the British general, Lord Cornwallis, whose career in the American War of Independence went from victories to eventual defeat (in 1781), was adopted by a surprising number of places in the present USA.²¹⁶

Some names in Egyptian toponyms can be read jointly. If we read toponym **84** as “the ancient” together with **85** we would have the “ancient [river] of Jabin.” In other words, “our old river where Jabin’s army was drowned.” This is highly speculative so I naturally welcome better readings of these difficult entries.

²¹⁵ Krahmalkov 1994: 61. Without reference to Krahmalkov, Tobola (2013) agrees with the reading “Jabin” here. Tobola’s poorly referenced article goes far beyond this with some completely fanciful readings, arguing that the difference between the Ramesses II and Ramesses III versions reflects a change in the toponym from a meaning of “war-band” of Jabin to “war-band of Deborah”! As well as requiring much restoration to the Ramesses III version of this name, Tobola’s model requires too much reliance on a chronological framework based on the notoriously difficult Judges period. Admittedly I have experimented here with the name Jabin as a component of this entry, with the caveat that this remains highly speculative.

²¹⁶ Martin 2007.

86. š-m-š-n

It is fascinating to see the name of the great Hebrew hero (actually Danite) Samson in an Egyptian text, albeit within a toponym. His legendary escapades make him comparable to the English Robin Hood, while his name is derived from that of the West Semitic Sun-god Shemesh. Hence presumably a place named after the god or the hero. Kitchen reads “Shamshana,” but in terms of location offered little, except reference to Helck’s suggestion “Bshemshin, 13 km/8 miles ENE of el-Batrun.”²¹⁷ Again, the new “northernist” approach here relies on random choices of place-name in Lebanon/northern Syria. Sayce suggested Ir-Shemesh (Joshua 19:41) which he understood as “the city of the Sun-god.”²¹⁸ This lay within the lands allotted to the tribe of Dan.²¹⁹ Otherwise, there were also at least two towns named Beth-Shemesh within Israel. Within Solomon’s listing of twelve regional officers, a Beth-Shemesh is listed as under the control of one Ben-Deker (1 Kings 4:9). It was apparently in Danite territory, close to both the borders of Judah and Philistia. It may well be the same as the above mentioned Ir-Shemesh. There were sites with same name further north but still within the bounds of Israel. A Beth-Shemesh is listed together with Beth-Anath as a town claimed by the tribe of Naphtali (Judges 1:33; Joshua 19:38). The biblical evidence is confusing, as the tribe of Issachar also laid claim to a Beth-Shemesh (Josh. 19:22) which was not too far away—in the area of the Jezreel valley. Aharoni locates it near Qishon.²²⁰ For the location in Issachar, Khirbet Shemsin, south of Lake Tiberias has been suggested.²²¹ Despite the temptation of a location in Danite territory, a site in the Jezreel valley may be more plausible, given the context of the guesstimates made for the previous entries (**84** and **85**). Khirbet Shemsin would be a good candidate as it would preserve the *n* of the original.

²¹⁷ Kitchen 1999: 70; 2008: 74.

²¹⁸ Sayce 1912: 205.

²¹⁹ For references see Simons 1959: 200, 203.

²²⁰ Aharoni 1979: 308, Map 23.

²²¹ See Aḥituv 1984: 175–176; Tobola 2013: 9 and n. 21.

87. *ḥ-d-ś-t*

Krahmalkov suggested that the name is preserved in the Arabic Ayn al-Hadatha, located near Qishon,²²² though this fails to have any biblical or ancient confirmation. More accurately Kitchen reads “Hadasat/|Hadisat,” though following Helck he locates it in the northern Lebanon near Tripoli.²²³ Easily read as “new (town)” as in Qarthadast (Carthage). Could be also be Hadashah, a town in the lowland of Judah named between Zenan and Migdal-gad mentioned in Josh. 15:37—as suggested by Sayce.²²⁴ The best alternative is that it should be read as a “compound” entry together with **88**.

88. *ì-r-t̄*

The Ramesses II equivalent gives this as *i-t̄-r*. Unlikely to be Ether, a Judahite town near Libnah known from Joshua 15:42, as Egyptian *t̄* normally corresponds to West Semitic *s* or *z*. Hence Kitchen reads “Asir,” tentatively placing in the Tripoli region.²²⁵ Elsewhere he prefers the Ramesses II version “Aris (*for* Asir).”²²⁶ If the Ramesses III orthography is more correct, as Sayce argued it could reflect Hebrew *eretz* (land).²²⁷ Together with the previous entry (**87**) one could read “new land,” which could be anywhere.

²²² Krahmalkov 1994: 62.

²²³ Kitchen 2008: 74.

²²⁴ Sayce 1892: 39.

²²⁵ Kitchen 1999: 70.

²²⁶ Kitchen 2008: 74.

²²⁷ Sayce 1892: 39.

89. *q-ś-n-r-m*

More fully *q-w-ś-n-r-m*.²²⁸ One of the most controversial entries. Sayce²²⁹ rightly dismissed the readings of earlier scholars, which were made before sufficient clearing of the Medinet Habu had been made. With the help of Wilbour he read **89** and **90** in the Ramesses II version as *Qa-n-Salem*, meaning “district of Salem,” and “*Qal-p(a)a(na)*, with similar readings for the Ramesses III versions (see **Fig. 4** below).²³⁰ It seems equally possible to read the *n* before the *ś*,²³¹ which raises the intriguing possibility that this is a reference to Jerusalem. The readings apart, that **89** and **90** were in southern Canaan is suggested by the fact that in both the Ramesside versions the names appear in the same cluster as *i-r-d-n*, which despite Kitchen and others must surely be the Jordan. Kitchen reads as *Qausan-rom*,²³² which he describes as

²²⁸ Some scholars (e.g. Oded 1971: 47; Lipiński 2006: 364) have read the name of the Edomite god Qos in this and other Ramesside toponyms. The worship of Qos is well attested from Edomite royal names and ostraca of the 8th century BC onwards, but otherwise unknown earlier. Kelley (2009, 257, n. 8) provides handy lists of the relevant names from the lists of Ramesses II “*q-ś-r-a*, *q-(m?)-ś-p-t*, *q-ś-n-r-m*, *q-ś-r y-b-n*, and perhaps *q-t-i-ś-r* (lines 7, 11, 13, 21, 8)” and Ramesses III “[*q*]-*ś-t-b-r-n*, *q-ś-n-r-m*, *q-ś-[b?]-p-t*, *q-ś-r-a*, *q-ś-t-i-ś-r* (lines 85, 89, 100, 102, 103).” As references to Qos, Dearman (1995: 123) notes these as plausible but problematic. Indeed, they are. There are different readings in the two parallel lists for all the alleged “Qos” names (except for Ramesses II 7/Ramesses III 102). RII 11/RIII 100 is particularly difficult to read and the *q-ś* element occurs only in the Ramesses III version. For RII 8/RIII 103, while the reading of the first element as “Gath” has been ruled out, the second part may still be Asher (see below), which if it is the northern Israelite tribe (see 103 below) would make a Qos theophoric element unlikely. RII 21/RIII 85 can be reasonably read as beginning “Qishon” (see above) and appears to belong to a Jezreel Valley cluster, again making a Qos element unlikely. This leaves the *q-w-ś-n-r-m* in question. While it cannot be ruled out entirely that it begins with a Qos element, I prefer the reading offered here: it seems to belong to a pairing with the following entry 90, which also begins with “Qau” but lacks the *ś*. NB Bartlett, Kitchen and Aḥituv (nor for that matter, Simons and Edgerton and Wilson) have accepted any of these as names as reflecting the worship of Qos in the Late Bronze Age.

²²⁹ Sayce 1892: 19–20, 25.

²³⁰ Müller examined these names in 1904. With respect to the Ramesses II version, and despite his best efforts he remained uncertain about the reading of “strange names” such as *Qau-sa-na-ru-ma* (Müller 1906: 47).

²³¹ Pers. comm. Robert Morkot.

²³² Kitchen 2008: 74.

“obscure,” though he thinks the second element may be Semitic “high.”²³³ It is odd that Egyptologists have missed reading the first element as “hill” or “height”²³⁴ with *n* meaning “to” or “belonging to.”²³⁵ This would give us “the height of *s-r-m*” or “the height of Salem” if one follows the Wilbour/Sayce reading.

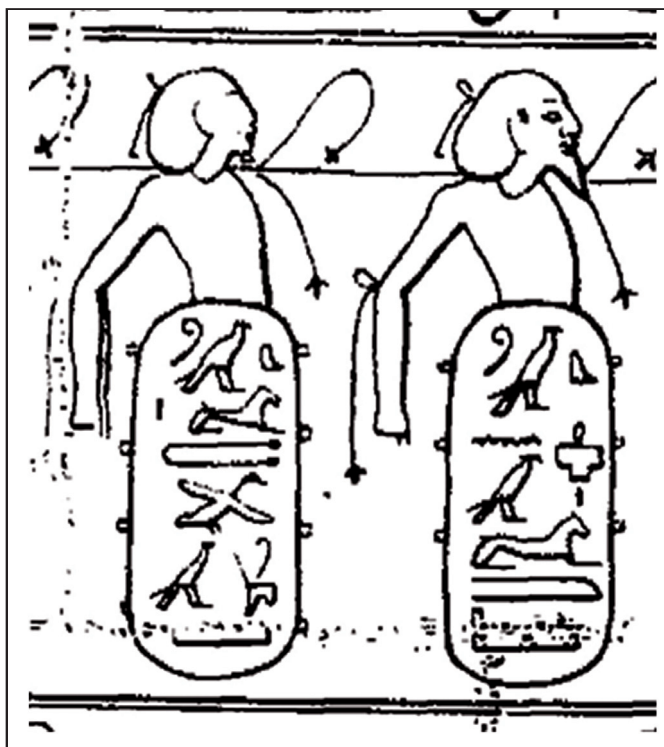


Fig. 4. Captives 89–90 (r to l) from Ramesses III’s “Great Asiatic List.” From *MH II*, Pl. 101. © University of Chicago Press 1930.

²³³ Kitchen 1999: 68.

²³⁴ See Gardiner 1957: 27, 489, 596, 615). The dictionaries compiled by other eminent philologists, ranging from early to modern, give many instances of *qau* (sometimes with acceptable, small variations in orthography) with the meaning “height” or “hill.” See Budge 1920: 760–762; Faulkner 1962: 275; Erman and Grapow 1971: 4; Hannig 2001: 847.

²³⁵ Gardiner 1957: 80, 88, 127.

90. *q-r-t-p-n*

More fully *q-w-r-t-p-n*. Kitchen reads as Qarutpana.²³⁶ The Ramesses II version lacks the third character *t* and is read by Kitchen as Qarupana, with the unlikely suggestion that it may reflect the Qalpanu in northern Syria known from the records of Assurnasirpal II.²³⁷ If the Ramesses III version is more correct orthographically we can read it as “the height of *t-p-n*,” with the *r* standing for *n* (common in Egyptian versions of Semitic names). The second element *t-p-n* could well be Şaphon, an excellent suggestion made by Peter van der Veen²³⁸ Şaphon was a common West Semitic name for mountains. One was located in Transjordan (Judges 12:1), also the name of a clan within the tribe of Gad (Numbers 26:15).²³⁹ Albright and Aharoni located it at Tell es-Sa‘ideyeh,²⁴⁰ though Zarethan has also been offered as a name for this site.²⁴¹ Whatever the case, Şaphon must have lain near Tell es-Sa‘ideyeh where there was a major bronze-smelting industry at the cusp of the LBA/IA, associated with Egyptianising objects. The excavators date these to the 20th Dynasty²⁴² though a late Ramesside date would be more cautious.

91. *i-r-d-n*

Obviously, the Jordan, as noted above. See above (esp. n. 109) for Kitchen’s denial that such references concern the Jordan.

²³⁶ Kitchen 2008: 74.

²³⁷ Kitchen 1999: 68.

²³⁸ Pers. comm. Peter van der Veen.

²³⁹ One cannot compare the alleged reference to Zaphon in the list of Shoshenq I, which has been discredited by Kitchen (1986: 299, n. 300): “As II:20 is totally lost, any identification with (as with Zaphon by Mazar and Aharoni) can only be purest guesswork.”

²⁴⁰ Albright 1924–1925: 45–47; Aharoni 1979: 443, 308, Map 23.

²⁴¹ See Tubb 1993: 1295. For a discussion of the complexities of site identification in this area of Jordan see Schaaf (2012: 144–147).

²⁴² Tubb 1993: 1299.

92. *h-r-t*

Kitchen reads as “Khilsa” in the Lebanon as per the other entries in this cluster²⁴³—not worth further scrutiny as they are all second-hand suggestions which fit Kitchen’s stubborn reluctance to accept that *i-r-d-n* (91) was the Jordan. The name may well reflect the common NW Semitic term *hrt*, meaning “camp” or “cultivated land.”²⁴⁴ King David was said to have gone to a forest called Hareth in Judah (apparently near Adullam) when he left Mizpah of Moab (1 Sam. 22:5). However, we appear from the next few entries to have crossed the river. Hence perhaps the important Moabite fortress of Kir-heres or Kir-Haraseth²⁴⁵ (Jeremiah 48:31; 2 Kings 3:25) is a good candidate. Once generally thought to be an alternative name for Kerak (see 99 below),²⁴⁶ Miller expressed some doubt,²⁴⁷ and the detailed of Jones study has demonstrated that this common identification is mistaken.²⁴⁸

93. *q-r-h*

As suggested by Sayce and Krahmalkov, easily Qarho²⁴⁹—either an alternative name for Dibon, a Moabite capital, or its citadel, as known from the Mesha inscription.²⁵⁰ This reassures us that this cluster has taken us across the Jordan.

²⁴³ Kitchen 1999: 69; 2008: 74.

²⁴⁴ For examples and discussion see Tebes 2017: esp. 74–75.

²⁴⁵ A suggestion also made by Krahmalkov (1994: 58). In one biblical reading this Heres was the site of a battle between Gideon and two Midianite kings (Judges 8:13).

²⁴⁶ See e.g. Aharoni 1979: 340, 348; Krahmalkov 1994: 58.

²⁴⁷ Miller 1989: 35–36.

²⁴⁸ Jones 1991; with Miller (1992: 85–86) in agreement.

²⁴⁹ Sayce 1892: 26; Krahmalkov 1994: 58.

²⁵⁰ Lipiński 2006: 333–337.

94. *w-r-w*

Sayce suggested the possibility of Ar, a Moabite city known from Numbers (21:15; 28).²⁵¹ Presumably realising that Egyptian *w* makes an unlikely match with Hebrew ayin, he suggested that Ar (meaning “city” in Hebrew) was also known by its Babylonian equivalent *uru*. It is difficult, however, to conceive such a route of transmission to the record of Ramesses III.

95-97. “African”

The next cluster is particularly difficult to interpret and seems to be rather eclectic—though the first two entries comfortably continue the Transjordanian entries above.

98. *i-k-ś*

The Ramesses II version (18) *i-k-t* seems more intelligible.²⁵³ Krahmalkov reasonably suggested (Tel) Iktanu in Transjordan.²⁵³

99. *k-r-k*

Easily Kerak in southern Moab.²⁵⁴

100. *q-ś-[b?]-p-t*

Ramesses II version (11) *q-(m)-ś-p-t*, which Kitchen reads as Qamsapuya and as “unknown.”²⁵⁵ Agreed.

²⁵¹ Sayce 1892: 33; 1912: 204.

²⁵² Edgerton and Wilson 1936: 110.

²⁵³ Krahmalkov 1994: 56, 58.

²⁵⁴ For its location and history see Bromily 1986: 41–42.

²⁵⁵ Kitchen 1999: 68.

101. *ì-t-r*

Krahmalkov (see above) posited an Athar from the “way of Atharim” (Numbers 21.1) in the Negev (see above). Joshua 15:42 refers to an Ether near Libnah, possibly the same as that referred to in Joshua 19:7, assigned to the southern tribe of Simeon.²⁵⁶

102. *q-ś-r-c*

Kitchen: “Qausara.”²⁵⁷ With regard to the identically spelt Ramesses II version (7) Kitchen remarked “no good suggestion has been made.”²⁵⁸ Agreed.

103. *q-s-t-ì-ś-r*

Kitchen: “Qaus- $\{sa>hi\}$ asir.”²⁵⁹ The Ramesses II version (8) *q-t-ì-ś-r* has raised problems as it has been read as “Gath-Asher” and identified with Jett in western Galilee.²⁶⁰ The alleged “Gath” element lacks the *n* usual in Egyptian spellings.²⁶¹ Accordingly, Kitchen reads it as “Qaws/z-Asir, noting that it “unlocated at present.”²⁶² Agreed. The *ì-ś-r* element remains interesting as it also occurs in a toponym list of Seti I²⁶³ and the “Letter of the Satirical Scribe.” It is commonly, though not universally, identified with the biblical tribe of Asher,²⁶⁴ who were situated close to Phoenicia I. I hope to address this question elsewhere.

²⁵⁶ See Aharoni 1979: 261, 353, 434.

²⁵⁷ Kitchen 2008: 74.

²⁵⁸ Kitchen 1999: 67.

²⁵⁹ Kitchen 1999: 74.

²⁶⁰ Aharoni 1979: 181, 193.

²⁶¹ See Aḥituv 1984: 157.

²⁶² Kitchen 1999: 67.

²⁶³ Simons 1937: 147.

²⁶⁴ Gardiner 1911: 25*, n. 12; e.g. Aharoni 1979, 183.

104. *y^c-{q} b-r*

Restorable from Ramesses II **9**, *y^c-q-b-r*. With characteristic awkwardness, the best Kitchen can offer is “Ya‘qubr/lu,” identifying it with an obscure place “Meqa Bera” (!) near Krak de Chevaliers in Syria.²⁶⁵ It has traditionally been read as Jacob-el.²⁶⁶ Beth-el (assigned to the tribe of Benjamin), where Jacob is said to have erected a pillar or altar (Genesis 28:19; 35:7) is a very likely candidate.

105. *r-h-d*

Kitchen reads as Ruhizzi, which at first glance would appear to be the Ruhizzi of the El Amarna letters which from context was certainly in southern Syria.²⁶⁷ However, Kitchen has pointed out orthographic problems in the identification with cuneiform Ruhizzi, concluding that there were two similar names: one “the real Ruhizzi” in the region of Syrian Qadesh and *r-h-d* “which remains unlocated geographically.”²⁶⁸ Luhith in southern Moab (Isaiah 15:5; Jeremiah 48:5) near the southern end of the Dead Sea is a tempting candidate but there may be a philological difficulty with the last radical, in that Egyptian *d* does not seem to have equivalents in Hebrew *tau*.

106. *s-i-b*

Ramesses II (**5**) *s-i-b-t*, which Kitchen notes appears as a city attacked by the Pharaoh in his war reliefs, in a series for which he notes that “most suggestions are pure guesswork.”²⁶⁹ It appears in the same scene as a town labelled “Ikata.” If the latter is the same as *i-k-t*, Ramesses II **18**, which appears to have been in Transjordan, then the same may

²⁶⁵ Kitchen 1999: 68.

²⁶⁶ Sayce 1892: 27, 40; Edgerton and Wilson 1936: 110 n.*; Ahituv 1984: 200; and Knohl 2017 for more recent bibliography.

²⁶⁷ Kitchen 2008: 74; El Amarna letters 53:36, 56 (Moran: 1992: 125).

²⁶⁸ Kitchen 1999: 67.

²⁶⁹ Kitchen 1999: 64.

apply to Sab'ita. The name of the Byzantine town of Shivta (Arabic A-Sbaita) in the Negev²⁷⁰ might possibly reflect *ś-ì-b-t*.

107. *k-t-(i)?*

Kitchen reads as Kazi'i or Kas'i, repeating a suggestion from Helck that this refers to Kezz near the Lake of Homs in Syria.²⁷¹ Sayce suggested Gaza.²⁷² Gath remains another possibility though it lacks the usual *n* known from other Egyptian references. Orthographically *k-t-(i)?* does not provide a good match to either Gaza or Gath²⁷³ It may be a defective spelling for either, or another place entirely.

108. *r-š q-d-š*

Kitchen: "Rosh-Qadesh,"²⁷⁴ *i.e.* "Holy-head(land)." The standard identification is with the promontory of Mount Carmel as it occurs in the major toponym list of Thutmose III (I:48) between Acco (I:47) and Carmel (I:49).²⁷⁵ (Re the latter and its difference from another Carmel, Thutmose III, I:96, see Ramesses III 74 above). Kitchen rightly raises a question over the usual location of Rosh-Qadesh, pointing out from the order of the Thutmose list that it "could in principle have been any prominent headland along the Mediterranean coast."²⁷⁶ As alternatives he suggests two sites further north: Ras an-Naqura between Acco and Tyre and Ras esh-Shaqqa some 7 km to the north of Phoenician Batruna.

²⁷⁰ Segal 1985; my thanks to Juan Manuel Tebes for drawing this possibility to my attention.

²⁷¹ Kitchen 2008: 74; 1999: 67.

²⁷² Sayce 1892: 27, 41.

²⁷³ For the standard Egyptian spellings see Aḥituv 1984: 95–98.

²⁷⁴ Kitchen 2008: 74.

²⁷⁵ See *e.g.* Sayce 1892: 26, 41; Aharoni 1979: 155, Map 9, 161; Aḥituv 1984: 162.

²⁷⁶ Kitchen 1999: 66–67.

109. *y-n-d-t*

Otherwise unknown. Kitchen reads as “Yanšata,” with the remark that it “has excited almost no suggestions for its identification,”²⁷⁷ except for the vague suggestion of Aḥituv “from context” that it may have been in the Beqa‘ valley which makes little sense, given he thinks that Rosh-Qadesh was Mount Carmel.²⁷⁸

110. *ḥ-n-n-g-r*

Kitchen: “Ayn-Nagar.”²⁷⁹ He notes the identification with modern ‘Ain ed-Djar/Andjarr in the Beqa‘ valley.²⁸⁰ Kitchen might have added that the element ‘Ain certainly means “spring” or “well,”²⁸¹ while the fact that Andjarr was noted for its abundance of water²⁸² adds strong support to this identification.

While the locations of this cluster are hard to discern, it is better preserved than the Ramesses II version and is used to restore the latter.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The aim of this study has been twofold. The first is to analyse in as much detail as possible a major section of Ramesses III’s “Great Asiatic List” to see what guidance it can provide regarding his claimed Levantine campaigns; the second to assess its contribution to the chronological understanding of Ramesses III. The conclusions offered for the two issues here can be judged separately.

With respect to attitudes towards Ramesses III’s Levantine campaigns, the extraordinary vicissitudes in the literature have been reviewed in some detail—ranging from early minimalist through (fair-

²⁷⁷ Kitchen 2008: 74.

²⁷⁸ Aḥituv 1984: 198.

²⁷⁹ Kitchen 2008: 74.

²⁸⁰ Kitchen 2008: 74; cf. Aḥituv 1984: 57.

²⁸¹ Hoch 1994: 59, 71–72.

²⁸² Dussaud 1927: §219.

ly moderate) maximalist approaches, to extreme minimalist and now back again to maximalist approaches. I hope to have shown that the extreme minimalist position (once favoured by Kitchen, Lesko and others) was palpably absurd. It is impossible to imagine how Ramesses III would have had any foreign domains to speak of if there were no military expeditions to the north. The domains ruled by the Egyptians needed periodic shows of force to ensure that tribute was collected. Fortunately, Kitchen and most other scholars have changed their minds and now approach a maximalist position.

Using the methodology pursued above, the “Great Asiatic List” 70–110 falls into six clusters which can be tentatively described as follows: a (largely) Shephelah group; a Hebron group; a Jezreel Valley group; a group on both sides of the River Jordan; further Transjordanian plus Negevite (?) names; and a Lebanese group. As the clusters are in a different order in Ramesses II’s version nothing should be drawn from this, except to say that the spread of toponyms includes southern Palestine as well as routes to the north (via the Beth Horon pass and the Jezreel Valley) which Ramesses III’s troops could have followed up with raids into Amurru and possibly further north.

Of particular interest is the first Ramesses III cluster 70–75. While there are similar names from the documents of earlier pharaohs this section is *particularly worthy of further attention as it appears to be an original composition*. Following the identifications offered here it appears to show an itinerary (in south to north order) of Shebtin (near Ludd), Carmel (southern Judah), Qrbq (?), Beth-Dagon (near Libnah), Libnah and the Beth Horons (Horonaim).

It would appear to reflect a route through the Shephelah region, up to the Beth Horon pass whence Egyptian armies, officials and traders could reach the Jezreel Valley and beyond. Such a route is predicated by the activities of Ramesses IV, evidently the last 20th dynasty ruler of Palestine beyond Gaza. As there is no firm evidence that he had direct control of Philistia or the Judaeian highlands, Ramesses IV must have had access to the Jezreel Valley—notably to Beth-Shean where he built or augmented a temple (see above). His records (though minimal) talk

of “rounding up Asiatics in their valleys,” presumably *en route* to Beth-Shean via a corridor through the Shephelah.²⁸³ The same would have surely applied to his more powerful and ambitious father Ramesses III. Cluster 70–75 would seem to list stage-points along the way.

Archaeology supports this identification of a “Shephelah corridor” for the armies of the early 20th Dynasty. First, from the evidence of Egyptian inscriptions and despite arguments to the contrary, it seems likely that Stratum VI at Lachish was destroyed by Ramesses III.²⁸⁴ Second, Faust has shown that settlement in the Shephelah underwent drastic decline at the LB-Iron I transition, with widespread destruction and abandonment²⁸⁵—an agreeable congruence between the literary (Ramesses III’s inscriptions) and archaeological records.

A separate, though related issue, are the repercussions of the geographical model proposed here for chronology. Some decades ago my colleagues and I argued, on a broad range of evidence from throughout the Near East, Eastern Mediterranean and North Africa, for a considerable lowering of the shaky chronology of the Egyptian “Third Intermediate Period.”²⁸⁶ Many other Egyptologists, such as Aidan Dodson²⁸⁷ have since made small revisions (and lowerings) to TIP chronology. The literature on this revision is extensive.²⁸⁸

The shortened TIP we proposed led to two surprising conclusions concerning links between Egyptian and biblical history. One was the lowering of Shoshenq I to the second half of the 9th century BC, an idea supported by specialists in fields other than Egyptology.²⁸⁹ This

²⁸³ van der Veen and James 2015.

²⁸⁴ James and Kokkinos, in prep; Bimson 2015b: 111–112; cf. Zwickel 2012: 597–598.

²⁸⁵ Faust 2013. For more detail see Bimson 2015b: 109–111.

²⁸⁶ James *et al.* 1987; 1991a; 1991b; 1992, 127.

²⁸⁷ Dodson 2012. See James 2017 for a bibliography of Dodson’s experiments with shortening TIP chronology.

²⁸⁸ For a brief summary and a new “dead reckoning” backwards from the well established date of 690 BC (the accession of the 25th dynasty Taharqo and the *earliest certain date in Egyptian history*) to the start of the 22nd Dynasty see Morkot and James 2015. See also Morkot and James 2009.

²⁸⁹ As early as 1983 (pp. 88–89) Wallenfels’ study of the Byblite inscriptions led him to suggest on epigraphical grounds that the Phoenician inscriptions on busts of Shoshenq I and Osorkon

would mean that he could no longer be the biblical “king Shishak” said to have cowed Solomon’s successor Rehoboam, seized his “fenced cities” and been paid off from attacking Jerusalem by the treasures from the Temple. The second proposal was that the reign of Ramesses III should date to the late 10th century BC and that he, not Shoshenq I, was the biblical Shishak.²⁹⁰ It was this suggestion that provoked Kitchen’s knee-jerk reaction (see above) that this was impossible as Ramesses III campaigned no further north than Edom. We made it at a time when the very mention of a campaign further north than Sinai seemed taboo with some major Egyptologists (from Gardiner to Kitchen). Here we feel vindicated, at least in this respect, by the complete sea-change in opinion regarding the reality of Ramesses III’s Levantine campaigns—as exemplified in the recent writings of Kitchen himself.

The legitimate question should be raised whether Ramesses III makes a better candidate than Shoshenq I as the “king Shishak” who subdued Judah in year 5 of Rehoboam. The case for the origin of the biblical name cannot be decided by philology alone, and ultimately the choice depends on the outcome of future developments in TIP chronology and whether Shoshenq I belongs to the 10th or 9th century BC—as remarked by van der Veen.²⁹¹ Jerusalem is absent from the toponym list of Shoshenq, and only one of Rehoboam’s fifteen “fenced cities,” Aijalon, appears to be mentioned.²⁹²

First it should be noted that the character of Ramesses III’s toponym lists is very different to that of Shoshenq I.²⁹³ Almost uniquely

I might lead to a lowering of their dates from the 10th to the late 9th century BC. See now more forcefully Wallenfels in press and van der Veen 2015b: 191–192. On stratigraphical grounds Chapman (2009; 2015: 144) has tentatively suggested that the Shoshenq I stela from Megiddo was originally erected in the 9th century BC.

²⁹⁰ We noted (James *et al.* 1991a: 257, 385, n. 135) that Sese or Sessi (S_{SSY}SW) was a well-known abbreviation of the royal name Ramesses, frequently used for Ramesses II in contexts referring to place-names *en route* to or in the Levant. Sese is also attested for Ramesses III (James *et al.* 1992: 127). For more arguments, thorough documentation and possible explanations for the *q* in the biblical name see van der Veen 2015; for arguments to the contrary see Sagrillo 2015.

²⁹¹ van der Veen 2015a: 94.

²⁹² Bimson 2015a: 5–6.

²⁹³ See Kitchen 2009: 134.

among such documents, the latter's list of Asiatic towns is generally agreed to comprise strings of place-names that largely reflect marching itineraries.²⁹⁴ A similar argument has been made by Redford for a Transjordanian section of the list of Thutmose III (see above).

Nevertheless, whereas the list of Shoshenq I conspicuously lacks any reference to Jerusalem, that of Ramesses III arguably does (**89**, *Qau-n-salem*, "the height of Salem"). That Ramesses II also mentions this place-name does not weaken the point, but merely reinforces the likelihood that the Ramessides took great interest in the region of Jerusalem—as confirmed by the increasing evidence collected by van der Veen and his survey team (see above). The same applies to the possible reference to Şaphon in Transjordan (**90**) where the nearby (or same) site of Tell es Sa'ideyeh was a major bronze-smelting site in late Ramesside times (see above). Solomon's Phoenician craftsmen were said to have cast the bronze furnishings for his Temple in the clay of Jordan between Succoth and Zarethan (1 Kings 7:46).²⁹⁵ Jordan is undoubtedly the next toponym in both Ramesses II's and Ramesses III's lists (**15** and **91**). With respect to Jerusalem, the possible reference to the spring of Gihon in a different list of Ramesses III (see above) also should be noted.

Regarding the "fenced cities" of Rehoboam said to have been captured by Shishak²⁹⁶ half of these lay in the western Shephelah (see map in Bimson 2015b: 110). The Shephelah as a whole suffered a mas-

²⁹⁴ Kitchen 1986: 294–300; 432–447; James and van der Veen 2015.

²⁹⁵ See James 2015: 250–251 for discussion, including the biblical identities of Tell es-Sa'ideyeh and Deir 'Alla. For the reliability of the biblical reference to the Jordan Valley in this context, see Zwickel 2015: 149, who makes some important points regarding the physical conditions needed for smelting. The bronze casting site of Deir 'Alla produced LHIIB pottery along with a luxurious faience vase bearing the name of the female pharaoh Twosret which, like that found at Sidon, may have been a prestige gift to a local ruler. Kokkinos (2015: 164–165) speculated that Twosret is a likely historical prototype for the biblical "Queen of Sheba"/Josephine "Queen of Egypt and Ethiopia."

²⁹⁶ Of course, many have argued that the Chronicler's list of Rehoboam's fifteen fortified cities was compiled much later than his reign, even in Hasmonean times! See Bimson (2015: 6) for references *pro* and *contra* with discussion, on strategic grounds, in favour of the likelihood that Rehoboam "fenced" these cities before and not after the invasion of Shishak.

sive wave of destruction at the LBA/IA transition which, described by Bimson as “the emptying of the Shephelah,” can best be associated with the campaigns of Ramesses III (see above). Regarding individual sites from the biblical list, Hebron is almost certainly identifiable in the list (77). As noted from the evidence of archaeology and Egyptian inscriptions, it seems likely that another of the “fortified cities,” Lachish (Level VI), was destroyed by Ramesses III. If the identification of toponym 70 with dual-form “Horonaim” argued here holds up, it is noteworthy that Solomon was said to have made Lower Beth-Horon (1 Kings 9:17) and Upper Beth-Horon (2 Chron. 8:5) “fenced cities.” While they do not appear in the Chronicles list of Rehoboam’s forts, they would have fitted well into his system of Judahite defences aimed at incursions from both Egypt and its client state, the newly formed kingdom of Israel. For Ramesses III, like “Shishak,” to have seized control of the pass would have been a strategic necessity—to reach the northern highlands and the Jezreel Valley.

There is no room here to rehearse the case regarding the identity of the biblical “Shishak” which has been done elsewhere and depends on much wider considerations than those addressed in the present paper. For the moment I would submit that a combination of the literary and archaeological evidence strongly prefers the Ramesses III over Shoshenq I as the biblical “Shishak.”

Chronological debates aside, I hope the present paper will draw the attention of scholars to an important section of Ramesses III’s “Great Asiatic” list (70–110), its relationship to a (largely) parallel list of Ramesses II and its geographical and strategical significance—matters largely ignored for over a century. On that note, the last words should be left to the almost prophetic scholar Archibald Sayce who made these remarkable comments, without the aid of modern epigraphic surveys or excavations:

It is in the ruined temple of Medînet Habu that Rameses III. has recorded his victories and inscribed the names of the peoples and cities he had overcome. We gather from

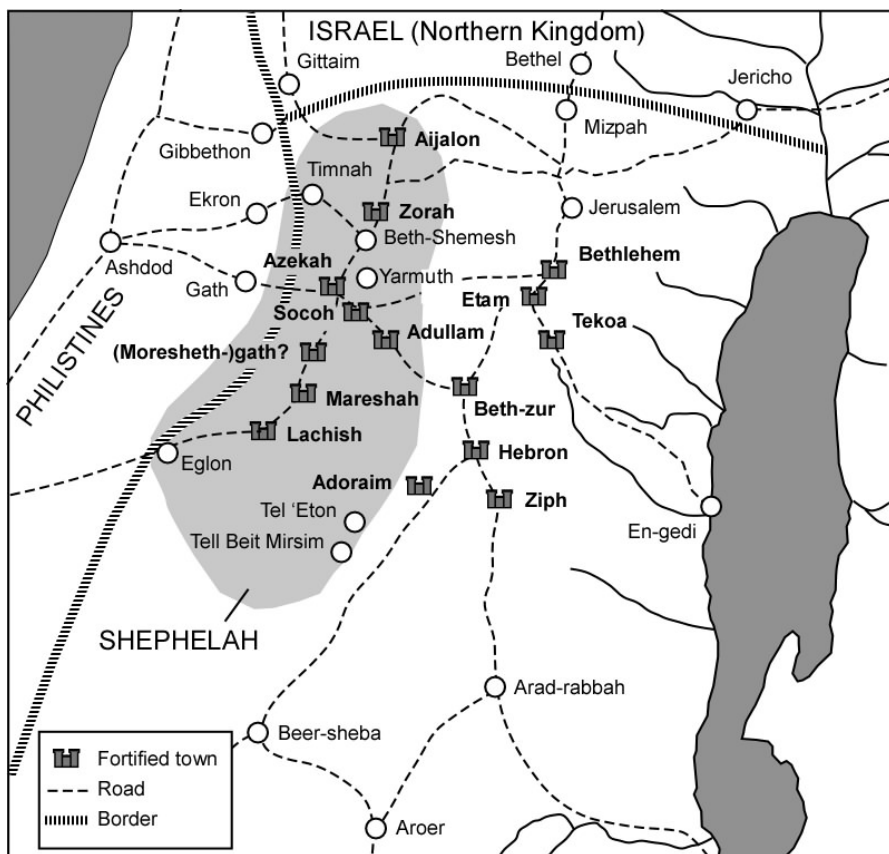


Fig. 5. Map showing the area of the Shephelah and the location of Rehoboam's "fenced cities," according to 1 Chronicles 11:5–12. Map by Uwe Zerbst, from Bimson 2015b.

the latter that his armies had followed the roads already traversed by Ramses II., had marched through the south of Palestine into Moab, and had made their way along the seacoast into Northern Syria...It is plain that the northern campaign of the Pharaoh was little better than a raid. No attempt was made to capture the cities of the coast and re-

*establish in them the Egyptian power. The Egyptian army passed them by without any effort to reduce them. Possibly the Philistines had already settled on the coast and had shown themselves too strong to be meddled with; possibly the Egyptian fleet was acting in concert with the troops on land, and Ramses cared only to lead his forces to some spot on the north Syrian coast, from whence, if necessary, the ships could convey them home. Whatever may have been the reason, the fact remains that Gaza alone of the cities of the Canaanitish coast fell into the hands of the Pharaoh. It was only in the extreme south, in what was afterwards to become the territory of Judah, that he overran the country and occupied the large towns.*²⁹⁷

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ABBREVIATIONS

ANET = PRITCHARD, J.B. (ed.). 1969. *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*. Princeton, Princeton University Press.

ARE III = BREASTED, J.H. 1906. *Ancient Records of Egypt, Vol. 3: The Nineteenth Dynasty*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

ARE IV = BREASTED, J.H. 1906. *Ancient Records of Egypt, Vol. 4: The Twentieth to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasties*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

MH I = Epigraphic Survey 1930. *Medinet Habu, Volume 1: Earlier Historical Records of Ramses III*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

²⁹⁷ Sayce 1912: 205–207.

MH II = Epigraphic Survey 1932. *Medinet Habu, Volume 2: Later Historical Records of Ramesses III*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

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THE MUDAYNA SITES OF THE ARNON TRIBUTARIES: “MIDIAN ALONGSIDE MOAB”?

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Summary: The Mudayna sites of the Arnon Tributaries: “Midian alongside Moab”?

