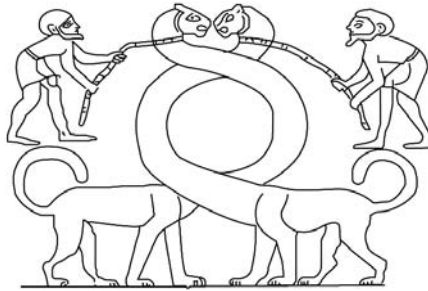


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Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Departamento de Historia
Centro de Estudios de Historia del Antiguo Oriente

Av. Alicia Moreau de Justo 1500 P. B.
Edificio San Alberto Magno
(C1107AFD) Buenos Aires
Argentina

www.uca.edu.ar/cehao.htm
Dirección electrónica: cehao_uca@yahoo.com.ar
Teléfono: (54-11) 4349-0200 int. 1189

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Correspondencia y Canje:

Centro de Estudios de Historia del Antiguo Oriente
Facultad de Filosofía y Letras
Universidad Católica Argentina
Av. Alicia Moreau de Justo 1500 P.B.
(C 1107 AFD) Ciudad de Buenos Aires
Argentina

www.uca.edu.ar/cehao.htm

cehao_uca@yahoo.com.ar

Tel: (54-11) 4349-0200 int. 1189

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HOW OLD IS THE KINGDOM OF EDMOM? A REVIEW OF NEW EVIDENCE AND RECENT DISCUSSION

EVELINE VAN DER STEEN
ejvdsteen@yahoo.co.uk

*School of Archaeology, Classics and Egyptology
University of Liverpool, UK*

PIOTR BIENKOWSKI
piotr.a.bienkowski@manchester.ac.uk

*Manchester Museum
University of Manchester, UK*

Summary: How Old is the Kingdom of Edom? A Review of New Evidence and Recent Discussion

Recently Levy *et al.* have published two papers in which they claim to provide “less biased” high-precision radiocarbon dates from Khirbat en-Nahas in southern Jordan, and on the basis of those dates make wider claims for the dating and development of the Iron Age of southern Jordan (the kingdom of Edom). Levy *et al.* 2004 present two sets of data. The first set are the standard calibrated radiocarbon dates. The second set are Bayesian calibrated dates. In the case of Khirbat en-Nahas, the BCal results are the opposite of what one would expect: not only are the BCal ranges wider than the “normal” calibrated ranges, but they are also consistently earlier. The second claim that Levy *et al.* make is that of the rise of secondary state formation in Edom in the 10th century BC, on the basis of the presence of the copper industry and the fortress. The presence of a 10th or 9th century BC fortress at Khirbat en-Nahas is no indication, let alone proof, of the early rise of the Edomite kingdom.

Keywords: Edom - Khirbat en-Nahas - Radiocarbon dates - Secondary state formation

Resumen: ¿Cuán antiguo es el reino de Edom? Una revisión de la nueva evidencia y de la discusión reciente

Recientemente, Levy *et al.* publicaron dos trabajos en los cuales proveen datos radiocarbónicos de alta precisión “menos sesgados” provenientes de Khirbat en-Nahas, en el sur de Jordania y, sobre la base de esos datos, realizaron amplias observaciones acerca de la datación y desarrollo de la Edad de Hierro en el sur de Jordania (el reino de Edom). Levy *et al.* 2004 presentaron dos conjuntos de datos. El primer conjunto está constituido por los datos radiocarbónicos calibrados estándares. El segundo está conformado por los datos calibrados bayesianos. En el caso de Khirbat en-Nahas, los resultados BCal son lo

opuesto de lo que uno podría esperar: no sólo son los rangos BCal más amplios que los rangos calibrados “normales”, sino que también son, consistentemente, más tempranos. La segunda observación que Levy *et al.* realizaron, tiene que ver con el surgimiento de una formación estatal secundaria en Edom en el siglo X a.C., sobre la base de la presencia de la industria del cobre y la fortaleza. Por cierto, la presencia de una fortaleza del siglo X o del IX a.C. en Khirbat en-Nahas no es una indicación, y mucho menos prueba, de un surgimiento temprano del reino edomita.

Palabras clave: Edom - Khirbat en-Nahas - Fechados de radiocarbono - Formación estatal secundaria

Recently Levy *et al.* have published two papers¹ in which they claim to provide “less biased” high-precision radiocarbon dates from Khirbat en-Nahas in southern Jordan, and on the basis of those dates make wider claims for the dating and development of the Iron Age of southern Jordan (the kingdom of Edom). The first paper in particular, in *Antiquity* (2004), attracted a lot of attention, especially outside the professional archaeological world, with a number of newspaper articles prompted by a press release from the principal authors. The reason for the media attention is the claim the paper seems to be making for the historicity of “biblical Edom”. The never-ending discussion about whether archaeology can prove (or disprove) the historical truth of the Bible was given a new and powerful push with this paper.

The *Antiquity* paper instigated a discussion which is still ongoing. The present authors published a response to Levy *et al.* 2004,² to which they responded.³ Further data were published in Levy and Higham 2005, and the debate has since continued on the website of the Wadi Arabah Project.⁴ In Levy and Higham 2005 the results are modified, partly as a result of newly published data. However, the “can of worms”, as they put it, had been opened, and the modified results of Levy and Higham 2005 still leave a number of questions unanswered, and do not seem to be able to bring the discussion out of the sensational sphere back to the professional level where it belongs. Therefore, a summary of the discussion seems useful in this context.

¹ Levy *et al.* 2004; Levy and Higham 2005.

² van der Steen and Bienkowski 2006.

³ Levy *et al.* 2006.

⁴ <http://www.wadiarahproject.man.ac.uk>

Edom is the area south-east of the Dead Sea which was a kingdom in the early first millennium BC, known from Assyrian, epigraphic and biblical sources. Certainly by the 8th and 7th centuries BC there was heavy settled occupation, coinciding with textual sources referring to kings of Edom. How much earlier or later the kingdom can be dated –that is, some form of polity with a recognised overall ruler, called a “king” (possibly a “tribal” kingdom)⁵– is still a matter of debate hindered by lack of adequate evidence. Settled occupation in the region, at least at some sites, may have continued through the Persian period and even into the Hellenistic period.⁶ Radiocarbon evidence collected from slag piles in the Faynan region hints at some copper mining in the 12th to 10th centuries BC; there are aceramic graves in the Wadi Fidan C14-dated to the 10th and 9th centuries BC; and settlements at Barqa al-Hetiye and Khirbat en-Nahas, also in the Faynan area, have C14 dates published several years ago dating them to the 9th century BC.⁷

Khirbat en-Nahas is one of the most important sites for the archaeology of southern Transjordan, the region identified with ancient Edom. It is the largest copper-smelting site in the southern Levant, consisting of a copper-working site, followed by a possible fortress, in the Wadi Faynan, on the east side of the Wadi Arabah. The site was first reported by Alois Musil in 1907, and surveyed by Fritz Frank and Nelson Glueck in the 1930s. In the 1990s the Deutsche Bergbau-Museum undertook archaeo-metallurgical investigations in the Faynan region, which included analysis of a number of slag mounds at Khirbat en-Nahas.⁸ The site has been re-excavated by Levy *et al.*, who have collected a number of radiocarbon samples from several layers, and they presented the first results in the *Antiquity* paper, embedded in the chronology that the C14 dates provide. The results, they claimed, are “spectacular”. The dates range from the 12th to the 9th century BC and “prove beyond doubt” that the roots of the Edomite kingdom lie in the 12th or 11th century, within the Iron I period, rather than later, in the 8th/7th centuries BC, within Iron II, as argued heretofore.

However, there are serious problems with the dates they present, particularly in the 2004 paper, and their methodology.

Levy *et al.* 2004 present two sets of data. The first set are the standard calibrated radiocarbon dates (using the INTCAL calibration curve), which are

⁵ Cf. Bienkowski and van der Steen 2001.

⁶ Bienkowski 2002.

⁷ Bienkowski 2001.

⁸ Hauptmann 2000.

presented in a table.⁹ The second set, which is consistently referred to within their text, are Bayesian calibrated dates. The Bayesian calibration tool¹⁰ has been developed as a means to combine calibrated radiocarbon dates with *a priori* chronological information such as stratigraphic sequences of layers, or absolute dating information from other sources (such as texts). Using this information the BCal program can narrow down or modify the radiocarbon ranges and make them more reliable.

Clearly, the results of the BCal calibration are completely dependent on the nature of the other chronological data, and the way they have been fed into the programme. A “normal” result would be a narrowing down of the calibrated radiocarbon dates by the BCal tool. Even then, given the sensitivity of the programme, it is essential to specify which additional data have been used and how.

In the case of Khirbat en-Nahas, the BCal results are the opposite of what one would expect: not only are the BCal ranges wider than the “normal” calibrated ranges, but they are also consistently earlier (see Table 1 here).

Take, for example, the fortress in Area A: the calibrated ¹⁴C range of Stratum A4a, which predates the construction of the fortress, is 1010-920 BC. The BCal date range for Stratum A4a according to the text¹¹ is 1130-970 BC, with a modal (highest probability) value of 1120 BC. This modal value is 110 years earlier than the earliest limit of the “normal” calibrated radiocarbon range, with no explanation provided.

The earliest phase in Area S (S4), a cooking installation, has a calibrated ¹⁴C range of 1130-1015 BC. According to the text, the BCal results date this stratum to 1260-1240 BC and 1215-1012 BC.¹² This phase is followed by a heavy layer of metal waste (S3), dated to 1005-965 (normal calibration) or 1055-915 (BCal). On top of this was a four-room building (S2b), dated to 905-830 (normal calibration) or 970-830 (BCal).

At each step, Levy *et al.* attempted to push the dates as early as possible, on average about a hundred years or so earlier than the calibrated radiocarbon evidence allows for. The main problem seemed to be that they did not specify what additional

⁹Levy *et al.* 2004: 870, Table 1.

¹⁰Buck *et al.* 1996; and cf. <http://bcal.sheffield.ac.uk/>

¹¹Levy *et al.* 2004: 871.