Regarding the biblical toponym “Midian,” Eusebius’ *Onomasticon* notes the following “... there is another city of the same name near the Arnon and Areapolis which is pointed out as deserted.” The Rabbinical *Midrash Tanhuma* while dealing with the question of Moses not participating in the war against Midian notes the same “...this is not Midian where Moses lived, it is beside Moab and is deserted till now.” It is obvious that they share the same source about a place or an area named Midian to be found in Moab near the Biblical Arnon river that is not inhabited in the late Roman period. This paper will suggest that these sources may refer to the phenomenon of archeological sites in Moab bearing the unique name Mudayna, appearing only in Moab. All are fortified sites, most of them have an Iron Age phase and all of them are not inhabited in the late Roman period.

Keywords: Iron Age Moab – Midian – Mudayna – Arnon

Resumen: Los sitios Mudayna de los tributarios del Arnón: “Madián al lado de Moab”?

Sobre el topónimo bíblico “Madián”, el *Onomasticón* de Eusebio señala lo siguiente: “...hay otra ciudad del mismo nombre cerca del Arnón y Areópolis que se dice está desierta”. El *Midrash Tanhuma* rabínico, al tratar la cuestión de que Moisés no participó en la guerra contra Madián, dice lo mismo: “...este no es el Madián donde vivió Moisés, está al lado de Moab y hasta ahora está desierto”. Es obvio que ambos textos comparten la misma fuente sobre un lugar o área llamada Madián que se encuentra

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en Moab, cerca del río Arnón bíblico que no está habitado en la época tardorromana. Este artículo sugiere que estas fuentes pueden referirse al fenómeno de los sitios arqueológicos de Moab que llevan el nombre único de Mudayna, y que aparecen sólo en Moab. Todos son sitios fortificados, la mayoría de ellos tienen una fase de la Edad del Hierro y no fueron habitados en la época tardorromana.

Palabras clave: Moab en la Edad de Hierro – Madián – Mudayna – Arnón

In the first half of the twentieth century six archaeological sites were discovered in surveys in biblical Moab east of the Dead Sea. All of them bore the name “Mudayna” or “Medeinah.” The first to describe them was apparently the Czech scholar Alois Musil, and Nelson Glueck surveyed some of them. Because almost none of them had an additional identifying name along with the component “Medeinah,” “Mudayna” or “Khirbet Medeinah/Mudayna,” scholars confused the names with each other.

J. Maxwell Miller, who studied and surveyed Moab, published a brief article entitled “Six Khirbet el-Medeinehs in the Region East of the Dead Sea.”¹ In it, he numbered the sites and edited the bibliography associated with them. Scholars tended to interpret the name “Medeinah” as deriving from the Arabic root *medina*, which means “city,” without focusing on the special toponymic-topographical nature of the name. It became associated with ruins most of which (five out of six) feature natural topographical defenses. A common prefix of this type is not known in the Land of Israel, nor does it appear in the list of names in the British Survey of Western Palestine² or in neighboring regions of Transjordan, Ammon or Edom.³

The sites of Mudayna/Medeineh will be described in this article from north to south, presenting new insights and research postdating Miller’s article.

¹ Miller 1989.

² Stewardson 1888.

³ That is, the form “Mudayna” or “Medeineh,” known from Moab. A number of names with the root *mdn* are mentioned in this list, Meidin, Medinet, Medan. Prof. Moshe Sharon informed me (pers. comm.) that the form “Medeineh” is not known in the immediate Mediterranean region but does exist in North Africa.



Fig. 1. Map of the Mudayna sites and Mamariyah.

THE MUDAYNA SITES

Medeinet Themed – Coordinates UTM 7760/4986

This tell-like site is located on the southern bank of Wadi Themed, the upper tributary of the northern Mujib (Biblical Arnon) wadi bed, which in Arabic is called el-Wale or Hidan. It is located about 3 km east of the road connecting Madaba and Umm Rassas.

Musil⁴ was the first scholar to describe the site, which he called Khirbet al-Mdejjene, while Glueck⁵ called it Khirbet al-Medeiyineh. Aharoni⁶ proposed that the site was the biblical city of Jahzah, a theory supported by Dearman⁷ and later by other scholars.⁸

Since 1996, a number of seasons of excavation have taken place at the site, directed by Michèle Daviau.⁹ A fortified settlement from the Iron Age was unearthed with a casemate wall and a six-chambered gate similar to the gates at Megiddo, Hazor, Lachish and Gezer. In 1999 a small shrine was discovered there—the first Moabite shrine ever found up to that time. One of the limestone altars in the shrine bore the inscription *mqtr š š lšm /lysf bt wt*. The excavators considered this a Moabite inscription and deciphered it as: “The incense altar that Elishama‘ made for YSP, the daughter of ‘WT.” Rainey¹⁰ suggested a different suffix, proposing that the dedication was not to a person, but to a cult structure—the “house of *wt*.” Rainey also proposed that the inscription was not Moabite, but rather Israelite or Phoenician, and may have been brought to the site during the reign of Omri or Ahab¹¹ over Moab. Israel Finkelstein and Oded Lipschits¹² suggested that the elevated podium surrounded by a casemate wall and a moat found in the site is typical Omride architecture.

According to the excavators the site was destroyed between the seventh and sixth centuries BCE. After a long gap, a small settlement was established there during the Nabatean and Roman periods.¹³

⁴ Musil 1907: 298–300.

⁵ Glueck 1933–1934: 13–15, 22–25, 27.

⁶ Aharoni 1967: 437.

⁷ Dearman 1989: 57.

⁸ See Finkelstein and Lipschits 2010: 30–35.

⁹ Daviau 2006; Daviau and Dion 2002a; 2002b; Daviau and Steiner 2000; Daviau *et al.* 2008; 2012.

¹⁰ Rainey 2002.

¹¹ This is according to Routledge, who dated the pottery assemblage found with the altar to the late seventh or early sixth centuries BCE, much later than the reigns of Omri and Ahab (Routledge 2003).

¹² Finkelstein and Lipschits 2010.

¹³ Daviau, Mulder-Hymans and Foley 2000.

Medeinet Sālīyeh, UTM 7805/4802

This site is located on a high mountaintop surrounded by tributaries of the Upper Mujīb—Wadi Sālīyeh in the north and Wadi Sa‘īdeh in the south. The summit, located above the confluence of the two wadis is connected by a narrow saddle to the plateau on the east.

The special topography of the site, the cistern openings that can be seen from a distance and the geological intrusion south of the site immediately recall the fortresses of the Judean Desert and Machaerus. Indeed, the nature and history of the site at the end of the Second Temple period are interesting in their own right.¹⁴ This site, too, was first mentioned by Musil,¹⁵ who gave it the same name as the previous site, Khirbet al-Mdejjene, and Glueck did the same, calling it Khirbet al-Medeiyineh.¹⁶ According to Musil¹⁷ and Abel¹⁸ this was the site of the biblical “city that is in the valley.”

Glueck mentions sherds and other finds at this site from the Hellenistic and Nabatean periods only. The Korean scholars Ji and Lee¹⁹ who re-surveyed the site, reported 497 sherds with no further details or pottery tables. They noted sherds from the Iron Age I and II, from the Persian-Hellenistic, Nabatean and Byzantine periods. Based on the findings, they concluded that there had been a settlement here in the Iron Age, the Hellenistic and Roman periods and possibly also the Persian and the Byzantine periods. On our visit to the site²⁰ we noticed sherds from the Iron Age, Hellenistic and Early Roman periods, with no continuation in later periods.

¹⁴ On the possibility of this as a site from the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman period, see Sagiv 2004: 156–157; on the finding of a ritual bath see Kloner 2001–2002: 470.

¹⁵ Musil 1907: 247, 328–330.

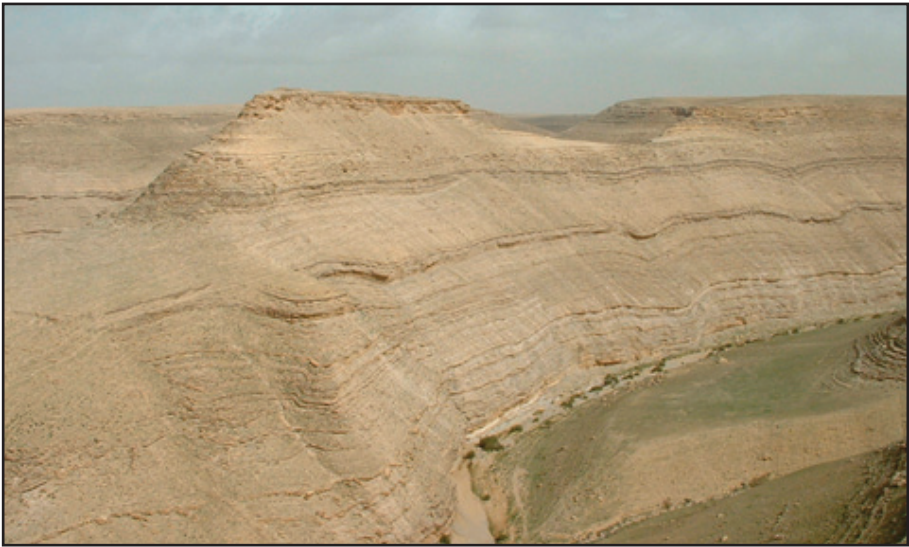
¹⁶ Glueck 1933–1934: 36.

¹⁷ Musil 1907: 332, n. 1.

¹⁸ Abel 1938: 351. Many suggestions have been made for “the city that is in the valley.” See Ben-Gad Hacohen 2000: 21–23; for two more proposals identifying “the city that is in the valley” at Medeineh on the banks of the Mūjīb and at Khirbet Ma‘mariyah, see below.

¹⁹ Ji and Lee 1998: 556–588.

²⁰ We visited in early February 2005, together with Avraham Izdarechet, Tali Gini, Itai Haviv, Ze’ev Meshel, Roi Porat, Gilad Peli and Eli Raz.

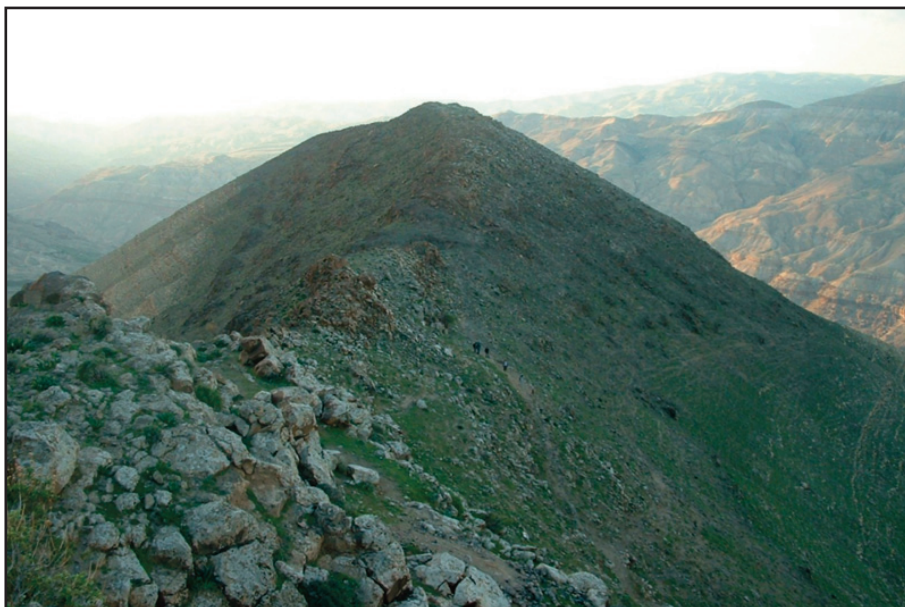


Figs. 2–3. Medinet Sālīyeh, view from the south (photos by Gilead Peli).

Medeineh on the Southern Bank of Wadi Mūjib, UTM 7600/4805

This site is located on a narrow, steep-sided basalt spur, above the southern bank of Wadi Mujib, c. 4 km west of the “King’s Highway.” It is connected by a saddle to the basalt plateau on the southeast; topographical maps note the site’s unusual and pronounced shape. Remains can be seen there of a perimeter wall and a number of large structures. A dwelling was preserved to considerable height on the eastern side, near the saddle. These remains are dated to the Mamluk period.

This site was also called Hirbet al-Mdejjene by Musil.²¹ Worschech, who surveyed the area northwest of Kerak, discovered sherds at the site dating to the Middle Bronze Age, the Iron Age I–II, and the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods and the Middle Ages.²² According to Worschech,²³ who identified it as “the city that is in the valley,” the fortified site was founded in the Iron Age I.



²¹ Musil 1907: 137.

²² Worschech *et al.* 1986: 286–287, site no. 88.

²³ Worschech 1986: 290.



Figs. 4–5. Medeinet Mūjib (photos by Gilead Peli).

Medeinet el-Mu‘arradjeh 702 asl, UTM 7726/4691

This site is located on a lofty limestone spur above the west bank of Wadi en-Nukheilāh—the southern tributary of Wadi Mujib. The description by Musil,²⁴ who mentions Hirbet el-Mdejjene near the bed of the Nukheilāh, is unclear: Was he referring to Medeinet el-Mu‘arradjeh or to Medeinet ‘Alia on the bank of the Nukheilāh c. 4.5 km south of Mu‘arradjeh? In 1976 and 1982, Olavarri excavated at the site,²⁵ identifying a casemate wall surrounding it. According to Olavarri, the site was founded in the Iron Age I (apparently in the eleventh century BCE) and was abandoned during the tenth century BCE.

²⁴ Musil 1907: 34.

²⁵ Olavarri 1983. For an analysis of the findings of this excavation, see also Routledge 2004: 99–100, 103–108.



Figs. 6–7. Medeinet el-Mu‘arradjeh (photos by Gilead Peli).

Medeinet 'Alia UTM 7735/4644

This site is located on a steep-sided limestone spur c. 250 m above the west bank of the Nukheilah and above the point where Wadi el-Makhras joins it. The site was mentioned for the first time by Glueck,²⁶ identified as Biblical Ar Moab by Van Zyl²⁷ and excavated by Bruce Routledge.²⁸ It was surrounded by a casemate wall and protected by a short moat and a massive tower. These elements were found on the



Fig. 8. Medeinet 'Alia, Google Map image.

²⁶ Glueck 1933–1934: 52–53, 98.

²⁷ Van Zyl 1960: 73

²⁸ Routledge 2000; 2004: 98–108; Routledge and Porter 2007.

western side of the spur, which was cut off at that point from the ridge by means of a saddle. The site is generally in an excellent state of preservation, with some structures standing as high as 1.5 m. There was also extensive use of huge slabs of stone that are typical of the local rock. The structures (according to the excavator, there were between 35 and 45 of these) were built abutting the wall, with no remains of construction seen in the center. Based on the homogeneous nature and short-lived time span of the pottery, the excavator concluded that the site was single-stratum, and existed between 1050 and 1000 BCE. It was subsequently abandoned and never resettled.

Medeiyineh on the Bank of Wadi el-Hesā, UTM 7656/4282

This site is located on a limestone spur above and south of Wadi el-Hesā and east of the village 'Ina. It was mentioned as el-Medeiyineh for the first time by Glueck,²⁹ who called it “the fortress of Moab” and identified it as the biblical Ije-abarim.³⁰ Glueck found very few ancient sherds and noted that the fortified site was rebuilt in the Middle Ages. At the site, surrounded by a wall, several structures survived from the Middle Ages to considerable height. MacDonald³¹ who visited here and collected sherds from the Late Roman, Byzantine, Early Islamic–Ayyubid and Mamluk periods (most of the findings), disagreed with the previous identifications—the fortress of Moab and Ije-abarim—due to the lack of Iron Age findings.

²⁹ Glueck 1935: 104–106, 181.

³⁰ Glueck 1937–1939: 68, n. 224.

³¹ Macdonald 2000. On a visit to the site in early February 2005 (above, n. 5), it was our impression that most of the sherds were from the Middle Ages; we saw no sherds whatsoever from the Iron Age.



Fig. 9. Medeinet Hesā (photo by Gilead Peli).

MAIN FEATURES OF THE MUDAYANA SITES

Table 1 summarizes the following conclusions:

1. All the sites except for Themed feature clear natural fortifications.
2. Four are situated on the steep banks of tributaries of the Arnon.
3. Three were founded in the Iron Age I, and two of those (‘Alia and Mu‘arradjeh) existed only in that period.
4. Medeinet Sālīyeh is apparently the only site that was fortified in the Early Roman period.
5. During the Late Roman period most of the “Medeineh” sites lay abandoned.

Site	Fortress topography	Casemate wall	Cisterns	IA I	IA II	Nabat.	Early	Late Rom.	Byz. Rom.	Med.
Themed		#			#	#	#			
Sāliyeh	#	?	#		#	#	#			
Mūjib	#	#		#	#		#	#	#	#
Mu'arradjeh	#	#		#						
'Alia	#	#		#						
Hesā	#								#	#

Table 1. Sites and main dates of settlement.

Until the last decade scholars had not attempted to take a comprehensive view of the Medeineh sites in Moab, either in terms of toponym³² or archaeologically. Glueck, who identified four of them, did not discuss them as a group. MacDonald, as noted, rejected Glueck's theory identifying Medeinet Wadi Hesā as a Moabite fortress and part of Moab's southern fortifications. Miller's brief article merely describes the sites and the confusion among scholars with regard to their order and identity.

In his book on Moab in the Iron Age, Routledge³³ deals with three of the sites discussed here ('Alia, Medeineh and Mūjib), which existed in the Iron Age I. His discussion focused on these and other sites from this period. Despite their special location and their fortifications, Routledge called them "typical Iron Age villages."³⁴ He compared them to settlements from the same period like Izbet Sartah or Beersheba, whose topographical situation is very different.

Visiting the above sites³⁵ I was able to see a clearly discern planned fortification system, and thus I prefer the way other scholars

³² Two studies of the toponyms of the Kerak plateau dealt with the names of the settlements and not of those of the ruins. Possibly due to this, they did not note the uniqueness of the Medeineh sites (Knauf 1991: 281–290; Al-Ma'ani 1994).

³³ Routledge 2004: 93–108.

³⁴ Routledge 2004: 94.

³⁵ On two trips, we visited some of the Medeineh sites one after the other. In June 2000, we visited Medeinet Themed, Sāliyeh, Mu'arradjeh and 'Alia. Also participating in this visit were David Ben-Gad Hacohen, Ze'ev Meshel, Gilad Peli, Yoram Tsafirir, Amos Kloner and Eli Raz.

defined the Medeineh sites. Miller considered Medeinet ‘Alia³⁶ first and foremost a fortified settlement; in his summary he reiterated that ‘Alia and Mu‘arradjeh may perhaps have had a military character. The strategic location, he argued, enabled them to defend the Kerak plateau from the east, and its location is not suitable for agriculture. Zayadine, among the most senior and veteran of Jordanian scholars, wrote that Mu‘arradjeh, a strategic settlement on the eastern boundary of the desert, protected the agricultural zone from invasion by nomadic tribes. In this context, he noted the refusal of the king of Edom to allow passage by the “Hebrew tribes,” which came from the Sinai desert (Exod. 20:14–20).

In 2000, Friedbert Ninow discovered a new fortified site, on a high ridge overlooking the confluence of Wadi Ashqafia (which descends from Balu‘a) and the main Wadi Mujib bed.³⁷ The site is called Khirbat al-Ma‘mariyah, and at first glance³⁸ it resembles the Medeineh sites of ‘Alia and Mu‘arradjeh, which are located 5 and 10 km to the south. But unlike the two latter sites, Khirbat al-Ma‘mariyah is in a slope and not a level spur, and the height difference between its western and eastern sides is as much as 80 m. Ninow proposed identifying it as “the city that is in the valley.”³⁹

In February 2005, we visited (see above, n. 5) Medeinet Sālīyeh, ‘Alia, Mu‘arradjeh, Mūjib and Hesā.

³⁶ Miller 1991: 74, site 143.

³⁷ Ninow 2002a; 2002b: 153, site 9.

³⁸ I visited the site with Avi Shmida in October 2004.

³⁹ Ninow 2002a; 2002b: 153, site 9.





Figs. 10–12. Khirbet Ma'mariyah (photos by Gilead Peli).

The publications of the first excavation seasons note that the fortified site from the Iron Age I is single stratum, and that the casemate wall was 5 m wide and the outer wall was 1.2 m wide. In the western part of the site, on a moderate slope, the city fortress was found, measuring 12 x 24 m. In his discussion, Ninow noted that Medeinet 'Alia, Medeinet Mu'arradjeh and al-Ma'mariyah, all of which are single-stratum sites from the same period, are a chain of fortified sites in the northern and eastern parts of the eastern Moabite plateau.⁴⁰ If we add to these “Medeinet on the bank of the Mūjib,” a network is created, based on the tributaries of the southern Arnon, which protected the Kerak

⁴⁰ Ninow 2004a; 2004b; 2006.

plateau on the north and the east. Balu‘a is also nearby⁴¹—a key site in the Iron Age on the Kerak plateau and apparently the main city of central Moab south of the Arnon. Fortified sites from the Iron Age I north of Wadi Mujib must also not be ignored, such as el-Lehun⁴² and Aroer.⁴³

Lately, Finkelstein and Lipschits⁴⁴ proposed that an early Moabite territorial entity emerged south of Wadi Mūjib in the late Iron Age I—the late eleventh and tenth centuries BCE. They refer to the sites Medeinet ‘Alia, Medeinet Mu‘arradjeh, Medeinet Mūjib and al-Ma‘mariyah as a chain of fortresses that protected Balu‘a, the hub of this Moabite policy. This suggestion was rejected by Benjamin Porter⁴⁵ and Juan Manuel Tebes⁴⁶ and in my view the historical interpretation of the Iron Age I sites on both sides of the Mūjib requires further research.

We should now return to the question of the toponymic source of the names of the “Medeineh/Mudayna.” Is their source indeed from the Arab name meaning “small city” (and ruin), from recent centuries?

THE NAME MIDIAN IN MOAB IN THE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE PERIODS

Midian in the geographical context of Moab appears in two ancient sources. In the *Onomasticon*, under Midian (“Madiam”),⁴⁷ Eusebius writes:

City of one of the sons of Abraham and Cetura. Located beyond Arabia to the south in the desert of the Saracens, to the east of the Red Sea... There is a second city named thus near Arnon and Areopolis, the ruins of which are pointed out. In Jerome's trans-

⁴¹ Worschech 1997; Worschech and Ninow 1999.

⁴² Homes-Fredricq 1992.

⁴³ Olavarri 1992.

⁴⁴ Finkelstein and Lipschits 2011.

⁴⁵ Porter 2014.

⁴⁶ Tebes 2014.

⁴⁷ Melamed 1950: no. 540; Klosterman 1904:104/13.

lation renders the final words as: “whose ruins can be seen to this day.

The rabbinic *Midrash Tanhuma*,⁴⁸ Parashot Matot (3) asks why Moses did not take part in the battle against the Midianites:

The holy One said to Moses: Take vengeance by yourself yet he sent others. Because he had been raised in Midian, he said: It is not right for me to oppress those who have done well by me. The proverb said: Do not cast a stone into the cistern from which you have drunk water. And there are others who say that this was not the same Midian that Moses grew up in, because this was on the side of Moab and it is destroyed till now.

In Klein’s 1917 article about the geography of the Land of Israel in Mishnaic times, he discusses “Midian in Moab.” In this article, he was apparently the first to note that the two ancient sources were referring to the same place.⁴⁹ Melamed, in the preface to his Hebrew translation of the *Onomasticon*⁵⁰ notes that part of the entry for “Midian” was based on an early midrash. With regard to the part about Midian in Moab, Melamed wrote: “even the end of the entry on another Midian, in ruins and near the Arnon, can be compared to what is stated in the midrash...”

Can there be a possible connection between “the ruined Midian near Moab,” and the names Mudayna/Medeinah in that same area? In the Roman and Byzantine periods most of the sites were ruined, and some scholars have raised the possibility that the other Midian mentioned in the *Onomasticon* was connected to one of the Medeinah sites.

⁴⁸ With regard to this source see Bergman 2003.

⁴⁹ Klein 1917: 145–146.

⁵⁰ Melamed 1933, 258–259: he does not mention Klein’s reference to the subject.

Musil⁵¹ and following him, Klein,⁵² proposed Medeinet Sālīyeh as the other Midian in the *Onomasticon*. According to Timm, Medeinet Mūjib and Medeinet el-Mu‘arradjeh should be taken into consideration as that Midian.⁵³ Schmitt suggested Medeinet ‘Alia or Sālīyeh⁵⁴ and Chapmann, in the new edition of the *Onomasticon*, suggested Medeinet el-Mu‘arradjeh or ‘Alia.⁵⁵

It is therefore possible that the name Mudayna/Medeinah for sites in Moab is none other than Midian of the *Onomasticon*,⁵⁶ one or more ruined sites that were known in the Roman and Byzantine periods. At some point, apparently in recent generations, the name was transferred to sites with similar topography in the Moabite sphere. It is also possible that this changeover from Midian to Mudayna/Medeinah had to do with the meaning of the word “Medeinah” in Arabic—a small city (medina) or fortress.

BIBLICAL MIDIAN AND MOAB

The name “Midian” appears some 60 times in the Bible. The history and geography of biblical Midian is complex. The name is unknown in extra-biblical sources, either Egyptian or Assyrian, and in discussing the relationship between the Ishmaelites and the Midianites⁵⁷ scholarship has focused on mention of the Ishmaelites in the story of the sale of Joseph and the essence of the Midianite entity.⁵⁸ Many scholars⁵⁹

⁵¹ Musil 1907: 333, n. 2.

⁵² Klein 1917: 146.

⁵³ Timm 1989: 182, n. 11.

⁵⁴ Schmitt 1995: 237.

⁵⁵ Chapmann 2003: 143.

⁵⁶ Geographical names with the root *mdn* are found elsewhere in Moab. There are also such names (see n. 1 above) west of the Jordan. Such names include Middin, southwest of Kerak (coordinates 7605/4463); Tell el-Middin (coordinates 7485/4479), Medeinet e-Ras (coordinates 7485/4384); and Mudayyin, northwest of Kerak. Mudayyin is mentioned in the survey by Worschech *et al.* 1985: 14, 23–26, sites 5, 26–32. Payne (1983: 167) suggested that the Khirbet Maydan in the Galilee could be also connected to Biblical Midian. I thank the anonymous reviewer drawing my attention to this reference.

⁵⁷ Abramsky 1984; Knauf 1983.

⁵⁸ Eissfeldt 1968; Dumbrell 1975; Knauf 1988.

⁵⁹ Musil 1926: 278–286; Liver 1963; Mendenhall 1992.

noted two geographical regions for Midian in the Bible. The first, connected to the biblical story of Moses, is situated south of the Mountains of Edom. This location is based among other things on the description of Flavius Josephus,⁶⁰ who, in describing Moses' flight to Midian, mentions a city by that name on the Red Sea coast. Another source is the abovementioned entry in the *Onomasticon*, rendered "Madiam." The second identification, from elsewhere in the Bible (the story of Balaam and of the war of Gideon), indicates that Midian was one of the desert tribes east of the Jordan.

The biblical story of Balak, King of Moab and his fear of the Israelites relates that "Moab said unto the elders of Midian: 'Now will this multitude lick up all that is round about us, as the ox licketh up the grass of the field'" (Num. 22: 4). And the delegation of the king of Moab to Balaam is described thus: "the elders of Moab and the elders of Midian..." (Num. 22:7). When the Israelites consorted with the women of Moab, the name "Cozbi, the daughter of the prince of Midian, their sister, who was slain on the day of the plague in the matter of Peor" (Num. 25:18).

In the war against Midian (Numbers 31:8), Evi, Rekem, Zur, Hur and Reba, are identified as "the five kings of Midian," and in the parallel description in Joshua where they are called the "chiefs of Midian" and "the princes of Sihon, that dwell in the land" (Josh. 13:21). To the matter of the relations between Midian and Moab may also be added the unclear reference in Genesis to "Hadad the son of Bedad, who smote Midian in the field of Moab..." (Gen. 36:35). From all of the above it appears that a Midianite entity existed within or near biblical Moab.⁶¹ The absence of the Qurayya Painted ware,⁶² once

⁶⁰ Flavius Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews* 2, 257.

⁶¹ The Midrash also deals with the connection between Moab and Midian, for example *Sifri*, Matot 33, regarding the peace made between the Moabites and the Midianites. *Targum Yonatan*, the Aramaic translation of the Pentateuch, renders the verse: "And Balak the son of Zippor was king of Moab at that time" (Num. 22:4) as follows: "Balak the son of Zippor *the Midianite* was king of Moab," indicating that there was a kind of rotation agreement in the royal appointment, that is, once a Moabite and once a Midianite.

⁶² For the history of research related to the Qurayya painted ware see Tebes 2007; 2015; Singer-Avitz 2014; Intilia 2016.

called “Midianite Pottery” from the Mudayna sites indicates that this Midianite entity in the Moabite area was not connected to Hejaz area.

In my opinion it is possible that this ancient reality was the source of the name Midian in Moab of the Roman period. The name was apparently preserved in some of the Mudayna/Medeinah sites in Moab, some of which were established in the Iron Age I, perhaps already at the time of a Midianite entity in that region.

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TRES PUERTOS EGIPCIOS EN EL MAR ROJO DURANTE LA PERÍODO FARAÓNICO: UNA REEVALUACIÓN DE LA EVIDENCIA

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Abstract: Three Egyptian Ports in the Red Sea during the Pharaonic Period: A Reassessment

Archaeological excavations during the last decade have revealed much information about the presence of the ancient Egyptians in the Red Sea. This article is a reassessment of the research done in the three main pharaonic port facilities unearthed in the Red Sea coast, Mersa Gawasis, Ayn Soukhna, and Wadi el-Jarf, sites that have particularly provided tons of data about the infrastructure of the pharaonic seafaring expeditions to the Sinai and further south to the land of Punt.

Keywords: Ancient Egyptians – Red Sea – Sinai – Seafaring

Resumen: Tres puertos egipcios en el Mar Rojo durante el período faraónico: Una reevaluación de la evidencia

Las excavaciones arqueológicas de la última década han revelado mucha información sobre la presencia de los antiguos egipcios en el Mar Rojo. Este artículo es una reevaluación de la investigación realizada en las tres principales instalaciones portuarias faraónicas desenterradas en la costa del Mar Rojo, Mersa Gawasis, Ayn Soukhna y Wadi el-Jarf, sitios que han proporcionado toneladas de datos sobre la infraestructura de las expediciones maríneas faraónicas al Sinaí y más al sur, a la tierra de Punt.

Palabras clave: Antiguos egipcios – Mar Rojo – Sinaí – Viajes marinos

Se asume generalmente que los antiguos egipcios, que se concentraron casi exclusivamente en el Valle del Nilo, no deberían haber conocido demasiado sobre los viajes marinos de largo alcance. Los descubri-

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mientos recientes de varios puntos de embarque a lo largo de la costa egipcia del Mar Rojo muestran que, de hecho, sabían mucho de estos temas (**Fig. 1**). Es más que probable que, desde los períodos más tempranos, barcos egipcios fueran capaces de alcanzar el Golfo de Aden, las costas de Etiopía y Yemen. Desde comienzos del siglo XXI, hemos progresado mucho en el conocimiento de las expediciones marítimas a través del Mar Rojo hacia el Sinaí o la lejana tierra de Punt, debido al trabajo de campo realizado en sitios portuarios como Mersa Gawasis, cerca del moderno pueblo de Safaga, y Ayn Soukhna, en la parte norte del Golfo de Suez. Un tercer sitio portuario fue descubierto fortuitamente en 2011, Wadi el-Jarf, al sur del pueblo costero de Zafarana. Esta serie importante de puntos de embarque muestra el interés mostrado por las actividades marítimas durante el período faraónico. Este artículo intenta dar una vaga idea del funcionamiento de estos sitios portuarios durante la antigüedad.

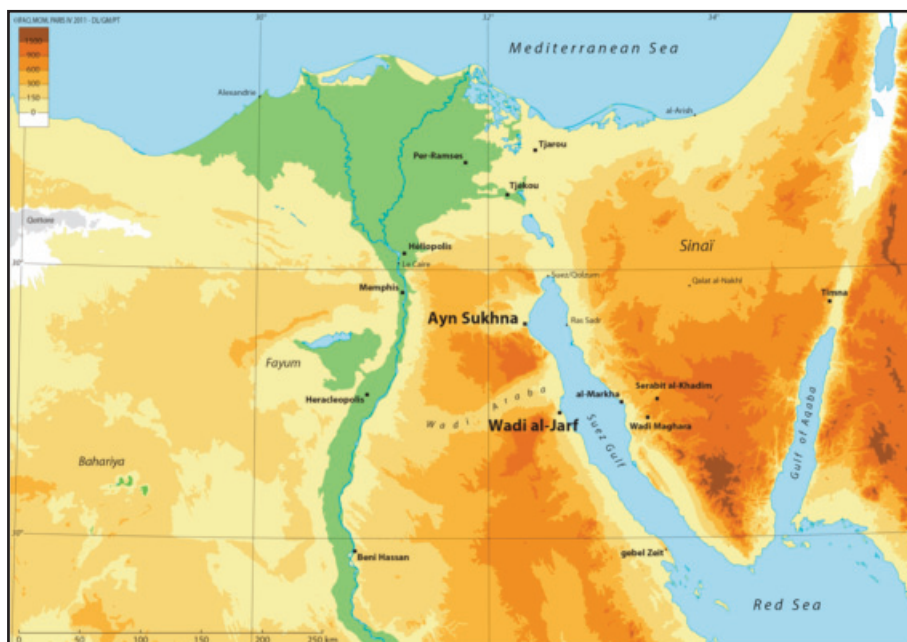


Fig. 1. Mapa de Egipto con la ubicación de Ayn Sukhna, Wadi el-Jarf y Mersa Gawasis. Ilustración de D. Laisney.

MERSA GAWASIS

En 1976, el arqueólogo egipcio Abd el-Moneim Sayed descubrió el puerto marítimo faraónico de *S3ww*, en el sitio actual de Mersa Gawasis¹ (Fig. 2). Allí, una serie de monumentos votivos, modelados a partir de anclas marinas (Fig. 3), algunos grabados con textos conmemorativos, revelaron datos excepcionales: las inscripciones datadas durante el reinado de Sesostri I dieron detalles de una expedición enviada durante ese período (ca. 1950 a.C.) desde algún punto costero hacia la misteriosa región de Punt, que muchos investigadores ubican actualmente en el extremo más austral de la costa del Mar Rojo. La estela Ankhu, allí descubierta, dio una idea de cómo operaban los egipcios durante el Reino Medio: grandes embarcaciones diseñadas en los astilleros de Coptos, en el Valle del Nilo, eran transportados por tierra como “kits de barcos” hacia la costa del Mar Rojo—mencionada claramente en la documentación con el nombre de *W3d-wr*, la “Gran Extensión Verde”. Estos kits eran posteriormente ensamblados allí antes de que la expedición partiera. La cantidad de personal requerido para la operación—aproximadamente 3500—es de por sí un índice de la importancia de tal actividad para el estado faraónico durante este período. Este descubrimiento produjo bastante interés apenas fue presentado en *Revue d’Egyptologie*² y fue visto como evidencia de una nueva dimensión de la civilización faraónica. Aunque poco se sabe sobre su profesionalismo en asuntos marítimos, sin embargo, los antiguos egipcios parecen haber sido hábiles hombres de mar, capaces de organizar largas travesías marítimas. De todos modos, un pequeño número de investigadores³ desestimaron rotundamente esta interpretación de los datos. Uno de los grandes obstáculos fue la interpretación del término *W3d-wr*, que se cree no remite al mar sino más bien a las franjas verdes del Valle del Nilo⁴; el otro debate remite a la localización

¹ Sayed 1977; 1980; 1983.

² Sayed 1977.

³ E.g. Nibbi 1981; Vandersleyen 1996.

⁴ Quack 2002; 2010.

de Punt, usualmente identificado en África Central, solamente accesible por el Nilo. Esta función del sitio como puerto fue puesta en debate reiteradamente, y las anclas de los barcos allí descubiertas fueron consideradas como monumentos votivos sin conexión especial con la navegación marítima.



Fig. 2. Vista general del sitio de Mersa Gawasis.



Fig. 3. Monumento votivo construido con anclas de barco.

Desde 2001, el conocimiento del Mar Rojo en la era faraónica ha evolucionado considerablemente, reformulando así en gran medida los alcances del debate. Cuando, en 2001, se reanudaron las excavaciones en el sitio de Mersa Gawasis, dirigidos por la dupla de equipos conformados por la Naples Oriental Studies University y Boston University dirigidos por Rodolfo Fattovich y Kathryn Bard, ellos recolectaron una rica cosecha de información adicional sobre el uso del sitio, haciéndose imposible desde entonces negar su función como puerto⁵. A través de los años, la misión ha desenterrado varias anclas adicionales, algunas de las cuales no fueron usadas para usos votivos. Además, grandes restos de navíos fueron encontrados en, o alrededor de, galerías cavadas en la ladera rocosa de un acantilado en el sitio. Un número considerable de estelas conmemorativas muestra que el sitio fue usado regularmente

⁵ Bard y Fattovich 2007.

durante un período de al menos 200 años cubriendo la totalidad de la Dinastía XII. Los resultados brindan evidencia de los contactos entre Egipto y la región del Bab el-Mandab y permitieron a los investigadores conducir estudios más específicos sobre las condiciones en que los barcos egipcios navegaron el Mar Rojo.

AYN SOUKHNA

En 2001 comenzaron también excavaciones en el sitio de Ayn Soukhna. Este sitio está ubicado en el banco occidental del Golfo de Suez, 120 km. al este de la moderna ciudad de El Cairo. El nombre árabe de este sitio se debe a la presencia de una fuente de agua caliente que emerge al pie del Gebel el-Galāla el Bariya, cuya vista domina el sitio, y fluye directamente al mar adyacente (**Fig. 4**). La excavación y el estudio de los restos arqueológicos, que despertaron la atención por vez primera

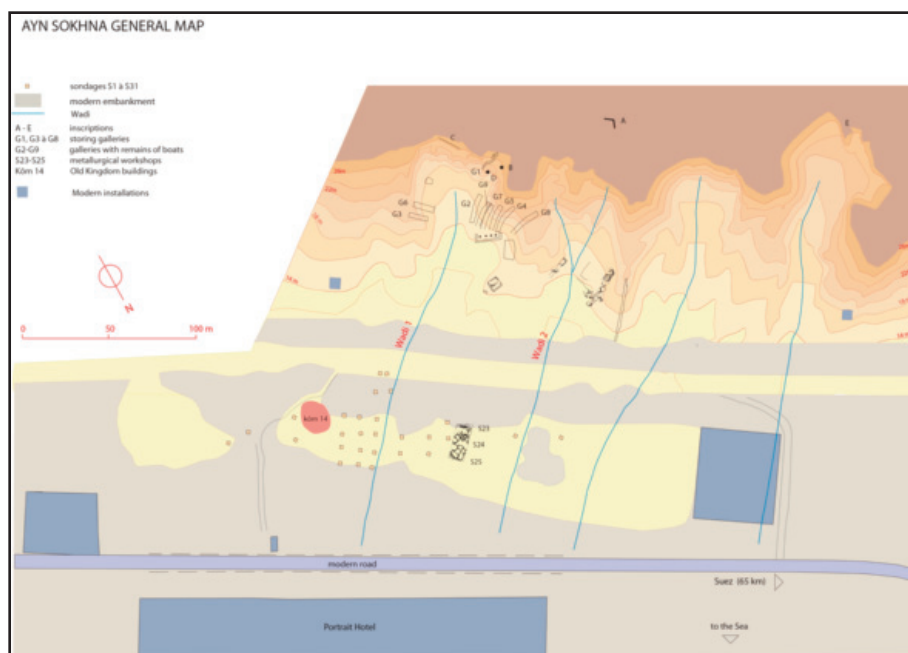


Fig. 4. Mapa topográfico del sitio de Ayn Soukhna. Ilustración de G. Castel.

en 1999⁵, fueron conducidos anualmente desde el 2001 por un equipo conjunto del Institut Français d'archéologie orientale y la Université Paris-Sorbonne⁷. Durante el transcurso de estas investigaciones se estableció gradualmente que el sitio fue ocupado intensivamente durante un milenio en el período faraónico, desde el Reino Antiguo hasta el Reino Nuevo. Los últimos hallazgos indican claramente la existencia, en el sitio, de un puerto similar a aquellos de Mersa/Wadi Gawasis en el confín sur, que parece haber sido utilizado principalmente para cruzar hacia el sur de la Península del Sinaí, al otro lado del golfo.

Desde un principio, la característica más importante del sitio ha sido una muralla con inscripciones en piedra que domina el área donde están concentrados los vestigios arqueológicos. Ella contiene, en particular, una serie de inscripciones datadas en el Reino Medio (2000–1800 a.C.) que inmediatamente apuntaron a la conexión entre Ayn Soukhna y la zona al sur del Sinaí explotada por los egipcios durante el período faraónico (**Fig. 5**). De hecho, el texto se refiere a una “tierra de minas”, designación corriente de esa región durante el Reino Medio, y menciona a la turquesa, uno de sus recursos característicos. También están registrados los nombres de algunas de las personas a cargo que dejaron testimonios escritos de su propia estadía en las minas⁸.

El uso de este sitio como puerto ha sido corroborado actualmente por una investigación sistemática de una serie de galerías de almacenamiento cavadas al pie de la montaña que domina el sitio (**Fig. 6**). Las investigaciones de campo en 2005 y 2007 desenterraron exitosamente dos botes que habían sido cuidadosamente desmantelados y almacenados en las galerías G2 y G9 (**Fig. 7**)⁹. Desafortunadamente, allí quedó poco más que madera quemada, ya que los navíos fueron obviamente sometidos a una destrucción deliberada en la antigüedad—quizá porque prender fuego a sus barcos haya sido la manera más segura de fre-

⁶ Abd el-Raziq 1999.

⁷ Abd el-Raziq *et al.* 2002; 2011; Tallet 2006, 2009. Las excavaciones están codirigidas por Mahmoud Abd el-Raziq (Ismaelia University), Georges Castel (IFAO), y Pierre Tallet, para la Université Paris-Sorbonne.

⁸ Abd el-Raziq 1999; Abd el-Raziq *et al.* 2002.

⁹ Abd el-Raziq *et al.* 2016; Tallet 2006.



Fig. 5. Inscripciones en roca sobre el sitio.

nar los impulsos expedicionarios de los antiguos egipcios en aquellos problemáticos tiempos. Sin embargo, un detallado análisis de estos restos, dirigido por Patrice Pomey¹⁰ brindó información importante. Los botes fueron realizados en madera de cedro y fueron diseñados especialmente para expediciones marítimas, lo que se evidencia por el modo de ensamblado elegido. Se puede estimar que tenían una eslora de 13–14 metros, lo cual representa navíos de dimensiones bastante respetables. La datación de radiocarbono, que fue realizada en varias muestras de la madera, revela que la última vez que los botes fueron almacenados antes de ser destruidos por el fuego ocurrió probablemente hacia el final del Reino Medio o durante el Período Intermedio (*ca.* 1700 a.C.), aunque se encontró que algunas de las tablas más anchas

¹⁰ CNRS, Centre Camille Jullien.



Fig. 6. Ayn Soukhna. Galerías de almacenamiento.

antedataban ese período en más de 500 años. Se puede inducir de tales descubrimientos que el sitio fue usado intensamente durante el período del Reino Medio como un puerto temporal para las expediciones hacia las minas en el sudoeste de la península del Sinaí.

De todos modos, las últimas investigaciones en la excavación proveyeron nuevas perspectivas sobre estos hallazgos. Aunque se podía inferir que el sitio había sido usado también en condiciones similares en períodos previos de la historia egipcia—en tiempos en que el sitio parece haber sido ocupado intensivamente y cuando probablemente el sistema de galerías de almacenamiento haya sido originariamente creado—dos inscripciones oficiales proveen ahora evidencia sustancial de ocupación previa. Estas inscripciones fueron descubiertas en 2009 y 2010 en las galerías de almacenamiento G6 y G1, que no habían sido exploradas hasta entonces debido a su pobre estado de conservación.

El primer texto fue encontrado 3 metros adentro en la galería G6, en la pared lateral izquierda que había sido cubierta por una capa de yeso. Esta inscripción fue escrita en tinta negra sobre una superficie



Fig. 7. Ayn Soukhna. Restos de un barco.

estimada de alrededor de 65 x 40 cm. Lamentablemente, sólo una pequeña parte del documento—¿quizás una tercera parte?—había permanecido intacto cuando fue descubierto, habiendo colapsado la parte superior de la pared en la antigüedad. Lo que ha quedado, parece haber sido distribuido en al menos seis columnas separadas por líneas verticales, aunque la parte inferior de la composición, que contiene anotaciones horizontales, pudo haber seguido un patrón distinto. La escritura y lo que puede observarse como el diseño de varios elementos, tiene reminiscencias del patrón meticuloso de tipo grillado del papiro Abusir utilizado para registrar las cuentas de los templos mortuorios reales al

final de la Dinastía V. Algunos otros fragmentos del texto fueron encontrados en tabletas de yeso que yacían al pie del muro. Estos son significativos pues revelan el nombre del rey que ordenó la expedición, Djedkare-Isesi, el octavo y último soberano de la Dinastía V (*ca.* 2400 a.C.), cuyos sellos ya habían sido descubiertos en el sitio durante las campañas previas.

Aunque es imposible reconstruir la totalidad del documento, su estructura es bastante clara: luego de los títulos reales—que comienza con su nombre de Horus—hay una corta narración que detalla los aspectos principales de la expedición, *i.e.* los medios de transporte, el itinerario y los bienes que se trajeron. La última sección estaba probablemente dedicada a registrar las diferentes categorías del plantel. Un elemento notable del documento es el registro de botes *kbnt*, un tipo de navío de Biblos que los egipcios parecen haber utilizado especialmente para largas expediciones marítimas¹¹. Hasta el día de hoy, esta es la mención más antigua de tales navíos en algún documento egipcio. Un descubrimiento similar se realizó durante la campaña de enero-febrero de 2010 en la galería más larga y la que, más que ninguna otra, había sufrido colapsos a lo largo de los años. Unos pocos metros en el interior de la galería, el muro lateral derecho fue rellenado con rocas y piedras y luego cubierto con yeso durante el Reino Antiguo. Sobre la superficie así preparada, otro texto conmemorando una expedición fue escrito en tinta negra. El estado del documento es excesivamente fragmentado, habiéndose partido la cubierta de yeso y deslizado gradualmente hacia el pie del muro. No se ha preservado la mayor parte del texto, pero la que sí lo fue, contiene la fecha del séptimo censo durante el reinado del rey Isesi (cerca de los catorce años del reinado), brindando así la fecha de una desconocida expedición previa al Sinaí. La línea superior del texto también muestra el nombre de un líder de la expedición, Sed-Hetepi, y provee uno de los primeros testimonios distintivos de la imagen topónimo utilizada para referirse a la península del Sinaí en el antiguo Egipto, “las terrazas de turquesa” (*htjw-mfk3t*).

¹¹ Tallet 2009.

Afortunadamente, el mismo oficial está atestiguado en otras fuentes encontradas en el mismo Sinaí, especialmente en la inscripción IS 10, mencionando una expedición de 1400 de poder, que fue descubierta en Wadi Maghara¹².

Los descubrimientos realizados durante las últimas dos campañas en el sitio de Ayn Soukhna confirman el papel que jugó este enclave en la organización de las expediciones marítimas en el Mar Rojo, tan tempranamente como el Reino Antiguo. Ellos pueden ser conectados claramente con el material que salió a luz en la misma área de las minas, al sur del Sinaí y especialmente con el Wadi-Maghara, que contiene la mayoría de las inscripciones talladas del Reino Antiguo encontradas en la región.

WADI EL-JARF

El descubrimiento del puerto de Wadi el-Jarf complementa este esquema general¹³. El sitio está ubicado en la costa egipcia, 90 km. al sur de Ayn Soukhna y 25 km. al sur de Zafarana. Está situado en la desembocadura de Wadi Araba, el mayor corredor de comunicación entre el Valle del Nilo y el Mar Rojo, a través del cual pasaban las expediciones (**Fig. 8**). Gracias a la angosta abertura del Mar Rojo en esta área, la costa occidental del Sinaí dista sólo 50 km. desde este punto. De hecho, Wadi el-Jarf yace exactamente opuesto a la fortaleza de Ras Budran y la conexión entre ambos es ahora indiscutible.

¹² Gardiner *et al.* 1952: n° 19, lám. IX; completado por E. Edel 1983: 158–63.

¹³ Las excavaciones de Wadi el-Jarf están codirigidas por Pierre Tallet (Université Paris-Sorbonne) y El-Sayed Mahfouz (Assiut University), con la significativa colaboración del arqueólogo Grégory Marouard (Oriental Institute, Chicago University), y Damien Laisney (Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée, Lyon) que llevaron a cabo el registro topográfico del sitio. La Oficina de Asuntos Extranjeros Francesa, el CNRS, el IFAO y la generosidad de la fundación All, soportaron esta investigación. Un reporte más preciso de esta primera campaña arqueológica es actualmente publicado en BIFAO 112 (Tallet *et al.* 2012).

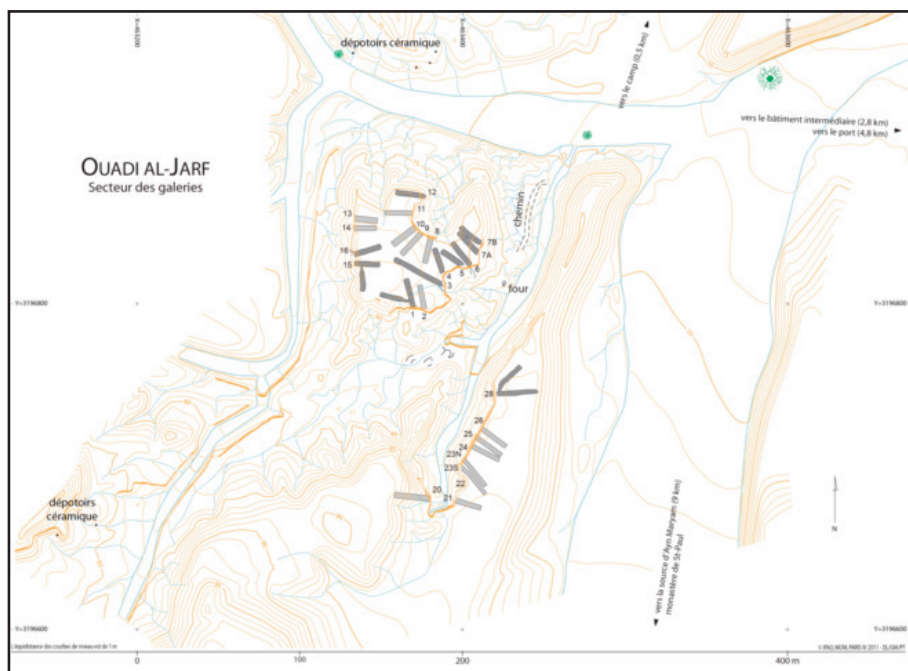


Fig. 8. Complejo de galerías de Wadi el-Jarf. Ilustración de D. Laisney.

Sir G. Wilkinson y J. Burton reportaron por primera vez el sitio a comienzos del siglo XIX¹⁴. Fue redescubierto en 1954 por un grupo de investigadores franceses, Fr. Bissey y R. Chabot-Morisseau, que llevaron adelante investigaciones abortadas prematuramente debido a la crisis de Suez. En 2008 las notas dejadas por Bissey y Chabot-Morisseau¹⁵, y un trabajo de testeo remoto realizado en el área de Zafarana, con las imágenes satelitales de Google Earth, ayudaron a relocalizar el sitio.

Consta de cuatro grupos de instalaciones situadas a lo largo de la costa, al pie de las montañas del manantial del monasterio de San Pablo. De acuerdo con la alfarería, todas las instalaciones datan de la Dinastía IV, más probablemente al comienzo de la primera mitad de la

¹⁴ Wilkinson 1832.

¹⁵ Lacaze y Camino 2008.

misma, con rastros de ocupación que se extienden hasta los comienzos de la Dinastía V.

A cinco kilómetros de la costa yace un imponente complejo de entre 25 y 30 galerías (**Figs. 8 y 9**). Las excavaciones realizadas en cuatro galerías confirmaron su uso como depósito, al igual que en Ayn Soukhna y Mersa Gawasis. Su longitud varía entre 16 y 34 m, con un



Fig. 9. Foto del área de galerías.

ancho promedio de 3 m. y con una altura de 2,5 m. Todas ellas fueron cuidadosamente cavadas en el lecho de piedra caliza siguiendo un patrón preestablecido que se refleja en su relativa uniformidad y sincronía. Largas calzadas realizadas en bloques de piedra de tamaño monumental de más de 2 a 3 m. protegían su acceso, y las entradas estaban cerradas por un sistema de portones rebatibles similares a los conocidos por instalaciones funerarias reales de la época. Restos de una inscripción han sido encontrados a la entrada de la galería mayor, mostrando a un oficial sosteniendo un báculo, apelado “el escriba de Fayum, Idu”. El uso de galerías para el almacenamiento de bienes fue robustecido por el descubrimiento de fragmentos de cabos, textiles, trozos de cajas de madera y cientos de fragmentos de trabajos en madera. Entre los últimos, varias cuñas de acacia y grandes piezas de madera, incluyendo el extremo de un remo, algunos fragmentos de vigas de cedros del Líbano, y una pieza entera de un planero de madera, de 2,75 m. de ancho (**Fig. 10**). Estos descubrimientos indican claramente la presencia



Fig. 10. Parte de un barco, Wadi el-Jarf.

de elementos de barcos en el sitio, probablemente desarmados y almacenados en las galerías. Miles de fragmentos de jarras de almacenaje esféricas fueron también descubiertos *in situ* en varias galerías. Esas jarras fueron usadas para almacenamiento de agua y alimentos y sus superficies estaban frecuentemente marcadas por inscripciones de grandes jeroglíficos en tinta roja, correspondientes a los nombres de los grupos de trabajo, tripulaciones o de los mismos barcos. Estas jarras fueron producidas localmente a gran escala, como surge de la excavación del primer gran horno de alfarería en el sitio. Caracterizado por ser fabricadas con un tipo particular de marga, este tipo de producción local ha sido hallada en todas las múltiples instalaciones de Wadi el-Jarf. Estas jarras han sido también identificadas en pequeñas cantidades en contextos de la Dinastía IV en Ayn Soukhna y en grandes cantidades en la fortaleza de Ras Budran, donde habían sido erróneamente catalogadas como “cerámica sinaítica”. La presencia de esta producción en ambos lados del Golfo de Suez confirma la asociación cercana entre este sitio fortificado y las instalaciones de Wadi el-Jarf.

A quinientos metros al norte del área de las galerías, se observaron tres grupos de campamentos e instalaciones de vigilancia. Situadas en lo alto de un largo promontorio, la más importante está caracterizada por un complejo de construcciones rectangulares que está organizado en piezas tipo celdas que servían como habitaciones.

Otra construcción aislada, por lejos el más grande edificio faraónico encontrado hasta ahora a lo largo de la costa del Mar Rojo, ha sido identificada en la planicie costera entre las galerías y las instalaciones a orilla del mar. Consiste en un edificio rectangular de 60 m. de largo por 30 m. de ancho, dividido en 13 piezas alargadas, y cuya función precisa es todavía desconocida.

El último componente de este sitio está situado directamente sobre la costa. A 200 m. de la orilla, un montículo creado artificialmente en bloques de piedra caliza brinda un punto de referencia, una suerte de referencia visual (*alamat*) que mide 10 m. de diámetro y 6 m. de altura y está rodeado por instalaciones de iluminación de campo. El principal elemento de la costa es un muelle en forma de L que comien-

za en la playa y se extiende hacia el este 160 m. bajo el agua (**Fig. 11**). Y que luego continúa con un patrón irregular hacia el sudeste por otros 120 m. Los vientos constantes y la fuerza de las corrientes costeras norte-sur subrayan su función como una estructura de espigón construida para proteger una vasta zona de fondeo que cubre más de 3 ha.



Fig. 11. Wadi el-Jarf, el puerto. Ilustración de D. Laisney.

El uso de este sitio como puerto ha sido confirmado por el descubrimiento de al menos 21 anclas de piedra caliza y algunas jarras enteras de almacenamiento de producción local. Las anclas, frecuentemente encontradas de a pares, miden entre 60 cm. y 80 cm. de altura y entre 48 cm. y 62 cm. de ancho. Aparecen en formas triangulares, rectangulares y cilíndricas, todas tienen un tope redondeado y un agujero en la parte superior sin ninguna muesca vertical (**Fig. 12**). Es posible que las anclas hayan sido ubicadas permanentemente en el agua para

fondeo de botes en tránsito. Este es, sin embargo, el primer descubrimiento de anclas faraónicas en su contexto original de uso en Egipto y constituyen la más antigua y mayor concentración de este tipo de la Edad del Bronce temprana. Este grupo aporta bastante a la cantidad conocida previamente de antiguas anclas egipcias (35 ejemplares aprox.), la mayoría descubiertas en Mersa Gawasis, exclusivamente en contextos de usos secundarios, y datadas en el Reino Medio.

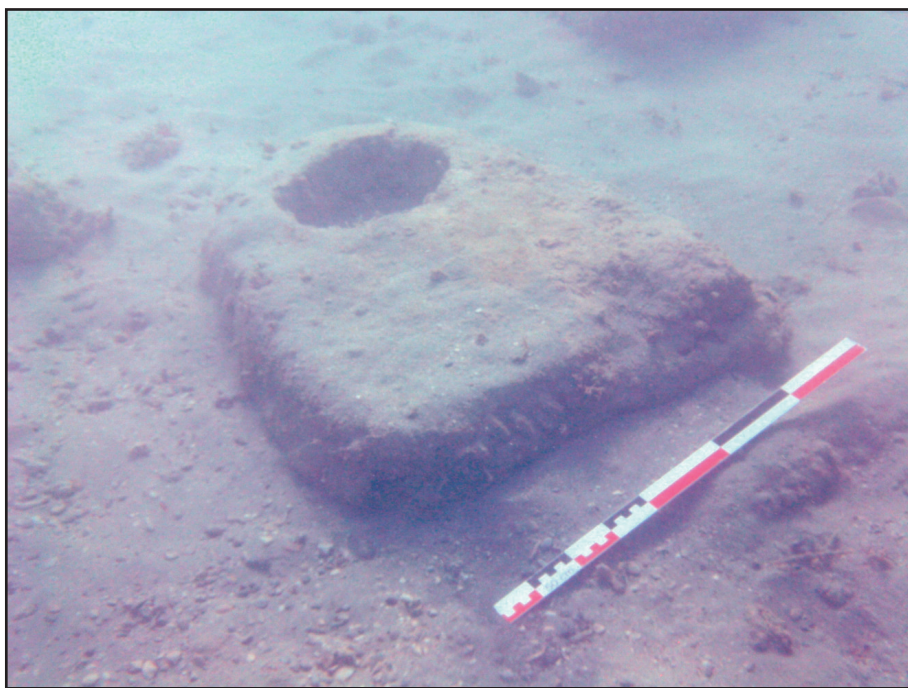


Fig. 12. Ancla en el puerto.

Los recientes descubrimientos en Wadi el-Jarf demuestran una vez más la compleja y extensa organización logística de expediciones marítimas del Reino Antiguo. Enfatizan la determinación, desde la temprana Dinastía IV, de controlar la costa del Mar Rojo y el acceso a los recursos del Sinaí, usando una red de instalaciones estratégicas a ambos lados del Golfo de Suez. Uno sólo puede conjeturar si acaso un

puerto construido a tan gran escala fue solamente utilizado para cruzar el mar hacia el Sinaí o si quizás fue utilizado también para alcanzar la parte sur del Mar Rojo y la distante tierra de Punt.

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ROYAL JUSTICE OR *REALPOLITIK*? THE DIVINER ZŪ-BA'LA AND THE HITTITES ONCE AGAIN*

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Summary: Royal Justice or *Realpolitik*? The Diviner Zū-Ba'la and the Hittites Once Again

The aim of this paper is to reassess an incident involving the Emariote diviner Zū-Ba'la, a certain Alziyamuwa, and an unnamed ruler of Ḫatti. The imposition of *šahḫan* and *luzzi* obligations upon the diviner and the confiscation of his landed property by Alziyamuwa have been regarded in previous scholarship as arbitrary and abusive measures, whereas the king's reaction would represent a just attempt to rectify them. Although this interpretation is certainly feasible, the present paper will discuss the evidence about the alleged abuses committed against Zū-Ba'la, the historical scenario in which they may have taken place, and the potential political considerations behind the royal verdict.

Keywords: Emar – Hittite Administration – Zū-Ba'la

Resumen: ¿Justicia real o *Realpolitik*? El adivino Zū-Ba'la y los hititas una vez más

El objetivo de esta contribución es reexaminar un incidente en el cual estuvieron involucrados el adivino emariota Zū-Ba'la, un tal Alziyamuwa y un soberano de Ḫatti no identificado. En la literatura académica previa se ha considerado que la imposición de las obligaciones *šahḫan* y *luzzi* sobre el adivino y la confiscación de su propiedad llevada a cabo por Alziyamuwa fueron medidas arbitrarias y abusivas, mientras que la reacción del rey representaría un intento justo de rectificación. Si bien esta interpretación es factible, en el presente trabajo se discutirá la evidencia sobre los supuestos abu-

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* Abbreviations follow *The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. In addition, note: ASJ-14 = Tsukimoto 1992; *Emar* = Arnaud 1985, 1986, 1987b; ETBLM = Westenholz 2000; RE = Beckman 1996; SMEA-45 = Salvini and Trémouille 2003.

sos cometidos contra Zū-Baʿla, el escenario histórico en el que podrían haber tenido lugar y las posibles consideraciones políticas detrás del veredicto del monarca.

Palabras clave: Emar – Administración hitita – Zū-Baʿla

INTRODUCTION

Zū-Baʿla was a diviner from the ancient city of Emar who lived roughly between the end of the fourteenth and the middle of the thirteenth century BC.¹ This contribution will focus on one episode of his life that can be partially reconstructed from SMEA-45 1 (Msk 731097) and ETBLM 32, two Hittite letters addressed to a certain Alziyamuwa.² The first of them was found inside building M₁ during the excavations conducted at Meskene Qadime in the 1970s,³ whereas the second was purchased in the antiquities market and therefore lacks proper contextual information.⁴ According to SMEA-45 1:3–16, Zū-Baʿla lodged a complaint before an unnamed king of Ḫatti for two reasons: on the one hand, part of his landed property had been confiscated by Alziyamuwa—probably a Hittite official active in the Middle Euphrates region—and given to a man named Palluwa; on the other hand, he had been subjected to *šaḫḫan* and *luzzi*, *i.e.*, a set of state-imposed obligations.⁵ In response to this complaint, the sovereign sent

¹ For an overview of the documents related to Zū-Baʿla and his family, see Cohen 2009: 147–180 (with previous literature); on their chronology, see Cohen and d’Alfonso 2008; Yamada 2013 (but cf. the rejoinder in Cohen 2013); Démare-Lafont and Fleming 2015. Although various members of this family claimed for themselves the title of “diviner,” it is not clear if they actually practiced the art of divination (Fleming 2000: 26–35; cf. Rutz 2013: 319–321; Michel 2014: 135 n. 586).

² SMEA-45 1 was initially translated by E. Laroche (1982: 54), and re-edited in full by M. Salvini and M.-C. Trémouille (2003); other editions with commentary can be found in Hagenbuchner 1989: 40–44; Singer 2000; Hoffner 2009: 367–371. ETBLM 32 was re-edited in Singer 2000 after a preliminary treatment in Westenholz 2000.

³ No specific find-spot unit is provided in the final publication (Salvini and Trémouille 2003: 225), but according to M. Rutz (2013: 144) the cumulative evidence suggests that SMEA-45 1 should be associated with Locus 1.

⁴ ETBLM 32 belongs to a group of cuneiform tablets housed at the Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem that can be linked by prosopography, seal impressions, and textual typology with those unearthed at Meskene Qadime (Westenholz 2000: xi).

a letter to Alziyamuwa (SMEA-45 1) ordering him to restore the confiscated estate and declaring that Zū-Ba'la should pay only that which he used to pay in the past. Both directives were subsequently repeated, with minor variations, by a ruler of Karkemiš in ETBLM 32.⁶

The prevailing view about this affair is that the Hittite king tried to rectify an abuse of power carried out by Alziyamuwa: I. Singer, for example, portrays it as a “blunt case of corruption” and describes the royal decision as “a just verdict against the abuses of the very administration that served the Hittite state.”⁷ Although this interpretation is certainly feasible, the present paper will discuss the evidence about the alleged abuses committed against Zū-Ba'la, their historical setting, and the pragmatic considerations that may have influenced the sovereign's ruling.

ALZIYAMUWA AND ZŪ-BA'LA

Apart from SMEA-45 1 and ETBLM 32, there is no further reference to Alziyamuwa in our sources. However, it seems logical to assume that he was a Hittite functionary under the jurisdiction of the king of Karkemiš. A few observations should be made in relation to his actions against Zū-Ba'la:

⁵ On *šahḫan* and *luzzi* in general, see the study by F. Imparati (1982) and more recently the work of R. Haase (2003: 638–639; 2008; 2009) and J. Lorenz (2017), as well as the corresponding entries in CHD (L-N: 90–91; Š: 2–7); particularly regarding SMEA-45 1, see Imparati 1982: 264–267; 1997: 209–210; Yamada 2006: 233–234; Pruzsinszky 2007: 30–31; Lorenz 2017: 198–199. Since these two words are often joined asyndetically in Old and Middle Hittite documents (as is also the case in SMEA-45 1:25), Imparati considers that “dès cette époque déjà on ne devait pas sentir fortement une distinction très nette entre les deux termes” (1982: 245; cf. also Haase 2003: 638). Moreover, according to J. Puhvel (2015; HED SA: 7–11) the word pair *šahḫan luzzi* should be understood as a unitary expression meaning “discharge of duty” or “service rendering.”

⁶ Based on the fact that Zū-Ba'la is referred to with the proximal demonstrative *kā-*, “this,” in SMEA-45 1:3 and ETBLM 32:3, H. A. Hoffner (2009: 367–368) suggests he might have accompanied the messenger(s) who carried both letters; cf. HKM 57:10 for a similar use of *kā-*, discussed in Goedegebuure 2014: 286–287.

⁷ Singer 2000: 70. Similar opinions are expressed in Laroche 1980: 241; Imparati 1982: 266; 1988: 227; 1997: 209–210; Arnaud 1987a: 11 n. 17; Beckman 1995: 31; Salvini and Trémouille 2003: 230; Yamada 2006: 227; Démare-Lafont 2008b: 214. On corruption in the Hittite bureaucracy, see Beckman forthcoming.

1. The confiscated properties are said to have belonged to a certain *ṁanda-ma-li* (SMEA-45 1:6). According to M. Yamada, this should be understood as the Hittite rendering of the PN Adda-mālik (^dIŠKUR-*ma-lik*), where the theophoric element Adda/Addu adopts a nasalized form and the final consonant is omitted.⁸ In turn, Y. Cohen argues that Adda-mālik was actually Zū-Ba^ʿla’s father-in-law, as suggested by the word *išhanittar(a)*- employed in the letter from the king of Ḫatti.⁹ He also claims that Adda-mālik’s daughter was a woman called Tarṣipu, whom Zū-Ba^ʿla had apparently married.¹⁰ In *Emar* 201 and *Emar* 202, two documents that postdate SMEA-45 1 and ETBLM 32, the diviner explicitly prevents a certain Ḫimaši-Dagan and the “three sons of Tarṣipu” (*i.e.*, Kattu, Zū-Aštarti, and Imūt-hamadī) from laying claim to his landed property.¹¹ Cohen follows J.-M. Durand and L. Marti in considering Ḫimaši-Dagan as Tarṣipu’s son from a former marriage,¹² and concludes that:

*The property of Adda-mālik referred to as confiscated in the Hittite letter is to be understood as part of the estate that this very person bequeathed to his daughter Tarṣipu and to which her sons were not to lay claim. It now becomes clear why the property fell into dispute. With Tarṣipu and Ḫimaši[-Dagan] demanding the property on one side and Zū-Ba^ʿla on the other, it might have been Alziyamuwa’s prerogative to seal the matter altogether by confiscating the property.*¹³

⁸ Yamada 1998: 327.

⁹ Cohen 2009: 153; see also Hoffner 2009: 368.

¹⁰ Cohen 2009: 151.

¹¹ See Solans 2014: 165–168, with previous literature.

¹² Durand and Marti 2003: 178. Contra Cohen 2009: 151, B. E. Solans (2014: 167 n. 861) considers that Kattu, Zū-Aštarti, and Imūt-hamadī should also be regarded as Zū-Ba^ʿla’s adoptive, and not biological, children; otherwise one could hardly explain the existence of written documents recording their father’s obligation to find them a wife (see *Emar* 202:17–20; cf. also Durand and Marti 2003: 178–179).

¹³ Cohen 2009: 154. Against Cohen’s hypothesis concerning the confiscation of Adda-mālik’s estate, it should be noted that *Emar* 201 contains a clause (ll. 34–39) declaring void two tablets held by Ḫimaši-Dagan, one of them sealed by Ini-Teššub and the other by the local authorities

However, Yamada has proposed a different reconstruction: in his opinion, Dagan-Iā'i—whose sons were made heirs by Zū-Ba'la in *Emar* 201, *Emar* 202, and *Emar* 203—was probably Adda-mālik's daughter,¹⁴ whereas Taršipu should be regarded only as a slave concubine.¹⁵ Upon marriage to Dagan-Iā'i, the diviner would have entered into Adda-mālik's household with the status of an adopted son and would have succeeded to his “high-ranking religious office.”¹⁶ Moreover, Yamada considers that the intervention of the kings of Ḫatti and Karkemiš when Zū-Ba'la inherited Adda-mālik's property may imply some trouble with the latter's natural son(s) or brother(s).¹⁷

Be that as it may, it is clear that Zū-Ba'la (1) owned real estate previously belonging to his father-in-law, and (2) precluded four individuals (Ḫimaši-Dagan, Kattu, Zū-Aštarti, and Imūt-hamadī) from raising any future claim against his legitimate successors, *i.e.*, Dagan-Iā'i's offspring. In view of this situation, it is possible that the confiscation of Adda-mālik's property was prompted by an inheritance dispute, as suggested by Cohen. In fact, Singer points out that apparently not all of Zū-Ba'la's real estate holdings were expropriated, since the imposition of *šahḫan* and *luzzi* involved land tenancy.¹⁸ The alleged handing over of the confiscated property to Palluwa, who might also have been a Hittite official,¹⁹ could suggest that the whole operation was carried out only to reap unlawful profits, but this interpretation cannot be proved or refuted.

of *Emar*. Solans (2014: 166–167) suggests that these documents might have recorded the adoption of Taršipu's sons by Zū-Ba'la, along with Ḫimaši-Dagan's primogeniture rights (cf. Durand and Marti 2003: 178). If we accept this reconstruction, then it would be odd to assume that a dispute between Taršipu/Ḫimaši-Dagan and Zū-Ba'la took place before Ini-Teššub's reign; see further below on the dating of SMEA-45 1/ETBLM 32 and *Emar* 201.

¹⁴ Yamada 2013: 138 n. 59.

¹⁵ Yamada 2013: 144; cf. Cohen 2013: 291–292.

¹⁶ Yamada 2013: 138 n. 59. A number of scholars argue that Zū-Ba'la's father was an individual called Šuršu: see Hagenbuchner 1989: 43; d'Alfonso 2000: 276–277; Adamthwaite 2001: 35; Skaist 2005: 616–619; Rutz 2006: 597 n. 25; 2013: 282; Fleming 2008: 38 n. 36; Cohen 2009: 149–150; 2013: 291–292 (but cf. Yamada 2007; 2013: 143–144).

¹⁷ Yamada 2013: 138 n. 59.

¹⁸ Singer 2000: 69; however, cf. Lorenz 2017: 200–201.

¹⁹ Singer 2000: 69–70; see further below.

2. Yamada considers that some citizens of Emar served the Hittite administration in exchange for landed property, and concludes that Zū-Ba^ʿla belonged to this group of “Emaro-Hittites”:

Now we may ask if Zū-Ba^ʿla too was an Emaro-Hittite. The answer must be “Yes.” In fact, it is only in this context that the ‘oppression’ of Zū-Ba^ʿla can be fully understood. First, Alziyamuwa could impose the šahḥan- and luzzi-duties on him, since the ordinary Emaro-Hittites had to perform Hittite obligations. Second, it is not surprising that Alziyamuwa confiscated his landed property, since it was, in form at least, given him by the king of Carchemish; confiscation would happen to any Emaro-Hittite who was regarded as disloyal to the Hittite authority. Therefore, the deeds of Alziyamuwa were not exactly contrary to the Hittite policy concerning Emaro-Hittites, but rather, in a sense, faithful to it!²⁰

Although the rights and obligations of this putative category of citizens are not entirely clear, we should admit the possibility that the procedures applied by Alziyamuwa actually had a coherent basis in legal terms. It is not unreasonable to assume that, as a member of the provincial bureaucracy, he could rightfully impose and/or enforce specific obligations upon certain citizens under his jurisdiction. In fact, as L. d’Alfonso points out, “the Hittite administration at Emar had competence within each single field of the internal life of the city.”²¹ Moreover, the levying of taxes by Hittite officials on local residents is attested elsewhere in the corpus of Emar texts (e.g., the GIŠ.TUKUL-duty in *Emar* 18, *Emar* 33, ASJ-14 46, and ASJ-14 47).²²

The problem lies in determining whether the criteria adopted to impose šahḥan and luzzi upon Zū-Ba^ʿla were legitimate or arbitrary, and

²⁰ Yamada 2006: 233–234.

²¹ d’Alfonso 2005a: 20.

²² See Beal 1988: 289–291; Adamthwaite 2001: 99–114; Bellotto 2002; d’Alfonso 2005a; 2005b: 181–191; Yamada 2006: 229–232.

whether or not this was done to obtain illegal gains. Both issues are difficult to elucidate from the evidence at hand. In SMEA-45 1:10–16, the diviner claims that he did not have to fulfill those obligations previously.²³ This statement may imply that he had been declared exempt from *šahhan* and *luzzi* in the past, as first suggested by Imparati,²⁴ or simply that these taxes had been only recently levied on him. The king's command is that Zū-Ba'la should pay the same as he used to pay before (SMEA-45 1:27–29), probably because he was unaware of the precise fiscal situation of the diviner.²⁵ It remains uncertain if further inquiries were actually conducted after the complaint was lodged, but from SMEA-45 1 it would appear that the plaintiff's testimony sufficed to annul the decisions taken by Alziyamuwa, regardless of any reason the latter might have had to justify them. On the other hand, as pointed out by Hoffner, it is not always evident in our documentation to whom *šahhan* and *luzzi* were rendered.²⁶ Although Alziyamuwa could have been the direct beneficiary in this case, it is also possible that the court of Karkemiš was in charge of managing the collection of taxes at Emar.²⁷

The final ruling was perhaps influenced by Zū-Ba'la's prestigious profession, which is explicitly mentioned in both letters.²⁸ In fact, SMEA-45 1 contains an emphatic closing statement, formulated as a general warning and not directed in particular against Alziyamuwa: "He should do nothing else and nobody should oppress him!" (ll. 30–32: *ʿta¹-ma-i-ma le-e ku-i[t-ki] / i-ya-zi ʿna¹-an le-e / ku-iš-ki da[m]-mi-*

²³ A similar argument is found in HKM 52, where a scribe called Tarhunmiya contends that *šahhan* and *luzzi* were imposed upon him even though he had never performed these duties before; see Alp 1990; Imparati 1997.

²⁴ Imparati 1982: 265; see also Singer 2000: 69.