¹²Some of the confusion and excitement about the original *Antiquity* paper originated in a typing error in this paper which stated that the modal value for S4 was pre-1190 BC. This should have been post-1190 BC, see Levy *et al.* 2005.

sources they used to reach these results. In the sequels to the original 2004 paper it became clear that no other external data had been used, and the Bayesian dates were the result entirely of the stratigraphic sequence. However, in the *Antiquity* paper they did use other data to corroborate their Bayesian results¹³: they refer to scarabs and ceramics which they claim corroborate their early, 12th century BC dates, although all this material was found in later contexts. They tentatively date two Egyptian scarabs from the 12th century BC on, but accept that they are probably residual. This is likely to be the case, especially since much earlier, Middle Bronze Age scarabs were found in their own excavations at the nearby WF40 cemetery radiocarbon-dated to the 10th century BC.¹⁴ The scarabs should not, therefore, be used to amend the radiocarbon dates. The ceramic evidence cited by Levy *et al.* is the so-called “Negebite Ware” and “Midianite pottery” (the latter also known as Qurayyah painted ware). Although it is not disputed that these wares occur as early as the 12th century BC, in fact both have long lifespans well into the Iron II period: “Negebite Ware” continues at least as late as the 7th century BC, and “Midianite pottery” has been found in a context at Barqa el-Hetiye, near Khirbat en-Nahas, radiocarbon-dated to the 9th century BC, and at Tawilan stratified with otherwise purely 7th/6th century BC material.¹⁵ Neither type of pottery can therefore be used to corroborate the radiocarbon dates, rather the reverse: the calibrated radiocarbon dates should properly be used to fix the precise dates of the pottery.

We have attempted to replicate the results of the Bayesian calibration published in Levy *et al.* 2004, using their published C14 dates and stratigraphic information. We used the BCal programme that is provided by The University of Sheffield.¹⁶ Our results differ significantly from those presented by Levy *et al.* 2004. The outcome of our tests puts especially the earliest dates 40-50 years later than theirs, and the highest probability values generally fall within their original, calibrated C14 ranges.

Higham *et al.* 2005 includes the Bayesian analysis of a further 27 dates from Khirbat en-Nahas. Our main critique, that the BCal modelling of the calibrated C14 dates pushed these dates back significantly, is addressed by Higham *et al.* Indeed, they state quite clearly that BCal modelling does *not* push the dates back! Referring to Area A, they state:

¹³ Levy *et al.* 2004: 874-876.

¹⁴ Levy, Adams and Shafiq 1999.

¹⁵ Bienkowski 2001.

¹⁶ <http://bcal.sheffield.ac.uk>

“The Oxford results show that the modelling has had a limited influence. The posterior distributions show little difference when compared with the original radiocarbon likelihoods themselves.”

Regarding Area S:

“The Bayesian analysis yielded little additional chronometric data compared with that derived from the radiocarbon likelihoods.”¹⁷

Comparison of the data published in the various papers suggests that in order to reach the spectacular early dates in Levy *et al.* 2004, the authors used the maximum (95.4%) probability range of the BCal results.

In Levy *et al.* 2005 the additional data published by Higham *et al.* 2005 are integrated into the discussion, but the confusion about the dates continues. For example, Levy *et al.* 2005 provides a sequence for area A based on these new results, stating that stratum A4a is dated by two samples (GrA 25318 (calBC 1210-1045) and GrA 25354 (calBC 1185-1180, 1125-945)).¹⁸ These samples were taken from stratum A3, but ascribed to A4a, seemingly because they were too early! Higham *et al.* 2005¹⁹ discard these two results as unreliable, ironically on the basis of Bayesian modelling.

The four-chamber gate of A3 is dated by Levy *et al.* 2005 to the early 10th century on the basis of the original Oxford laboratory sample (OxA 12366 [calBC 1000-985]). Two other, new samples (GrA 25321 and GrA 25322), which would date the building to the 9th century BC²⁰ are pushed into the next stratum. Higham *et al.* 2005 date the transition (boundary probability) between A4a and A3 to 900 BC, and consequently the building of the gate to after 900 BC. So, once again, there is a discrepancy between the results of Higham *et al.*'s 2005 analysis of the radiocarbon data, and Levy *et al.*'s 2005 interpretation of them, of about 100 years.

We suggest that the calibrated radiocarbon dates be taken at face value, and not pushed artificially to about a century earlier. Levy *et al.* 2004 conclude that there is radiocarbon and ceramic evidence for a main phase of metal production in the 12th-11th centuries BC, preceding the construction of the fortress in the

¹⁷ Higham *et al.* 2005: 167.

¹⁸ Levy *et al.* 2005: 138.

¹⁹ Higham *et al.* 2005: 170.

²⁰ Levy *et al.* 2005: 138; Higham *et al.* 2005: 170.

10th century BC. In our opinion, their own calibrated radiocarbon dates, and a proper reading of the ceramics, indicate instead cooking activity in Area S between the (late?) 12th and 10th centuries BC (aceramic, non-settled, therefore *possibly* mining by pastoralist groups who are known to have inhabited the area at that time), and some mining activity at the very end of the 11th century. The Area A fortress, whether it belongs to the 10th ²¹ or the 9th ²² century BC, was apparently an isolated, short-lived phenomenon. This latter scenario is supported by all the other evidence from this region, and is nothing new, having already been discussed by the present authors in 2001.²³

The second claim that Levy *et al.* 2004 make is that of the rise of secondary state formation in Edom in the 10th century, on the basis of the presence of the copper industry and the fortress. Unfortunately, one fortress does not make a kingdom. Or, to put it differently, most kingdoms may have fortresses, but not every fortress belongs to a kingdom (and, of course, the interpretation of the structure as a fortress is no more than a hypothesis). Neither does industrial production require a state structure.²⁴ Recent research suggests that local corporate groups are very capable of conducting and maintaining large-scale industrial activities, and building up the infrastructure, such as fortified buildings and housing, that comes with it. So far nothing else has been found in southern Transjordan to justify the incorporation of the Khirbat en-Nahas fortress in a larger polity. The presence of a 10th or 9th century fortress at Khirbat en-Nahas is no indication, let alone proof, of the early rise of the Edomite kingdom. In fact, if, as the authors claim, the copper industry-cum-fortress of Khirbat en-Nahas would be evidence of an Edomite kingdom, we may wonder why it ceased to exist exactly at the time when the other features of that kingdom make their appearance, the 8th and 7th centuries BC.

In their response on the Wadi Arabah Project website, Levy *et al.* claim that there is a constellation of fortresses in southern Jordan and the Negev that can be dated to the 10th century BC: Nahas, En Hazeva and Tall al-Kheleifeh. However, there is absolutely no evidence for 10th century material at Kheleifeh, the earliest material identified there dating to the 8th/7th centuries BC, which in any case is quite different from the Nahas material.²⁵ The fortress at En Hazeva,

²¹ Levy *et al.* 2005.

²² Higham *et al.* 2005.

²³ Bienkowski and van der Steen 2001: 23, notes 2, 3.

²⁴ Philip 2001: 167.

²⁵ Cf. Pratico 1993.

the earliest stratum of which is C14-dated to the 10th/9th centuries BC, was part of a chain of settlements that flourished in the Beersheba Valley, and which may have been part of a trade route, perhaps connected to the Arabian trade.²⁶ It seems more likely, therefore, that Khirbat en-Nahas flourished as a result of its connection with this trade route, which would also explain some of the finds at the copper-refining and trading site of Khirbat al-Mshash in the Negev. There is therefore no need to create unsubstantiated connections with sites in the Edom Highlands, and to claim that this is evidence of a state structure.

Levy *et al.* claim that their “*high-precision radiocarbon dating is liberating us from chronological assumptions based on Biblical research*”.²⁷ However, with that statement they ignore a range of recent publications about the Iron Age in Transjordan, based exclusively on archaeological evidence.²⁸ Ironically, it is Levy *et al.* themselves who consistently refer to “biblical” Edom and claim that their work is of key importance for understanding Edom “*known from biblical sources*”.²⁹ Levy *et al.*'s 2005 conclusions, like their 2004 paper, still push the radiocarbon results back in order to fit the question of whether David or Solomon built the Nahas four-chambered gate, and are liberally peppered with quotes from the Bible. This hardly supports their claim that the new results finally release us from Bible-related interpretations of archaeology in the region.

We do not underestimate the importance of the excavations at Khirbat en-Nahas. It is one of the most important sites in the region, and can give us much information about the economy of copper production, and the social organization of the region in a period of which little is known. However, the evidence published in the various papers by Levy *et al.* lacks transparency and is misleading and inconsistent, leading to claims that cannot at present be substantiated.

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²⁶ Bienkowski and van der Steen 2001; Jasmin 2006.

²⁷ Levy *et al.* 2004: 865.

²⁸ Cf., for example, Bienkowski and van der Steen 2001; Bienkowski 2001; Bienkowski 2002; Pratico 1993.

²⁹ Levy *et al.* 2004: 866.

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Locus	Stratum	Cal BC range	Bayesian range
356	S4	1130-1015 BC	1260 - 1240 BC 1215 - 1020 BC (highest probability value pre-1190 BC)
341	S3	1005-965 BC	1055-915 BC
336	S2b	905-830 BC	970-830 BC (modal value 895 BC)
331	S2a	895-875 BC	900-760 BC (modal value 815 BC)
95	A4a	1010-920 BC	1130-970 BC (modal value 1120 BC)
94	A3	1000-985 BC	1005-870 BC
92	A2b	900-875 BC	920-815 BC (modal value 885 BC)
61	A2a	900-805 BC	990-790 BC (modal value 835 BC)
539		910-886 BC	
511		829-801 BC	

Table 1.

Comparison of the calibrated radiocarbon dates of the Khirbat en-Nahas samples (Levy *et al.* 2004: 870, Table 1) with the Bayesian (BCal) dates cited throughout the text of the same paper.

A PROBLEM OF PEDUBASTS?*

DAN'EL KAHN

danelka@netvision.net.il

Department of the History of the Jewish People
University of Haifa, Israel

Summary: A Problem of Pedubasts?

In this paper I shall try to show that there were two kings with the name of *wsr m3'ct R^c stp.n Imn P3-di-B3stt mri Imn*. The first Pedubast is to be identified as a Theban ruler who ascended the throne in Shoshenq III's 8th regnal year. He bears once the epithet *s3 Ist*. The second Pedubast is also called *wsr m3'ct R^c stp.n Imn P3-di-B3stt mri Imn* but has the northern epithet *s3 B3stt*. This king probably ruled in Tanis at the end of the 8th century BC and might be identified as Pedubast, the founder of the disputed Tanite 23rd Dynasty. Thus, we can reconstruct a chronology of the 23rd Dynasty, which was based in Tanis (as recorded by Manetho) and ruled northern Egypt from Heracleopolis Magna to the Delta between *715-*671/ *701-*657 BC¹ as semi-independent vassals of the 25th Dynasty.