²⁵ Singer 2000: 69.

²⁶ Hoffner 1997: 244.

²⁷ As a matter of fact, the ruler of Karkemiš declares in ETBLM 32—if we accept Singer's restoration of line 16—that he will come and "release" (*tarnaḥḥi*) Zū-Ba'la, presumably from *šahhan* and *luzzi*.

²⁸ Zū-Ba'la is described as LÚ.AZU, "the diviner," in SMEA-45 1:4 and ETBLM 32:4 (Michel 2014: 135 n. 586). The granting of exemptions from *šahhan* and *luzzi* to individuals and institutions related to the cultic sphere is attested elsewhere; see Imparati 1982: 236–243; Haase 2008.

iš-ḥa-iz-zi).²⁹ According to Singer, the occurrence of the phrase “for/to the deity” (*ANA DINGIR-LIM*) in ETBLM 32:20 must indicate that the king of Karkemiš explained the grounds for the verdict with reference to the sacred status of the diviner and his property.³⁰

The events reported in SMEA-45 1 and ETBLM 32 might represent a case of corruption, but our evidence is not clear-cut. By themselves, neither the confiscation of property (which may have been carried out in order to settle an inheritance conflict, or for other reasons unknown to us) nor the imposition/enforcement of taxes can be considered proof of an intentional wrongdoing: in fact, Alziyamuwa could have implemented both measures within the limits defined by the Hittite legal system, or could have simply misapplied a royal or vice-regal policy, without necessarily attempting to obtain personal profits.

This incident may perhaps be understood vis-à-vis the apparent contradictions between the customary practices of the Middle Euphrates region and the legal and social institutions introduced by the Hittites, which seem to have met with some resistance from the local population.³¹ If the controversy took place in a context where the juridi-

²⁹ The last phrase is reproduced word for word in ETBLM 32:10–11, also with the verb *dammešḫai-*, “to damage” (HEG T/D: 79–80; Kloekhorst 2008: 825–826). This verb, formed from the noun *dammešḫa-* (“damage, act of violence, punishment”), has been connected already by A. Götze (1925: 62–64; 1930: 178–179) with *tamašš-/tamešš-*, “to oppress.” On the basis of the relevant passages from each letter mentioned above, Yamada (2006: 227) considers that “both kings [*i.e.*, the ruler of Ḫatti and the ruler of Karkemiš] regarded the deeds of Alziyamuwa as ‘oppression,’ in other words, abuse of his power.” It is clear that the verb *dammešḫai-* indicates some degree of damage/oppression inflicted upon a given object, person, or area: in military incursions, for example, the enemy could damage the crops (HKM 25:20–21) or the countryside (HKM 46:17); likewise, the land of Ḫatti could be oppressed by a plague (*e.g.*, KUB 14.14+). Damage/oppression by means of the imposition of *šaḫḫan* and *luzzi* is attributed to the “men of the town” of Tapikka in HKM 52:25–39, and to the Kaška in KUB 17.21 i 24’–25’ (see CHD L-N: 91 [sub *luzzi-* c]); cf. also VS 28.129 (Hagenbuchner-Dresel 1999: 50–58) and ABoT 1.56 iii 4’–15’. Although the association between “oppression” and “abuse of power” suggested by Yamada is possible, the verb *dammešḫai-* seems to describe primarily an effect, *i.e.*, damage/oppression, without necessarily implying that the cause of this effect was a deliberate act of corruption by which the responsible agent sought to obtain personal benefits.

³⁰ Singer 2000: 69; cf. Beckman 2001: 196.

³¹ See d’Alfonso 2005a; 2005b: 177–199; Mora 2010: 167–168.

cal framework was still unclear or loosely defined, both parties might have considered that their rights were legitimate (*i.e.*, the right of Alziyamuwa to confiscate lands and to impose obligations, and the right of Zū-Ba'la to defend his property and his fiscal status).³² In any case, the available information is insufficient to determine with confidence whether the legal prescriptions in force at that time were respected or deliberately violated by Alziyamuwa for his own benefit.

SMEA-45 1 AND ETBLM 32 IN THEIR CONTEXT

In order to gain a better understanding of the whole episode, we could also attempt to place it in its wider historical context. A major obstacle in this respect is the fact that neither SMEA-45 1 nor ETBLM 32 provides us with a precise chronological anchor. However, apparently the same matter is mentioned retrospectively in *Emar* 201. This legal document, drafted during the reign of Ini-Teššub, contains a sort of historical prologue where the diviner declares how he acquired part of his property (ll. 1–18):³³

- 1 *a-na pa-ni* ^m*i-ni*-^dU-[*ub* LUGAL KUR URU.*kar-ga-mis*]
- 2 DUMU ^m*ša-hu-ru-nu-wa* L[UGAL KUR URU.*kar-ga-mis*]
- 3 DUMU DUMU-*šu ša* ^mLUGAL-^d30 LU[GAL KUR URU.*kar-ga-mis-ma* UR.SAG]
- 4 ^m*zu-ba-la* LÚ.MÁŠ.ŠU.GÍ[D.GÍD *a-kán-na*]
- 5 *iq-bi um-ma-a* x [...]
- 6 *it-ti* ^dUTU-*ši* [...]
- 7 *ù* ^m*mur-ši*-[DINGIR-*li*]
- 8 *a-na* ^m*ša-hu*-[*ru-nu-wa*]

³² The “treaty of Emar” (*māmītu ša* URU.*Emar*), mentioned in *Emar* 18, may have been enacted under the auspices of Ini-Teššub in order to bridge the gap between the Hittite laws and the native customary norms; see Yamada 1997: 19; d’Alfonso 2000: 290–292; Adamthwaite 2001: 203–207; Solans 2014: 163–164; Pruzsinszky and Solans 2015: 323–324.

³³ This transliteration follows that of Durand and Marti (2003: 177–178), which includes new readings after collation; however, cf. their restoration of lines 5–6: *iq-bi um-ma-a* ^rÉ¹.[MEŠ A.ŠÁ.MEŠ *ù* KIRI₆.NUMUN *ša* ^md¹ISKUR-*ma-lik*] / *it-ti* ^dUTU-*ši* [*ir-gu-um*]. See also Durand 1990: 70–71.

- 9 LUGAL KUR URU.[*kar-ga-mis*]
 10 *iq-[bi]*
 11 *um-ma-a* [É.MEŠ A.ŠÀ.M]EŠ
 12 *ù* GIŠ.KIRI₆.[NUMUN]
 13 *ša* ^{md}IŠKUR-[*ma-lik*]
 14 *a-na zu-[ba-la]*
 15 *i-din-mi* *ù* [^m*ša-hu-ru-nu-w*]a
 16 LUGAL KUR URU.*kar-g*[*a-mis* É.MEŠ A.ŠÀ.ME]Š
 17 *ù* GIŠ.KIRI₆.NUMUN [*ša* ^dIŠKUR-*ma-lik*]
 18 *id-din* *ù* ^r*i*¹-[*na-an-na ku-un-ka*]-šu-/[*nu-ti*]

In the presence of Ini-Teššub, [king of the land of Karkemiš], son of Šaḥurunuwā, k[ing of the land of Karkemiš], grandson of Šarri-Kušuḥ, ki[ng of the land of Karkemiš, the hero], Zū-Ba^cla, the divin[er], said [as follows]: “[...] with His Majesty [...]. And Muršili[li] sa[id] to Šaḥurunuwā, king of the land of [Karkemiš]: ‘Give to Zū-[Ba^cla the houses, the field]s, and the orch[ard] of Adda-[mālik].’ And [Šaḥurunuw]a, king of the land of Kark[emiš], gave [the houses, the field]s, and the orchard [of Adda-mālik (to Zū-Ba^cla)]. And [now, seal them for me].”

Whether the ruler in question was Muršili II, as initially suggested by D. Arnaud,³⁴ or Muršili III/Urḫi-Teššub, according to A. Skaist’s proposal,³⁵ remains an open question.³⁶ This issue is especially relevant to infer Zū-Ba^cla’s age at the time when *Emar 201* was composed, and by extension to understand the term of office of all the sequence of divin-

³⁴ Arnaud 1975: 91–92; 1984: 179; 1987a: 12 n. 30.

³⁵ Skaist 2005: 613–614.

³⁶ J. D. Hawkins (2011: 97) notes that in sources other than seals there is yet no unequivocal evidence that Urḫi-Teššub used the name Muršili. However, as he points out, some possible examples have been proposed: see for instance the extensive discussion on KUB 21.33 by M. Cammarosano (2009, with previous literature). In any case, this should not exclude a priori the possibility that the king mentioned in Zū-Ba^cla’s testament was Muršili III.

ers.³⁷ Although Skaist outlines a reasonable chronological framework in his reconstruction, other Hittite sources may support an identification with Muršili II. Let us point out some remarks concerning this problem:

1. *Emar* 201:19–22 reads:

- 19 *i-na-an-na* ^m*i-ni*-[^d*U-ub*]
 20 LUGAL KUR URU.*kar-ga-mi*[*s* É.MEŠ A.ŠÀ.MEŠ GIŠ.KIRI₆.
 NUMUN]
 21 *ša* ^d*IŠKUR-ma-lik a-na* ^m*zu*-[*ba-la*]
 22 *ik-ta-na-ak-šu-nu-ti*

Now Ini-[Teššub], king of the land of Karkemi[š], sealed [the houses, the fields, and the orchard] of Adda-mālik to Zū-[Ba^ˆla].

In view of the fact that Ini-Teššub executed a sealed document for the diviner, Skaist infers that Šaḥurunuwa died before concluding “all the formalities necessary to restore the property to Zū-Ba^ˆla.”³⁸ This conjecture is central to his argument: since it is unlikely that a long period of time elapsed between the king’s command and its subsequent implementation, then it would be logical to assume that the matter was resolved by Ini-Teššub soon after his predecessor’s death—and therefore that it was Muršili III who gave the original order to Šaḥurunuwa.³⁹

However, the act of “sealing” (*i.e.*, giving by means of a sealed document)⁴⁰ the estate of Adda-mālik to Zū-Ba^ˆla does not preclude the possibility that the actual transference of goods had already been performed. In this respect, for example, two kudurru inscriptions dating to the twelfth century BC (MAI I 1 and MAI I 6) as well as another from the seventh century BC (ŠŠU 2) show that royal confirmation of land

³⁷ See Démare-Lafont and Fleming 2015.

³⁸ Skaist 2005: 613 (italics removed).

³⁹ See Skaist 2005: 613–614; Cohen and d’Alfonso 2008: 13.

⁴⁰ See CAD K: 140–141 (sub *kanāku* 4a).

grants made by a previous ruler could be solicited if the beneficiary had not received a sealed document as proof of ownership.⁴¹ Even if Zū-Ba^ʿla did possess an earlier sealed record,⁴² Ini-Teššub's intervention may have been requested simply to confirm or update its content: as a matter of fact, in RE 54—a confirmation of ownership issued by Ini-Teššub himself—the proprietor declares that the king “renewed” the tablets concerning his house.⁴³

⁴¹ Abbreviations follow Paulus 2014. In MAI I 1, a certain Munnabittu claims that in the past king Meli-Šipak had given him a field but had not sealed it; consequently, a third party was now contesting part of that property. The dispute was settled by Marduk-apla-iddina I in favor of Munnabittu, who received a sealed document ratifying his ownership. Another confirmation by the same ruler is recorded in MAI I 6: in this case the earlier land grant had been made by Adad-šuma-ušur, and a tablet impressed with the royal seal was also lacking. Finally, in ŠŠU 2 a man recalls that Esarhaddon had restored some fields to his father but had not given him a sealed record; the petitioner thus requests such a written guarantee from Šamaš-šuma-ukīn in order to prevent rival claims against him and his heirs (see Slanski 2003: 118–121 [but cf. Charpin 2002: 177–178]; Paulus 2014: 116–119).

⁴² Right in the middle of the reverse, SMEA-45 1 bears an imprint of about 2 × 1 cm with a relatively uniform pattern that obliterates some of the signs. D. Beyer (2001: 16, 438, 447) argues that this is the royal *sissiktum*, i.e., an impression of the hem of a garment of the king (CAD S: 322–325). Given that the hem could replace a personal seal in legal records, Démare-Lafont concludes that it essentially functioned as a “symbole de la personnalité juridique de celui qui l'utilise” (2008a: 13; cf. Malul 1988: 299–309; Podany 2010: 51–53; Tanaka 2013: 66–81). However, it is unclear why SMEA-45 1 was sealed with this technique. Salvini and Trémouille (2003: 228) consider that the official seal might have been unavailable at the time when the letter was drafted, or that perhaps the affair was deemed unimportant or too “private.” Since this is apparently the only recorded *sissiktum* in the Hittite corpus (Salvini and Trémouille 2003: 228), one may tentatively suggest that the ruler borrowed a legal mechanism in use at Emar and other Syrian cities (e.g., Ekalte; see Marti 2007), adapting it to the sealing procedure he was familiar with: the imprint seems to be positioned in the same way as the royal seal in the documents found at Ḫattuša (although most of the latter are sealed on the obverse; see Herbordt 2005: 25–39; Waal 2015: 44–48), and, unlike other examples from the Middle Euphrates region, it is not accompanied by a descriptive formula with the name of the owner of the hem (cf., for instance, ETBLM 4:35'–38').

⁴³ RE 54:3b–5 reads: *ṭup-pa.ḪI.A ša É-ti-ya / ṽiṽ-ta-ap-ru-mi ù LUGAL ṭup-pa.ḪI.A / ša-a-na-ti-ma ú-ut-te-di-iš-šu-nu-ti*, “they sent the tablets concerning my house, and the king renewed these tablets with others.” However, A. Tsukimoto has suggested that the verbal form *ṽiṽ-ta-ap-ru* could be derived from *labāru* and therefore translates “die Urkunden bezüglich meines Hauses sind veraltet” (1998: 188; cf. Huehnergard 2001: 136). He further notes that “mit ‘veraltet sein’ ist gemeint, daß die Tafel entweder äußerlich beschädigt oder inhaltlich veraltet war, wobei ich letzteres für wahrscheinlicher halte” (1998: 188).

With these considerations in mind, it is possible to envisage an alternative sequence of events where: (1) Muršili II gave an order to Šaḥurunuwa and, as suggested by *Emar* 201:15–18, the latter actually carried it out; (2) many years later (around thirty, according to Cohen and d'Alfonso),⁴⁴ Zū-Ba'la turned to Ini-Teššub in order to define certain provisions for his succession, and in this process the king confirmed his rights over the estate of Adda-mālik.⁴⁵ Validation by means of a sealed record might have been necessary to neutralize potential claims if an inheritance dispute arose, especially considering that Ḫimaši-Dagan, now deprived of his patrimonial rights, was still in possession of another document that also had the seal of Ini-Teššub.⁴⁶ The c. thirty-year gap that has to be assumed in this reconstruction, resulting from the interval between the end of Muršili II's reign and the beginning of Ini-Teššub's, is certainly puzzling: S. Démare-Lafont and D. E. Fleming point out that “the M-1 archive does not preserve evidence for such a long occupation of the diviner's office by Zu-Ba'la, as by a larger collection of texts identified with him.”⁴⁷ However, this partial lack of evidence may well be a consequence of different factors related to the formation of the archive and/or archaeological chance, among other possible explanations.

2. Yamada rejects Skaist's hypothesis, claiming that the title ^dUTU-šī in *Emar* 201:6 refers most probably to the king of Ḫatti who was in office when the testament was drawn up, and that the individual mentioned in the following line (^mmur-šī-[DINGIR-lī]) was not the same person, but a preceding ruler.⁴⁸ He goes on to surmise that if the latter is identified

⁴⁴ Cohen and d'Alfonso 2008: 13 n. 41; see also d'Alfonso 2000: 275.

⁴⁵ d'Alfonso (2000: 275) considers that a confirmation of the previous king's decision was probably made in the first years of the following ruler, right after his installation on the throne.

⁴⁶ See note 13 above. In fact, according to Skaist, “it is very likely that the history of the property of Adda-malik was placed before the actual testament in order to emphasize that even though Ḫešmi-Dagan may have had documents stipulating that he was to receive the property of Adda-malik, the final right of disposition remained with Zū-Ba'la” (2005: 612 [italics removed]). Moreover, Solans (2011: 204 n. 250) points out that perhaps it was the diviner himself—if we accept Durand and Marti's restoration of *Emar* 201:18 (ⁱ1-[na-an-na ku-un-ka]-šu-/[nu-ti])—who requested the transfer of goods under seal.

⁴⁷ Démare-Lafont and Fleming 2015: 51 n. 32.

⁴⁸ Yamada 2007: 798–799; 2013: 138.

with Muršili III, then *Emar* 201 should be dated to the reign of one of his immediate successors. And since it has often been assumed that during the reigns of both Ḫattušili III and Tudḫaliya IV the Anatolian name Muršili was intentionally avoided when referring to Urḫi-Teššub,⁴⁹ Yamada considers that the scribes responsible for *Emar* 201 (*i.e.*, Marianni and Puḫi-šenni)⁵⁰ would have replaced it with the Hurrian one. Even though this line of reasoning is not without logic, it should be noted that the lacunae in *Emar* 201:5–6 preclude a full and unequivocal reading of the text.⁵¹

3. The evidence of contact between Ḫatti and the land of Aštata during Muršili II's reign offers a coherent background for SMEA-45 1 and ETBLM 32, favoring an identification with this king rather than with Muršili III.⁵² In fact, Zū-Ba'la is described by the Hittite sovereign as a “man of Aštata” (LÚ URU.aš-ta-ta) in SMEA-45 1:5. Three texts are of particular relevance here:

- KBo 4.4+ ii 59–62: from the annals of Muršili II we know that this ruler visited the region of Aštata in his ninth year, built a fortress there, and garrisoned it.

- KUB 14.4 iv 10–23: Muršili II's prayer about the misdeeds of his stepmother, the Tawannanna, deals with an incident involving the “silver of Aštata.”⁵³

- KUB 5.6+: this oracle report is the result of an inquiry conducted in order to determine the cause of an unnamed Hittite king's sickness (most probably Muršili II).⁵⁴ According to KUB 5.6+, a certain deity had to be worshiped “in the manner of Aštata” and therefore someone

⁴⁹ See the remarks by Cammarosano (2009: 195) concerning this putative “throne name *damnatio memoriae*.”

⁵⁰ On these officials, see d'Alfonso 2000: 279–280, 283–284; Adamthwaite 2001: 49–50; Mora 2004b: 435–436, 441; Cohen 2009: 112; Balza 2012.

⁵¹ See note 33 above.

⁵² See Cohen and d'Alfonso 2008: 13 n. 41; d'Alfonso 2011: 172 n. 19. For an overview of the Hittite documents concerning the land of Aštata, see Archi 2014.

⁵³ See de Martino 1998; Singer 2002: 73–77; Miller 2014.

⁵⁴ See most recently Ünal 2005; Beckman *et al.* 2011: 183–209.

was apparently sent there in order to bring a local priest (LÚ.SANGA) to Ḫattuša.⁵⁵ This text also mentions that the people of Aštata advised the Hittites to “incinerate birds before the deity” (KUB 5.6+ i 44’–48’). It is interesting to note here that Ba‘al-qarrād, Zū-Ba‘la’s eldest son and heir, employed a seal depicting a scene that may be interpreted as the ritual incineration of a bird offered by a royal figure to a god (**Fig. 1**).⁵⁶ However, this iconographic representation and the events described in KUB 5.6+ are not necessarily connected.

4. d’Alfonso argues that Muṣšili II sought to impose an administrative model in Syria based on the direct contact with the local powers:

*Following the conquests of Suppiluliuma, the newly installed Hittite governors faced a dynamic opposition in the form of some powerful Syrian dynasties. This dynamic led the Hittite governors to develop their own general vision and broad guidelines for the many lands of the Syrian region. Further, the central imperial command did not have full control over military power in the region, because a significant portion of the troops was under the control of one of these new Hittite governors, the king of Karkamiš. Therefore, Mursili II had to correct the relationship between central command and local administrations in Syria by direct intervention.*⁵⁷

If we assume that it was actually Muṣšili II who responded to Zū-Ba‘la’s complaint, the political meaning of his decision may be interpreted from a different perspective—especially in the light of CTH 63.2.⁵⁸ This document is concerned with a dispute between Tuppi-Teššub of Amurru and three prominent Hittite representatives in Syria,

⁵⁵ In A. Archi’s opinion, it is quite probable that this priest was “a member of the important family of Zū-Ba‘la, if he was not Zū-Ba‘la himself” (2014: 147).

⁵⁶ See Beyer 2001: 84, 351 n. 655; cf. also Minunno 2013: 44–45. An anonymous reviewer suggests that the shapes upon the altar are probably bread loaves, and that the figure to the left is just displaying his associated symbol, as usual in Syro-Hittite glyptic, rather than consigning the bird to the flames. On the attribution of this seal to Ba‘al-qarrād, see Cohen 2009: 155–156.

⁵⁷ d’Alfonso 2011: 173.

⁵⁸ Re-edited with new joins in Miller 2007.

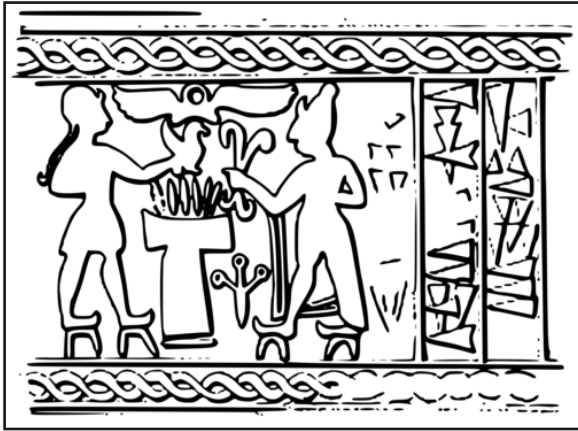


Fig. 1. Seal of Baʿal-qarrād (after Beyer 2001: 84).

one of whom was the king of Karkemiš.⁵⁹ Tuppi-Teššub’s antagonists had apparently refused to return some civilian captives from Kinahḫa to the ruler of Amurru, and instead had resettled them elsewhere. The fact that these officials acted jointly seems to indicate, as noted by d’Alfonso, that they intended to “eke out a political space in Syria well beyond the borders of their individual lands.”⁶⁰ Therefore, Muršili’s decision in favor of Tuppi-Teššub could be understood as an attempt not only to preserve the diplomatic ties with Amurru, but also to limit the political autonomy of his own subordinates.⁶¹

A similar rationale might explain the king’s attitude toward Alziyamuwa: apart from the potential advantages of having Zū-Baʿla as an ally in the region of Aštata, Muršili may have seized this opportunity to strengthen his authority over the provincial administration. In

⁵⁹ A certain Tudḫaliya is also mentioned among Tuppi-Teššub’s opponents in CTH 63.2. J. L. Miller (2007: 131–132, 137–138) suggests that he might have controlled the land of Aštata, based on a tentative restoration of KUB 19.31 obv. 5ʹ. On the possible identification of this individual with a Hittite official from Alalaḫ, see Niedorf 2002; Miller 2007: 137 n. 40; de Martino 2010: 93–94; Fink 2010: 53–54; d’Alfonso 2011: 166–167; Yener *et al.* 2014.

⁶⁰ d’Alfonso 2011: 168.

⁶¹ In this respect, Miller (2007: 143–144) points out that Muršili had previously issued another decree concerning the captives from Kinahḫa that seems to have been completely ignored by Tuppi-Teššub’s antagonists.

fact, the order given to Alziyamuwa was also detrimental to the interests of a certain Palluwa, who had received Zū-Ba'la's confiscated property.⁶² Singer suggests that this Palluwa could perhaps be identified with a Hittite prince known from two seals found at Alalah, where he carries the hieroglyphic title REGIO.DOMINUS ("country-lord").⁶³ This designation might be equivalent to cuneiform UGULA.KALAM.MA, "overseer of the land," one of the highest ranks of the Hittite bureaucracy in Syria.⁶⁴

CONCLUSION

The imposition of taxes upon Zū-Ba'la and the confiscation of his landed property have been widely understood as arbitrary and abusive measures carried out by one or more Hittite functionaries. However, the data at hand are currently insufficient to determine whether or not this was a case of corruption. Thus, we should not disregard the possibility that Alziyamuwa had put into effect both legal procedures within the limits imposed by his official prerogatives, or that he had misapplied a royal policy but did not intend to obtain illicit benefits. Zū-Ba'la's reaction was perhaps an expression of the indigenous resistance toward some of the laws and practices introduced by the Hittites in the land of Aštata.

Although the identity of the sovereign who sent SMEA-45 1 remains uncertain, it is clear that he issued an ad hoc ruling against the interests of one or two of his own subordinates (*i.e.*, Alziyamuwa and Palluwa). This decision might have been motivated by a sense of justice and royal duty, as suggested by Singer.⁶⁵ However, it could also

⁶² See SMEA-45 1:6–9.

⁶³ Singer 2000: 69–70. See the remarks by A. S. Fink (2010: 55) concerning the potential correlation between the find-spot of one of the seals of Palluwa at Tell Atchana/Alalah and the dating of SMEA-45 1 (but cf. Akar 2012 for a critical assessment of Fink's stratigraphic sequence).

⁶⁴ Singer 2000: 70; see also Mora 2004a. Since the high officials stationed in Syria usually had a close connection with the court of Karkemiš, Singer suggests that the king may have intentionally avoided mentioning Palluwa in ETBLM 32.

⁶⁵ Singer 2000: 70.

have been driven to some extent by *Realpolitik* concerns, especially if we assume that the incumbent ruler was Muṣṣili II. Considering the growing involvement of Karkemiš in the Syrian geopolitical scenario, the king may have intended to hinder the ambitions of the imperial bureaucracy and at the same time to benefit an actual or potential ally from the Middle Euphrates region.⁶⁶ In fact, the Hittites managed to establish a long-term partnership with the family of the diviner. Through this arrangement, the courts of Ḫatti and Karkemiš had the opportunity to reinforce their influence upon native ritual life,⁶⁷ while Zū-Ba'la and his successors could obtain some sort of protection or privileged treatment in return.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ In discussing royal intervention against the concentration of landed property by Hittite officials, Imparati writes: “Quindi il monarca ittita non soltanto vuole offrire di sé un’immagine di clemenza nei riguardi delle famiglie dei colpevoli, di protezione verso i deboli, i poveri e gli oppressi, di equità nell’esercizio della giustizia, di devozione alle divinità, di generosità nel concedere benefici - immagine che, per altro, non può che giovargli nell’esercizio del potere - ma anche intende tutelare concretamente la stabilità di questo col mantenimento di equilibri economici volti a contenere le grandi fortune e a difendere la pluralità delle fortune esistenti” (1988: 234). Likewise, Pruzsinszky and Solans (2015: 323–324) consider that the “treaty of Emar” (see note 32 above) and the edict of Ḫattušili III concerning the merchants of Ura at Ugarit (RS 17.130 and dupl.) seem to aim at protecting the local equilibrium from an eventual collapse produced by the economic activities of other inhabitants of the empire who enjoyed political privileges.

⁶⁷ See Archi 2014; Michel 2014: 213–260 (both with previous literature).

⁶⁸ The evidence at our disposal is too scant to provide a precise characterization of the relationship between the diviners of the Zū-Ba'la family and their overlords. It could perhaps be understood through the lens of patronage, broadly defined as a personal and voluntary long-term bond between partners of unequal socio-economic status, *i.e.*, a dominant patron and a subordinate client, based on the reciprocal exchange of goods and services (Westbrook 2005; for a wider comparative approach, see Eisenstadt and Roniger 1984). This idea, initially developed in the present author’s BA thesis, was suggested independently by L. Fijałkowska and J. Mynářová (2017). Patronage has been employed as an interpretative model in the field of ancient Near Eastern studies to describe, for instance, the link between the king and his scholars during the Neo-Assyrian period (Holloway 2002: 223–225; Westbrook 2005: 222–223; Radner 2011: 363–365; 2015: 66–67; Robson 2011), the self-representation of an Egyptian nomarch called Ankhtifi (Assmann 2002: 94–105), or the portrayal of the relation between the Judeans and Yahweh in the book of Daniel (Kirkpatrick 2005). E. Pfoh (2016) suggests that this conceptual framework can be applied on a larger scale to analyze the whole socio-political matrix of Syria-Palestine during the Late Bronze Age.

The diviners of Emar were involved in a number of exclusive activities that segregated them from the rest of the population, such as the supervision of public religious affairs or the transmission of cuneiform literacy and scholarly knowledge.⁶⁹ In the eyes of the local community, and probably of some foreign observers, they operated as mediators between the sacred and the secular domains. Hence, their potential impact on everyday political matters and decision-making processes should not be underestimated.⁷⁰ Zū-Ba'la's successful claim against Alziyamuwa is a reminder of how ancient experts could actively shape not only the world view but also the power relations of their time.⁷¹

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⁶⁹ On the prestige value of the Babylonian lexical tradition at Emar, see Veldhuis 2012: 92–96. An official identified as “the diviner” also performs various tasks in the ritual texts, including the scattering of seed in what appears to be some kind of sowing rite (*Emar* 446:51) and the anointing of the NIN.DINGIR priestess (*Emar* 369:20–21); see Fleming 1992: 89.

⁷⁰ See Arnaud 1987a: 12; Démare-Lafont 2008b.

⁷¹ See Pongratz-Leisten 2013.

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PROYECTILES DE HONDA: ¿TENSIONES Y CONFLICTOS EN LA PROTOHISTORIA DEL PRÓXIMO ORIENTE?

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Summary: Slingshots: Tensions and Conflicts in the Protohistory of the Near East?

The Late Ubaid signified the creation of a shared culture within a large part of Near East and the emergence of complex societies. The large area into which it expanded led initially scholars to suggest that a process of domination and conquest took place, while later predominated a model of gradual and peaceful expansion of the Ubaid material culture, life ways and organization. Yet some small ovoid objects made of stone and clay found in some Ubaid settlements make us rethink whether this process took place in a manner completely peaceful or violent.

Keywords: Late Ubaid – Complex Society – Conflicts – Slingshots

Resumen: Projectiles de honda: ¿Tensiones y conflictos en la protohistoria del Próximo Oriente?

El Ubaid Tardío significó la creación de una cultura compartida por una gran parte del Próximo Oriente y la aparición de sociedades complejas. La gran área por la que se expandió llevó a que en un principio se la interpretase como un proceso de dominación y conquista, para después ganar peso la idea de una expansión gradual y pacífica de la cultura material y formas de vida Ubaid. Sin embargo, algunos pequeños objetos ovoides realizados en piedra o arcilla encontrados en varios yacimientos Ubaid hacen replantearnos si este proceso tuvo lugar de manera pacífica o violenta.

Palabras clave: Ubaid Tardío – Sociedades Complejas – Conflictos – Projectiles de Honda

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INTRODUCCIÓN

El empleo de bolas realizadas en piedra, arcilla u otro material como proyectil de una honda es algo conocido en muchas épocas y regiones, y el Próximo Oriente antiguo no es la excepción. En la literatura son varios los ejemplos de la utilización de este tipo de armas en el mundo antiguo. Quizás el más conocido lo encontremos en la historia de David contra Goliat, en donde el futuro rey de Israel derrotaba al gigante Goliat lanzándolo una piedra con una honda (1 Samuel 17: 49–50). También tenemos ejemplos visuales, como un relieve procedente del palacio de Senaquerib en Nínive donde en una escena de carácter militar tras unos arqueros puede diferenciarse con total nitidez un grupo de honderos. En un ortostato del palacio de Kapara, en Tell Halaf, del siglo IX a. C., aparece representado un personaje con una honda en las manos¹. Sin embargo, estos ejemplos literarios y artísticos hay que tomarlos con cautela y es necesario acudir a otras fuentes como las proporcionadas por el registro arqueológico. La arqueología también nos aporta mucha información sobre este tipo de armas, encontrándonos desde el Neolítico unos objetos ovoides del tamaño de un huevo, generalmente realizados en arcilla, aunque los encontrados en el Levante sur están realizados en caliza, basalto o arenisca², cuya interpretación más aceptada es que se trate de proyectiles que eran lanzados mediante una honda, como así parecen confirmar ejemplos posteriores como los encontrados en Tell Brak, Grai Resh, Tell Zeidan o Tell Hamoukar³. En este último lugar tales objetos ovoides presentan muestras de haber impactado contra un muro, incidiendo en la idea de que se tratase de proyectiles de honda. No obstante, Jasim puso en duda esta teoría y propuso que pudieran tratarse de juguetes para niños⁴, mientras que Campbell-Thompson planteaba, a raíz de los objetos de este estilo encontrados en Eridu, que se tratase de huevos votivos dedicados a la diosa de la fertilidad⁵. Además, en el caso de que

¹ Korfmann 1973.

² Rosenberg 2009: 106.

³ Reichel 2006; Stein 2010a: 108, fig. 7; Kepinski 2011: 57–58, fig. 19; Streit 2012: 96–99.

⁴ Jasim 1985: 62.

efectivamente fuesen proyectiles, como defiende la interpretación más extendida, no solo debemos pensar en fines bélicos, sino que también pudieron ser utilizados para la caza de los animales salvajes documentados en el registro faunístico.

LOS PROYECTILES DE HONDA EN EL REGISTRO ARQUEOLÓGICO

Este tipo de objetos son bien conocidos desde el Neolítico y hasta el IV milenio a. C. en el Levante meridional, sureste de Turquía, al Yazira, Irán, Mesopotamia y Egipto⁶. Presentan una forma ovoide o bicónica alargada y un tamaño homogéneo que oscila entre los 3,5 y 5,5 cm de diámetro, apareciendo completos, sin huellas de haber sido lanzados y dañados en la zona donde se habría producido el impacto o directamente rotos. Cuesta trabajo comprender por qué, exceptuando el Levante sur y algún que otro sitio más, el material preferido para realizar estos proyectiles fuera la arcilla en lugar de la piedra, aparentemente un material que produciría un impacto mayor ya que poseen una mayor densidad y peso. Sin embargo, tal y como propuso Korfmann, con un proyectil de arcilla, una vez que ha sido alisado, se consigue una mayor estabilidad durante el vuelo, confiriéndole a su vez una mayor precisión y alcance⁷. El peso del proyectil debió influir en el vuelo, pero desgraciadamente este dato se suele pasar por alto en el estudio de estos objetos. En los yacimientos con proyectiles de honda estudiados por Rosenberg estos si fueron pesados, obteniéndose una amplia variedad que iba desde los 10 hasta los 400 gramos. Sin embargo, el peso de la gran mayoría oscilaba entre los 40 y los 99 gramos⁸, posiblemente porque sería el peso óptimo para que el proyectil volase con precisión y a la distancia deseada. En Tell Madhur el peso de los proyectiles era de unos 49 gramos, por tanto, similar a la mayoría de los documentados en los yacimientos estudiados por Rosenberg.

⁵ Roaf 1989: 132.

⁶ Jasim 1985: 62; Roaf 1989: 131–132; Reichel 2006; Rosenberg 2009: 99; Stein 2010a: 108, fig. 7; Kepinski 2011: 57–58, fig. 19; Streit 2012: 96–99; Wernick 2014.

⁷ Korfmann 1973: 38–39.

⁸ Rosenberg 2009: 107–108.

Aunque la opinión más extendida es que estas bolas serían proyectiles para ser lanzados mediante hondas, en trabajos antiguos también se plantearon las posibilidades mencionadas anteriormente de que se tratasen de huevos votivos dedicados a la diosa de la fertilidad⁹ o de juguetes de niños¹⁰, incluso Tobler, a raíz de los objetos ovoides de arcilla que encontró en Tepe Gawra interpretó estas piezas como objetos de culto¹¹.

Los primeros ejemplos de estas armas los encontramos durante épocas Hassuna y Samarra¹², aunque no debemos descartar que en estos primeros momentos tan solo se tratasen de armas de caza. En época Halaf las bolas como proyectiles de honda están bien representadas en el contexto arqueológico y buena muestra de ello los proyectiles de piedra y arcilla sin cocer encontrados en Tell Sabi Abyad¹³, en Yarim Tepe III¹⁴ o en Tell Kurdu¹⁵. En la costa levantina aparecieron proyectiles de arcilla en el nivel IVB de Ugarit, por tanto, a finales del VI milenio a.C¹⁶. Más al sur, en varios yacimientos de la cultura Wadi Rabah—una cultura contemporánea de la Halaf en la Alta Mesopotamia—, salieron a la luz proyectiles de honda realizados en piedra. A pesar de ser una docena los yacimientos de la cultura Wadi Rabah y posteriores (VI–V milenios a.C.) en los que se han encontrado estos objetos, los más interesantes son los sitios de Kabri y Hazorea con 165 y 128 proyectiles respectivamente, aunque por desgracia no se menciona el contexto en el que aparecieron¹⁷. Más recientes son los hallazgos de Zippori, en la baja Galilea, donde en el poblado de comienzos del Calcolítico se documentaron los cimientos de varias estructuras en las que junto a cerámicas de la cultura Wadi Rabah, herramientas de obsidiana, una paleta realizada en piedra y decorada

⁹ Campbell-Thompson 1920.

¹⁰ Jasim 1985: 62.

¹¹ Tobler 1950: 173–174.

¹² Yoffee y Clark 1994: 91; Charvát 2002: 18–23; Oates 2012: 471.

¹³ Spoor y Collet 1996: 448–450, fig. 8.10.

¹⁴ Merpert y Munchaev 1993: 197, fig. 9.27.1.

¹⁵ Yener *et al.*, 2000: 203.

¹⁶ Henry de Contenson 1992: fig. 159: 9–11.

¹⁷ Rosenberg 2009: 102–105, fig. 2–6.

con dos avestruces incisas y la imagen de una mujer han aparecido hasta el momento 162 proyectiles de piedra y 2 de arcilla¹⁸.

En el posterior periodo Ubaid los proyectiles de honda aparecen en una cantidad aún mayor en yacimientos dispersos por todo el Oriente Próximo. Son numerosos los yacimientos en los que han aparecido proyectiles de honda en niveles de finales del VI y el V milenio a.C., o lo que es lo mismo, en contextos pertenecientes al Ubaid Tardío. En el Levante meridional y en el sur de Mesopotamia, en Eridu, Warka, Tello, Jamdat Nasr y Ras al ‘Amiya se encontraron objetos de piedra y arcilla de forma ovoide o esférica que podrían interpretarse como proyectiles de honda¹⁹. En el valle del Hamrin, Jasim encontró varios objetos ovoides de arcilla en los niveles I y II de Tell Abada, con unas medidas que oscilaban entre los 3,5 y 5,6 cm de diámetro (no ofrece datos sobre su peso ni el lugar exacto en el que aparecieron), que, aunque él interpretaba como juguetes de niños son idénticos a los proyectiles de honda²⁰. También en el Hamrin, en el nivel II de Tell Madhur se documentaron concentradas en las esquinas de algunas habitaciones de una casa de planta tripartita más de 4000 bolas de arcilla sin cocer, con unos diámetros que iban desde los 3,3 a los 5,3 cm y un peso medio de 49 gr. En este caso sí fueron interpretados como proyectiles de honda²¹. Si nos desplazamos al norte, unos párrafos más arriba indicaba la existencia de posibles proyectiles de honda en niveles del Ubaid Tardío de Tepe Gawra, con unas medidas medias de 4,5 cm de largo y 3 cm de diámetro, en ocasiones asociados a edificios importantes del asentamiento. Sin embargo, la forma de estos objetos es un tanto diferente a los proyectiles encontrados en otros lugares²². No muy lejos de aquí, en Telul eth-Zalazat también se excavaron 24 posibles proyectiles de honda—4 de ellos procedentes de las afueras de un granero— durante el Ubaid Tardío, realizados en arcilla tienen unas medidas de entre 3,1 y 5,6 cm de longitud y un diámetro de entre 1,9 y 2,7 cm²³. Junto a Tell

¹⁸ Comunicación personal I. Milevski y N. Getzov.

¹⁹ Perkins 1949: 85, 149; Stronach 1961: 107.

²⁰ Jasim 1985: 62, fig. 55.

²¹ Roaf 1989: 131–132.

²² Tobler 1950: 173–174, pl. LXXXVIb y LXXXVII.

al-Hawa, se encuentra Khanijdal East, un pequeño montículo en el que también aparecieron 4 bolas ovoides de arcilla²⁴. En Siria, en el valle del Balih, en los niveles Ubaid de la *Operation 8*, la misión sirio-americana que excavaba el yacimiento documentó en un basurero 1090 proyectiles de honda de arcilla sin cocer²⁵. Igualmente, en yacimientos

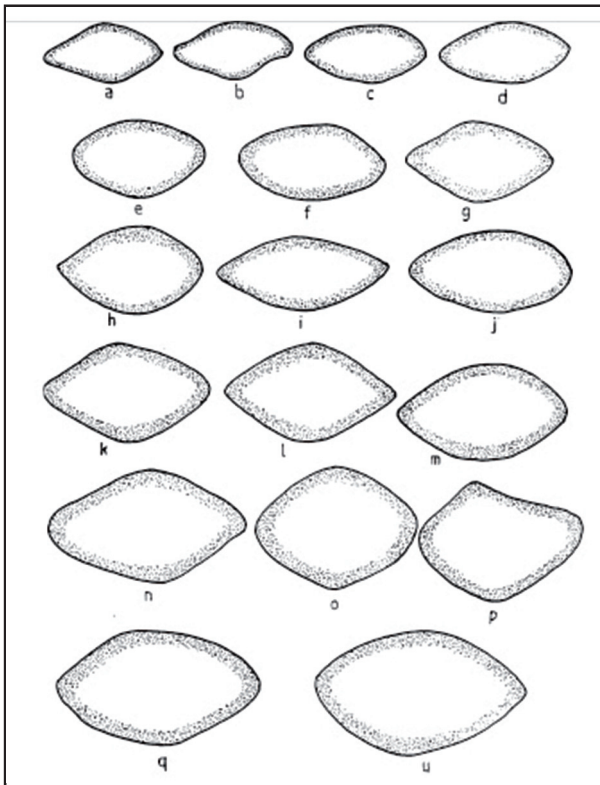


Fig 1. Dibujo de proyectiles de honda procedentes de Tell Abada (Jasim 1985: fig. 55, por cortesía de British Archaeological Reports, Oxford).

²³ Kubíková 2013: fig. 48

²⁴ Wilkinson, Monahan y Tucker 1996: 39, fig. 14.1–4.

²⁵ Stein 2010a: 108, fig. 7.

turcos como Tell Kurdu y Tulintepe²⁶ se han documentado armas de este tipo en niveles del Ubaid Tardío. Por tanto, vemos como durante el Ubaid Tardío este tipo de objetos se encuentran repartidos por una amplia zona, y es que esta será una de las características de esta cultura. Su capacidad expansiva.

LA CULTURA UBAID Y SU EXPANSIÓN

El término Ubaid hace referencia a un período cronológico comprendido entre el VI y el V milenio a. C. representado por una cultura material propia del sur de Mesopotamia caracterizada por una cerámica pintada conocida como *black on buff*, clavos y hoces de arcilla, figuritas ofídicas o estructuras con una planta tripartita²⁷. El período ha sido dividido en varias etapas. Las fases más antiguas son mal conocidas, mientras que su etapa final, Ubaid Tardío, es bien conocida gracias a las excavaciones practicadas en yacimientos donde esta cultura se expandió. Sin embargo, el período Ubaid también supone la aparición de una sociedad jerarquizada y un desarrollo político, económico y administrativo sin precedentes. En los trabajos de R. Adams²⁸, H.T. Wright²⁹ y del propio Wright junto a S. Pollock³⁰ queda clara la existencia de una jerarquía de asentamientos en el territorio circundante a Eridu, Ur y Uqair durante esta época. En la llanura del Juzistán, una zona que se encontraba dentro del horizonte Ubaid, se documentó la existencia de dos grandes centros, Susa y Choga Mish, de unas 15 ha³¹, que presumiblemente controlarían las aldeas vecinas. Igualmente, en el Balih se evidenció la existencia de una jerarquía de asentamientos durante el Ubaid, con Tell Zeidan y Hamman et-Turkman de una extensión de entre 10 y 12 ha y alrededor de ellos ocupaciones que no superarían las 3 ha³².

²⁶ Streit 2012: 98.

²⁷ Henrickson y Thuesen 1989; Carter y Philip 2010.

²⁸ Adams 1981: 59.

²⁹ Wright 1981: 324–325.

³⁰ Wright y Pollock 1986: 317.

³¹ Hole 1987: 63.

³² Trentin 2010.

La existencia de una estratificación social también está fuera de toda duda en estos momentos. La presencia de estructuras destacadas—tanto por sus dimensiones y características arquitectónicas como por los objetos encontrados en su interior—en yacimientos Ubaid³³, presen-

Período cultural	Cronología	Características	Región
Halaf	6500–5500 a.C.	Asentamientos pequeños de 1–2 ha y unos pocos más grandes con edificios para el almacenamiento. Economía mixta. Gran movilidad de la población. Cerámica decorada de gran calidad. Existencia de prácticas de sellado y prácticas funerarias variadas.	En su época de máximo apogeo se extendió por la Yazira siro-iraquí, laderas del Tauro, piedemonte del Anti-Tauro en Turquía, la región montañosa del este de Turquía y la zona de Bagdad.
Ubaid	5500–4500 a.C.	Jerarquización social y económica. Cerámica pintada. Jerarquía de asentamientos con estructuras destacadas. Prácticas administrativas complejas. Prácticas funerarias caracterizadas por el enterramiento de niños en urna bajo los suelos de las casas.	Se extiende por gran parte del Próximo Oriente desde el sureste de Turquía hasta el Golfo Pérsico y desde el Levante hasta el Juzistán.
Wadi Rabah	VI milenio a.C.	Comunidades de aldea con una economía mixta caracterizada por una cerámica decorada. Los asentamientos son pequeños pero muy próximos, formando un asentamiento más grande. Son comunes las casas con patio. Los individuos jóvenes son enterrados en urnas cerámicas.	Se extiende por el Levante sur. Algunos yacimientos son Wadi Rabah, Jericó, los asentamientos de Hazorea o Tell Teo.
Calcolítico Tardío	4500–3200 a.C.	Clara jerarquización social, política y económica. Grandes centros que controlan su territorio más cercano y con edificios públicos de gran tamaño. Prácticas administrativas complejas. Intercambios a grandes distancias. Contacto con la cultura Uruk Meridional.	Cultura que se extiende por el sureste de Anatolia y al Yazira. Los yacimientos más significativos son Arslantepe, Hamoukar, Brak, Gawra, Hacinebi o Habuba Kabira.

Tabla 1. Caracterización de las principales culturas del Próximo Oriente durante el VI–IV milenio a.C.

³³ Kubba 1987.

cia de objetos exóticos y de prestigio³⁴ o diferenciación en los enterramientos³⁵ deja clara la existencia de una estratificación social con unos de líderes que ejercerían el dominio de la comunidad.

Por último, la gran cantidad de material administrativo encontrado en contextos Ubaid—sellos e improntas de estos³⁶—, así como la aparición de cerámicas producidas en serie—*çoba bowls*³⁷—también nos hablan de una especialización administrativa y económica.

Nos encontramos ante una sociedad compleja que supone el germen de las posteriores ciudades-estado sumerias. En su fase final, Ubaid Tardío, esta cultura protagonizará una expansión fuera de sus fronteras para expandirse por prácticamente todo el Oriente Próximo³⁸, apareciendo elementos propios de su cultura material, como la cerámica *black on buff*, desde el Mediterráneo hasta más allá de los Zagros y desde el sur de Anatolia hasta el estrecho de Ormuz. Es gracias a esta expansión fuera de sus fronteras debido a lo que el período Ubaid es mejor conocido en las regiones de las que no es originario, especialmente en al Yazira y Anatolia, que en la propia llanura aluvial mesopotámica. En un primer momento este fenómeno fue interpretado bajo un prisma colonialista, en donde se produciría un proceso de conquista y dominación efectiva que trajo como resultado la desaparición de la preexistente cultura Halaf en la Alta Mesopotamia y su sustitución por otra cultura material y formas de vida y organizativas más propias del sur³⁹. Pero las excavaciones arqueológicas practicadas en las últimas décadas en el sureste de Anatolia y norte de Siria cambiaron radicalmente nuestra visión del fenómeno. J. Mellaart⁴⁰ fue el primero en sugerir una transición gradual entre Halaf y Ubaid, algo que ha ganado peso en los últimos años⁴¹. Una transición gradual parece estar atestiguada en Tell

³⁴ Espejel Arroyo 2017a: 127–130.

³⁵ Hole 1989; Akkermans y Schwartz 2003: 176–177.

³⁶ Hole 2010: 233–237.

³⁷ Baldi 2012.

³⁸ Carter y Philip 2010.

³⁹ Mallowan y Rose 1935; Esin 1989.

⁴⁰ Mellaart 1975.

⁴¹ Stein y Özbal 2007; Campbell y Fletcher 2010.

Abada⁴² o en Tepe Gawra, donde el nivel XX presenta una cultura material completamente Halaf que en los niveles sucesivos va disminuyendo progresivamente hasta adoptarse una cultura material propia del Ubaid⁴³. En Tell Zeidan, al igual que en varios yacimientos más, la continuidad entre ambos periodos viene sugerida por la presencia de cerámicas que muestran un estilo híbrido Halaf-Ubaid⁴⁴, y por la similitud de las figurillas de arcilla de ambos periodos⁴⁵. Un último ejemplo de continuidad entre Halaf y Ubaid en la Alta Mesopotamia lo tenemos en la glíptica de los sellos, donde las representaciones geométricas y zoomorfos de época Halaf tienen continuidad durante el Ubaid⁴⁶.

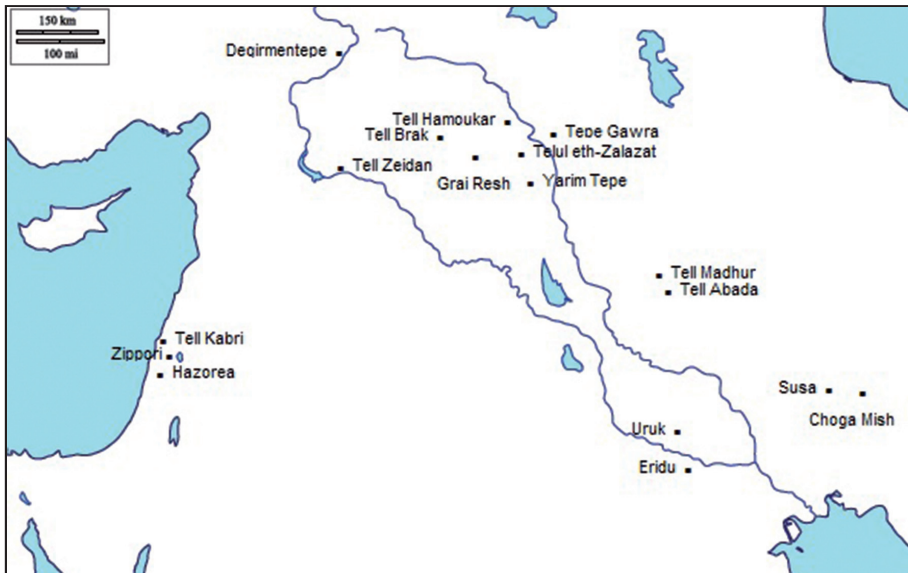


Fig 2. Mapa con los principales yacimientos de época Ubaid.

⁴² Davidson y Watkins 1981.

⁴³ Stein y Özbal 2007: 334–336.

⁴⁴ Stein 2009: 132–133.

⁴⁵ Stein 2011: fig. 6.

⁴⁶ Homès-Fredericq 1970.

TENSIONES Y CONFLICTOS EN EL UBAID TARDÍO

Pero dejando a un lado su posible empleo para la caza y teniendo en cuenta que también se utilizaron con fines bélicos, ¿si la expansión Ubaid se trató de un fenómeno de carácter pacífico y la transición se produjo de una manera gradual cómo se explica la presencia de proyectiles de honda realizados en piedra o arcilla en numerosos asentamientos de esta cultura? Y en el caso de que su presencia nos indicase violencia y conflictos ¿a qué se deben estas tensiones y quienes serían sus protagonistas?

El paso de una sociedad igualitaria a otra de jefaturas o jerarquizada puede realizarse de una manera pacífica, adquiriendo algunos individuos de la sociedad una posición de liderazgo. Las sociedades igualitarias, ante cualquier tipo de dificultad o imprevisto, podrían encumbrar a determinadas personas por su valía como guerreros, a los ancianos por su experiencia o sabiduría, e incluso a algunas personas a las que conferían ciertos poderes sobrenaturales como pudiera ser el caso de los chamanes⁴⁷. Una creencia de la que la literatura y las representaciones de los sellos parecen dar buena muestra de su existencia, en el Próximo Oriente antiguo en general, y en el Ubaid Tardío en particular⁴⁸, avanzando de este modo hacia una sociedad de jefaturas. Pero ante esta situación, pudieron surgir disputas entre diversos personajes a la hora de hacerse con esta posición predominante dentro de la sociedad, que tratarían de validar y justificar su poder mediante ceremonias redistributivas y, en concreto, mediante banquetes, una práctica que podría haberse dado en Oriente Próximo desde época Neolítica, pero que quizás se incrementaría durante el Ubaid Tardío y el período inmediatamente posterior—un momento crítico que traerá como resultado la aparición de verdaderas sociedades protoestatales. Pero estos banquetes estarían restringidos a determinados personajes o grupos familiares y se celebrarían en edificios especiales del asentamiento, posiblemente en los grandes edificios de planta tripartita, con pinturas y nichos en las

⁴⁷ Milán Quiñones de León 2010.

⁴⁸ Collon, 1977; Porada 1980; Kieft Costello 2011: 250–259; Espejel Arroyo 2016: 21–24.

paredes de la habitación central, a menudo con niños enterrados bajo sus suelos y con hornos, restos de prácticas administrativas y objetos tanto de prestigio como domésticos en su interior, como son los casos de los edificios de planta tripartita del Ubaid Tardío de Değirmentepe, los del nivel II de Tell Abada, la famosa casa de planta tripartita del nivel II de Tell Madhur o las tres estructuras consideradas originalmente templos del nivel XIII de Tepe Gawra. En estructuras como estas pudieron celebrarse banquetes, a juzgar por los hornos, cerámicas utilizadas para el consumo y restos de comida aparecidos en su interior, unos banquetes que se llevarían a cabo de una manera ceremonial y ritual, con el objetivo de tomar decisiones, cerrar alianzas y como estrategia para legitimar el poder de las élites⁴⁹.

Es posible que durante el Ubaid Tardío se produjesen tensiones y conflictos por ostentar estas posiciones privilegiadas que tendrían su reflejo en el registro arqueológico con los proyectiles de honda. Sin embargo, también cabría otra posibilidad, y es que durante el Ubaid Tardío se aprecia una jerarquía de asentamientos, con centros de un tamaño importante controlando su territorio más cercano en el que se encontraban pequeñas aldeas que se hallarían bajo su influencia⁵⁰, por lo que estas armas podrían indicarnos la existencia de conflictos entre asentamientos por el control del territorio o de los recursos existentes. En cualquier caso no debe pensarse en enfrentamientos generalizados, sino más bien de enfrentamientos puntuales entre las élites dirigentes o por la necesidad de estos importantes centros de ampliar su territorio de influencia para satisfacer las necesidades de su creciente población y las emergentes élites, pues tanto en Eridu, Warka, Tello, Tell Abada, Tell Madhur, Tepe Gawra, Tell Zeidan, y en la mayoría de yacimientos citados anteriormente en donde han aparecido proyectiles de honda, hay evidencias o de la aparición de élites o de la existencia de una jerarquía de asentamientos, cuando no ambas cosas.

⁴⁹ Helwing 2003: 71–75; Pollock 2010; Kennedy 2012: 132–135; Espejel Arroyo 2017b: 272–278.

⁵⁰ Stein 2010b: 25, fig. 2.2; Trentin 2010.

De cualquier manera, los proyectiles de honda documentados durante el Ubaid Tardío no harían referencia a conflictos entre las poblaciones locales Halaf y las foráneas Ubaid, pues el registro arqueológico indica que este contacto se produjo de manera pacífica.

EPÍLOGO

Más tarde, con la aparición de los primeros protoestados en la alta Yazira y el sureste de Anatolia los conflictos continuarán, prueba de ello son la construcción de posibles murallas, fortalezas o edificios con las entradas protegidas con torres y garitas de vigilancia en importantes centros regionales como Grai Resh⁵¹, Tell Brak⁵² o Tepe Gawra⁵³. Otras evidencias de conflictos las encontramos en el enterramiento múltiple de Tell Majnuna, donde fueron depositados los cadáveres de individuos adultos jóvenes cuyos huesos presentaban lesiones traumáticas, por lo que es probable que sea el reflejo de un acto violento⁵⁴, o en la aparición, nuevamente, de proyectiles de honda en Tell Brak⁵⁵, Tell Hamoukar⁵⁶ o Grai Resh⁵⁷. Uno de los hallazgos más recientes de este tipo de objetos de arcilla sin cocer se produjo en Tell Hamoukar, donde para su excavador parece quedar claro que se trata de proyectiles de honda empleados en un ataque contra el asentamiento que tuvo lugar a mediados del IV milenio a.C.⁵⁸ Aunque ahora estos conflictos, más que a tensiones entre individuos que comienzan a hacerse con el poder y a monopolizar la toma de decisiones como ocurriría en el Ubaid Tardío, probablemente respondiesen a luchas entre estos grandes centros por el control de los recursos y el territorio. Pero en cualquier caso vuelve a utilizarse la bola de honda como armamento.

⁵¹ Kepinski 2011: 50.

⁵² Oates *et al.* 2007: 588–589, fig. 4.

⁵³ Rothman 2002: 86–88, figs. 5.22–5.23.

⁵⁴ McMahon, Soltysiak y Webber 2011.

⁵⁵ Oates *et al.* 2007: 593.

⁵⁶ Reichel 2009: 81–82.

⁵⁷ Kepinski 2011: fig. 19.

⁵⁸ Reichel 2009: 81–82.

Sin embargo, unos párrafos más arriba veíamos que este tipo de armas también son relativamente comunes en asentamientos de época Halaf, y sí relacionamos su presencia en época Ubaid con la aparición de tensiones y conflictos sociales habría que preguntarse si su presencia en contextos Halaf respondería a este mismo motivo, lo que a su vez nos lleva a plantearnos el grado de organización y complejidad de la sociedad Halaf. Aunque en muchas ocasiones se tiende a encuadrar a esta sociedad como igualitaria, carente de cualquier tipo de jerarquización social o, en el mejor de los casos, con una diferenciación social muy tenue⁵⁹, el registro arqueológico nos ofrece muestras que hacen que nos debamos replantear esta cuestión⁶⁰. Los enterramientos de Yarim Tepe I y II con ajuares más o menos ricos⁶¹; el uso de sellos, aunque en este momento tendrían más un valor simbólico que administrativo⁶²; masacres como la documentada en Domuztepe que podrían reflejar el poder de un determinado grupo, a lo que habría que añadir la presencia de posibles proyectiles de honda nos llevan a plantearnos que posiblemente la sociedad Halaf no fuese tan igualitaria como se piensa y, por tanto, antes de la sociedad Ubaid ya existiese un grado de diferenciación social destacado en la Alta Mesopotamia.

En cualquier caso, lo que sí queda claro es que el proyectil de honda fue un tipo de arma relativamente común en la pre y protohistoria próximo-oriental, sino la más utilizada, posiblemente debido a la facilidad para su obtención y utilización, ya que no se necesitaba prácticamente ningún tipo de conocimiento ni tecnología para fabricar y lanzar un proyectil de este tipo.

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⁵⁹ Akkermans 1993; Breniquet 1996; Flannery 1999; Frangipane 2007.

⁶⁰ Charvát 2002: 42–44.

⁶¹ Merpert y Munchaev 1971.

⁶² Akkermans 1993; Espejel Arroyo 2016: 18–20.

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HORNOS DOMÉSTICOS E INDUSTRIALES EN TELL EL-GHABA, NORTE DE SINAÍ, EGIPTO

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Summary: Domestic and Industrial Kilns at Tell el-Ghaba, North Sinai, Egypt

Tell el-Ghaba lies on the north coastal plain of the Sinai Peninsula, in what, in Pharaonic times, was the most eastern border of the Nile Delta. The excavations of Level V in adjacent Areas I and VIII (to the south of the site) shed new light regarding the activities carried out by its population after the decay of Buildings B and K and before the final destruction of the site. About 200 m² were partially uncovered, exposing an area of industrial workshops. These mainly comprise ovens and kilns generally associated with runnels for the drainage of melted material. Faience and metal slag was found in many of these features. Since numerous fish bones and sherds of household Egyptian pottery were also recovered, it seems that some of these fire features also served for domestic tasks. In what seems to have been an open area, two limestone mortars for pounding grain were found *in situ*. Regarding the chronology of Level V, the Egyptian pottery recovered corresponds to types that may be dated by

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the end of the Third Intermediate and the early Saite periods. Combustion features were also uncovered in Area II (to the north of the site). In Area II East, the excavation of two trenches exposed ovens and kilns that may have been part of another industrial workshop. In Area II West, three combustion features were active during the erection of Building C, although they ceased to function when the building was already in use.

Keywords: Archaeology – Tell el-Ghaba – Kilns – Ovens – Fire features – Workshops

Resumen: Hornos domésticos e industriales en Tell el-Ghaba, norte de Sinaí, Egipto

El sitio Tell el-Ghaba está localizado en la llanura costera del norte de Sinaí en lo que, en tiempos faraónicos, era el extremo oriental del delta del Nilo. Las excavaciones del Nivel V de las áreas adyacentes I y VIII (al sur del sitio) informaron respecto de las actividades llevadas a cabo por la población después del abandono de los edificios B y K y antes de la destrucción final del sitio. Se excavaron unos 200 m² que expusieron parcialmente un área de talleres industriales, generalmente asociados con canaliculos para el drenaje de material fundido. En muchas de estas estructuras se encontró escoria de fayenza y de metal. Ya que se hallaron también numerosos huesos de pescado y tiestos de cerámica doméstica egipcia, es posible que estas estructuras de combustión también hayan servido para actividades domésticas. En lo que parece haber sido un área abierta, se encontraron *in situ* dos morteros de piedra caliza. En cuanto a la cronología del Nivel V de las Áreas I y VIII, la cerámica egipcia recuperada se corresponde con tipos cerámicos que pueden datarse a fines del Tercer Período Intermedio y época saíta temprana. También se hallaron estructuras de combustión en el Área II (al norte del sitio). En el Área II Este, la excavación de dos trincheras expuso hornos domésticos e industriales que pueden haber formado parte de otro taller industrial. En el Área II Oeste, tres estructuras de combustión estuvieron activas durante la erección del Edificio C, aunque cesaron en su función cuando el edificio estuvo ya en uso.

Palabras clave: Arqueología – Tell el-Ghaba – Hornos – Estructuras de combustión – Talleres

INTRODUCCIÓN

Tell el-Ghaba es un asentamiento del Tercer Período Intermedio y Saíta temprano (siglo XI a fines del siglo VII a.C.) situado en lo que fuera el límite oriental del delta del Nilo (**Fig. 1**). Ubicado sobre el estrecho cordón litoral del norte de la península de Sinaí, a orillas de la llamada laguna Oriental, tenía un emplazamiento estratégico por su conexión

con el brazo pelusíaco del Nilo y la proximidad al “Camino de Horus”, ruta terrestre entre Egipto y el Levante. Cuando el brazo pelusíaco dejó de fluir, el área se desertizó. Entre 1995 y 2010, Tell el-Ghaba fue objeto de excavaciones por parte de la Misión Arqueológica Argentina en Egipto, que motivaron varias publicaciones¹.

Las prospecciones geomagnéticas² del sitio revelaron la existencia de numerosas estructuras arquitectónicas, mayormente orientadas en sentido NNE-SSO, en tanto que las áreas excavadas dejaron al descubierto construcciones efímeras y edificios en adobe de índole pública y privada.

El presente trabajo se enfoca en los hornos—domésticos e industriales—identificados en esas excavaciones, con énfasis en un sector industrial o de talleres de las áreas contiguas I y VIII³, en el sur del sitio (**Fig. 1**), que estuvo activo después del abandono y ulterior ruina de los edificios B y K. Luego, se hace referencia a hornos del Área II, hacia el norte del sitio.

Algún tiempo después de la utilización de estas estructuras de combustión, el sitio sufrió incendio y destrucción generalizados, que pusieron fin a la vida urbana.

En principio, no incluimos en este trabajo los fogones, que, a diferencia de los hornos, no tienen cámara de combustión.

EL SECTOR INDUSTRIAL DEL ÁREA I

Fue excavado parcialmente en una extensión de unos 200 m² (**Fig. 2**). La mayor parte de los hornos se atribuyen al Nivel V de la secuencia del sitio⁴. Pese a que para este sector de talleres se estableció una estratigrafía interna, por limitaciones de espacio aquí se tratará como una

¹ Siendo la publicación más extensa Lupo 2015 (véase especialmente Crivelli Montero 2015 y Chauvin Grandela 2015a).

² Se realizaron dos prospecciones geomagnéticas en Tell el-Ghaba. La primera dirigida por J. Trench (2006: 10–16) en los años 1998 y 1999 y la segunda en 2010, bajo la dirección de T. Herbich (2013: 121–130; 2015: 105–116).

³ Véase asimismo Chauvin Grandela 2010: 183–200.

⁴ Crivelli Montero 2015: 74–75.

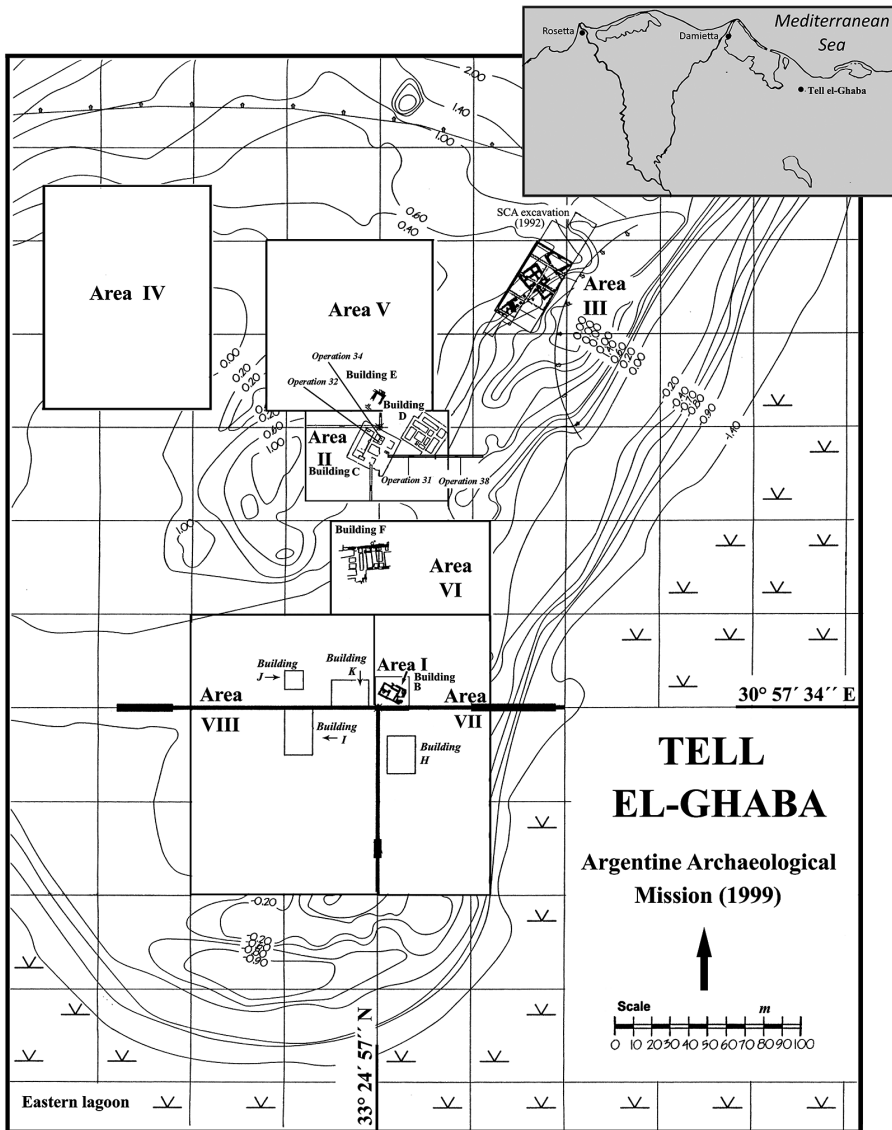


Fig. 1. Plano de Tell el-Ghaba. Arriba a la derecha, mapa del Delta del Nilo con la ubicación del sitio. (Archivo Misión Arqueológica Argentina).

En la descripción sumaria que de los hornos haremos a continuación, seguiremos el orden normal de lectura, esto es, iremos de oeste a este y de norte a sur (**Fig. 2**).

Horno L0094: el canalículo de drenaje sugiere uso industrial.

Hornos de cerámica L0231 y L0232 (**Figs. 3 y 4**): estas dos pequeñas unidades de combustión se encendieron en sendos contenedores cerámicos, que apoyaban directamente sobre el sedimento y se encontraron fragmentados. En L0231 se hallaron restos de peces, por lo que su uso puede haber sido al menos parcialmente doméstico.



Fig. 3. Horno L0231 en contenedor cerámico.
(Archivo Misión Arqueológica Argentina).

Ya que estos hornos no tienen agujero lateral de ventilación, deben haber estado abiertos en su parte superior para recibir oxígeno. Como otros casos que encontraremos más abajo, se trata de instalaciones muy simples, construidas y cocidas *in situ*. Por supuesto, no deben confundirse con hornos de alfarero (ninguno se encontró en Tell el-Ghaba).

También el *horno L0395* (**Fig. 5**) se encendió dentro de un contenedor de cerámica. El sedimento interior, intensamente quemado, contenía restos de peces, tuestos grandes, partículas de fayenza y trozos de adobes. No se halló escoria metálica.



Fig. 4. Horno L0232 en contenedor cerámico.
(Archivo Misión Arqueológica Argentina).

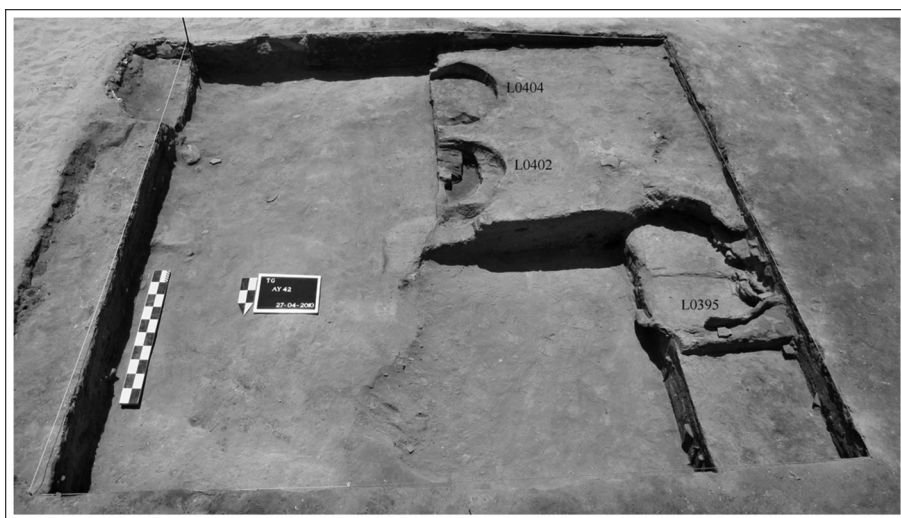


Fig. 5. Hornos L0395, L0402 y L0404, todos en contenedores cerámicos.
(Archivo Misión Arqueológica Argentina).

Los hornos L0402 y L0404 (**Fig. 5**) eran adyacentes; cada uno consistía en un contenedor de cerámica en cuyo interior había alfarería tanto fina como de uso cotidiano, restos de peces, carbones, ceniza y arcilla. L0404 apoyaba sobre un lente de arcilla.

El horno L0383 (**Figs. 6, 7 y 8**) consistía en un contenedor de cerámica que, a su vez, había sido colocado en una matriz arcillosa de 3 cm de espesor. Se le había colocado encima una roca con fines de protección o, más probablemente, para regular la abertura y disminuir

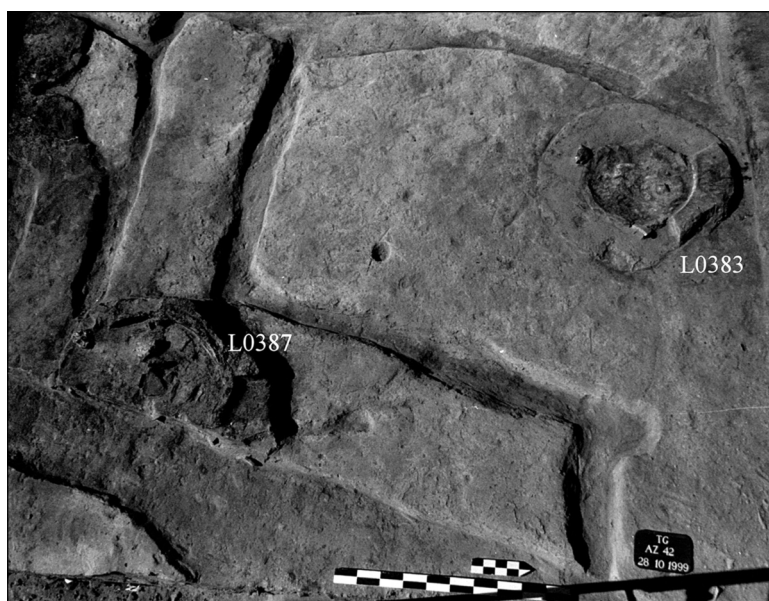


Fig. 6. Hornos L0383 y L0387. (Archivo Misión Arqueológica Argentina).

la pérdida de calor. La combustión había oxidado el sedimento interior; correspondientemente, había poco carbón. De él se recuperaron restos de peces y fragmentos de cerámica.

El horno L0387 (**Fig. 6**) se construyó de manera similar al anterior, disponiendo una matriz de arcilla de unos 3 cm de espesor en torno de un recipiente cerámico; pero contaba con un canalículo de drenaje

(L0315) dirigido hacia el sudeste, de cuyo relleno (L0314) se recuperó un crisol de cerámica que contenía escoria de fayenza (**Fig. 9**). En el interior del horno había restos calcinados de peces y escoria verdosa de fayenza. Se infiere uso tanto doméstico como industrial.

Tal como se adelantara, el *horno industrial L0164 y su canal de drenaje L0167* son posteriores al resto de las estructuras de combustión que estamos considerando.

El *horno industrial L0198* era drenado de materiales carbonosos y oxidados por el *canalículo L0197*, que desembocaba hacia el sur en una depresión.

El *fogón u horno doméstico L0166* contenía fragmentos de piedra caliza y restos de peces. En su inmediata cercanía se encontraron cuatro concentraciones de huesos de peces.



Fig. 7. Horno L0383 en curso de excavación.
(Archivo Misión Arqueológica Argentina).

La *estructura de combustión L0460* (**Fig. 10**) solo se excavó parcialmente, por lo que su interpretación como horno de cerámica es provisional.

El *horno industrial L0405* estaba instalado en una masa de arcilla y se asociaba al canalículo L0414 relleno por el sedimento L0415, alternativamente carbonizado y oxidado.