Keywords: Pedubast – 23rd Dynasty – 25th Dynasty – chronology

Resumen: ¿Un problema de Pedubast?

En este artículo mostraremos que hubo dos reyes con el nombre *wsr m3'ct R^c stp.n Imn P3-di-B3stt mri Imn*. El primer Pedubast es identificado como el gobernante tebano que ascendió al trono en el año 8 de Shoshenq III. Él lleva una vez el epíteto *s3 Ist*. El segundo Pedubast es también llamado *wsr m3'ct R^c stp.n Imn P3-di-B3stt mri Imn* pero tiene el epíteto del norte *s3 B3stt*. Este rey probablemente reinó en Tanis a fines del siglo VIII a.C. y podría ser identificado como Pedubast, el fundador de la disputada dinastía XXIII tanita. Por cierto, podemos reconstruir una cronología de

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¹ An asterisk indicates postulated dates.

la dinastía XXIII, que estaba instalada en Tanis (como fue registrado por Manetón) y gobernó el norte de Egipto desde Heracleópolis Magna al Delta, entre *715-*671/*701-*657 (*fechados postulados) como vasalla semi-independiente de la dinastía XXV.

Palabras Clave: Pedubast – Dinastía XXIII- Dinastía XXV- cronología

At the end of the ninth century B.C. Shoshenq III from Tanis and Bubastis ruled Egypt.² His monuments are known from the Delta,³ Memphis,⁴ Heracleopolis Magna⁵ and Thebes.⁶ He ruled for *c.* 40 years.⁷ From the distribution of his monuments in the Delta and the northern Nile valley, it seems that he ruled firmly over the north of Egypt. In Thebes, however, a different situation can be detected. A Nile level text is dated to his sixth year.⁸ By his 8th year some kind of crisis over the kingship had arisen and Shoshenq had to share the throne (in Thebes) with a king Pedubast (I) who is known to subsequent history (or better said – some historians) as the founder of Manetho's twenty-third Dynasty.⁹

² In this paper I will not go into the chronological problems of the end of the 9th century BC and the debate of Takeloth II and the Theban 23rd Dynasty (For this topic cf. Aston 1989: 139-153 dating Shoshenq III 835/830-783-778 and Kitchen 1996: xxiii-xxiv who opposes Aston's dating vehemently and dating Shoshenq III's reign 825-786/5). Nor will I discuss the civil war in Thebes between the High priest Osorkon B and his adversaries.

³ Meeks 1979: 668-669.

⁴ Gomaà 1974: 8-11. Pediese, the high priest at Memphis (son and heir of Takelot high priest at Memphis) for *c.* 30 years, is attested between year 28 of Shoshenq III and year 2 of Pimai. He was succeeded by his son Harsiese.

⁵ A donation of 20 aruorae to the god of Heracleopolis Magna in year 26. Meeks 1979: 669 (22.8.26).

⁶ Nile level texts from his years: 6, (12?) a double date with Pedu[bast]'s years 5, 29?, 39. See von Beckerath 1966: 45-47. Quay inscriptions 14, 22-24. Shoshenq III is also attested in the annals of the high priest Osorkon in years 22, 24, 25, 28, 29. Kitchen 1996: 338.

⁷ Dodson 1993: 53-58.

⁸ Kitchen 1996: 335; von Beckerath 1966: 46, 51, no. 23.

⁹ Kitchen 1996: 335-339.

Kitchen assumes that the 23rd Dynasty adopted Leontopolis as its capital.¹⁰ This view was basically accepted until 1986.¹¹

Leahy challenged Kitchen's hypothesis.¹² He argued that Kitchen's view is incompatible with the distribution of the monumental evidence: it does not fit Manetho's information; it is too neat a solution for a turbulent period and it postulates two dynasties reigning cheek by jowl in the Eastern Delta, one of which (23rd) was not "officially" recognized at Memphis ... and yet was able to obtain recognition at Thebes for many decades. Leahy suggests that the kings from Kitchen's 23rd Dynasty did not rule from Leontopolis, but the core of this line ruled from **Thebes**.

Pedubast I's monuments with secure provenance derive from Thebes: Karnak Nile level texts 24, 26-9,¹³ a doorway near the tenth Pylon,¹⁴ the Osiris *hk3 dt* chapel, annals of the high priests of Amun and private statues.¹⁵ In all these monuments the king's names are given as *wsr m3't R^c stp.n Imn P3-di-B3stt mri Imn*, once with the epithet *s3 Ist*.¹⁶

¹⁰ Kitchen 1996: 336, and in his preface p. xxviii ff. However, according to his scheme, two opposing dynasties ruled from their respective capitals in the Delta on enclaves along the Nile valley and the Delta, each one recognizing a different overlord. Sometimes monuments of both kings were found at the same site, suggesting a fierce struggle of power in Memphis and in the whole of Egypt. In Heracleopolis Magna a donation stela dated by Shoshenq's year 26 was found. In Memphis two high officials from Heracleopolis Magna and its environs dated land donations according to Pedubast I's regnal years 6 and 23 (*13 and *30 of Shoshenq III). In Memphis the high priest acknowledged Shoshenq's reign. Cf. n. 4.

¹¹ For a Theban 23rd Dynasty see Baer 1973: 4-25; Aston 1990: 131-154. See also n. 12 below. Cf. Spencer and Spencer 1986: 198-201.

¹² Leahy 1990: 178.

¹³ von Beckerath 1966: 46-47, pls. 3-4.

¹⁴ Legrain 1914: 38.

¹⁵ Jansen-Winkel 1985: A11, A 21. Recently a reused block with the cartouche of Pedubast (I) was found at Amheida in the north-western part of the Dakhle Oasis. See Kaper and Demarée 2005: 20-21.

¹⁶ von Beckerath 1995: 9-13; von Beckerath 1966: 46-47, 51, quay inscription no. 24.

Monuments with the name of Pedubast occur further north as well. An unnamed stela from Gurob assigned by Meeks to Pedubast¹⁷ is dated by Kitchen to the reign of Osorkon III.¹⁸

Three donation stelae of Pedubast originate from the Delta or Memphis.¹⁹ Cairo JE 45330 was excavated at Memphis. It dates to year six of *wsr m3^ct R^c stp.n Imn s3 R^c mri Imn P3-di-B3stt s3 B3stt*. The donor is *iw3lhn*, the chief of Per-sekhem-kheper-Re and a priest of Amun of *pr hnw*.²⁰ Both places are in the vicinity of the Fayum.²¹

Stela Copenhagen *ÆIN* 917 bears the name of king [*wsr*]-*m3^ct-R^c stp.n Imn P3-di-B3stt s3 B3stt mri Imn* and it is said to come from Memphis,²² but was ascribed by Meeks to the Eastern Delta (?).²³ It was donated by Pmoui, a *mk Khtn* and priest of *hry-š.f* (Arsaphes of Heracleopolis Magna) and mentions a donation of land in connection with the house of eternity of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Shoshenq in the district of *t3-^c.t-n-t3rw*, probably in the Eastern Delta.²⁴ Yoyotte postulates that Pmoui originated from Heracleopolis Parva (probably Tell Belîm) in the Eastern Delta and not from Heracleopolis Magna in the Nile Valley.²⁵

¹⁷ Meeks 1979: 671 (23.1.0).

¹⁸ Kitchen 1996: 352. I thank Dr. Leahy for providing me with a photo of this stela. There is no name of a king or a date and the attribution of this stela to Pedubast I or Osorkon III is based on the name of the donor.

¹⁹ Recently K. Jansen-Winkel published a statue of Ptah dedicated by a Theban official and priest of Amun *Hrw* IX in the days of Pedubast I, the contemporary of Shoshenq III. This statue is, allegedly, another evidence of Pedubast's influence in Memphis, but the name of the king is not mentioned and the historical background of the presence of a Theban official and priest of Amun donating a statue to Ptah are far from being clear. See Jansen-Winkel 1995: 142-145; 1999: 123-139. The historical reconstruction of the events is by no means certain, but should be given further thought.

²⁰ Schulman 1966: 33-41.

²¹ For the location of *Pr hnw* see Yoyotte 1961: 93-94.

²² The date did not survive. See Koefoerd-Petersen 1936: pl. V.

²³ Meeks 1979: 671 (23.1.00).

²⁴ For the location of *t3-^c.t-n-t3rw* in the Eastern Delta see Caminos 1964: 92-93. Schulman 1966: 38; Kitchen 1996: 339, n. 537 who completes: [*h3ty-^c imy-r hmw.w ntr nni ns*] *w hm ntr tpy n hry-š.f nb nni nsw, mk Khtn p3.t M3y*; Leahy 1990: 182; von Beckerath 1995: 10.

²⁵ Yoyotte 1959: 97-100; 1988: 174-175.

Stela Florence 7207 is said to come from Bubastis and recorded a donation to Bastet by one of her temple officials. It is dated to year 23 of *wsr- m3't-R^c stp.n Tmn P3-di-B3stt s3 B3stt mri Tmn* commonly identified as Pedubast I.²⁶ The provenance of the bronze torso in the Gulbekian collection is unknown.²⁷

Pedubast I was acknowledged in Memphis and in Heracleopolis Magna in his year 6 (year 13 of Shoshenq III, Cairo JE 45530) and in Bubastis in his year 23 (year 30 of Shoshenq III (Florence 7207; *AEIN* 917 is not dated), while Shoshenq III was acknowledged in the 26th year of his reign (year 19 of Pedubast) in Heracleopolis Magna, in his 28th regnal year (year 21 of Pedubast) in Memphis,²⁸ in his 28th and 32nd regnal years (=year 21 and 25 of Pedubast) in Imau in the Western Delta, in his 3rd and 31st regnal years (year 24 of Pedubast) in the Western Delta, in his 15th and 18th regnal years (years 8 and 11 of Pedubast) in Busiris, in his 22nd and 30th regnal years (years 15 and 23 of Pedubast) in Mendes,²⁹ and in his 14th and 15th regnal years (years 7 and 8 of Pedubast) in Athribis and Heliopolis.³⁰

If Pedubast *wsr-m3't-R^c stp.n Tmn s3 B3stt mri Tmn* (whose monuments come from Memphis and the Delta) and Shoshenq III were contemporaries, a very complex political situation emerges from the distribution of the monuments of both kings. Both kings were acknowledged in Tanis (?),³¹ Memphis and Heracleopolis Magna, which changed allegiance at least three times between year 5 of Shoshenq III (accession of Pedubast) and year 30 of Shoshenq III. The different Delta cities acknowledged the different rulers without establishing a continuous territorial sphere of influence. Shoshenq III was acknowledged in the Western Delta, Busiris, Mostai,³² Tanis, Athribis, Heliopolis, Memphis and Heracleopolis Magna, while Pedubast was acknowledged in Bubastis,

²⁶ See Leahy 1990: 182. Leahy raises the possibility that this stela comes from another cult centre of Bastet such as Memphis.