En la cuadrícula AZ/41, en lo que sería un área abierta (L0381),

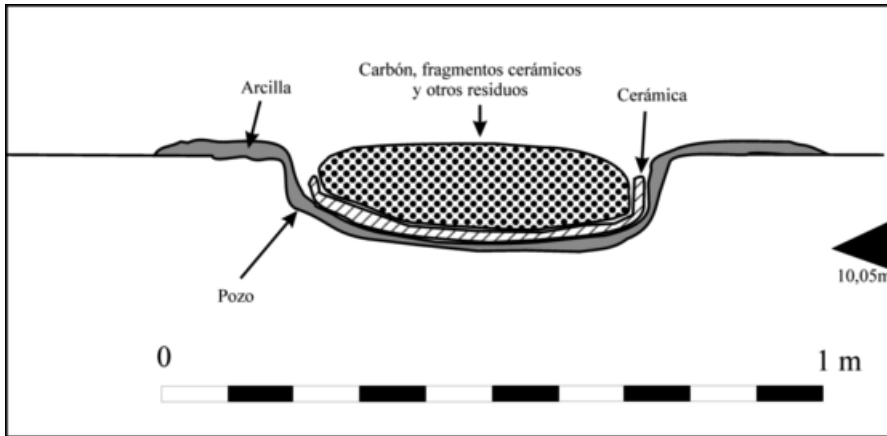


Fig. 8. Corte esquemático del horno de núcleo cerámico L0383. (Diseño Eduardo Crivelli).

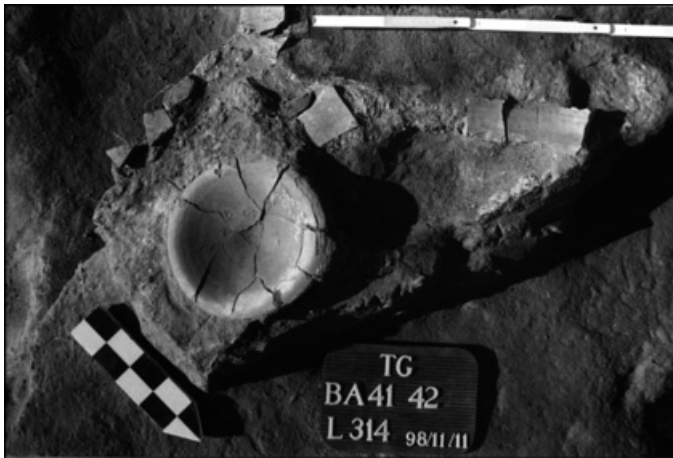


Fig. 9. Crisol de cerámica en canalículo de drenaje procedente del horno L0387. (Archivo Misión Arqueológica Argentina).



Fig. 10. Estructura de combustión L0460 parcialmente excavada. (Archivo Misión Arqueológica Argentina).

se hallaron dos morteros de caliza *in situ* (**Fig. 11**), sobre los que se vuelve más abajo. El *horno industrial* L0382 habría sido drenado hacia el norte por un canaliculo angosto.

Dentro del *horno—también industrial—*L0391 había escoria de fayenza tanto concentrada como dispersa. Los lados del canal de drenaje L0190 habían sido consolidados clavando verticalmente tiestos cerámicos en el sedimento. El relleno del canal, como en otros casos, era un sedimento carbonizado y oxidado (L0189). Lamentablemente, el lugar fue ulteriormente perturbado por un corte.

La superficie quemada del *horno industrial y doméstico* L0186 (**Fig. 12**) estaba cubierta por adobes que se interpretan como restos de la bóveda. En el interior (de un espesor de unos 20 cm) había restos de peces, arcilla cocida y escoria de cobre o bronce. Este horno se construyó contemporáneamente o algo después del L0007, una superficie de arena consolidada y adobes que fue cortada por el canaliculo L0184, que descargaba a una depresión poco profunda (L0243) de la que se habían quitado los adobes de L0007. En el relleno oxidado de este dre-

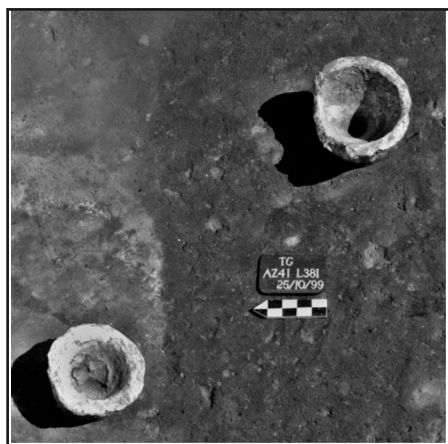


Fig. 11. Morteros de caliza *in situ* en un espacio abierto del Área I. (Archivo Misión Arqueológica Argentina).

naje había distintas escorias: algunas eran livianas, no metálicas, vítreas, verdosas, que se interpretan como derivadas de la producción de fayenza; otras eran escorias de cobre o de bronce.

El horno industrial de cerámica L0067 (Fig. 13) se instaló junto a los restos del muro sur (L0014) del Edificio B, por entonces en ruinas. Su espesor era de 10 cm y estaba contorneado por un círculo de fragmentos cerámicos grandes que habían sido alojados en un sedimento arcilloso. El calor oxidó el contorno y los alrededores del horno. El conjunto fue afectado por el pozo L0073. Los materiales fundidos fluyeron a través del canalículo L0207, dirigido hacia el oeste y luego hacia el sur. Su trazado angular tal vez tuviera el propósito de no interceptar al largo canalículo L0151=L0157, que procedía del horno L0153, situado hacia el este. De ser ésta la explicación de este codo, los hornos L0067 y L0153 habrían funcionado contemporáneamente.

En el relleno del canalículo L0207 había cenizas blanquecinas y restos de textura laminar dispuestos con sus ejes mayores paralelos a los lados (alternativamente este-oeste y norte-sur), indicadores de un flujo líquido a lo largo del canal. También había partículas de carbón y de fayenza.

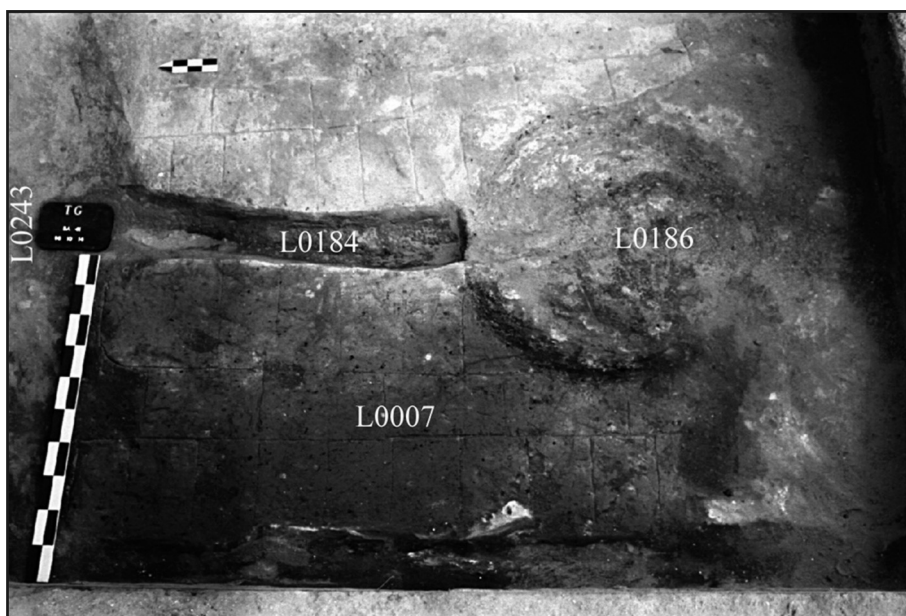


Fig. 12. Horno L0186. Su canalículo de drenaje (L0184) ya ha sido vaciado.
(Archivo Misión Arqueológica Argentina).

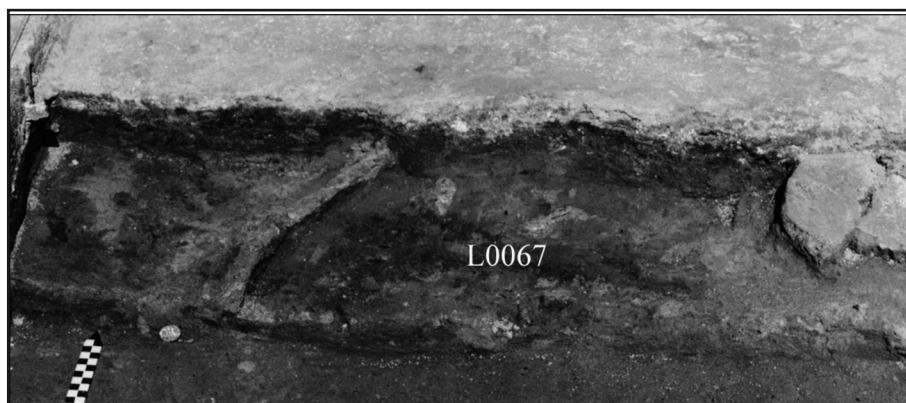


Fig. 13. Horno de cerámica L0067, afectado por un corte.
(Archivo Misión Arqueológica Argentina).

Al *horno industrial L0153*, de 22 cm de espesor (**Fig. 14**), se asociaban cuatro canalículos de drenaje (unificados como L0151).

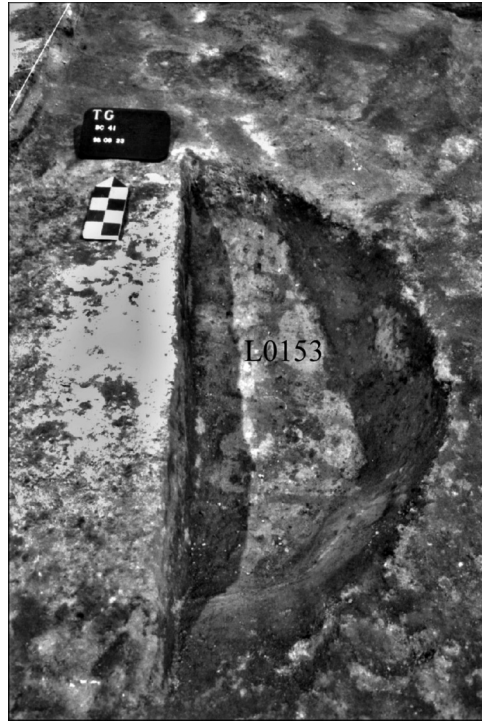


Fig. 14. Horno industrial L0153 en curso de excavación.
(Archivo Misión Arqueológica Argentina).

También en este caso, el sedimento de relleno estaba carbonizado y oxidado. De su interior se recuperaron partículas de arcilla quemada, trozos de caliza, huesos, tuestos grandes, restos de plomo y escorias.

La cámara de combustión del horno *L0438* era un contenedor de cerámica gruesa que había sido colocado en un pozo (L0443) y fijado mediante un arco de arcilla (**Fig. 15**). Cerca estaba el *horno L0441*, cuya cámara de combustión era de cerámica (**Fig. 15**).

El área industrial que acabamos de considerar refleja un conjunto de actividades concentradas y especializadas, sólo marginalmente domésticas. Pero no fueron las únicas de ese tenor identificadas en Tell Antigua Oriente, volumen 15, 2017, pp. 243–284



Fig. 15. Los hornos L0438 y L0441, en sendos contenedores de cerámica.
(Archivo Misión Arqueológica Argentina).

el-Ghaba. En lo que sigue nos desplazaremos a otras partes del sitio en pos de elementos comparables.

OTROS HORNOS DOMÉSTICOS E INDUSTRIALES EN TELL EL-GHABA

Área I, Cuadrícula BB42

Horno L0378 (Fig. 16): esta estructura de combustión precede al Edificio A, que es la construcción más antigua identificada en el área excavada. Pertenece, por lo tanto, al Nivel I del Área I. Dos bloques de caliza alojados en el pozo L0377 formaban la base de la estructura.

Sobre ellos se dispusieron trozos de caliza en posición oblicua, delimitando una depresión circular de la que se recuperaron tiosos (que serían restos de la cámara de combustión de cerámica) y fragmentos de granito.

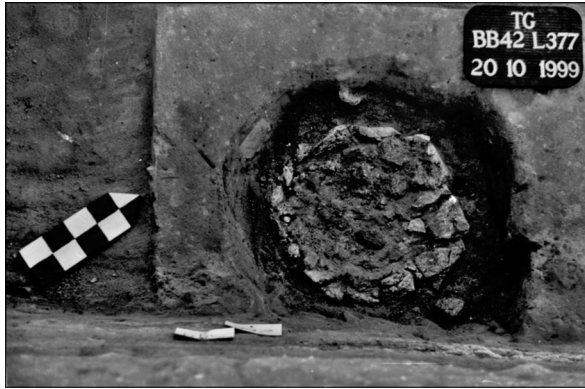


Fig. 16. El horno L0378 en el pozo L0377.
(Archivo Misión Arqueológica Argentina).

Área II Este, Operación 31

En el Área II Este se excavó la Operación 31, una trinchera exploratoria de 20 m x 1 m, que se detuvo al alcanzarse los primeros rasgos. Permitió identificar cuatro hornos, que fueron expuestos solo parcialmente.

Horno L1001 N° 1 (Fig. 17): en contenedor de cerámica de diámetro estimado mayor de 1,20 m. Habría estado en uso cuando aconteció el episodio de destrucción del sitio, identificado en esta parte del sitio con el L1001 y en el Área I, con el L0001.

Los siguientes hornos de la Operación 31 preceden al L1001:
Horno L1001 N° 2 (Fig. 18): asociado a un canalículo relleno por sedimento carbonoso, dispuesto perpendicularmente al muro L1051 del Edificio D. La presencia de huesos quemados y de restos de cobre o bronce en la inmediata cercanía sugiere se trató de un horno de uso tanto industrial como doméstico. El conjunto estaba rodeado por sedimento termoalterado.

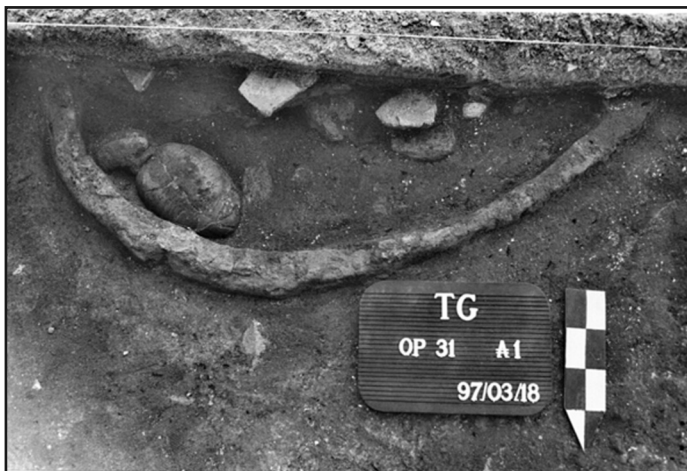


Fig. 17. Horno L1001 N° 1 parcialmente expuesto.
(Archivo Misión Arqueológica Argentina).

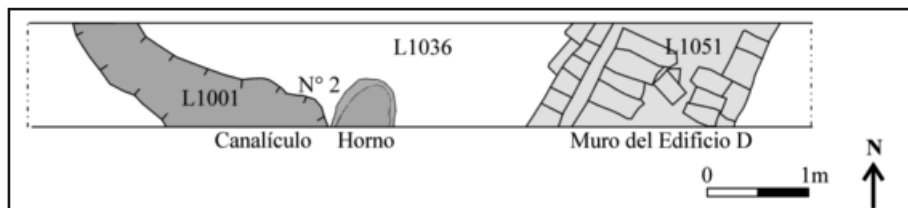


Fig. 18. Horno L1001 N° 2 y su canaliculo de drenaje.
(Archivo Misión Arqueológica Argentina).

Horno 1044 (**Fig. 19**): contenía un ceramio en su interior. Como lo drenaban dos canalículos, le atribuimos función industrial.



Fig. 19. Horno industrial L1044. (Archivo Misión Arqueológica Argentina).

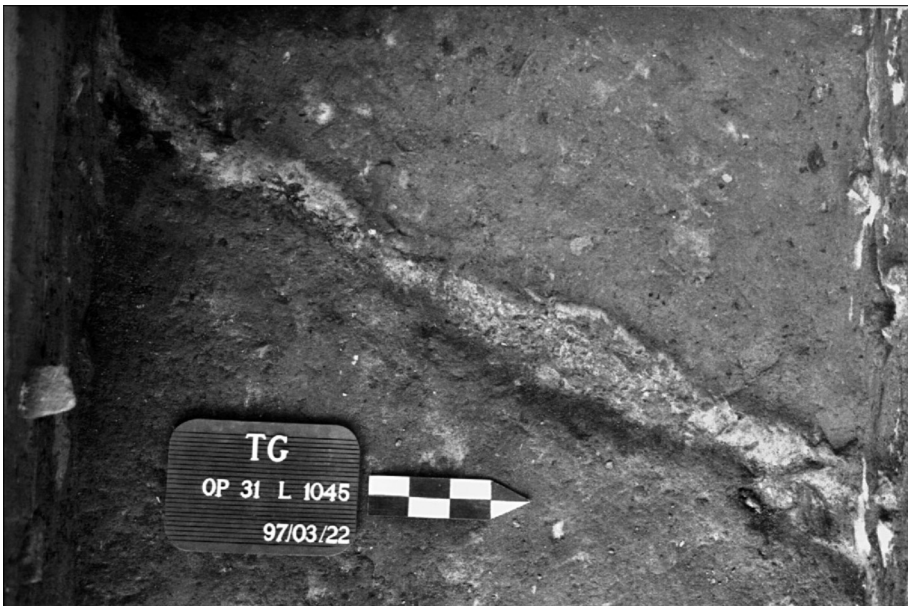


Fig. 20. Canal de drenaje L1045, que procedería de una estructura de combustión no expuesta. (Archivo Misión Arqueológica Argentina).

Línea de oxidación L1045 (Fig. 20): debe proceder de una estructura de combustión no expuesta. Su alineación (aproximadamente nordeste-sudoeste) coincide con la del muro de adobes L1029.

Área II Este, Operación 38

Esta operación consistió en una trinchera de 20 m x 1 m, trazada inmediatamente al este de la Operación 31.

Horno L1066 (Figs. 21 y 22): una compacta estructura de combustión de aproximadamente 1,80 m de diámetro. Fue excavada parcialmente. En su interior, que estaba fuertemente termoalterado, conservaba parte de un arco de arcilla cocida y había cinco depresiones (de entre 10 y 22 cm de diámetro) cuyas paredes, muy delgadas, eran de cerámica. Muy probablemente, fueron cocidas *in situ*. Se interpreta como un horno de función industrial. No se encontró ningún rasgo similar en el resto del área excavada del sitio.

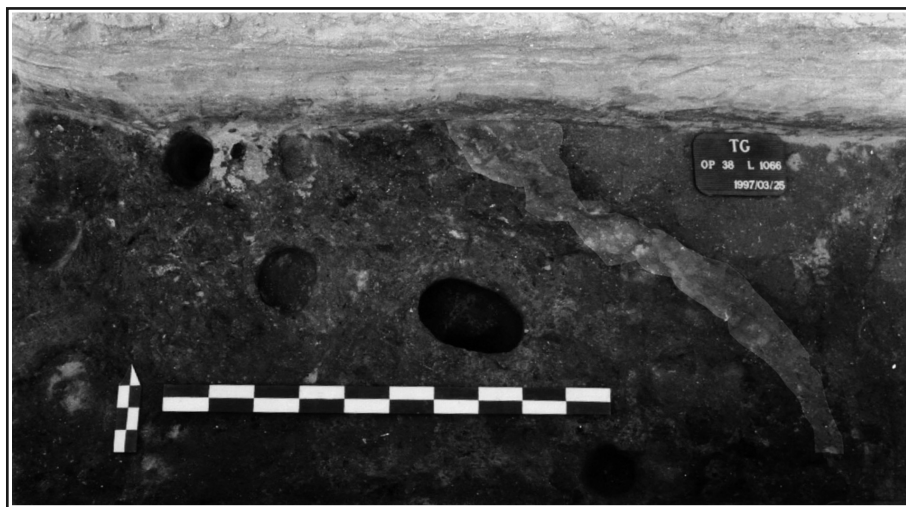


Fig. 21. Horno L1066, con arco de arcilla cocida y depresiones interiores (archivo Misión Arqueológica Argentina).

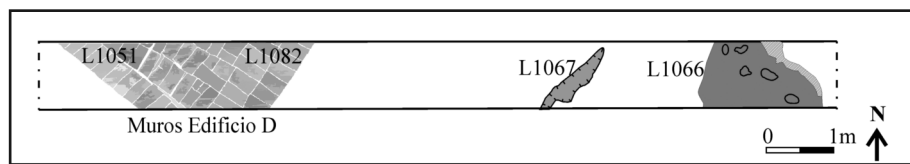


Fig. 22. Parte expuesta del canalículo L1067 (que drenó material fundido) y horno L1066. (Archivo Misión Arqueológica Argentina).

Canalículo de oxidación L1067 (Fig. 22): seguramente, parte de una instalación industrial que no fue completamente expuesta. Anotamos que este canalículo se alinea con los muros de la torre de adobe que denominamos Edificio D.

La suma de instalaciones industriales detectadas en el Área II Este sugiere la existencia de un espacio de talleres, que por limitaciones de tiempo no pudo ser objeto de una excavación en extensión.

Área II Oeste, Operaciones 32 y 34

Esta unidad se excavó en el espacio L1018, una de las casamatas que formaban la subestructura celular de la construcción de adobes de tipo torre que denominamos Edificio C. Se identificaron tres estructuras de combustión, que son, en orden decreciente de antigüedad, L1055, L1039 y L1038.

Horno industrial L1055 (Fig. 23): precede a la erección del Edificio C pero estaba dentro del pozo de fundación que lo alojó y sobre la arena correspondiente de fundación. Este horno consiste en una cámara de combustión aproximadamente rectangular, al parecer drenada hacia el sur por un canalículo relleno de sedimento carbonoso. Como este canalículo se alinea con la dirección de los muros que presumimos se erigirían poco después, formaría parte del plan de obra.

Horno industrial L1039 (Fig. 24): horno construido sobre adobes y arcilla. La cámara de combustión, hecha con arcilla y muchos restos vegetales, quedó convertida en cerámica por el calor. Lo drenaba

hacia el sur un canalículo claramente delimitado por puntos de rubefacción y por grandes tiestos de alfarería rojiza dispuestos horizontalmente. Para esta cerámica, de muy mala factura, se utilizó como antiplásti-

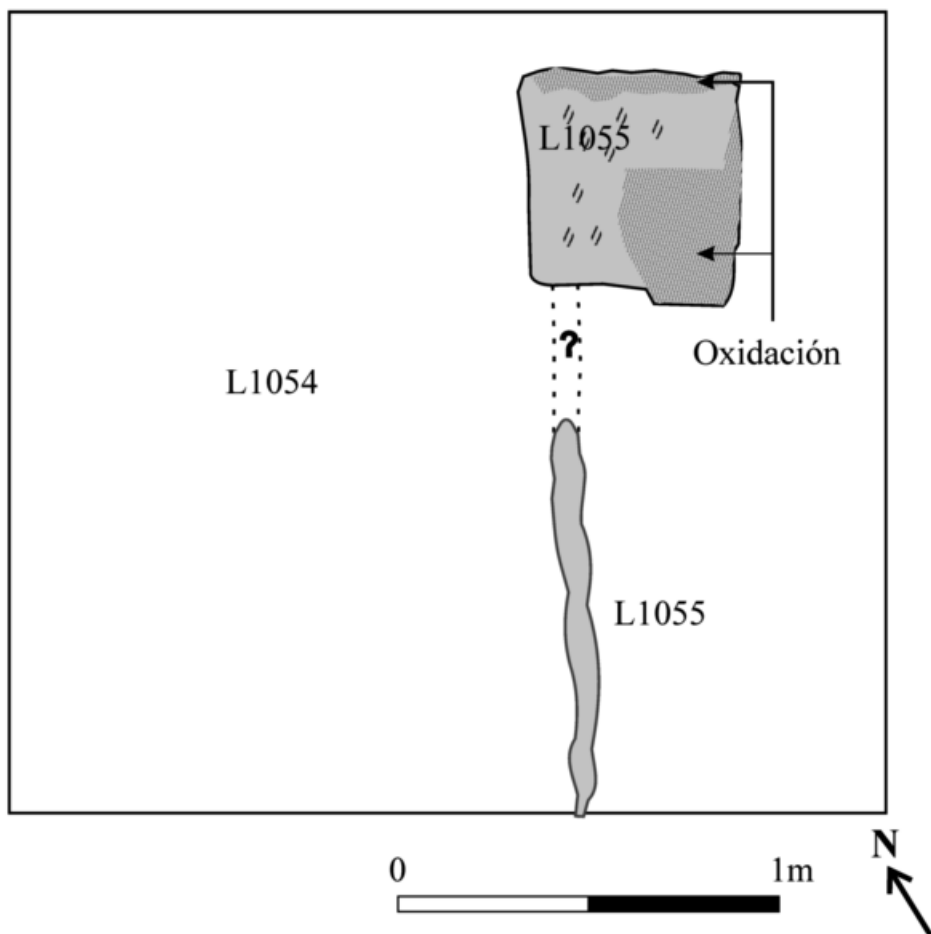


Fig. 23. Área II Oeste de Tell el-Ghaba, Operación 34 en casamata L1018 del Edificio C. Horno industrial L1055 y canalículo de drenaje. En gris claro, concentración de carbón. La trama indica las zonas de oxidación. L1054: sedimento carbonoso que cubría la estructura de combustión. (Archivo Misión Arqueológica Argentina).

co abundante paja. En su gran mayoría, estos tiestos son cóncavos y algunos son muy gruesos, de unos 4 cm. El relleno es una matriz oxidada y carbonosa muy similar a la del L1038 (ver más abajo), con cenizas y alfarería en estado pulverizado. Casi carece de restos de huesos. A unos 20 cm se halló un bloque de escoria oscura y pesada. L1039 fue cortado por el canalículo L1038, que estaba dispuesto de manera aproximadamente perpendicular.

Canalículo L1038 (Fig. 24): surca la operación 32 de este a oeste y apoya en el muro de adobes. Debe proceder de un horno que quedó fuera del área excavada. Contenido muy carbonoso, de contornos rubefaccionados. En su interior había cenizas, cerámica muy fragmentada o pulverizada, huesos partidos y quemados o calcinados (incluso de pescado). Se asociaba a escoria pumícea vítrea, de color verde a grisáceo.

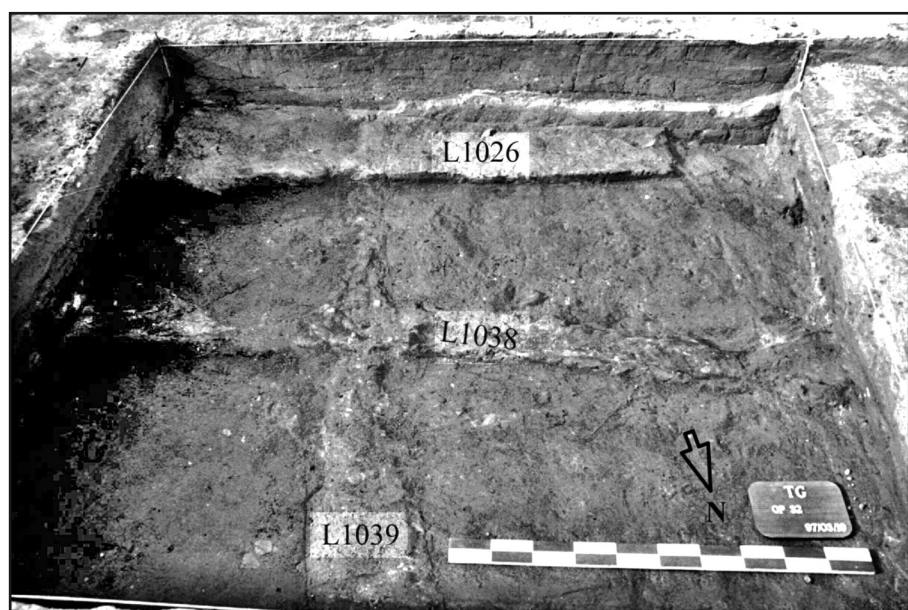


Fig. 24. El canalículo L1039 cubierto por el L1038. Los adobes caídos (L1026) sellan el sector. (Archivo Misión Arqueológica Argentina).

Caben algunas observaciones sobre estas estructuras de combustión del Área II Oeste. Las tres son posteriores a la arena de fundación que cubrió el pozo en el que se construyó el Edificio C, y L1038 y L1039 lo son a los muros de la respectiva celda o casamata. Sus correspondientes canalículos de drenaje se alinean aproximadamente con los muros, lo que ratifica la vinculación entre unos y otros. A su vez, esta casamata dejó de ser accesible una vez que el edificio se puso en uso. Se infiere que los hornos estuvieron activos durante la construcción de C y que luego se abandonaron. Una línea de adobes caídos (L1026) del Edificio C selló esta parte de la excavación.

TIPOS DE HORNOS EN TELL EL-GHABA

En resumen, las instalaciones principales son hornos industriales, varios de ellos asociados a canalículos que drenaban materiales fundidos. La arcilla de la cercana laguna (actualmente muy salobre y estacional) sirvió en algunos casos para fijar el horno firmemente. Como se adelantó, en varios casos la cámara de combustión era un contenedor de cerámica, no producido separadamente sino construido directamente sobre el suelo o sobre adobes y cocido *in situ*. Al carecer de base, podía recibir el calor de manera inmediata. Generalmente, se halló partido en trozos. Hay numerosos ejemplos en otros sitios egipcios, como Tell el-Heboua⁵, Tell el-Balamun⁶, Kom Firin⁷, El-Ashmunein⁸ y Karnak⁹.

Dentro de los hornos de Tell el-Ghaba se encontraron comúnmente vestigios de escoria de fayenza y de metales, pero también restos interestratificados de peces, la principal fuente de proteínas de los habitantes del sitio, lo que dificulta hacer distinciones drásticas entre las funciones industriales y domésticas. Es posible que en los hornos se cocinaran alimentos, para ahorro de combustible, o bien que en ellos se

⁵ Abd-el Maksoud 1998: 65, 67, 70.

⁶ Spencer 1996: Lám. 47 a.

⁷ Spencer 2014: 173–174.

⁸ Spencer 1993: 16, 21, 47.

⁹ Masson 2007: 601–602 y Lám. XVII a.

dispusiesen residuos de comida, como medida de limpieza. Aunque debe considerarse la posibilidad de que se hicieran pegamentos hirviendo pescados, éstos deberían haber sido grandes y numerosos¹⁰, lo que no parece haber sido el caso.

Hay otros tipos de hornos en el sitio, como los del Edificio B, *L0176* (construido junto con la pared este) y el *L0013* (que fuera adosado a un muro interior preexistente). En ambos casos, sobre la superficie de combustión yacían aun fragmentos de ceramios¹¹ (**Fig. 25**).

Asimismo, cabe dejar sentado que la utilización de hornos no se circunscribe a la época final de ocupación del sitio, ya que el horno *L0378* (**Fig. 16**) de la cuadrícula BB/42 es anterior a la construcción del Edificio A. También el horno de cerámica *L0221* (**Fig. 26**), en la cuadrícula BC/40, es anterior al sector industrial del Área I. Ya que ninguno de estos hornos, carentes de canalículos de drenaje, habría tenido función industrial, se tiene la impresión de que la metalurgia y la producción de fayenza se hicieron más importantes en la época final de ocupación de Tell el-Ghaba.

POSIBLES RAZONES PARA LA CREACIÓN DE ÁREAS INDUSTRIALES

Se han identificado zonas industriales en otros sitios egipcios. Tell el-Retaba¹² y Kom Rebwa¹³ son dos ejemplos del Delta. Caben varias conjeturas acerca de las razones para la creación de estas áreas especializadas. Las sucesivas etapas de combustión necesarias para el refinamiento del metal¹⁴ deben haber generado humos que se hubieran preferido evitar a los sectores residenciales, y de hecho el Área I de Tell el-Ghaba se sitúa hacia el sudeste del sitio, con lo que los vientos dominantes (que son del noroeste) hubieran llevado las emanaciones hacia la laguna. Pero no puede decirse lo mismo del caso del Área II Este, y en Tell el-Retaba, la zona industrial estaba inmediatamente al nordeste de un área residencial.

¹⁰ Newman y Serpico 2000: 475.

¹¹ También Crivelli Montero 2015: 74.

¹² Rzepka *et al.* 2011: 136–138.

¹³ Wilson 2011: 65–84.

¹⁴ Forbes 1979: 586.

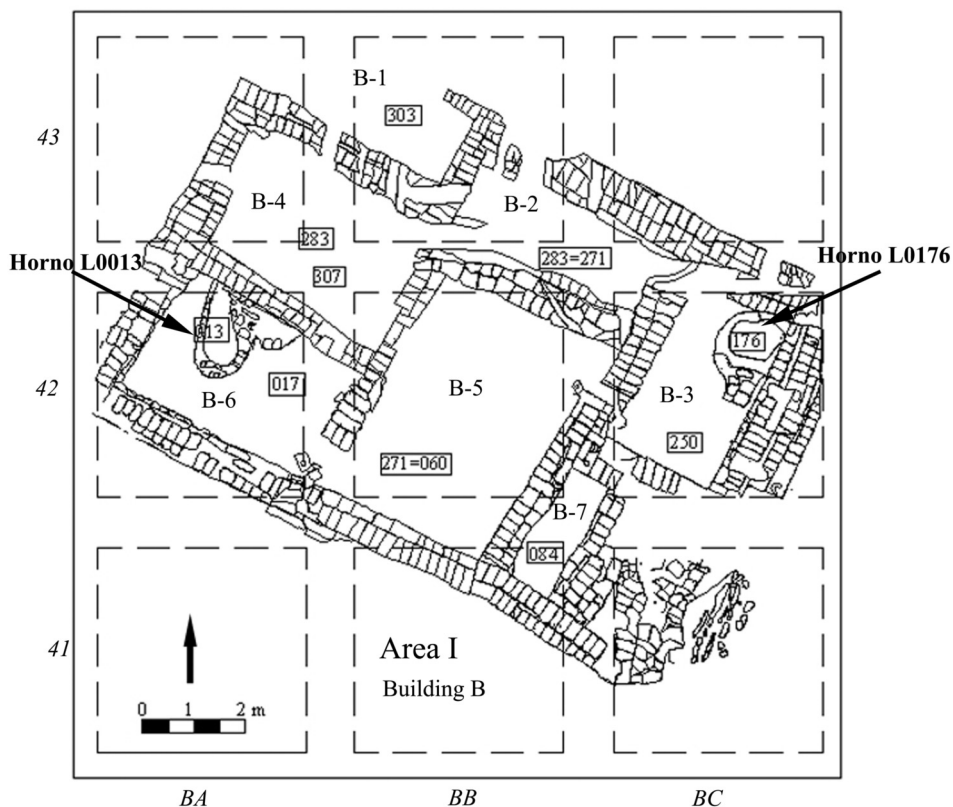


Fig. 25. Plano del Edificio B y sus hornos: L0013 y L0176.
(Archivo Misión Arqueológica Argentina).

Tal vez hayan pesado otras razones. Los hornos son numerosos y operaron de manera aproximadamente sincrónica, a la manera de un complejo, lo que apunta a una escala de fabricación considerable. La supervisión de la mano de obra y de la producción pueden haber sido motivos para crear un ámbito diferenciado.



Fig. 26. Horno de cerámica L0221.
(Archivo Misión Arqueológica Argentina).

UNA OBSERVACIÓN AMBIENTAL

Cuando los talleres de Tell el-Ghaba estaban activos, la demanda de combustible debe haber sido alta, y es del caso recordar que “the only fuels of practical value in metallurgy were wood and charcoal”¹⁵. En la época de las excavaciones, en el sitio abundaban los tamariscos (*Tamarix* sp.), arbustivos o arborescentes, que eran aprovechados como leña por los beduinos de la zona. El nombre árabe del sitio significa, precisamente, “el montículo del bosque”. Los tamariscos están adaptados a suelos arenosos y salinos. Actualmente, crecen también en el delta del Nilo y en ciertas condiciones, hasta pueden ser dominantes.

Es posible que una de las razones para emplazar actividades industriales en Tell el-Ghaba haya sido la disponibilidad de leña. En el Apéndice se presenta la identificación de 10 muestras de carbón obte-

¹⁵ Forbes 1979: 576.

nidas en el trabajo de campo mediante flotación; todas pertenecen a *Tamarix*. Si bien el muestreo no puede considerarse significativo y procede del Nivel II del Área I, más antiguo que las áreas industriales que tratamos, se la considera una referencia de interés.

LA CERÁMICA EGIPCIA

El material cerámico egipcio que se recuperó en el Nivel V en los hornos y estructuras de combustión de las Áreas I, II y VIII es principalmente de carácter doméstico y comprende formas utilitarias comunes como cuencos, platos, jarras y vasijas de almacenamiento. Estas vasijas están mayoritariamente manufacturadas en arcilla del Nilo, aunque están presentes algunos ejemplares elaborados en margas arcillosas provenientes del Alto Egipto¹⁶ así como de marga F del Delta oriental¹⁷. Tipos cerámicos similares se encontraron en los sectores de hornos y estructuras de combustión aquí analizados lo que podría sugerir que algunos de ellos habrían funcionado contemporáneamente¹⁸. Para la tipología cerámica de Tell el-Ghaba mencionada en este texto, véase Tabla 1.

Area I

El *horno industrial L0094* presenta poco material cerámico y es esencialmente de uso doméstico: un cuenco, una jarra y algunos tiestos en arcilla del Nilo.

Del mismo modo, del *horno de cerámica L0231* se recuperó escaso material cerámico: sólo algunos tiestos en arcilla del Nilo y una cantimplora de forma lenticular¹⁹.

¹⁶ Lupo y Cremonte 2011: 115–128.

¹⁷ Lupo y Cremonte 2013: 191–216.

¹⁸ Para la tipología cerámica de Tell el-Ghaba, véase Lupo 2015: 139–307.

¹⁹ PF1, Lupo 2015: Fig. 65, b.

En el Área I, sólo el *horno industrial de cerámica L0067* ofrece importante cantidad de cerámica egipcia comparada con la encontrada en los *hornos L0186, L0164 y L0153* localizados en la misma área. El repertorio cerámico es principalmente de carácter doméstico²⁰ tal como lo demuestra la presencia de algunos cuencos²¹ (**Fig. 27: a y e**), jarras²² (**Fig. 27: h**), vasijas de almacenamiento²³ y un molde para levar pan.