²⁷ A bronze torso of Pedubast is attributed to Tanis by Petrie, but its provenance is not reported by Wiedemann, who first published it, nor by any other scholar (Kitchen 1996: 129, n. 212-215).

²⁸ See n. 4.

²⁹ For all the above stelae see Meeks 1979: 668-669.

³⁰ Gomaà 1974: 148.

³¹ See n. 27 above.

³² Kitchen 1996: 343, n. 562. See also n. 10 above.

Memphis, Heracleopolis Magna at specific periods, Leontopolis (?)³³ and in Thebes until his death. From this geographic patchwork of spheres of control and changing of allegiances of Memphis and Heracleopolis Magna, I deduce that either the whole of Egypt was politically very unstable at this period although Shoshenq III and Pedubast reigned for a long time, or that these two kings cooperated so that the country's bureaucracy could function and administer the kingdom although the rival kingdoms were intermingled and parts of one kingdom prevented a territorial continuity of the other. Both options are difficult to imagine.

One must conclude that Pedubast *wsr-m3't-R^c stp.n Imn s3 B3stt mri Imn* and Shoshenq III were **not** contemporaries. Shoshenq III ruled in Northern Egypt while Pedubast I *wsr-m3't-R^c stp.n Imn s3 Ist mri Imn* ruled in Thebes. Schulman suggested that there were **two** Pedubasts named *wsr-m3't-R^c stp.n Imn mri Imn*. One was the founder of Dynasty 23 who ruled in the same period as Shoshenq III (c. 800 BC) and the other was from Dynasty 22 and bore the epithet *s3 B3stt*, but he made no further attempts to identify this second Pedubast.³⁴

According to Leahy, Dynasty 23 of Manetho represents the successors, not the contemporaries of Dynasty 22. He did not discuss the possibility of two Pedubasts *wsr- m3't-R^c stp.n Imn mri Imn*, but opted to identify Pedubast, founder of Dynasty 23 with Sehetepibre Pedubast (commonly identified as *Putubišti* King of Tanis, who ruled c. 670 BC, mentioned in the Assyrian conquest accounts of Egypt),³⁵ and dated him to c. 730, assigning him a short reign between 738 and 730 BC thus contradicting the 25/40 years accredited him by Manetho.³⁶ This suggestion was opposed by Kitchen,³⁷ and more recently by von Beckerath,³⁸ and as far as I know has not received wide acceptance.

³³ If his dynasty's capital was there as Kitchen vehemently asserts (Kitchen 1996: xxviii-xxxi). The distribution of Pedubast's monuments in the Delta would also be difficult to explain if he ruled from Thebes.

³⁴ Schulman 1966: 36-39.

³⁵ See Onasch 1994: 52; Habachi 1966: 69-74.

³⁶ Leahy 1990: 188, 190. For Manetho's figures see Waddell 1964: 161-163.

³⁷ Kitchen 1996: xxvii.

³⁸ von Beckerath 1995: 9-13. But see the comment of F. Payraudeau (2000: 78, n. 20). I thank Dr. Leahy for referring me to this article.

Von Beckerath took the problem one step further and has argued that there were two Pedubasts *wsr-m3^ct-R^c stp.n Imn mri Imn*. He suggested that Pedubast II *wsr-m3^ct-R^c stp.n Imn mri Imn s3 B3stt* was the founder of Dynasty 23. He thinks that it is not necessary to postulate a short reign for Pedubast II between Shoshenq V and Osorkon IV, but rather that Pedubast II might have been a contemporary of Shoshenq V and that he ruled between 760-735. He does not suggest where his capital would have been.

At this period Shoshenq V was acknowledged in the Western Delta,³⁹ Iuput II was acknowledged in the Central Delta,⁴⁰ Shoshenq V was acknowledged in the Eastern Delta and in Memphis.⁴¹ Pedubast II could not have been acknowledged in these areas at the same time as these kings. In c. 735 Osorkon IV ascended the throne of Tanis and Bubastis. In 716 BC he contacted Sargon II, king of Assyria, and strengthened his political and economic ties with him. Osorkon IV was probably immediately punished and deposed by Shabaka in 716/5 BC.⁴² If Osorkon IV was the successor of Pedubast as von Beckerath supposes, his 9 years reign as recorded by Manetho⁴³ does not coincide with the c. 20 years or more deduced from contemporary sources. It must be concluded that the dates suggested by von Beckerath should be reconsidered.⁴⁴

³⁹ The Libyan Chiefs of the Western Delta dated their monuments by Shoshenq V, sometimes omitting his name, but never his regnal years. The only other king who reached or surpassed a year 38 in the Libyan period was the still earlier king Shoshenq III. See Kitchen 1996: 104-105. Stelae of his years 8, 15/17, 19, 30, 36, 38 were found in the Western Delta. See, *op. cit.* table 21A p. 490 and rev. 21A p. 599. Cf. J. Goldberg, who assumes these datings belong to Shoshenq III (1994: 82, n. 100). In my opinion acknowledgement of one king necessarily precludes the acknowledgement of another king in the same area at the same time.

⁴⁰ See Kitchen 1996: 542-543. His year 21 (c. 730 BC) is recorded in a stela of Smendes V of Mendes, and possibly year 11 of <Iuput II> is recorded on a stela of Harnakht (B). This date has been assigned to almost every ruler of this period: Shoshenq V (Gomaà 1974: 28-29; Osorkon III (Kitchen 1996: 543); Shoshenq IV (Leahy 1990: 184).

⁴¹ Year 37 is attested at the Serapeum of Memphis. Shoshenq V controlled firmly the Eastern Delta and Memphis. Cf. Kitchen 1996: 350, 354-355. Shoshenq V was most probably buried in Tanis and his burial is to be identified with the northern sector of the antechamber of tomb NRT I. See Dodson 1994: 96.

⁴² For setting Osorkon IV's accession at c. 735 and his death at 715 see Kahn 2001: Part 1.4., 9-10.

⁴³ Waddell 1964: 161, 163.

⁴⁴ Recently von Beckerath realized that his reconstruction is problematic and revised his opinion about the identification of Pedubast. Now, he disassociates Pedubast *s3 B3stt* from the

SO, WHEN COULD PEDUBAST II HAVE REIGNED?

It can be suggested that Pedubast succeeded Osorkon IV in 716/5.⁴⁵ In *c.* 713 Azuri, king of Ashdod, rebelled against Sargon II, king of Assyria. He was deposed, and the Assyrians appointed his brother Ahimiti as his successor. Iamani, a commoner, usurped the throne of Ashdod and tried to instigate the rulers of the region into rebellion against Sargon. He sought help from Pharaoh, but the latter was unable (or unwilling) to help Iamani.⁴⁶ Before the arrival of the Assyrian forces, Iamani fled to Egypt and found refuge only at the court of the King of Meluhha (King of Kush *i.e.* Shabaka).⁴⁷ It seems that the Assyrian texts made a distinction between the Egyptian ruler, titled Pir'ū, who probably resided in the Delta at 713/12, and the king of Kush, who is described in the Iamani affair as Šar māṭ Meluhha.⁴⁸

pedubast that he places in the time of Shoshenq V and leaves him without an identified throne name. See von Beckerath 2003: 33.

⁴⁵ While commenting on an earlier draft, Leahy noted the difficulty with pushing Pedubast's dates down since his titulary is in "Ramesside" style. The last Pharaohs to use this style in their prenomen are Shoshenq V and Iuput II *c.* 730 BC (von Beckerath 1999: 190-191, 204-205). According to von Beckerath 1999: 202-203, Osorkon IV's prenomen was also Ramesside in style. Payraudeau (see n. 38 above) has recently opted to identify Aakheperre-setepenamon Osorkon with Osorkon the Elder, Pharaoh of the 21st Dynasty. According to Payraudeau, the prenomen of Osorkon IV would remain unknown. This suggestion is possible but not mandatory. By eliminating the prenomen of Osorkon IV a gap of *c.* 20 years would be created between the last attested Pharaohs with Ramesside prenomen and Pedubast's Ramesside prenomen. The Pharaohs of Dynasty 25, 26 (Piankhy changed his prenomen to *snfr-R'* in his 21st regnal year after his campaign to Egypt, *c.* 734 BC) and their local contemporaries used different construed names (based on Middle Kingdom name forms and lacking epithets). See von Beckerath 1995: 10.

⁴⁶ Fuchs 1998: 73-74.

⁴⁷ See Kahn 2001: 4-6. For the possible dating of this episode to 711 see Fuchs 1998: 124-131.

⁴⁸ Kitchen 1996: xlii. Kitchen, however, has pointed out that the Nubian rulers perceived themselves and were perceived by other rulers, in Egypt and abroad, as legitimate Egyptian rulers from the beginning. Cf. 2 Kings 18:21, where Pharaoh, King of Egypt, is compared by Rab-shakeh with a splintered reed staff, though this Pharaoh was actually Shabataka, King of Kush. The Assyrian distinction between the king of Egypt and the king of Kush is a propagandistic motif, which only appears half a century later in the inscriptions of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal, and was motivated by political considerations. See Spalinger 1974: 322-324. Cf. 2 Kings 18:21.

This distinction between the king of Kush and Pharaoh has led Spalinger to date the Kushite conquest of Egypt to 712 BC.⁴⁹ But if we accept the date of 720 for the Kushite conquest,⁵⁰ and accept the disposal of Osorkon IV in **716/5** after the tribute of Shilkani to Sargon, and make a distinction between Pir'u, king of Egypt and the king of the land of Meluhha, we remain with a king of Egypt, titled Pir'u, who did not give Iamani military aid or even asylum when the Assyrian army arrived in Ashdod. This king could have been Pedubast, who was seated at Tanis. For Pedubast to have been acknowledged in his year 6 =*710 BC as south as Heracleopolis Magna and Memphis would have therefore demanded some sort of Egyptian semi-independent/vassal rule over Northern Egypt from Heracleopolis Magna to the Delta, combined with some sort of Kushite approval or withdrawal.

Stelae commemorating the burial of an Apis Bull at Memphis are dated to year 14 of a king who is commonly identified with Shabaka. Another set of stelae is dated to year 4 of a king who is commonly identified as Taharqa.⁵¹ If these stelae commemorate an Apis burial in **Shabaka's** fourteenth year (and Taharqa's fourth year), they should be dated to 708 BC (and to 687 BC) and confirm Shabaka's rule in Memphis in his fourteenth regnal year,⁵² thus refuting

⁴⁹ Identified as Osorkon IV or Bocchoris. See Spalinger 1973: 97. He might even have sent tribute to Sargon in 715, one year after Shilkani sent his tribute. See Fuchs 1998: 131; Tadmor 1958: 78. Further evidence of Egyptian tribute to Sargon can be found in a letter by Marduk-remani concerning tribute bearers to the Assyrian court (ND 2765 rev. 35), see (Galil 1992: 120-121 [in Hebrew]). Galil dates this letter between 716-713.

⁵⁰ For dating the accession date of Shabaka to 721 BC, see Kahn 2001: 8.

⁵¹ But this identification is by no means certain (Vercoutter 1960: 67, fig. I, 69). Mariette found the stelae at the north end of the lesser vaults. The stelae were dated to year fourteen without a Pharaoh's name. Assigning these stelae to Shabaka's reign would give a life span of 12 years to the bull that was interred in Shabaka's second regnal year. Among the stelae dated to year 14 were stelae dated to year 4 of an unnamed king, identified by Vercoutter as Taharqa. A stela dated from year 2/5 of Taharqa commemorated the internment of an Apis bull and was associated with these stelae. If this stela is to be dated to year two, as Malinine was inclined to read, the stelae of year four would not belong to Shabaka's reign. For the accession date of Shabaka in 707/6, see Kahn 2001: 8.

⁵² The time span between the burial of the Apis bull in Shabaka's second regnal year and his *fourteenth would be twelve years (a relatively short period for the life of an Apis bull), and the time span of the Apis bull that was instated in Shabaka's fourteenth year would be 21 years (708-687), a normal life span for an Apis bull.

the suggestion of a semi-independent Egyptian rule over the Delta.⁵³ One can suggest that these two sets of stelae belong to year *4 of Shabatka=year *14 of Pedubast and would be dated to 703 BC,⁵⁴ the year following Shabatka's first arrival in Egypt.⁵⁵ This would eliminate any monuments in Northern Egypt dated according to Shabaka's regnal years, later than his year 6 and allow the dating of Pedubast's accession in Tanis in 716/5 BC immediately after the deposition of Osorkon IV of Bubastis and Tanis. Pedubast was probably **not** from the same dynasty as Osorkon IV and thus Pedubast should be regarded as the founder of a new dynasty. According to Manetho, he ruled for 25 years⁵⁶ and, thus, would have ruled until *691/690 BC. How does this dating fit in Shabatka's reign in Egypt?

In 707/6 Shabatka ascended the throne and immediately extradited Iamani, the rebel king, to Sargon and renewed peaceful diplomatic relations with Assyria. He arrived in 703 in Thebes for the first time, probably stayed there until 701 BC, when he went with his army and with the **Delta kings** and their **sons**,⁵⁷

⁵³ Several undated monuments of Shabaka were unearthed in Memphis and could point to a long period of building activity there. See Morkot 2000: 217-219.

⁵⁴ Assigning 17 years for the Apis from Shabaka's second regnal year (720-*703) and 16 years for the Apis from Shabatka's *fourth year (*703-687). One might object to this argument, as Dr. Jansen-Winkel did in personal communication dated to 17.7.2001, and argue that the Nubians were very pious kings and very concerned with Egyptian religion and tradition. It is hard to believe that they left such an important task as the burial of an Apis (in Memphis, their capital in Egypt) to a vassal in the Delta. Note, however, the opposition to the Egyptian ruler "Seton" from his military class (i.e. the Libyans) to the opponent of Sennacherib in Herodotus II 141.

⁵⁵ von Beckerath 1993: 7-9.

⁵⁶ See n. 36 above. If he is to be identified as the owner of Stela Florence 7207 (see n. 26 above) he ruled for at least 23 years.

⁵⁷ From Rassam prism inscription col. II 78-col III 6 (Luckenbill 1924: 29-34): "*The king/s (šarrānī/šarri) of Egypt (and) the bowmen and chariot corps and cavalry of the king of Kush (Meluhha) assembled a countless force and came to their (i.e. Ekronites') aid. In the plain of Eltekeh, they drew up their ranks against me and sharpened their weapons. Trusting in Ashur, my lord, I fought with them and inflicted a defeat upon them. The Egyptian charioteers and princes (sons of the king/kings of Egypt māri šarri/šarrānī), together with the charioteers of the king of Kush, I personally took alive in the midst of the battle.*" Looking at this text from an unbiased point of view with no earlier knowledge it seems that the Assyrians mentioned the Egyptian king/kings before the Kushite king and that in Assyrian eyes Egypt might have been the overlord in this coalition.

to wage war against Sennacherib in the Levant.⁵⁸ The Kushite and Assyrian armies both claimed victory, but returned to their respective countries without achieving all of their goals. Shabatka left no trace in the Delta during his sixteen years rule, other than one undated stela from Pharbaitos.⁵⁹ It is possible that his authority was not acknowledged in the Delta after his failure in the Levant, or conversely, Shabatka may have been the overlord while Pedubast, king of Tanis and Shabatka's vassal, was acknowledged from Heracleopolis Magna, in the Northern Nile valley to the Delta and his own regnal years were used to date official monuments.⁶⁰

The existence of this territorial realm is also reflected in the prophecies of Isaiah against the dependence of the king of Judah on Egypt's might:

*“Utterly foolish are the princes of Soan, ...
Befooled are the princes of Soan, deluded the princes of Memphis,
And the chiefs of her tribes have led Egypt astray” (Isaiah 19: 11, 13).⁶¹*

In Isaiah 30:4 the messengers of Pharaoh, who resided in Tanis, could only reach Hanes, identified with Heracleopolis Magna (*Hwt-nni-nswt*): “*for his princes are at Soan and his ambassadors have come to Hanes*”.⁶² This

⁵⁸ Shabatka summoned Taharqa from Thebes, where they met and traveled northwards together. See Kawa IV, ll. 7-9; Kawa V, l. 17. Eide *et al.* 1994: 139, 154 (Henceforth *FHN I*).

⁵⁹ Shabatka's donation stela from Pharbaitos should probably date no later than 701, probably before the war with Assyria since his titles recorded on the stela do not correspond with his imperialistic titles that were adopted after the war against Assyria (Meeks 1979: 673 [25.5.00]). A black granite statue and a colossal red granite statue from Memphis can probably also be attributed to Shabatka. See Morkot 2000: 226.

⁶⁰ As might also have been the case with Piankhy and Taharqa. See Kahn 2001: 9-10, n. 48, 50.

⁶¹ In this chapter Memphis and Tanis were important. This fact was recognized by Kitchen 1996: xxxvii, but he used this argument to refute the identification of So' (II Kings 17:4) with Sais. According to Kitchen, “*regardless of the precise dates of the passages concerned – these will not predate the later 8th century, and should not be set after the 7th, given that Tanis lost importance from the 26th dynasty onwards*”. The Kushite hegemony should also be excluded from this period, since Tanis lost its importance in this period too, in contrast to Memphis.

⁶² Verreth (1999: 240, notes 56, 57) has suggested to identify *Hininši* (the Assyrian counterpart of the Hebrew Hanes?), commonly identified with Heracleous mikra polis, with Heracleopolis Magna in Middle Egypt. Cf. Kitchen's objections (Kitchen 1996: 374, n. 749). He identifies Hanes with Heracleous mikra polis in the Eastern Delta. But what would the mention of this isolated, unimportant place mean to the Judean listener?

situation reflects the period of Shoshenq V (c. 767-730 – a period too early to be reflected in this prophecy) and the period of Pedubast (c. *715-*690).⁶³

THE LATER KINGS OF THE 23RD DYNASTY

According to Manetho, Pedubast's successor, Osorthon, ruled 9 (var. 8) years and was named Heracles by the Egyptians. It has been suggested that Heracles was identified with the Egyptian gods Shu, Horus and Khonsu, the Moongod.⁶⁴ This connection of the second king of the 23rd Dynasty with Heracles/Khonsu might point to the poorly attested king of Tanis *iri.n R^c špss-k3-R^c* Gemenef-Khonsu-bak.⁶⁵ His reign could tentatively be dated *690-*681, while the archaeologically unattested Psammus⁶⁶ ruled for 10 years from *681-*671. Forty-four years elapsed between 715 (the deposal of Osorkon IV) and Sharruludari's appointment by Esarhaddon in 671,⁶⁷ the exact time span assigned by Manetho to

⁶³ Cf. Hosea 7: 11; 5: 13; 12: 2.

⁶⁴ Redford 1978: 33-36. Redford identifies this Osorkon with Osorkon III of Thebes. Cf. von Beckerath 1994: 7-8.

⁶⁵ von Beckerath 1999: 213. One of his cartouches bears only the name Khonsu!; Kitchen 1996: 396. Cf. Leahy 1990: 189; von Beckerath 1994: 7-8. I do not think that Osorthon should be identified with Osorkon IV who ruled c. 733-715 on chronological grounds, though I can not explain why *iri.n R^c špss-k3-R^c* Gemenef-Khonsu-bak is remembered as Osorthon. One might speculate that there was confusion because of Osorthon's identification with Heracles who is associated with the moon god. Another possibility is that *iri.n R^c špss-k3-R^c* Gemenef-Khonsu-bak does not belong to this dynasty and Osorthon should be a yet unattested *Osorkon V. Cf. Leahy 1990: 189; von Beckerath 1994: 7-8.

⁶⁶ For a possible explanation of his name, see Leahy 1990: 189-190.

⁶⁷ Verreth 1999: 240-243. This king bears an Assyrian name and could be identified with a certain Šarru-lū-dari LÚ miširaya, who is mentioned in a letter to Shamash as a possible instigator of rebellion against Esarhaddon together with Bel-eṭir, the governor of HAR and Sasiya. Parpola 1993: l. 112 (K 1353) r. 11. The episode of Sasyia is dated to 21.3.675, before Esarhaddon had any contact with Egypt. For this dating see Dietrich 1968: 236; cf. Nissinen 1998: 140. It can be inferred that Šarru-lū-dari was taken prisoner at the battle of Eltekeh in 701 (see n. 57 above), was brought up at the Assyrian court and was appointed as king of Tanis in 671. After the rebellion of the Delta princes in 667 he was taken to Nineveh, never to return. Necho, ruler of Sais, was forgiven and was reinstated and his son was appointed as ruler of Athribis. Cf. LET Vs. 37^a-69^a. Onasch 1994: 107, 109.