Poco material cerámico proviene del relleno L0206 del canalículo L0207²⁴: un cuenco²⁵ (**Fig. 27, e**), una jarra con cuello de boca ancha²⁶, y una vasija de almacenamiento sin cuello en Nile C₁²⁷.

La cerámica egipcia de las áreas conservadas de la plataforma (L0007 y L0202) asociadas al *horno L0067* comprende vasijas de tipo doméstico²⁸ entre ellas cuencos²⁹ en Nile B₂ (**Fig. 27: b-c**), jarras en arcilla del Nilo³⁰ así como contenedores de almacenamiento³¹. En este sector se recuperó una cantimplora lenticular con cuerpo achatado y borde evertido y labio modelado con dos asas colocadas desde el cuello hasta el hombro³² (**Fig. 27: i**). Poco material cerámico se recuperó de L0202: una olla egipcia³³ y un molde para levar pan³⁴.

²⁰ Fuscaldo 2005: 135–136, n° 1–3 y Fig. 33: 1–3, 5–10.

²¹ BL1.C (Lupo 2015: 150, Tabla 3; Fig. 1.3) y BL9.B (Lupo 2015: 156, Tablas 21–22; Fig. 9.2: a-o).

²² J5 (Lupo 2015: 198–200, Tablas 32–36; Fig. 18.1–18.4).

²³ SJ11 (Lupo 2015: 244, Tabla 73; Fig. 55: a-c.).

²⁴ Fuscaldo 2005: Fig. 36.

²⁵ BL9.B (Lupo 2015: 156, Tablas 21 and 22; Fig. 9.2: a-o).

²⁶ J6 (Lupo 2015: 200, Tabla 37; Fig. 19, a-c).

²⁷ SJ1.A (Lupo 2015: 241, Tabla 62; Fig. 44: e).

²⁸ Fuscaldo 2005: 130–135, Fig. 32: 1-32.

²⁹ BL2.A (Lupo 2015: 156, Tabla 13; Fig. 2: d), BL2.B (Lupo 2015: 156, Tabla 13; Fig. 2: e), BL2.C (Lupo 2015: 156, Tabla 13; Fig. 2: k), BL3 (Lupo 2015: Tabla 4; Fig. 3: a-e) y BL9.A (Lupo 2015: 156, Tabla 20; Fig. 9.1: a-p).

³⁰ J5 (Lupo 2015: 198–200, Tablas 32–36; Fig. 18.1–18.4) y J26 (Lupo 2015: 208, Tabla 57; Fig. 39).

³¹ SJ2 (Lupo 2015: Tabla 64; Fig. 46: a-d) y SJ7 (Lupo 2015: Tabla 69; Fig. 51: a-b).

³² PF1 (Lupo 2015: Tabla 86; Fig. 65: a).

³³ Fuscaldo 2005: 138, Fig. 35: 1.

³⁴ Fuscaldo 2005: 138.

Cuencos	<p>BL1.C, cuencos con carenación aguda o suave, y borde evertido directo.</p> <p>BL1.F1, cuencos con carenación debajo del borde modelado y estriado, paredes convexas o rectas, de base en forma de anillo o redonda.</p> <p>BL2.A, cuencos con paredes evertidas y bordes aplanados hacia el interior.</p> <p>BL2.B, cuencos con paredes evertidas y bordes aplanados hacia el exterior.</p> <p>BL2.C, cuencos con paredes evertidas y bordes aplanados y biselados en la parte superior del labio.</p> <p>BL3, cuencos profundos o no, con paredes evertidas y borde vertical directo.</p> <p>BL9.A, cuencos con base en punta o redondeada, paredes evertidas y bordes articulados y plegados; formas poco profundas y/o profundas.</p> <p>BL9.B, cuencos con base en punta o redondeada paredes evertidas y bordes modelados directos; formas poco profundas y/o profundas.</p> <p>BL9.C, cuencos con base en punta o redondeada, paredes evertidas, bordes evertidos y cuerpo modelado.</p>	<p>Lupo 2015: 150, Tabla 3; Fig. 1.3. Fig. 27: a</p> <p>Lupo 2015: Tabla 6; Fig. 1.6: a-h.</p> <p>Lupo 2015: 156, Tabla 13; Fig. 2: d.</p> <p>Lupo 2015: 156, Tabla 13, Fig. 2: e.</p> <p>Lupo 2015: 156, Tabla 13; Fig. 2: k. Fig. 27: b.</p> <p>Lupo 2015: Tabla 4, Fig. 3: a-e. Fig. 27: c.</p> <p>Lupo 2015: 156, Tabla 20; Fig. 9.1: a-p. Fig. 27: d.</p> <p>Lupo 2015: 156, Tablas 21 and 22; Fig. 9.2: a-o. Fig. 27: e.</p> <p>Lupo 2015: 156, Tabla 23; Fig. 9.3: a-f.</p>
Jarras	<p>J5, jarras con cuello con bordes directos, cuerpos globulares, ovoides o fusiformes.</p> <p>J5.A, jarras con cuello con bordes evertidos directos, cuerpo globular y bases redondas o redondeadas.</p> <p>J5.B, jarras de cuello largo vertical y borde directo; cuerpos globulares, ovoides o fusiformes.</p> <p>J5.C, jarras con cuello y bordes evertidos directos; cuerpos globulares, ovoides o fusiformes.</p> <p>J6, jarras de boca ancha y cuello con reborde.</p> <p>J23, jarras de cuello largo, borde evertido, modelado y redondeado.</p> <p>J26, jarras de cuello largo con borde evertido y plegado, y cuerpo ovoide.</p> <p>J28, jarras globulares u ovoides de cuello largo, con borde ligeramente evertido y directo; tienen líneas incisas en el cuello como decoración.</p>	<p>Lupo 2015: 198–200, Tablas 32–36; Fig. 18.1–18.4. Fig. 27: h.</p> <p>Lupo 2015: 198–200, Tablas 32–36; Fig. 18.1: a-f. Fig. 27: g.</p> <p>Lupo 2015, 199, Tabla 34, Fig. 18.2: a-t. Fig. 27: f.</p> <p>Lupo 2005: 199, Tabla 35, Fig. 18.3: a-n.</p> <p>Lupo 2015: Tabla 37; Fig. 19, a-c.</p> <p>Lupo 2015: 207, Tabla 54; Fig. 36.</p> <p>Lupo 2015: 208, Tabla 57; Fig. 39.</p> <p>Lupo 2015: Tabla 59; Fig. 41.</p>
Vasijas de almacenamiento	<p>SJ1.A, vasijas de almacenamiento de boca ancha sin cuello y paredes evertidas con borde modelado y plegado.</p> <p>SJ2, vasijas de almacenamiento de boca ancha sin cuello y paredes rectas con borde modelado y plegado. No posee asas.</p> <p>SJ7, vasijas de almacenamiento de dos asas, de cuello corto y borde evertido y plegado y de cuerpo bicónico.</p> <p>SJ11, vasijas de almacenamiento de dos asas, sin cuello con borde invertido, articulado hacia el exterior y modelado.</p> <p>SJ12, vasijas de almacenamiento de dos asas, sin cuello con borde articulado al exterior y plegado.</p>	<p>Lupo 2015: 241, Tabla 62; Fig. 44: e.</p> <p>Lupo 2015: Tabla 64; Fig. 46: a-d.</p> <p>Lupo 2015: Tabla 69; Fig. 51: a-b.</p> <p>Lupo 2015: 244, Tabla 73; Fig. 55: a-c.</p> <p>Lupo 2015: Tabla 64; Fig. 46, a-d.</p>
Cantimploras	<p>PF1, cantimplora lenticular, cuerpo achatado con cuello recto y borde modelado; dos asas están aplicadas de cuello a hombro.</p>	<p>Lupo 2015, Tabla 86, Fig. 65: a. Fig. 27: i.</p>
Tapas	<p>L3, tapas de forma redondeada o en punta, de formas profunda o no, paredes evertidas y bordes evertidos y articulados; plegados.</p>	<p>Lupo 2015: Tabla 83; Fig. 63.2, a-d.</p>

Tabla 1. Tipología de la cerámica egipcia mencionada en el texto (Silvia Lupo).

Diferente de lo que ocurre con el horno L0067, en el *horno industrial y doméstico* L0186 la presencia de cerámica egipcia es más bien escasa³⁵. También se encontró poco material en el relleno L0185 del canalículo L0184, como lo demuestra la sola presencia de una jarra de cuello largo³⁶ (véase **Fig. 27: f**) y algunos tiestos en arcilla del Nilo y en marga F del Delta³⁷.

El *horno* L0387 contiene escaso material: una jarra³⁸ y un contenedor de almacenamiento.

El relleno L0314 del canalículo de drenaje L0315 incluía algunas jarras en arcilla del Nilo³⁹ (**Fig. 27: g**), un cuenco⁴⁰ (**Fig. 27: d**) y un molde para levar pan.

En el *horno industrial* L0164 sólo se encontró un cuenco en arcilla del Nilo⁴¹ y algunos tiestos. El relleno de su canal de drenaje L0167 contiene un cuenco⁴² y una jarra de cuello largo⁴³.

Escaso material cerámico proviene del horno industrial L0198: un cuenco⁴⁴ (**Fig. 27: e**), un molde para levar pan y algunos tiestos en arcilla del Nilo.

Entre el material cerámico hallado en el *fogón u horno doméstico* L0166, se recuperó un cuenco con base en punta y borde evertido y articulado hacia el interior, manufacturado en marga del Alto Egipto⁴⁵, y una jarrita en marga del Delta⁴⁶. En arcilla del Nilo, se encontraron cinco cuencos de diferente tipología⁴⁷.

³⁵ Fuscaldo 2005: 138.

³⁶ J5.B (Lupo 2015: 199, Tabla 34; Fig. 18.2: a-t.).

³⁷ Fuscaldo 2005: 137–138, Fig. 34.

³⁸ J5 (Lupo 2015: 198–200, Tablas 32–36; Fig. 18.1–18.4).

³⁹ J5.A (Lupo 2015: 198–200, Tablas 32–36; Fig. 18.1: a-f)

⁴⁰ BL9.A (Lupo 2015: 156, Tabla 20; Fig. 9.1: a-p).

⁴¹ BL9.B (Lupo 2015: 156, Tablas 21 y 22; Fig. 9.2: a-o).

⁴² BL9.C (Lupo 2015: 156, Tabla 23; Fig. 9.3: a-f).

⁴³ J28 (Lupo 2015: Tabla 59; Fig. 41).

⁴⁴ BL9.B (Lupo 2015: 156, Tablas 21 y 22; Fig. 9.2: a-o).

⁴⁵ Marl A₄, P7067.

⁴⁶ Marl F, P7078, Lupo y Cremonte 2013: catálogo, n° 65.

⁴⁷ Dos cuencos BL9.A (Lupo 2015: 156, Tabla 20; Fig. 9.1: a-p), dos BL9.B (Lupo 2015: 156, Tablas 21 y 22; Fig. 9.2: a-o) y uno BL9.C (Lupo 2015: 156, Tabla 23; Fig. 9.3: a-f).

El material egipcio del *horno industrial L0153* incluye unas pocas jarras⁴⁸ y cuencos⁴⁹ en arcilla del Nilo. En marga del Delta apareció una jarra⁵⁰. En el relleno del canal de drenaje L0151=0157 se encontraron cuencos⁵¹, jarras⁵² y una tapa⁵³ en arcilla del Nilo.

El *horno industrial L0391* proveyó solamente dos jarras, uno de ellos en marga del Delta, Marl F.

En el *horno L0378* se hallaron solamente los fragmentos de dos jarras manufacturadas en arcilla del Nilo.

Area II

Es también escaso el material cerámico del *horno industrial L1044*: dos jarras⁵⁴ y algunos tiestos en arcilla del Nilo y marga del Delta.

El *horno industrial L1039* presenta dos cuencos⁵⁵ y fragmentos de dos jarras y de un contenedor de almacenamiento.

En el canalículo L1038 se recuperaron un cuenco⁵⁶, dos jarras⁵⁷ y una vasija de almacenamiento⁵⁸, todos en arcilla del Nilo

En el *horno industrial L1066* se halló sólo una jarrita con engobe rojo.

Area VIII

En el Área VIII, vajilla doméstica egipcia aparece en el *horno L0395*: una jarra en Nile E₂⁵⁹ y dos cuencos en Nile B₂⁶⁰ y tiestos en arcilla del Nilo y marga del Delta.

⁴⁸ J23 (Lupo 2015: 207, Tabla 54; Fig. 36) y J5.

⁴⁹ BL1.F1 (Lupo 2015: Tabla 6; Fig. 1.6: a-h).

⁵⁰ Lupo y Cremonte 2013: catálogo no. 42, Fig. 1: c.

⁵¹ BL1.F1 (Lupo 2015: Tabla 6; Fig. 1.6: a-h), BL9.A (Lupo 2015: 156, Tabla 20; Fig. 9.1: a-p) y BL1.C (Lupo 2015: 150, Tabla 3; Fig. 1.3).

⁵² J5.

⁵³ L3 (Lupo 2015: Tabla 83; Fig. 63.2, a-d).

⁵⁴ J5.A y J5.D (Lupo 2015: Tabla 32; Fig.18.1, a-f; Tabla 36; Fig.18.4, a-j).

⁵⁵ BL2.A (Lupo 2015: Tabla 13; Fig. 2, a-d) y BL9.A (Lupo 2015: Tabla 20; Fig. 9.1, a-p).

⁵⁶ BL2.C (Lupo 2015: Tabla 13; Fig. 2, i-l).

⁵⁷ J5.D (Lupo 2015: Tabla 36; Fig.18.4, a-j); J4 (Lupo 2015: Tabla 31; Fig. 17, a-f).

⁵⁸ SJ10 (Lupo 2015: Tabla 72; Fig. 54: a-b).

⁵⁹ J5.

⁶⁰ BL9.A (Lupo 2015: 156, Tabla 20; Fig. 9.1).

En el *Horno L0402* se encontraron un cuenco y dos jarras en arcilla del Nilo lo mismo que en el *Horno L0404*.

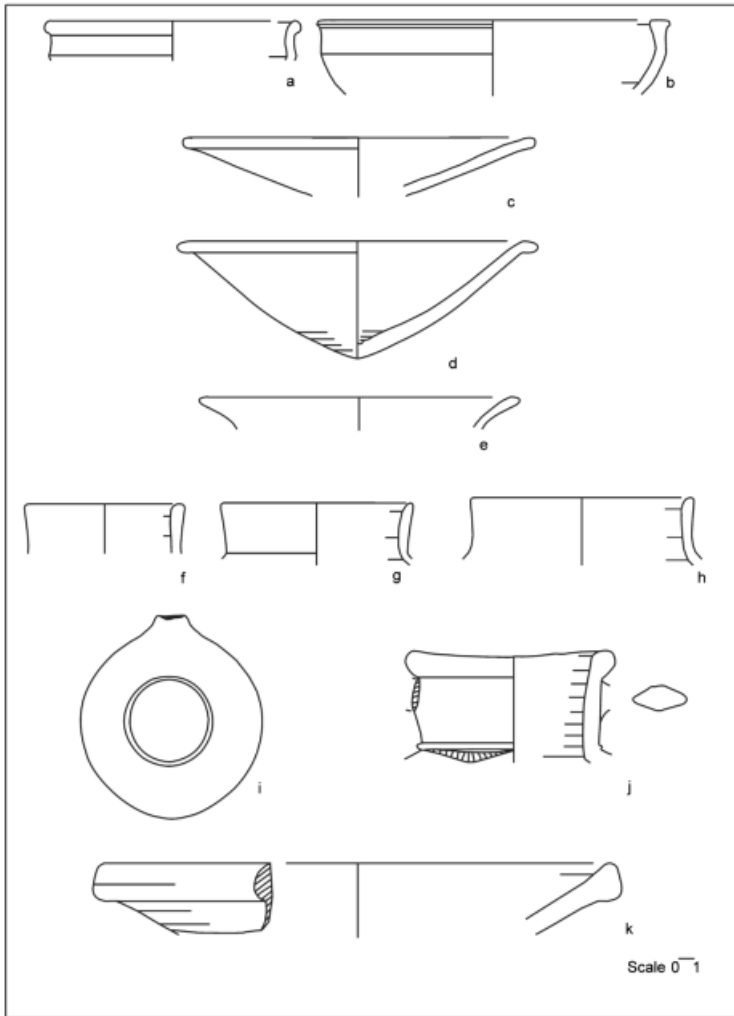


Fig. 27. a-i: Cerámica de origen egipcio; j: Parte superior de un ánfora de transporte (origen: Samos); k: Parte superior de un mortero cerámico. (Archivo Misión Arqueológica Argentina).

LA CERÁMICA IMPORTADA

Los hornos y estructuras asociadas hallados en el Nivel V de las Áreas I y VIII tienen escaso material de origen no egipcio. La cerámica importada está representada por algunos tiestos procedentes del Levante y unas pocas formas diagnósticas: fragmentos de vasijas de almacenamiento fenicias de tipo “torpedo”, jarritas en estilo “Negro sobre Rojo” probablemente de origen chipriota y la parte superior de un mortero⁶¹, cuenco de paredes gruesas elaborado en una pasta dura y resistente⁶² (P0380, **Fig. 27: k**), proveniente de L0007, plataforma de ladrillos asociada al horno L0067. Según Defernez, en Egipto, estos morteros cerámicos se hallan “principalement dans tous les sites où une occupation saïte est attestée”⁶³. Recientes estudios petrográficos en ejemplares similares, provenientes del sur del Levante, que datan de los siglos VIII y VII a.C. confirman que la mayoría fueron elaborados en arcillas ofílicas originarias de Chipre⁶⁴. Así, surge Chipre como el principal exportador de estos cuencos, cuya forma, en algunos casos, fue imitada y elaborada localmente⁶⁵.

El sedimento que rellenaba el canal de drenaje (L0157) del horno L0153, contenía la parte superior de un ánfora de transporte de Samos (P0887, **Fig. 27: j**)⁶⁶ empleada probablemente en el traslado de aceite de oliva; es la única de su tipo hallada hasta el momento en el sitio y parece corresponder a la variante más antigua del estilo, datada entre fines del siglo VII y mediados del siglo VI a.C.⁶⁷

⁶¹ Fuscaldo 2005: 133, Fig. 32: 2; Basílico 2013: 133; Kohen 2015: 323–325.

⁶² TG 47 en la nomenclatura de pastas cerámicas de Tell el-Ghaba. Pasta de color marrón pálido. Corte delgado: masa de arcilla (86 %) – cuarzo (7.70 %) – feldespatos -K (1 %) – plagioclasas (0.80 %) – fragmentos de rocas: magmáticas (3.20 %) – metamórficas (1.20 %) – minerales pesados (0.10 %). Tamaño del grano: 15-60 µm (59 %), 60-100 µm (15 %), 100-200 µm (18 %), 200-400 µm (8 %). En: Cremonese 2006: 35.

⁶³ Defernez 2001: 403.

⁶⁴ Zuckerman y Ben-Shlomo 2011: 92–97.

⁶⁵ Por ejemplo, dos morteros procedentes de Gezer, manufacturados en arcillas del sur del Levante (Zuckerman y Ben-Shlomo 2011: 94) y uno hallado en Naucratis fabricado en marga egipcia (Villing 2006: 40 y fig. 23).

⁶⁶ Kohen 2015: 310.

⁶⁷ Grace 1971; Dupont 1998: 165–167.

Las estructuras de combustión del Área II no contenían cerámica importada.

OTROS HALLAZGOS

En el Nivel V de las Áreas I y VIII, con excepción de los abundantes huesos de peces y la escoria de metal y fayenza, son escasos los hallazgos especiales provenientes de las estructuras de combustión. El *horno/fogón L0166* contenía un trozo de escoria de hierro de forma cóncavo-convexa de unos 8 cm de diámetro y 2,5 cm. de espesor. Más de sesenta objetos similares se encontraron en un taller de herrería en el Nivel 3 del estrato de la Edad de Hierro II en Tell Beth Shemmesh (Israel). Se los describe como la base de fraguas instaladas en pozos cavados en el suelo⁶⁸.

El resto del material consiste en pequeños objetos de adorno personal (una conchilla cauri, cuentas de fayenza y un pendiente en forma de ojo de Horus) y herramientas tales como piedras de moler y pesos de plomo en forma de U para redes de pesca.

En un área abierta de este sector de talleres se destaca la presencia de dos morteros de caliza (L0381) en su emplazamiento original y en posición de uso (**Fig. 11**) asociados a algunos tiestos que yacían en un sedimento más claro que aquel que lo cubría (L0001). Uno de los morteros, F2016, tiene forma irregular: el diámetro de la abertura es de 21–22 cm, la altura exterior es aproximadamente de 25 cm y el espesor de las paredes de unos 5 cm; contenía en su interior la base de una vasija cerámica. El otro, F2017, tiene el borde roto, el diámetro de la abertura es aproximadamente de 25 cm y el espesor de las paredes de 2–2,5 cm; es una vasija profunda con un orificio en la base y sedimento consolidado por sal⁶⁹. Había sido mantenido en posición mediante varios tiestos acuñados en el sedimento.

⁶⁸ Bunimovitz y Lederman 2003: 235–236.

⁶⁹ Chauvin Grandela 2015b: 400.

Estos morteros están representados en el arte del antiguo Egipto, como lo atestiguan una escena de molienda en un bajorrelieve de la capilla de ofrendas de Hetepherakhet en Saqqara que data del Reino Antiguo⁷⁰ y uno de los modelos a pequeña escala hallados en la tumba de Meketra en Tebas, que reproduce las labores que se realizaban en un local de fabricación de pan y cerveza, durante el Reino Medio⁷¹. En ambos ejemplos, personajes masculinos machacan granos de cereal con largas varas de madera, en tanto que en el modelo de Meketra los morteros están semienterrados de tal manera que su abertura queda a ras del suelo. También aparecen con frecuencia en viviendas de las aldeas de obreros de Deir el-Medina y Amarna.

En Amarna, algunos de estos morteros de caliza fueron empotrados en pequeñas estructuras construidas contra una pared, aunque en general se los halla simplemente hundidos en el suelo en la misma habitación donde se alojaban las plataformas que hacían de base a las piedras de moler⁷². En el piso que rodeaba a uno de los morteros de caliza empotrados en la pared, se encontró gran cantidad de paja y espigas de trigo enteras con granos en su interior⁷³. Un estudio experimental sobre la manufactura de pan en el antiguo Egipto evidenció que, si el grano se tritura en el mortero antes de molerlo sobre la piedra, se reduce el tamaño de la cascarilla (salvado) y la harina que se obtiene es mucho más refinada⁷⁴.

En el Área II no hay registros de hallazgos especiales en las en las estructuras de combustión.

⁷⁰ La capilla de ofrendas de Hetepherakhet está actualmente en el Museo Nacional de Antigüedades de Leiden.

⁷¹ Winlock 1955: 27–28, model G; Pl. 22, 64, 65 no. 1.

⁷² Kemp 1987: 40–46.

⁷³ Samuel 2000: 560.

⁷⁴ Samuel 1989: 269.

APÉNDICE

ESTUDIO DE MUESTRAS ARQUEOBOTÁNICAS DEL SITIO ARQUEOLÓGICO TELL EL-GHABA, EGIPTO

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METODOLOGÍA

Se tomaron 10 muestras de carbón y se analizaron con microscopio electrónico de barrido (MEB). Para esto, se efectuaron previamente cortes transversales y longitudinales, tangenciales y radiales, bajo lupa binocular utilizando hojas de afeitar. Se fotografiaron todas estas muestras y se agregó una semilla carbonizada.

También se realizaron cortes transversales y longitudinales tangenciales del material actual de referencia procedente del Herbario del Instituto de Botánica Darwinion (SI)⁷⁵.

MUESTRAS DE CARBÓN, SEMILLA Y MOLUSCOS

1 – 10: *Tamarix africana* Poir. Familia Tamaricaceae. División Angiospermae.

Corte transversal

Porosidad difusa, vasos de contorno redondeado, solitarios o en series radiales cortas (2 – 3 elementos). Radios multiseriados, con algunas porciones biseriadas. Fibras abundantes, algunas de paredes delga-

⁷⁵ Holmgren *et al.* 1990.

das, pero en la mayoría de los casos, éstas son gruesas; parénquima vasicéntrico, bastante escaso.

Corte longitudinal tangencial y radial

Radios multiseriados; sistema radial homogéneo. Vasos medianos a largos con abundantes puntuaciones.

Material actual de referencia

Tamarix africana Poir. Libia. Wadi Fezzan, 100 km al norte de Murjuk, árido; en colinas bajas, 400 m de altitud, 15–XI–1960, *M. G. Keith 808*, SI (Arbusto, hasta 2–3 m).

Familia Tamaricaceae

Árboles y arbustos del Hemisferio Norte; hojas alternas, ericoides, adpresas. Semillas con pelos. Se cultivan localmente especies tales como *Tamarix gallica* (tamarisco) de la cuenca del Mediterráneo. La misma se adapta a lugares secos y salobres, motivo por el cual es utilizada en la fijación de dunas en la costa atlántica⁷⁶.

S/N: Semilla carbonizada. Puede ser *Ziziphus spina-Christi* Willd. Rhamnaceae. División Angiospermae.

Familia Rhamnaceae

Plantas con hojas simples, nunca lobadas; flores a menudo períginas, hasta epíginas, embrión grande⁷⁷.

⁷⁶ Boelcke 1986

⁷⁷ Boelcke 1986.

Ziziphus

Es un árbol o arbusto con ramas glabras. Las formas silvestres presentan aguijones debajo de las hojas; el área de distribución geográfica de las mismas es el norte de Egipto y Nubia. Además, se cultiva actualmente en los jardines. Su fruto es popular y forma parte de la medicina “folk”. Dichos frutos fueron hallados en tumbas de la Dinastía XVIII, entre las que se destaca la de Tut Ankh Amon⁷⁸. Estos árboles formaron parte de la dieta faraónica y también de la medicina (las hojas especialmente). Asimismo, su madera es útil en carpintería⁷⁹.

En nuestro país se desarrolla la especie *Ziziphus mistol* (“mistol”), árbol espinoso, xerófilo, con frutos comestibles, utilizados para la preparación de golosinas; también es medicinal⁸⁰. Los usos de esta especie, comestible y medicinal, coinciden en ambos continentes.

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⁷⁸ Waly 1996.

⁷⁹ Manniche 1993.

⁸⁰ Boelcke 1986.

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RESEÑAS BIBLIOGRÁFICAS / BOOK REVIEWS

ROCÍO DA RIVA, *Arqueólogos, etnólogos y espías. La misión de Leo Frobenius en Arabia y Eritrea (1914–1915)*. Barcelona, Bellaterra Arqueología, 2017. CLXXXIV + 184. ISBN 978–84–7.290–830–7. €17.10.

La profesora de la universidad de Barcelona Rocío Da Riva, arqueóloga y epigrafista con una amplia experiencia en el Próximo Oriente antiguo, ha decidido interrumpir su especialidad para deleitarse y deleitarnos, primero con una minuciosa investigación y luego con una escritura detallada, produciendo este libro sobre un episodio concreto de la historia arqueológica de esa inquieta región. Cuando unos diez años atrás visitaba el Instituto Frobenius de antropología cultural asociado a la universidad Goethe de Frankfurt, casi por casualidad, como empiezan muchas de estas historias, llegaron a sus manos unos documentos inéditos sobre una expedición que el fundador del instituto, Leo Frobenius, había realizado a través del imperio otomano durante la Primera Guerra Mundial. Para satisfacer la curiosidad que despertaron en ella esos legajos, Da Riva dedicó una pequeña parte de su colmado tiempo de investigadora, durante años, a seguir la pista de esa expedición en archivos ingleses, alemanes, italianos y turcos, hasta alcanzar una comprensión muy profunda de lo que había ocurrido, aunque lógicamente quedaron muchos puntos oscuros porque no todos los hechos fueron reflejados por escrito, o esos documentos no se han encontrado todavía.

Después de publicar varios artículos en revistas especializadas sobre el tema, Da Riva decidió escribir un relato completo y pormenorizado del tema, para lo que contó con el ofrecimiento de la editorial que actualmente más contribuye en España a la ciencia arqueológica, Edicions Bellaterra de Barcelona (tarea en la que sustituyó y continuó la labor anterior de otra empresa catalana, Editorial Crítica).

Con un estilo detallista y erudito al máximo, la autora no puede negar su origen epigrafista y nos ofrece ordenada y jerárquicamente toda la información disponible sobre la misión, desde su inicio hasta su conclusión. Dicho sea de paso y sin demérito de la obra, su lectura se habría visto agradecida si el aparato bibliográfico y las más de cien notas explicativas hubieran sido colocadas al final del texto.

Aunque el interés de la misión hubiera sido muy alto si se tratara de un viaje exclusivamente científico, algo que Frobenius había hecho ya en varias ocasiones y en otras regiones africanas y asiáticas, y seguiría haciendo después de la guerra, el atractivo de la historia radica sobre todo en que el grupo de alemanes y árabes que salieron de Estambul hacia el Mar Rojo tenía una finalidad secreta mucho más importante que la científica. En el complicado juego de intrigas internacionales que se desarrollaba en paralelo a la larga y sangrienta guerra de trincheras en Europa, ambos bandos buscaban debilitar también al enemigo en sus colonias y áreas de influencia. Por un lado, el imperio otomano simpatizaba con la causa alemana-austríaca y muy pronto entraría en la guerra a su lado (capítulo todavía hoy tristemente recordado por el gran desastre aliado de Gallipoli en los Dardanelos). Una forma muy natural de debilitar a los turcos era animar en su contra a todos los países árabes dominados por ellos, desde Palestina hasta Arabia y Mesopotamia, y no fue otra cosa lo que hizo poco después el hoy aún famoso Lawrence de Arabia. El interés de los alemanes, lógicamente, era justo el contrario y por eso Frobenius no solo informaba de la situación en las costas de Arabia, sino que incluso llegó a comprar ciertas cantidades de alimento para enviarlas allí intentando reducir la tensión anti-otomana.

En segundo lugar, pero más importante que la anterior, la intención de Frobenius era llegar a la capital del reino de Etiopía, Addis Abeba, que había manifestado su simpatía por los imperios centrales. Allí residía una embajada alemana que se hallaba incomunicada con Europa, a la que había que transmitir instrucciones para, entre otras cosas, incitar al reino abisinio en contra del Sudán, antiguo enemigo suyo y ahora ocupado por los ingleses, y así tratar de dividir a las fuerzas aliadas en el valle del Nilo obligando a desplazar soldados hacia la frontera etíope.

Evidentemente, era un proyecto demasiado ambicioso para una sola expedición, pero Frobenius era un considerable fanfarrón que, aunque no poseía estudios superiores, había llegado a ser amigo del Káiser para obtener beneficios científicos y de otros tipos, y había convencido a algunos de sus superiores de que podría realizarlo. Claro que no engañó a todo el mundo, como demuestran los documentos descubiertos por Da Riva en los que funcionarios de alto nivel expresan sus opiniones negativas sobre él, entre ellos el propio embajador alemán en Estambul. Estos papeles son también muy valiosos para apreciar la “pequeña” historia de este episodio, como ocurre con muchas otras “grandes” historias de las que solo conocemos las mejoradas

versiones oficiales, y nos enseñan los grandes errores y faltas que cometió Frobenius, como intrigar para conseguir falsos títulos y atribuirse otros sin razón alguna, entre los que destacaba el de “consejero secreto” del emperador. También su maltrato hacia otros miembros de la misión y sobre todo hacia los nativos, con el entonces característico espíritu racista y colonial que predominaba en Europa y sobre todo en Alemania.

Consecuentemente, al final la misión fue un fracaso casi completo aparte de algunas informaciones interesantes que envió a Berlín y la citada pequeña ayuda a los árabes. Los expedicionarios no consiguieron pasar al interior abisinio desde el puerto eritreo de Masawa, donde los italianos, entonces todavía neutrales, pero con mucho temor a importunar a la marina inglesa, les retuvieron hasta conseguir un salvoconducto aliado que les permitiera volver de forma obligada a Europa por Italia.

Dos pequeñas reflexiones finales se ofrecen tras la lectura de este interesante libro. Por un lado, comparar este fiasco con el gran éxito que por el contrario obtuvieron los ingleses en la misma región, el cual tal vez no se explique solo por la extraordinaria personalidad de T.E. Lawrence. Algunos investigadores han resaltado una diferencia importante entre el colonialismo británico y el de otras naciones europeas. Aunque igualmente codicioso, el primero iba mucho más adornado por un interés científico que no solo actuaba por motivos económicos sino también por la pura curiosidad de desentrañar lo desconocido. En un ejemplo más cercano para nosotros, algunos han señalado como nuestro fracaso en las pequeñas colonias africanas, donde un ejército tribal tuvo en jaque al español durante decenios en el norte del Magreb, se debió en parte al desconocimiento geográfico que tenían nuestros militares sobre la región.

Otra idea atractiva es la de comparar la actitud colonial alemana con la de otros países del entorno. Todo el colonialismo de los siglos XIX y XX estuvo impregnado y sustentado por una ideología racista que se suponía “científica” por su relación con el triunfante evolucionismo darwinista, pero ese racismo adquirió elementos más siniestros en Alemania, donde descendió algo más tarde a la mayor abyección del género humano, el holocausto nazi. En su libro de viajes por Centroeuropa en la década de 1930, considerado como uno de los mejores del género, el inglés Patrick Leigh Fermor se preguntaba cuándo había cambiado la imagen exterior de los alemanes. Durante todo el siglo XIX, y con la excepción de la militarista Prusia, de ellos se tenía una imagen de filósofos, compositores y estudiantes que cantaban en armo-

nía, pero desde comienzos del XX los alemanes, junto con los chinos, eran siempre los “malos”, “espías o científicos megalómanos que pretenden dominar el mundo”. Fermor se preguntaba si la nueva imagen procedía de la guerra franco-prusiana, pero es más probable que se debiera a la implantación de la ideología aristocrática y elitista de la norteña Prusia en toda la nueva nación creada por Bismarck.

Pues bien, leyendo el libro de Da Riva nos encontramos con un Frobenius que poco se distingue del estereotipo atribuido a su nación, aunque en mi opinión personajes como él no eran nada raros entonces en esa y en muchas otras regiones europeas. Con los años hemos (mal)aprendido a dulcificar el espantoso legado histórico del colonialismo europeo, sobre todo en África (recordemos el horror supremo del Congo Belga) y hoy el nombre de Frobenius denomina el prestigioso centro de Frankfurt antes mencionado. Pero no hay que ir hasta Centroeuropa para encontrar feas actitudes colonialistas en el pasado y el presente: en mi experiencia arqueológica africana, que se remonta a casi cuarenta años, la imagen que conservo del viejo profesor que me llevó allí por primera vez no se distingue mucho de la del orgulloso alemán que Da Riva nos muestra en su libro.

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ANTONIO J. MORALES, *The Transmission of the Pyramid Texts of Nut: Analysis of their Distribution and Role in the Old and Middle Kingdoms*. Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur Beihefte 19. Hamburg, Helmut Buske, 2017. xxv + 263. ISBN 978-3-87548-819-7. € 148.

This monograph by Prof. Morales represents an important contribution to our knowledge of how ancient Egyptians edited and published mortuary texts. Emanating from chapter four in his doctoral thesis (*The Transmission of the Pyramid Texts into the Middle Kingdom: Philological Aspects of a Continuous Tradition in Egyptian Mortuary Literature*, Pennsylvania University, 2012), the work under review discusses the transmission of those text units that make of the goddess Nut a central theme from the end of the Old Kingdom to the end of the Middle Kingdom, as well as their meaning and role within the mortuary beliefs in ancient Egypt. The author narrows down

the relevant corpus to twenty-eight Pyramid Text spells (356, 367–368, 425–434, 443–444, 446–451, 454–455 and 588–590) and two so-called Coffin Text temporary spells (323 and 321), which occur on nine pyramids from Old Kingdom Saqqara, and thirty-one sources from the Middle Kingdom: twenty-eight coffins (13 from Saqqara, 4 from Dahshur, 1 from Abusir, and 2 from Lisht, Thebes, Meir, Siut and Barsha each), two sarcophagi (one from Qau el-Kebir, the other from Lisht), and a Theban chapel.

After the table of contents, a foreword by the editors of the series (J. Kahl and N. Kloth), a preface by the author, four auxiliary lists (figures and tables, abbreviations, nomenclature and conventions, sources), and a map of Old-and-Middle-Kingdom Egypt, follow the five chapters of the book, an appendix, bibliography, and index. All parts of the book are numbered up to four levels.

Chapter 1 (Introduction) leads the reader into four large topics relevant to the book: the study of mortuary corpora transmission during the Old and Middle Kingdoms (1.1, the general topic), the Pyramid Texts of Nut (1.2, the specific topic), scope and limitations (1.3, methodological issues of the specific topic), and theory and methodology (1.4, general remarks on formal and material philologies). On page 1, the author states that the aim of this book is “individualizing a significant series of the whole corpus and exploring the particular aspects of its transmission from the Sixth Dynasty to the Late Middle Kingdom as a model of textual transmission of religious corpora in pharaonic Egypt.”

Chapter 2 (The series of Pyramid Texts of Nut) expands sections 1.3 and 1.4 by highlighting the chronological axis (origin, and evolution) as a key concept in this study of the Pyramid Texts of Nut (2.1), and by furthering the comments on the textual critical method to present the notion of phylogenetics as instrumental for this aim (2.2), and how it has been adopted (2.3) and criticized (2.4) in the Egyptological field.

Chapter 3 (Textual analysis of the Pyramid Texts of Nut: phylogenetics) is the main analytical part of the book and follows the three steps in classical textual analysis and interpretation of the text sources: *recensio* (enumeration), *collatio* (comparison), and *examinatio* (examination). After a very short introduction (3.1) establishing the corpus under study and explaining the structure of the chapter, the critical study of the Pyramid Texts of Nut proceeds in two sections. The first section (3.2) is entitled *Recensio* but also includes the *collatio* of these texts. The second section (3.3) is devoted to their *examinatio*.