Dynasty 23.⁶⁸ He was deposed after a failed revolt against Ashurbanipal at 667/6. The Assyrians appointed Pedubast (*Putubišti* of the Assyrian records) after the revolt of the Delta kings had been quelled. This Pedubast should probably be identified with *Šhtp-ib-R^c* Pedubast.⁶⁹ His rule lasted no more than 10 years since in 657 Psammetichus I is attested in Pharbaitos and in 656 his rule was acknowledged in Thebes.⁷⁰ These two kings, appointed by the Assyrian overlords or with their consent, were probably not mentioned in Manetho's 23rd Dynasty.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Waddell 1964: 163 (according to Eusebius). According to Africanus, the 23rd Dynasty lasted 89 years. See Waddell 1964: 161. I have no explanation for the mention of the mysterious Zeth, who ruled for 31/34 years. Might Zeth be a corruption of *Stty.w* (i.e. Asians/Assyrians)? There is no clear indication when the Assyrian rule over Egypt ceased. Could Psammetichus be an Assyrian vassal during half of his reign and unite Egypt under his authority? We have no answer to these questions. It is clear that Assyria lost control over Egypt in 643 at the latest. See Spalinger 1978a: 406, 408. The death of Gyges, who aided Psammetichus, is recorded for the first time in prism A of Assurbanipal (dated to 643/2 BC). Cf. Cogan and Tadmor 1977: 79. Spalinger noted that "*he (the Assyrian scribe) does not state that any action was directed against Assurbanipal*". Does this indicate that Egypt threw off the Assyrian yoke before Gyges' aid or that the Assyrian scribe tried to avoid the mention that Egypt freed itself from Assyria with Lydian help? No matter how one looks at it, less than 31/34 years elapsed between the beginning of Assyrian rule in Egypt in the summer of 671 BC and 643 BC. One should also consider the presence of the pro-Ashurbanipal Aramaic story of his war (652-648 BC) against his brother, Shamash-shum-ukin, king of Babylon, in Demotic script in Pap. Amherst 63 at a time when allegedly the Assyrians did not rule in Egypt anymore. For this text see Steiner and Nims 1985: 61-65.

⁶⁹ Habachi 1966: 69-74. A problem arises with this reconstruction since a king Pedubast is mentioned in the Pedubast cycles where Pemu of Heliopolis caused a foe *šslstny* (commonly identified with Esarhaddon, king of Assyria), chief of the land [...], to retreat eastwards, after the latter had tried to wrest Egypt from the rule of the Pharaoh Pedubast. See Kitchen 1996: 458. This defeat of the Assyrians can be dated to March 673 BC. See Grayson 1975: 126, Chron. 14, 20.

⁷⁰ Kitchen 1996: 400-404. The earliest monument of Psammetichus in the Delta is a donation stela from Pharbaitos dated to Psammetichus' 8th regnal year. In 656 his daughter was adopted at Thebes as the future God's wife of Amon; see Caminos 1964: 71-100. Another poorly attested King Neferkare I... is known from monuments in Tanis and in Athribis together with *wšh-ib-R^c* Psammetichus I in his early years (?); see Kitchen 1996: 396-397, n. 904. A monument of a certain Penamun is known from Tell-el Yahudieh, and he could have reigned at this period (von Beckerath 1999: 213).

⁷¹ According to this dating Dynasty XXIII of Manetho reigned after Dynasty XXIV as was kindly pointed out to me by Dr. J. von Beckerath (private communication 18.9.2001). I have no convincing explanation for this. It might be postulated that the 24th dynasty was inserted before the 23rd Dynasty to avoid the situation that the 24th Dynasty king, who was a contemporary of

AN ALTERNATIVE DATING FOR THE 23RD DYNASTY

Forty-four years also elapsed between 701 BC (the battle between Sennacherib and Shabatka's forces at Eltekeh) and Psammetichus I's consolidation of power in the Delta in 657 (if he did not control the entire Delta before his earliest attested monument). It is possible that it was only after Shabatka's war and setback at Eltekeh in 701 that Pedubast ascended the throne in Tanis and could be acknowledged in Memphis and Heracleopolis Magna as the legitimate ruler.⁷² If Pedubast started to rule in Tanis after Shabatka's setback of 701 BC, his 25 years of reign lasted until *c.* 675, well into Taharqa's second decade.⁷³

Taharqa's recognition is well documented in Thebes for most of his years.⁷⁴ His presence and recognition in the Delta is less well documented. According to Kawa V, l. 15 Taharqa received the crown in Memphis after Shabatka had died. It does not state that he was crowned immediately after his

the first kings of the 23rd Dynasty and ruled in the 8th century BC, would be listed after the last king of the 23rd Dynasty, and be dated in the second quarter of the 7th dynasty. If, on the other hand, we accept a reign of 40 years for Pedubast according to Africanus without changing the dates for the rest of the dynasty, this problem would be resolved. However, in this case we should arrive at the conclusion that Pedubast II ruled in the same period that Osorkon IV ruled over Bubastis. Could Pedubast have reigned in Tanis while Osorkon IV ruled in Bubastis?

⁷² Shabatka might have appointed him as vassal at his ascension to the throne in 706 or at his arrival in Egypt in 703 BC. He could claim real authority over Memphis and Heracleopolis Magna only after the Kushite setback in the Levant. If we take the figures given by Manetho for the 26th Dynasty at face value we arrive at 697/703 for the reign of Ammeris the Ethiopian. Ammeris is assigned 12 years by Eusebius' version as transmitted by Syncellus, and 18 years according to the Armenian version, which gives Stephinates 7 years, Nechepso 6 years, Nechao (I) 8 years, Psammetichus 54 years, Nechao II 6/8 years, Psamuthes (Psammetichus II) 17 years, Uaphres (Apries) 25 years, Amosis 42 years; see Waddell 1964: 171, 173. Cf. Kitchen 1996: 589. Kitchen emends the reign of Ammeris to a possible 20 years and the reign of Nechepsos from 6 to 16 years and thus arrives to the date 715/713 for the beginning of the Saite Dynasty, coinciding with the postulated conquest of the Delta by Shabaka in 715/712.

⁷³ If Pedubast ruled for 40 years as the version of Manetho as preserved by Africanus states, he might have started his reign in 716 BC, after Osorkon IV's deposition. However, since Herodotus' dates for the 22nd and 25th Dynasty are basically wrong, I do not know how credible they are for 23rd Dynasty; cf. Kahn 2001: 5, n. 23.

⁷⁴ Spalinger 1978b: 44-47. To these inscriptions add: year 17 (Hodjash and Berlev 1988: 247-259); year 19 and 26 (van Heel 1997: 81-93; 1998: 91-102; 1999: 135-144). I thank Dr. Koen Donker van Heel for sending me off-prints of his articles and for providing me with much valuable reading material. Year 21: Moussa 1981: 332-337. Year 7 is recorded in a donation stela from Ashmunein (Meeks 1979: 673 [25.6.7]).

predecessor's death, but there is no reason to dismiss his immediate crowning in Memphis.⁷⁵ From his first arrival in Egypt in 701 he stayed in Egypt at least until his sixth regnal year and did not return to Napata.⁷⁶ In his second or fourth year an Apis bull died and was interred in the Serapeum in Memphis.⁷⁷ A stela of his regnal year six was found at Tanis, and Kawa IV, l. 22 also states that Taharqa was in Memphis in his sixth year at the latest.⁷⁸ In Taharqa's eighth to tenth regnal year (683-681) we are informed about contacts with the Levant and the dedication of gardeners/slaves from Bahriya Oasis,⁷⁹ the Levant,⁸⁰ children of chiefs of "every country"⁸¹ and the wives of chiefs of Lower Egypt to the temple of Amun at Kawa.⁸²

Taharqa's dated monuments from the Delta, and indications of his presence in the Delta during these years⁸³ would exclude a rule of Pedubast over Memphis, Heracleopolis Magna and Tanis if the latter's reign started in *701 and lasted until *675. At most, it can be suggested that Pedubast controlled the northern Nile valley and the Delta after 701 only until the accession of Taharqa to the throne, and ruled over Tanis and its environs in Taharqa's first and second decades.

The following kings of Dynasty *23 would also pose a chronological problem. Osorthon would have ruled for nine years, according to this reconstruction, between *676-*667. We would have to assume that the sources of Manetho deliberately ignored the reign of the Assyrian-appointed Šarru-lū-dari between 671-667. Psammous would have succeeded Osorthon on the throne and would have ruled for 10 more years between *667-*657

⁷⁵ (15) *šsp.n.i ḥꜥ m Inb-ḥd m-ḥt ḥr bik r pt*, "I received the diadem in White-wall (Memphis) after the falcon went up to heaven". Eide *et al.* 1994: 153. This means that Shabatka was acknowledged in Memphis as the legitimate king.

⁷⁶ Kawa V, ll. 17-18. Eide *et al.* 1994: 154.

⁷⁷ See above n. 51. If the bull died in Taharqa's regnal year 4, it was interred in his fifth year.

⁷⁸ Eide *et al.* 1994: 142.

⁷⁹ Kawa VI, l. 20 (Eide *et al.* 1994: 172).

⁸⁰ *K3ry.w nfrw nw Mnty.w-Stt*; Kawa VI, ll. 20-21 (Eide *et al.* 1994: 172-173).

⁸¹ Kawa VI, l. 21 (Eide *et al.* 1994: 173).

⁸² *ḥmw.wt wr.wt nw T3 Mḥw*. Or "the Royal Wives of Lower Egypt"; Kawa VI, l. 20 (Eide *et al.* 1994: 172). This piece of information might suggest a reaction to some sort of opposition in Lower Egypt in Taharqa's 10th regnal year (681).

⁸³ See previous paragraph.

when Psammetichus, King of Sais was acknowledged as legitimate king in the entire Delta. According to this reconstruction, Psammous should be identified with *shtp-ib-R^c* Pedubast.

The second option for dating the 23rd Dynasty has caused more problems than it has resolved; therefore I prefer to date the 23rd Dynasty between *715-*671 BC despite the chronological problems noted above.⁸⁴

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⁸⁴ Dr. Jansen-Winkel has suggested (in a private communication 17.7.2001) seeing Pedubast *S3 B3stt* as a ruler in Leontopolis before Iuput II. This would solve a.) The variance with Manetho's statement that in his reign the Olympic festival was celebrated (776-775); b.) The early "Ramesside" style of the name (see n. 45 above); c.) Pedubast left no trace in Tanis (the same is true for Osorkon IV, who ruled probably about 20 years, and left no trace in Tanis and Bubastis). However, placing Pedubast in Leontopolis before Iuput would not solve all of the problems: a.) Iuput II does not occur in Manetho's list, nor do his regnal years fit any of the kings from Manetho's Dyn. XXIII; b.) Pedubast could not have ruled in the central Delta at a time that Shoshenq V ruled over the entire Delta; c.) There is also no evidence of Pedubast in Leontopolis. It seems that no chronological scheme can solve at the moment the problem of the 23rd Dynasty.

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**LE CIEL SELON L'HYMNE ORPHIQUE À OURANOS ET SELON
DES TEXTES FUNÉRAIRES ÉGYPTIENS (PT, CT, BD):
UNE BRÈVE COMPARAISON PRÉLIMINAIRE***

AMANDA–ALICE MARAVELIA
aamaravelia@cesras.org

*Centre for Egyptological Studies
Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, Russia*

Summary: The Sky according to the Orphic Hymn to Ouranos and according to the Egyptian Funerary Texts (PT, CT, BD): A Brief Preliminary Comparison

The *Orphic Hymn to Ouranos* (cf. Quandt 1973: 4) contains many important astronomical and cosmological notions, concerning the firmament, the stars and the celestial sphere. These very elements have been recently examined by the author, in comparison to some similar ancient Egyptian ideas (Maravelia 2001: 49 ff. Maravelia 2006: chap. IV). The Orphics (whose astronomical cosmovision dates since the 14th century BCE, but whose ideas were first collected and written by the Peisistratos' and Onomakritos' doxographs at c. 525 BCE) considered the sky as a transcendental entity, presenting a multi-faceted aspect. Hence, the sky was thought of as either: (i) A powerful ancestral cosmic divinity, incorporating the characteristics of a certain cosmovision: thus, elder Ouranos, personification of the Sky and identified with the Cosmos, was considered as the cradle of creation; (ii) The starry firmament, rich in astral luminaries and celestial bodies, hence the *locus* or scenery of their periodical motions; (iii) The celestial sphere, an imaginary cosmic orb encircling the Earth (which was virtually considered *only* in the context of this and some other Orphic hymns –but not in general– as placed at the centre of the celestial sphere), apparently revolving perpetually around the Earth, like an infinite cosmic top; by virtue of these facts, the sky was responsible for the appearance of various astronomical (diurnal rotation of the Earth around her axis, annual revolution of the Earth around the Sun, precession of the Equinoxes), as well as meteorological phenomena (clouds, precipitations, variation of the sky's colour during the day, etc.), due both to the continuous and unceasing change of the image/"face" of the sky; or,

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(iv) The guardian and sacred keeper of the Universal Law, implying the celestial harmony (connected to the Egyptian conception of Ma'at). It has been proven (Krauss 1997; Wallin 2002; Maravelia 2006: chap. I, III, V) that the ancient Egyptian funerary texts were not only meant as religious compositions, endeavoring to safely transfer the pharaohs and nobles from the visually perceived world to the metaphysical realm of the gods. They were also carriers of significant astronomical and cosmological conceptions, expressed in a pre-scientific form, using myths and symbols as virtual *signifiants*. In the *Pyramid Texts (PT)*, the *Coffin Texts (CT)*, as well as in the *Book of the Dead (BD)* there are numerous references to the sky. Either in the form of the sky-goddess Nūt (in many instances personifying either the sarcophagus, as an amniotic cocoon for the deceased, or the Galaxy), or as the conception of the starry firmament [*bi3(y)t*] and the celestial sphere [*pdt, hr(y)t*], the notion of the sky plays also an important part in these (religious and cosmographical) texts, which could be classified –*mutatis mutandis*– under some of the same previous categories [viz (ii) and (iv), *supra*].

Keywords: Ancient Egyptian Funerary Texts - *Orphic Hymns* - *Hymn to Ouranos* - Cosmography

Resumen: El cielo según el Himno Órfico a Urano y según los textos funerarios egipcios (TP, TS, LM): una breve comparación preliminar

El *Himno Órfico a Urano* (Quandt 1973: 4) contiene varias e importantes nociones astronómicas y cosmológicas, relativas al firmamento, las estrellas y la esfera celestial. Estos elementos han sido examinados por la autora recientemente, comparándolos con algunas ideas egipcias similares (Maravelia 2001: 49 ss.; Maravelia 2006: cap. IV). Los órficos (cuya cosmovisión astronómica data del siglo XIV a.C., pero cuyas ideas fueron por primera vez recopiladas y escritas por los doxógrafos de Pisítrato y de Onomácritos hacia c. 525 a.C.) consideraban el cielo como una entidad trascendente, que presentaba un aspecto multifacético. Por lo tanto, el cielo era pensado como: (i) una divinidad cósmica poderosa y ancestral, incorporando las características de una cierta cosmovisión: así, el anciano Urano, personificación del Cielo e identificado con el Cosmos, fue considerado como la cuna de la creación; (ii) el firmamento estrellado, rico en luminarias australes y cuerpos celestes, por lo tanto el *locus* o escenario de sus movimientos periódicos; (iii) la esfera celeste, un orbe cósmico imaginario que rodeaba la Tierra (que fue considerada virtualmente *sólo* en el contexto de éste y algunos otros himnos órficos –pero no en general– como ubicada en el centro de la esfera celeste), aparentemente orbitando de modo perpetuo alrededor de la Tierra, como un trompo cósmico infinito; a causa de estos hechos, el cielo era responsable de la aparición de varios fenómenos astronómicos (la rotación diurna de la Tierra alrededor de su eje, la revolución anual de la Tierra alrededor del

Sol, la precesión de los Equinoccios) y meteorológicos (nubes, precipitaciones, variaciones del color del cielo durante el día, etc.), debido al continuo e incesante cambio de la imagen /“rostro” del cielo; o (iv) el guardián y cuidador sagrado de la Ley Universal, que implicaba la armonía celestial (conectada con la concepción egipcia de Ma'at). Se ha comprobado (Krauss 1997; Wallin 2002; Maravelia 2006: caps. I, III, V) que los antiguos textos funerarios egipcios no eran únicamente entendidos como composiciones religiosas, concebidos para transportar de modo seguro a los faraones y los nobles del mundo percibido visualmente al reino metafísico de los dioses. Eran además portadores de significativas concepciones astronómicas y cosmológicas, expresadas de un modo pre-científico, utilizando mitos y símbolos como *significantes* virtuales. En los *Textos de las Pirámides (TP)*, en los *Textos de los Sarcófagos (TS)*, así como en el *Libro de los Muertos (LM)*, hay numerosas referencias al cielo. Sea en la forma de la diosa del cielo Nūt (en varias instancias personificada por el sarcófago, como un caparazón amniótico para el muerto, o la Galaxia) o como la concepción del firmamento estrellado [*biʔ(y)t*] y la esfera celestial [*pdt, hr(y)t*], la noción del cielo juega también una parte importante en estos textos (religiosos y cosmográficos) que podrían ser clasificados –*mutatis mutandis*– bajo algunas de las categorías previas [viz (ii) y (iv), *supra*].

Palabras clave: Antiguos textos funerarios egipcios - *Himnos Órficos* - *Himno a Urano* - cosmografía

I. INTRODUCTION

Le ciel fut toujours considéré comme une manifestation directe de la transcendance, du pouvoir divin, de la sacralité et de l'éternité, une catégorie philosophique qu'aucune force humaine ne pourrait ni atteindre ni conquérir¹. Toute la nature même du ciel constitue une hiérophanie inexhaustible², et par conséquent, tout se qui s'y passe –les phénomènes périodiques astronomiques, dont les révolutions harmonieuses des astres se présentent comme l'exemple typique par excellence, lié aussi aux observances calendriques des humains– sont des moments d'une épiphanie virtuelle. Or, le ciel n'est que le symbole universel de l'ordre cosmique (personnifié par les Égyptiens à Ma'at³, et par

¹ Voir *Symbols* 1996: 484. Sur un synopsis du symbolisme céleste, cf. *Symbols* 1996: 484-489.

² Voir Eliade 1958: 39-40, *passim*. Cf. aussi Dreyer 1953 (sur une histoire concise de l'Astronomie dans l'Antiquité).

³ Voir Tobin *et al.* 2001: 467: “Order was constantly in conflict with disorder, but Ma'at was a mythic expression of the confidence that order would prevail”. N'oublions pas que la déesse

les Orphiques à Harmonia/Anagkē⁴) et de l'espace insondable (personnifié par les Égyptiens au moins partiellement aux notions des divisions du temps et même à celle de l'éternité⁵ et par les Orphiques à Chronos/Kronos/Heraklēs⁶), révélé dans les rythmes harmoniques de la sphère céleste et les mouvements des corps astraux. Cet ordre est à la fois caché et apparent dans les merveilles du firmament⁷, qui –selon les anciens– enveloppe des ordres d'existence invisibles, supérieurs au monde phénoménal éphémère, amalgamant la sublimité divine supersubstantielle à la condition humaine profane⁸.

Contrairement à la pratique des autres nations anciennes en général⁹ et des Chinois¹⁰ en particulier, les Égyptiens d'antan considéraient la divinité du ciel

de la justice et de l'ordre cosmique est la fille du dieu suprême solaire. Cf. aussi Tobin 1987: 113-121.

⁴ Voir Quandt 1973: 64; cf. aussi Maravelia 2005; Maravelia 2006: chap. IV, § 3.3 et 334 (n. 112).

⁵ En ce qui concerne la relation de l'espace infini avec la notion de la *dt* (qui se lie aussi à l'ordre *m3't*), voir Allen 1988: 25-27; certes, la *nhh* se lie aux notions du temps ontologique et de la vie (*nh*). Cf. aussi *CT*, IV, 335¹, §§ 200d-200e et §§ 202a-202b: “*ir ntt-wn nhh pw hn' dt; ir nhh hrw pw, ir dt grh pw*” [Sq]Sq]. Bien qu'il y ait des affinités certaines (temps cyclique et périodicités), la notion du temps chez les Égyptiens [cf. Assmann 1991; Westendorf 1974: 136-141] et chez les Orphiques [cf. Maravelia 2004: chap. IV et § 3.3] n'est pas exactement la même.