The main objective being in the phylogenetics, the diachronic axis pervades the chapter since its inception: first the sources are chronologically presented with their bibliography (3.2.1), then follows the detailed inventory of the Pyramid Texts of Nut on each source, first those from the Old Kingdom chronologically, then those from the Middle Kingdom alphabetically by necropolis (3.2.2). The *collatio* of the texts comes then complete (3.2.3) excepting for the palaeographical analysis, the most remarkable variants being discussed under the next section (3.3, on pages 113–114), on some footnotes to the *collatio* when related to the reading (fn. 183, 187, 194 and 202), and in the Appendix of deviations at the end of the book. To end this chapter, the *examinatio* of six Pyramid Texts of Nut is presented (3.3) to propose their stemmata and map their transmission in Middle Kingdom Egypt. The author has chosen these texts (PT 588, 446, 428, 447, 367 and 434) because they provide “the most symptomatic, diagnostic and representative materials in terms of ratio of occurrences and the wide distribution of their attestations in different sub-traditions from the First Intermediate Period to the Middle Kingdom,” (p. 111) and its phylogenetic analysis is backed by the data collected in the Appendix of deviations for these texts. After an introduction to the value of errors and other elements of variation for establishing textual phylogenetics (3.3.1), the six stemmata and corresponding transmission mapping are proposed (3.3.2.a–f), with a detailed discussion and stemmatic graph for each. A brief conclusion (3.4) ends the chapter with the main thesis of the book stated for the first time in detail, which was previously alluded in general (p. 20–21) and which will be fully discussed in chapter four, namely “that the two major clusters of the stemmata reconstructed above [= 3.3] are the Old Kingdom group of royal Pyramid Text assemblages (with the spread of these materials into the First Intermediate Period in the pyramid of Ibi) and the Middle Kingdom text-carriers in Saqqara, Thebes, and Middle Egypt that, at different stages, emerged with textual variants mostly supplied from the region of Saqqara approximately at the beginning of the Eleventh Dynasty” (p. 129).

Chapter 4 (History of the transmission of the Pyramid Texts of Nut) is the main interpretative part of the book. Based on the analysis of the previous chapter, the model of transmission of the Pyramid Texts of Nut is explained in three sections that come after a short summary (4.1) of what follows. The first of these sections (4.2) reconstructs the history of the transmission of these texts, for which a general stemma of the text carriers under study is proposed in fig. 10. The general stemma is explained in subsections 4.2.1–

6, which mark the main phases of the transmission, respectively: the Old Kingdom archetypes and their first variants since the pyramids of Teti and Pepi I (4.2.1), the transmission of the Old Kingdom variants in the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom from the oldest group of archetypes (4.2.2), the transmission during the First Intermediate Period (4.2.3), the Eleventh Dynasty (4.2.4), and the Twelfth Dynasty at Lisht (4.2.5) and Dahshur (4.2.6). A second section follows to trace the topography of transmission (4.3), which is divided into two phases: the first one from the Memphite area to Siut, Meir and Thebes spanning from the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty to the reign of Mentuhotep II; the second one from the Memphite area to Thebes and then to Qau el-Kebir, with a minor tradition from Siut to Meir and Barsha, spanning from the Fifth Dynasty to the mid-late Eleventh Dynasty. Both phases are illustrated with one explanatory map each (fig. 11 and 12). The last, third section of this chapter discusses the ritual and theological significance of these texts (4.4). This section starts by establishing the formal and thematic homogeneity, and the stability of the reproduction of these texts in the sources from the Old and Middle Kingdoms, which permits to consider them as a text series. The series is reconstructed in detail for the different sources of this period according to their disposition in the documents (tables 3–5), its general purpose stated (the protection of the deceased's body by Nut) as well as its usual position in the coffins (inner face of the lid). After this, two motifs related to the deceased's body are highlighted (*i.e.* Nut's exhortations to the deceased, and ceremonies performed by a priest as Nut) that connect these texts with newly composed Coffin Texts (CT 644) and the later *Stundenwachen*. Other motifs that link new Coffin Texts (the ferryman spells CT 398–399) and the *Stundenwachen* are discussed: the nautical symbolism and the decan stars. The parallels with the *Stundenwachen* are discussed in detail in three subsections: the hour-vigil texts in the Ptolemaic temples of Dendera, Edfu and Philae (4.4.1), the Late Period Osiris liturgies (4.4.2), and other materials from the Late Period and Greco-Roman times (4.4.3). The chapter ends with some concluding remarks (4.5) on the transmission of this series of mortuary texts of Nut during the Old and Middle Kingdom, and by stressing the continuity in the transmission, function and meaning of it, as well as its ritual anchoring in the day previous to the burial.

Chapter 5 (Conclusion) provides a five-page picture of the whole book for the hasty reader and highlights the essential function of PT 588 throughout the whole tradition of mortuary texts dealing with the protective role of Nut for the deceased.

The main contribution of the book is to set a historical picture of a meaningful group of mortuary texts, the function it might have played for its makers, and the way the group was developed, reused and reinterpreted through time, by employing two complementary methods (classical textual criticism, and material philology) to assess the text and its sources in the context in which they were created.

The benefits of this approach are particularly relevant for two spheres. On one side, it adds new data and conceptual framework to the deep revision that took place during the mid-eleventh dynasty in the Theban area, and how this had an effect on other local areas to shape up the Middle Kingdom. In doing so, this book provides an explanatory model that outreaches the philological field. On the other side, by linking this group of spells from the Old and Middle Kingdoms with the later *Stundenwachen* liturgy and related texts, the book makes an important contribution to our understanding of the mortuary beliefs and their textual expression, its first occurrences and transmission through time in Ancient Egypt.

This reader would have liked to know more about the role these spells played in the ritual, or about the edition and publication of these spells in the different text carriers. But the book would have been a very different one in scope and size, and these aspects are of interest for future research, as the book demonstrates.

To this reader, the interest and wealth of the information provided in particular on table number 2 (*collatio*) are among the most remarkable contributions of the book.

The clarity in structure and language is the general rule in this book. Some repetitions in introductory and concluding paragraphs or sections could have been avoided, although it is clear that they were thought to guide the reader between chapters. An inconsistency exists in the presentation of the sources in 3.2.2, where those from the Old Kingdom are displayed chronologically but those from the Middle Kingdom are listed in alphabetical order—an inconsistency that can be attributed to the general problems in dating many Middle Kingdom coffins.

An exception to the rule of clarity of this book is the appendix. Comparing variants is not easy because of the tables being in one-page format. If the format had to be kept, repeating the headings in all tables would have been of great help. Alternatively, a two-page format would have allowed presenting all variants at one sight. The latter solution would have avoided

cases such as Pyr. § 778 a, for which a variant *jnk Nw.t* (3) is mentioned on page 188, the document of which (Sq7C^{ExtF}) is only found on page 191.

Finally, some typing/printing errors are:

- p. vii: “3.4 Conclusions” should not be indented
- p. [xxiii]: S in S1C and S2C refers to Siut, not to Saqqara
- p. 5: “contemplated,” not “comtemplated”
- p. 29: “diverse,” not “diverse”
- p. 53 (1608bAII): *twt*, not *tw.t*
- p. 113 (twice), 200–201, 209 and 217: *ht*, not *h.t*
- p. 167 (n. 398): “dealing,” not “dealings”
- p. 194–195 and 205: *hr*, not *hr*
- p. 216: *ndr*, not *nfr*
- p. 224: *it*, no *itf*

This book will not only be a profitable reading for both the philologist and the specialist in religious studies but for any reader interested in the mortuary texts under an empirical, material approach. This book contributes to improving our understanding of the always opaque mortuary texts by providing a description of a part of their editorial history, cultural function and textual structure and meaning.

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BRIAN B. SCHMIDT, *The Materiality of Power: Explorations in the Social History of Early Israelite Magic*. Forschungen zum Alten Testament 105. Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2016. XV + 258. ISBN 978–3–16–153302–0. €99.

En una excelente edición de las que ya nos tiene acostumbrado la casa editorial alemana Mohr Siebeck, el historiador Brian Schmidt (University of Michigan) presenta varios estudios sobre el contexto social de las prácticas mágicas en el culto israelita de finales de la Edad del Hierro. El objetivo de Schmidt es, a través de varios estudios de caso que incluyen el análisis de las prácticas rituales en el sitio de Kuntillet ‘Ajrud, el estudio de las inscripciones de Ketef Hinnom y Khirbet el-Qom, y el texto bíblico de Deut 32 y 1 Sam 28, “[to] corroborate the survival and viability of a previously unidentified, yet extant pandemonium in preexilic Israelite magic” (p. 13). El libro está dividido en cinco capítulos que, *grosso modo*, corresponden a los diferentes estudios de caso mencionados.

En el Cap. 1, “Magic ‘From the Ground Up’: Image, Object, Epigraph, Then Text” (pp. 1–13), Schmidt hace un corto racconto de cómo se ha definiendo a la magia a través del tiempo y cómo esto ha impactado en el estudio de las prácticas de magia en la antigüedad. Cualquiera sea la utilidad de estas definiciones, Schmidt prefiere los hechos a las palabras y se decanta por el estudio de la evidencia material de las creencias en un mundo de demonios y entidades protectoras sobrenaturales en el Israel y Judá preexílicos.

El Cap. 2, “‘May YHWH Bless You and Keep You’: ‘Cult’ and *Favissae* at Kuntillet Ajrud” (pp. 15–122), es el más largo y provee el “caso testigo” más importante. En él Schmidt analiza la cultura material de Kuntillet ‘Ajrud, sitio israelita establecido entre finales del siglo IX y mediados del VIII a.C. en el límite entre el Sinaí y el Negev, y cuyo reporte final se publicó recientemente¹, décadas después de las excavaciones originales. Las observaciones de Schmidt son sumamente detalladas y van mucho más allá de las prácticas apotropaicas. Aunque el libro está dirigido a especialistas en el tema, no habría estado de más una corta introducción describiendo sucintamente el sitio y las diferentes áreas que lo componen, así como los debates respecto a su datación (que no están totalmente saldados). Por ejemplo, el lector se queda esperando mucho más luego de leer en una corta referencia que “Various lines of evidence from the site present the possibility that what was perhaps originally a Judean site was at some subsequent stage dominated by a northern Israelite element” (p. 112). Esto por supuesto tiene que ver con las grandes discrepancias en la cronología del sitio, entre aquellas basadas en el radiocarbono, el repertorio cerámico local, y la epigrafía, que pueden llegar a una diferencia de datación de unos cien años², implicando contextos sociopolíticos absolutamente diferentes.

Uno de las hipótesis más interesantes de Schmidt es que los famosos pithoi (grandes jarras) decorados A y B—y varios más de los que sólo se conservan restos—no eran sólo vasijas utilitarias utilizadas como superficies para dibujar bocetos de imágenes que luego serían pintadas en las paredes así como para escribir frases dedicatorias a Yahvé, sino que ellos mismos fueron objeto de libaciones rituales y centro de ofrendas votivas y dedicatorias, todo acompañado por quema de incienso y comidas rituales. En este sentido, los pithoi desempeñaban la misma función que las figuras rituales o las piedras erguidas (*mazzebot*) contemporáneas del templo de Tel ‘Arad. A este respecto, una fun-

¹ Meshel 2012.

² Véase, más recientemente, Finkelstein 2013: 15–16.

ción similar parecen haber desempeñado las vasijas decoradas de tipo Qurayyah encontradas en el santuario de Hathor en Timna, unos siglos más temprano³, lo que añade un paralelo similar más al caso presentado por Schmidt.

Schmidt reelabora la hipótesis, que ya había presentado unos años antes⁴, respecto de la relación espacial entre imagen y texto en el Pithos B: la posición de la escena de los seis fieles en actitud adorante respecto de las tres inscripciones a sus costados (nos. 3.6, 3.9 y 3.10) reflejaría la presencia de un “aniconismo de espacio vacío” (empty-space aniconism). Donde esperamos la presencia de una imagen divina, sencillamente no hay nada. ¿Cuáles son las deidades que están simbolizadas por este aniconismo? De acuerdo a Schmidt, todo apunta a Yahvé de Temán y su Asherá, dioses mencionados en las inscripciones 3.6 y 3.9. Aunque el Pithos B fue encontrado en una sala adyacente (“courtoom”), Schmidt presenta varias líneas de evidencia que apuntan a que esta vasija estaba originalmente localizada en una plataforma que hacía las veces de altar (“bench room”), donde era venerada junto con el Pithos A. Inscripciones como la 3.9 e imágenes como la de los fieles adorantes fueron insertados en los pithoi al mismo tiempo: unos no pueden entenderse sin los otros, no hay nada azaroso ni espontáneo en su producción. Estos y otros pithoi fueron localizados en lugares estratégicos debido a su poder sobrenatural apotropaico; los visitantes ocasionales pintaban sobre ellos grafitis como actos de piedad personal, como las inscripciones 3.6 y 3.10. Aunque la verosimilitud de algunas de las hipótesis depende del punto de vista del autor (como la que sugiere que la figura M en el Pithos B representa a un enano como nexo entre el grupo de los seis fieles y la presencia divina), es ciertamente claro que los pithoi cumplían una función sagrada mucho más importante que lo que se asume tradicionalmente.

Schmidt no es el primero en ir en contra de la opinión de los editores de las inscripciones, Ahituv, Eshel y Meshel, de que solo la religión Yahvista aparece representada en Kuntillet ‘Ajrud⁵. Pero sí lo es en argüir convincentemente que las dos famosas figuras en el Pithos A, identificadas inicialmente por Beck como representaciones de Bes⁶, no son ni más ni menos que imágenes de Yahvé de Samaria y su consorte Asherá, dos deidades mencionadas en el grafito 3.1. que se superpone con la imagen de Bes. De este modo la con-

³ Tebes 2017.

⁴ Schmidt 2002.

⁵ Ahituv, Eshel y Meshel 2012.

⁶ Beck 1982.

vergencia de Yahvé y Asherá con dos deidades apotropaicas egipcias, Bes y Beset, no hacía más que resaltar los poderes mágicos de aquellos.

En el Cap. 3, “Godspeed on the ‘Other Side’: Text, Tomb, Image, and Evil” (pp. 123–162), Schmidt se enfoca en los aspectos mágicos de las inscripciones de Ketef Hinnom y Khirbet el-Qom. Las primeras se encuentran en amuletos descubiertos en las cámaras mortuorias de Ketef Hinnom, en Jerusalén, datadas probablemente a finales del período preexílico. Aquí el rol apotropaico de Yahvé, llamado variopintamente “nuestro restaurador [y] roca” (no. 1) y “el Guerrero y el Exorcista de [el M]al” (no. 2), es bastante claro. En la inscripción escrita sobre la pared de una cámara mortuoria de Khirbet el-Qom (no. 3), de finales del siglo VIII a.C, no solo tenemos la bendición de Yahvé, sino también una mención al poder salvador de Asherá. Schmidt propone, a mi entender convincentemente, que en esta inscripción opera el fenómeno de lo que él denomina “*Doppelgänger* paleográfico”, esto es la duplicación de letras con segundos trazos más leves o la repetición de letras en la misma línea (por ejemplo, en el texto “a Su Asherá”), con el fin de realzar los poderes mágicos de las palabras escritas al principio bendiciendo al fallecido. El principio también opera al contrario, duplicando solo algunas letras de una palabra (por ejemplo, “de sus enemigos”) con el fin de reducir los poderes del “enemigo”. Muy cerca de esta inscripción, la imagen incisa de una mano apuntando hacia abajo confirma el poder apotropaico de aquella. De estas y otras líneas de evidencia—en particular los hallazgos de objetos con poderes mágicos, especialmente amuletos, en contextos mortuorios—Schmidt concluye que el mundo mágico fue mucho más prominente en la religión Yahvista preexílica que lo retratado convencionalmente por la tradición bíblica.

Los últimos estudios de caso, tomados del texto bíblico, se presentan en el Cap. 4, “Was There (a) Pandemonium in Early Israelite Tradition? The Daimonic Dimensions of Deuteronomy 32”. El primer texto examinado es Deut 32:8–9, donde de acuerdo a Schmidt es posible descubrir un mundo de seres sobrenaturales por debajo de Yahvé, mundo que luego fue removido por los editores del texto masorético pero que es posible revelar gracias a la Septuaginta y los Rollos del Mar Muerto, fuentes que como se sabe, preservan textos más antiguos que los del masorético. Así, donde el TM se refiere a los “hijos de Israel” (v. 8), el texto de los LXX habla de los “hijos divinos” (*huiōn theou*) y el de Qumrán de “los hijos de los dioses/Dios” (*bēnē ’ēlōhîm*). De manera similar, LXX Deut 32:43 menciona a los “hijos de Dios” (*huoi theou*) y los “ángeles de Dios” (*angeloi theou*), mientras que QDeut 32:43

hace lo mismo con los “hijos de El (o Dios?)”; no sorpresivamente, el texto masorético no presenta ninguna alusión al respecto. Gracias a los textos de Ugarit, se sabe que el paralelo histórico más antiguo de este texto es el panteón cananeo, con el dios principal El y dioses secundarios debajo de él. Aunque poco se sabe de ese mundo sobrenatural debajo de Yahvé, Schmidt sugiere que otro texto, Deut 32:17 presenta una información clave: mientras que el texto de los LXX menciona que “ellos sacrificaron a los demonios (*daimoiois*)”, él traduce el correspondiente texto masorético como “ellos sacrificaron a los dioses-*Shedu* (*shedim*)”, relacionando así a estos últimos con los seres sobrenaturales *shedu* del culto acadio. La conclusión es que los *shedim* hebreos fueron elevados al status de “demonios-guardianes protectores deificados”, en un proceso análogo a lo ocurrido con seres similares en la mitología egipcia y mesopotámica. El mismo proceso parece haber ocurrido con las deidades Reshef y Qeteb mencionadas en Deut 32:24. Es precisamente esa nueva posición superior, que rivalizaba directamente con el poder de Yahvé, lo que Deut 32:17 ataca ferozmente.

Con el último capítulo, Cap. 5: “Material Aspects of Early Israelite Apotropaic Magic: Integrating Object, Epigraph, and Biblical Tradition”, volvemos de nuevo a la convergencia de Yahvé/Asherá con Bes/Beset. Schmidt enfatiza la localización de Kuntillet ‘Ajrud en la encrucijada de varias culturas—la israelita, judaíta, egipcia, fenicia y edomita—como el contexto ideal para la emergencia de cultos y rituales absolutamente híbridos. La convergencia del culto de Bes con religiones fuera de Egipto no fue monopolio de Kuntillet ‘Ajrud, como demuestra el pormenorizado análisis que hace Schmidt de la hibridación de Bes con deidades locales en Chipre a finales de la Edad del Hierro.

Un último punto importante que Schmidt analiza es la relación entre el culto de Yahvé de Samaria—que aparece en el Pithos A—con el de Yahvé de Temán—que aparece en el Pithos B y en otras inscripciones. Postula la existencia de dos tradiciones cúlticas, una sureña, que fue la predominante y estaba representada por el culto anicónico a Yahvé de Temán; y una norteña, que fue apoyada oficialmente y estaba representada por el culto híbrido de Yahvé/(Bes) de Samaria. Schmidt deja al lector con ansias de saber más sobre este tema, especialmente respecto al papel de Kuntillet ‘Ajrud en la historia de las relaciones entre Israel y Judá durante el Hierro II, a la localización de Temán (Edom, Arabia, el mismo Negev?) y su relación con los orígenes sure-

ños del Yahvismo⁷, o sobre el vínculo entre el aniconismo “temanita” con el aniconismo de los cultos del desierto⁸.

En conclusión, *The Materiality of Power* es un estudio pormenorizado de aspectos olvidados del enorme mundo mágico del culto Yahvístico pre-exílico. El libro no intenta ser un estudio completo de la demonología del antiguo Israel, por lo que algunos puntos han sido dejados de lado, como la vínculo íntimo entre las creencias apotropaicas y el mundo del más allá, la evolución diacrónica del mundo mágico israelita, y la emergencia del mono-teísmo a finales del período preexílico y luego del exilio. Más allá de eso, Brian Schmidt ha hecho un excelente trabajo cruzando el texto bíblico, textos epigráficos e información arqueológica para descubrir el fascinante mundo de la magia y de los demonios del antiguo Israel.

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⁷ Véase recientemente Na’aman 2017.

⁸ Véase Tebes 2017.

IANIR MILEVSKI & THOMAS E. LEVY (eds.), *Framing Archaeology in the Near East: The Application of Social Theory to Fieldwork*. Series: New Directions in Anthropological Archaeology. Sheffield, Bristol, Equinox Publishing, 2016. X+146. ISBN 978-1-78179-247-6. Hardback: £80.00 / \$100.00; Paperback: £30.00 / \$45.00

Almost 30 years ago, in a passage of their influential book *Social Theory and Archaeology*, M. Shanks and C. Tilley discussed Borges's archaeological-themed short story "Tlön, Uqbar, Orbis Tertius" as illustrating "a desire for the past in itself and for itself; a desire for an objective past, for primary originary objectivity, the essence of the past, the essential meaning, an ideal presence of the past."¹ The appropriation of social theory by archaeology since the 60s and 70s has been instrumental in supplanting such merely positivist approaches to the past, and more specifically, to retrieving and processing excavation data. The present volume illustrates and legitimizes in turn the diversity of approaches to Near Eastern archaeology, whether cognitive or cyber-archaeology, processual or post-processual. This is all the more welcome since Mesopotamia and the Levant (each the focus of three papers) are known to be lagging behind in this respect.

M.J. Harrower's opening paper surveys the literature on how spatial analysis-related technology could assist the application of a social theory framework to archaeological sites in the Near East. Occasionally this paper reads like an annotated list of books, most of which resort to computer capabilities—mainly geospatial technologies—to advance archaeological research. Some of their quite specialized topics, even when explained ("Modifiable Areal Unit Problem," p. 9, "Ripley's K-function multi-distance spatial cluster analysis," p. 11) might remain obscure to the readership this volume is otherwise bound to attract. This literature review (the valuable bibliography is longer than the article) concludes with a fine point: "new technologies... require new theory."²

An excellent article on Late Chalcolithic delivers J.S. Baldi, who deals with the pottery from Tell Feres Al-Sharqi and what it tells us about the so-called Uruk colonization of Northern Mesopotamia. Baldi's archaeological cultures are not "chrono-cultural boxes" (p. 84) but rather "polythetic and

¹ Shanks and Tilley 1988: 13.

² As to Harrower's moderate skepticism about the future of paper in recording, see Tripcevich and Wernke 2010: 380.

non-normative social fields, intended and unintended sets of interactions and social influences on a territory” (p. 85). He prefers to use the “way of doing” (or technical identity) as a more reliable lens through which to read colonial situations (case in point, chaff-faced tempered vs. mineral-tempered ceramic to point towards either “locals” or “civilization-bearers”). Thus, it becomes possible to highlight a whole new dynamic between local and foreign, ultimately suggesting that the hybridization of techniques speaks for a phenomenon more complex than colonialism. A. Di Ludovico contributes another Mesopotamian-themed article (one millennium later though). His contention is that an exponential increase in the use of writing under Ur III rulers, and especially from Sulgi’s reign onwards, is indicative of a “partly [...] deliberate pursuit of high-level abstraction in political and economic management by state authorities.” However, his search for some archaeological evidence to back this hypothesis yields only the fact that the dimensions of bricks in public buildings had also been standardized in this period. The theoretical framework adduced to illuminate this (research in schools in England showing that more educated schoolboys “show a particular aptitude for abstraction in thinking and communication,” p. 68) can hardly live up to the task. Di Ludovico certainly has a point that one of the ways for the ruling class to retain power is by controlling the “shared symbolic system” (p. 69). By the same token, the reader will not find it difficult to accept the author’s claim that Ur III “lower subaltern classes” acknowledged writing as “having a fundamental role and a special authority,” but might be left on his own as to the ways this actually happens. The third and final article on this area of the Near East is J. Mardas’ piece on the ambiguity of gender in ancient Mesopotamian myths (*Enuma Elish*, Epic of Atrahasis etc.). She sets out by proposing a very unusual “distinction between gender and sex: the former was perceived as biologically given, and the latter as a cultural construct” (p. 21). The consensus according to which this is the other way around is unlikely to be overturned. Her remarks on Gilgamesh’s “hegemonic” sexuality and on the femininity of widows (p. 24) have the merit of reminding one that Mesopotamian gender is not a straightforward concept. Archaeological implications of the article are, however, very few, although in her conclusion, Mardas does cite a couple works which have dealt with gender in Mesopotamia from various perspectives, including archaeological ones. Some, such as Croucher’s paper on queer archaeology, do not actually apply, as there it is simply talk of how

past audiences must have perceived things “differently,” rather than of people who were “sexually different.”³

E. Luneau discusses the way men and women were buried in Bronze Age Oxus civilization sites in Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. Following some of F. de Polignac’s observations on Greek cemeteries, she notes that funeral goods may not reflect the identity of the buried, but a social representation of their identity. There will of course be grave offerings patterned along lines that have been seen long before the advent of social theory and that will be seen in the future: combs, bangles and needles, as well as spindle whorls, are present only in female graves (p. 38). More intriguingly perhaps, “more than 80% of the items found with women are made of metal [...] whereas flint objects were predominantly in the graves of males” (p. 36) (here and elsewhere sex and gender are used interchangeably by Luneau). The reader might have expected this paper to focus on instances where grave offerings are made to say more about gender than in traditional archaeological literature, oblivious of social theory. The following situation would have been one of the few good such opportunities: some women’s graves included staffs and axes, usually associated with male burials. Luneau rather tersely comments that this “might suggest that some women perhaps held a powerful social position apparently rather attributed to men, such as being rulers” (p. 44). This comment runs the risk of implying, first, that for Luneau status is inevitably reflected in material culture (something she expressly questions in the next paragraph), and secondly, that material culture is *a priori* gendered. To conclude with some nit-picking: at 32, the dead body’s position is described as “on the belly” (p. 32) instead of “prone” or “ventral decubitus.”

Only one paper in this volume is dedicated to Anatolia, although work by I. Hodder on Çatalhöyük is cited elsewhere. The thought-provoking questions asked by P. Filipowicz pertain to the survival of Neolithic imagery in the Chalcolithic period. To answer them, she resorts to Peircean semiotics and submits that post-Çatalhöyük sites circulate replicas of the original imagery created in Çatalhöyük, although in time these images became replicas of replicas (*e.g.* the transformation of Neolithic bucrania in abstract ornaments on Hacılar decorated pottery). The article is well-organized: the general introduction prefaces the sequential presentation of Peirce’s relevance in archaeology and of Çatalhöyük facts, in order to subsequently make possible the actual application of a Peircean framework to the facts, followed by conclu-

³ Croucher 2005.

sions. This kind of separation between facts and theory can be faulted for didacticism, but here it has practical merit. At the same time, it also illustrates one peril in applying social theory in archaeology—namely, that researchers sometimes adduce a theoretical framework according to which they mete out new names to phenomena described in other frameworks, without truly enriching their meaning. In this case, post-early Neolithic Çatalhöyük imagery is described by Filipowicz as replicas (*sinsigns*) of the original imagery, seen as a *legisign*, Peirce's ideal template or "ideal concept." There is much potential in this, but it seems to be somewhat hampered by the fact that of the *legisign* it is said that, rather than being the originator of a fashion, it "cannot act until... embodied in a concrete instance," a "replica/token," the *sinsign* (p. 52), whereas in the article the original Çatalhöyük imagery is seen as concrete and as active as can be.

The last three papers in this volume are reserved for case studies in Syro-Palestinian archaeology. A. Greener deals with the Intermediate Bronze (IB) Age cemetery from Jericho as published by Kathleen Kenyon. This cemetery's paramount importance for understanding IB society in the southern Levant led to a number of important reassessments over the past 50 years. Like Mardas and Luneau for other geographical areas in this volume, Greener is interested mainly in gender, although his thesis is more generous: "I argue that an examination of mortuary practices provides us with an insight into the social structure of the community" (p. 102). Kenyon had noticed that tombs with daggers belonged to males and that the pins found in burials should be associated with female burials, and Greener confirms her analysis (p. 99). Of the 105 dagger-type tombs identified by Kenyon he states, oversimplifying, "[t]he men who were in charge of protecting the community were buried in these tombs" (p. 104). The situation of the disarticulated male skeleton found with a spindle whorl is mentioned without a comment. A nice paragraph on page 101 reads like a conclusion: "Mortuary rituals offer a sensuous (*sic*) arena in which people actively create and (re)assert social memories [...]." One could have added that the studies of pathologies in this cemetery may also open a window into social life: the tomb G-88 included grave goods of conspicuously low quantity and quality when compared to the other graves, as well as the skeleton of a 25-year-old male with four operations of trephining.⁴

⁴ Shay 1985: 229–234.

J.M. Tebes' substantial paper, with anthropological scope and excellent command of the material, contrasts different models of the Edomite state and proposes a new solution. After careful consideration, he discards the tribal kingdom model, not fearing accusations of being overly concerned with issues of classification, since, as he rightly points out, the terminology in which an analysis is couched sets its conceptual limits (p. 114). He engages with Porter's work on Iron Age Edom to establish the truth content of the claim that the Buseirah-based elite systematically tried to extend its authority over southern Transjordan and the Negev. Tebes succeeds in proving that the evidence for such a theory is tenuous and his findings are corroborated by independent work by Levy *et al.*⁵ The hierarchical society in Buseirah points rather to a chiefdom (p. 117–119), one where the Weberian monopoly on force is absent, and in whose hinterland Tebes proposes to recognize a peer polity interaction. Is this contradicted by the Biblical sources mentioning “kings” in Edom? Tebes' answer is that such mentions “tell us more about the ideology in which the scribes were embedded than about the real socio-political conditions in Edom” (p. 119), while Assyrian sources, by promoting the tribute-payers to the rank of kings of all the land of Edom may have been, through this rhetorical trick, tooting their own horn.

The concluding paper, by I. Milevski and B. Gandulla, is a review of literature rather than a case study of a particular site. It is a small synthesis in its own right, covering one of the most delicate subjects there is in archaeology—Biblical archaeology and politics. The authors propose that “archaeological tendencies or schools in southern Levantine archaeology were and are a reflection of the political and socio-economic developments of the Middle East and the international situation” (p. 123). Thus, new archaeology in Israel was a response to the purism of Biblical archaeology, eschewing economic and technological explanation, while post-processual archaeology developed there as a “political answer to the archaeology of “objective” (non-human) processes”. Itself born of (American) Protestant Old Testament scholarship, Syro-Palestinian archaeology has remained to this day to a large extent concerned with the historicity of the Bible, and carried on as processual (a little heavy on geographical models) or post-processual archaeology (a little heavy on structural Marxism) (p. 128–129). Understanding “mnemo-narratives” and other cultural memory mechanisms may ease the task of using archaeology to disentangle the meaning of Biblical stories. (To come full circle in this review,

⁵ Levy *et al.* 2014.

and in homage to the city where the present journal is published, I will say that a remarkable paper on cultural memory by A. Maeir⁶ also quotes a short story by Borges, *Funes el memorioso*). The overview of past research concludes by opening up towards future developments, by mentioning an archaeological project in the city of Lod, where “Jewish and Arab youths participated in the excavation and restoration of the Khan el Hillu, dated to a late Islamic period” (p. 132).

The seasoned editors’ choice of subject is spot-on. Nothing can protect Near Eastern archaeology better today from dangers as diverse as nationalism, antiquarianism, biases, and chaotic rescue excavations than the proper use of social theory. Quality-wise, the contributions in this volume vary, but the range of issues tackled is nevertheless formidable.

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⁶ Maeir 2015: 409–419.

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- *Consideraciones sobre la organización sociopolítica anterior al advenimiento del Estado en el Valle del Nilo*, por MARCELO CAMPAGNO
- *El pasado de Israel en el Antiguo Testamento*, por EMANUEL PFOH
- *Relaciones interétnicas entre los jefes libios y el Estado egipcio (siglos XIII al VIII a.C.)*, por CELESTE MARÍA CRESPO
- *Ritualidad en el Antiguo Egipto: el festival de Sed*, por ROXANA FLAMMINI
- *Dualidad enterratoria en el Reino Medio: Sesostris III y sus complejos funerarios de Dahshur y Abidos*, por ROXANA FLAMMINI

ANTIGUO ORIENTE, VOLUMEN 2, 2004

- *Carrier Netting from the Ptolemaic Roman Harbour Town of Berenike (Egyptian Red Sea Coast)*, por ANDRÉ VELDMEIJER & SIGRID VAN ROODE
- *Cerámicas “Edomita”, “Madianita” y “Negevita”: ¿indicadoras de grupos tribales en el Negev?*, por JUAN MANUEL TEBES
- *De patrones y clientes: sobre la continuidad de las prácticas sociopolíticas en la Antigua Palestina*, por EMANUEL PFOH
- *La hipótesis sotíaca de Eduard Meyer: una revisión a 100 años de su publicación*, por MARCELO ZULIAN
- *Algunos aportes iconográficos, simbólicos y litúrgicos iraníes al Imperio Romano y al Cristianismo*, por JAVIER M. PAYSÁS
- *A Lead Amulet of Nefertem found at Tell Michal on the Coastal Plain of Israel*, por AMIR GORZALCZANY & GRACIELA GESTOSO SINGER

ANTIGUO ORIENTE, VOLUMEN 3, 2005

- *The First Evangelization of the Mesopotamian Regions in the Syriac Tradition: the Acta Maris as a continuation of the Doctrina Addai*, por ILARIA RAMELLI
- *El culto a las tumbas de los ancestros en el Levante Mediterráneo*, por JORDI VIDAL
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- “*Ordalías*”, *parentesco y Estado en la Contienda entre Horus y Seth*, por MARCELO CAMPAGNO
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- *How Old is the Kingdom of Edom? A Review of New Evidence and Recent Discussion*, por EVELINE VAN DER STEEN & PIOTR BIENKOWSKI
- *A Problem of Pedubasts?*, por DAN’EL KAHN
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- *An Epigraphic Reanalysis of Two Stelae from First Intermediate Period Dendera in the Cairo Museum*, por TRACY MUSACCHIO
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- *The Cordage from the 2001- Season of the Excavations at Berenike (Egyptian Red Sea Coast): Preliminary Results*, por ANDRÉ J. VELDMEIJER

ANTIGUO ORIENTE, VOLUMEN 5, 2007

- *Iron Age Complex Societies, Radiocarbon Dates and Edom: Working with the Data and Debates*, por THOMAS E. LEVY, MOHAMMAD NAJJAR & THOMAS HIGHAM
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- *The Pig's Testimony*, por GIDI YAHALOM
- *Centro y periferia en el Antiguo Israel: nuevas aproximaciones a las practicas funerarias del Calcolítico en la Planicie Costera*, por AMIR GORZALCZANY
- *El Moderno Sistema-Mundo y la Evolución*, por IMMANUEL WALLERSTEIN
- *Excavation Reports: The Rope Cave at Mersa Gawasis: a Preliminary Report*, por ANDRÉ J. VELDMEIJER & CHIARA ZAZZARO

ANTIGUO ORIENTE, VOLUMEN 6, 2008

- *The Pottery of Edom: A Correction*, por ISRAEL FINKELSTEIN & LILY SINGER-AVITZ
- *The Jezirah Burnished Ware*, por STEFANO VALENTINI
- *The Cordage from Berenike (1994-2000): The Statistics*, por ANDRÉ J. VELDMEIJER
- *A Reevaluation of the Use of זבן and יהב in Elephantine*, por ALEJANDRO F. BOTTA
- *Four Ur III Administrative Tablets in the Possession of Professor Francis Carroll, University of Manitoba*, por JOHN NIELSEN
- *Una actualización de la Cronología Baja: arqueología, historia y Biblia*, por ISRAEL FINKELSTEIN
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ANTIGUO ORIENTE, VOLUMEN 7, 2009

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ANTIGUO ORIENTE, VOLUMEN 9, 2011 (FS ALICIA DANERI RODRIGO)

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- *Recently Discovered Iron Age Lion Figurines from Jerusalem*, por RAZ KLETTER, KATRI SAARELAINEN & SHLOMIT WEKSLER-BDOLAH
- *The Origin of the Alphabet: An Examination of the Goldwasser Hypothesis*, por BRIAN E. COLLESS
- *La política desde abajo en la Siria-Palestina de la Edad del Bronce Tardío*, por EMANUEL PFOH
- *The Date of the Qurayyah Painted Ware in the Southern Levant*, por LILY SINGER-AVITZ
- *La estructura social del Calcolítico palestiniense: una propuesta de interpretación desde el materialismo histórico*, por PABLO JARUF, BERNARDO GANDULLA & IANIR MILEVSKI
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- *King Taita and his "Palistin": Philistine State or Neo-Hittite Kingdom?*, por JEFFREY P. EMANUEL
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- *A Neo-Sumerian Clay Nail of Gudea in the Collection of the Department of Ancient Studies of Stellenbosch University*, por RENATE MARIAN VAN DIJK-COOMBES
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Sumario/Index

In Memoriam Rodolfo Fattovich (1945–2018)

COLABORACIONES/MAIN PAPERS

Towards a Long-term Place Biography of Nahr el-Kalb (Lebanon)

Rocío Da Riva

Les neiges d'antan: “Early Rulers” and the Vanity Theme in Mesopotamian Wisdom Literature and Beyond

Yoram Cohen

The Levantine War-Records of Ramesses III: Changing Attitudes, Past, Present and Future

Peter James

The Mudayna Sites of the Arnon Tributaries: “Midian alongside Moab”?

Chaim Ben David

Tres puertos egipcios en el Mar Rojo durante el período faraónico: Una reevaluación de la evidencia

Pierre Tallet

Royal Justice or *Realpolitik*? The Diviner Zū-Ba‘la and the Hittites Once Again

Francisco Céntola

Proyectiles de honda: ¿Tensiones y conflictos en la protohistoria del Próximo Oriente?

Fernando Espejel Arroyo

Hornos domésticos e industriales en Tell el-Ghaba, norte de Sinaí, Egipto

Eduardo Crivelli Montero, Silvia Alicia Lupo & Claudia Irene Kohen

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