⁶ Voir Quandt 1973: 13, 3-5, “ / δς δαπανᾷς μὲν ἅπαντα καὶ αὔξεις ἔμπαλιν αὐτὸς | δεσμοῦς ἀρρήκτους δς ἔχεις κατ' ἀπείρονα κόσμον, | αἰῶνος Κρόνε παγγενέτωρ [...] | ”; voir *op. cit.*: 12, 11-12, “ / δς περὶ κρατὶ φορεῖς ἦῶ καὶ νύκτα μέλαιναν, | δώδεκ' ἀπ' ἀνατολιῶν ἄχρη δυσμῶν ἄθλα διερχων | ”; or, le Soleil/Hēraklēs/Kronos/Chronos est justement appelé *le père du temps* (voir aussi *op. cit.*: 12, 3, “*χρόνου πάτερ*”). À noter aussi qu'Ouranos est aussi le père du Kronos (Quandt 1973: 4, 8, “*Κρονότεκνε*”).

⁷ Sur l'influence de l'Astronomie dans la Littérature et l'Art, voir e.g.: Yalourēs 1980: 313-318.

⁸ Sur cette synthèse “hiérogamique” des catégories opposées (*Ciel/Terre, Femelle/Mâle, Haut/Bas, Lune/Soleil*, etc.), cf. *Tabula Smaragdina*, 8: “*Ascendit a terra in caelum, iterumque descendit in terram*”; cf. en plus *op. cit.*, 2: “*Quod est superius est sicut quod est inferius*”, que nous comparons à un certain fragment d'Hērakleitos (voir *Fragmenta*, 60: “*ὁδὸς ἄνω κάτω, μία καὶ ὠνυτή*”).

⁹ Voir *Symbols* 1996: 486.

¹⁰ Voir Locher 2003: 3-6.

comme femelle¹¹. En effet, la déesse céleste égyptienne, Nūt¹², était une des personnifications des éléments cosmiques, introduite par la prêtrise d'Héliopolis, afin de présenter un modèle cosmographique de l'Univers visible. Nūt (*Nwt*) était la fille de Tefnūt (*Tfnt*) personnifiant l'humidité/eau primordiale¹³, et de Shū (*Šw*), personnifiant l'éther lumineux et le vent vivifère¹⁴.

Les *Hymnes Orphiques*¹⁵, numérotés de 1 à 87 et faisant partie de la poésie lyrique religieuse, sont attribués soit à la personnalité légendaire connue sous le nom *Orphée/Orpheus* [voir Fig. 1], soit aux hymnologues Orphiques¹⁶. La datation du *corpus* de ces hymnes était ambiguë et les opinions concernant leur origine furent déjà très variées: (i) selon divers savants, ces hymnes sont plus vieux que les textes homériques¹⁷; (ii) selon Guthrie, ils pourraient être des créations plus tardives et même Onomakritos (560-490 BCE) pourrait y avoir introduit ses opinions¹⁸. Nous signalons que l'exactitude et la précision du regroupement des *Hymnes Orphiques* par les doxographes de Peisistratos (relativement à leur forme initiale, qui certes

¹¹ Voir e.g.: Martinelli 1994: 61-80.

¹² Pour Nūt, voir principalement LÄ IV, 1982, 535-541, art. "Nūt"; Lurker 1986: 90, art. "Nūt"; Hart 1986: 143-147, art. "Nūt"; Posener 1992: 192, art. "Nout"; BMD 1996: 207-208, art. "Nūt". Pour une étude approfondie, voir Rusch 1979: 53-69. Cf. aussi Grapow 1924: 9, 24-28 (en particulier 27, 32); Hornung 1982: *passim*; Laskowska-Kusztal 1984: 82-88 (sur le rôle astral d'Opet-Nūt); Allen 1988: 5; Meeks et Favard-Meeks 1993: 166-172 et 283-289; Billing 2002.

¹³ Voir quand même Bickel 1994: 169 et n. 154. Cf. aussi BMD 1996: 284, art. "Tefnut".

¹⁴ Voir Bickel 1994: 129 ff; cf. aussi BMD 1996: 270, art. "Shu".

¹⁵ Voir Stephani *et al.* 1805; Dietsch 1822; Abel 1885; Plassmann 1928; Kern 1972; Quandt 1973 (dont on utilise le texte ancien ci-dessous); Athanassakis 1977; Taho-Godi 1980 [en russe]; West 1983; Bernabé 1988; Brisson 1993. Cf. aussi Linforth 1973.

¹⁶ Comme Mousaios, Linos, Eumolpos, Amphiaros, Cheirōn, Mopsos, Epimenidēs, Thamyris, Philamōn et Chrysothemis. Dans le cadre de cette numérotation le poème Ὀρφεὺς πρὸς Μουσαῖον n'est pas inclus; il s'agit d'une synthèse lyrique, la plus étendue de toutes les autres (44 vers), qui les précède en tant qu'instruction et vœux d'Orpheus vers Mousaios. Sur Orpheus, voir aussi Brisson 1995.

¹⁷ Voir Χαράπης 1967 [sommaire en anglais]; Παπαθανασίου 1978 [sommaire en anglais]; Veselovsky 1982: 120-124 [en russe]; Maravelia 2001: 49-72; Zhitomirsky 2003: 79-82; Maravelia 2004: chap. IV; Maravelia 2006: chap. IV. Nous acceptons comme leur origine les 14^e-13^e siècles BCE. L'absence d'uniformité linguistique de ces hymnes (leur langue étant éolienne avec des emprunts de dialecte attique) est due aux influences subies pendant plus de 7 siècles.

¹⁸ Voir Guthrie 1952: 107-108. Voir aussi Dottin 1930: clvii.

datait déjà de quelques siècles auparavant) doivent être considérées très avancées, et au moins analogues à celle concernant le regroupement des poèmes homériques, tenant compte du fait que pendant cette ère là il y avait plusieurs philologues érudits, qui pouvaient contrôler la façon dont ils étaient copiés. On pourrait y ajouter qu'il est bien probable que ces hymnes, justement à cause de leur contenu religieux et culturel, devaient être plus proches de leurs archétypes très anciens que les épopées homériques. Enfin, le fait que quelques auteurs plus tardifs écrivirent des textes "orphiques"¹⁹ (mythes, hymnes, cosmogonies) ne signifie (et ne peut prouver) en aucun cas que les idées des *Hymnes Orphiques* sont des produits tardifs. Kōnstantinos Chasapēs, astronome Hellène († 1970), a proposé une datation alternative des *Hymnes Orphiques* dans sa courte thèse doctorale²⁰. Selon Chasapēs, les idées des hymnes datent de 17^e-14^e siècles BCE, un fait qui peut être prouvé par certains vers des hymnes et leur analyse astronomique²¹. À l'exception de quelques erreurs de Chasapēs, qui néanmoins en aucun cas ne diminuent pas la valeur de sa méthode, nous sommes d'accord avec lui, ayant même contrôlé ses calculs en les ayant refaits par *RedShift 2/4*²², et ayant corrigé toutes ses erreurs.

II. L'HYMNE ORPHIQUE À OURANOS

Des notions très importantes concernant les idées orphiques pour le ciel, les étoiles et la sphère céleste, ainsi que plusieurs éléments cosmovisionnels, se trouvent dans l'*Hymne à Ouranos*²³, que nous allons examiner.

¹⁹ Pour quelques références, voir Τσοπάνης 2003: 52-53 et cf. Guthrie 1952: 292. Enfin, sur l'ancienneté de l'Astronomie hellénique, voir Blomberg et Henrikson 2003: 53-70.

²⁰ Voir Χασάπης 1967.

²¹ Voir Χασάπης 1967: 75-83.

²² Voir Maravelia 2003a: 58, 62. Sur *RedShift* et sa précision, voir *RedShift 2* 1995 et *RedShift 2/4* 1995-2000.

²³ Voir Quandt 1973: 4. Une traduction de cet hymne [= *D'Ouranos (offrant de) l'encens à l'oliban*] serait la suivante:

- (O) *Ouranos, créateur de tout, part du Cosmos toujours inapprivoisable,*
 2 *Fils aîné (du Cosmos), origine et fin de tout,*
Père-Cosmos, qui —comme une sphère— tourne autour de la Terre,
 4 *Demeure des dieux béats, qui se meut en rotations d'une toupie,*
Gardien céleste et terrestre, qui a tout entouré,
 6 *Qui porte dans la poitrine la nécessité (Anagkē) insatiable de la Nature,*

Οὐρανοῦ
(*Θυμίαμα λίβανον*).

- Οὐρανὸν παγγενέτωρ, κόσμου μέρος αἰὲν ἀτειρὲς,
2 Πρεσβυγένεθλ', ἀρχὴ πάντων πάντων τε τελευτή,
 Κόσμε πατήρ, σφαιρηδὸν ἐλισσόμενος περὶ γαῖαν,
4 Οἶκε θεῶν μακάρων, ῥόμβον δίναισιν ὀδεύων,
 Οὐράνιος χθόνιός τε φύλαξ πάντων περιβληθείς,
6 Ἐν στέρονοισιν ἔχων φύσεως ἄτλητον ἀνάγκην,
 Κνανόχρωσ, ἀδάμαστε, παναίολε, αἰολόμορφε,
8 Πανδερχές, Κρονότεκνε, μάκαρ, πανυπέρτατε δαῖμον,
 Κλύθ' ἐπάγων ζῶην ὅσιαν μύστη νεοφάντη.

1^{er} Vers. L'hymne commence par l'invocation d'Ouranos (Οὐρανός), du ciel divinisé, père de Kronos (Saturne). Le ciel est caractérisé comme créateur de tout (*παγγενέτωρ*), ainsi que comme un part du Cosmos (*κόσμου μέρος*) toujours inapprivoisable (*αἰὲν ἀτειρὲς*). L'“intuition scientifique” des Orphiques était telle qu'ils purent concevoir à la fois la totalité (Univers cosmique, dont le ciel est l'image) et la partialité (ciel, comme une partie du Cosmos). Le ciel, comme image archétypique et concrète de l'Univers, constitue la source de tout ce qui existe et la *prima materia* pour la création. Dans l'*Hymne à la Nature*²⁴ l'on trouve les adjectifs: (i) *σελασφόρος* (= *porteuse de lumière*), qui pourrait être expliqué par l'existence des étoiles et des autres luminaires célestes, qui sont partie de la Nature; (ii) *αὐτοπάτωρ* (= *née par elle-même, étant le père d'elle même*); et *ἀπάτωρ* (= *née sans père*), qui indiquent à la fois les opinions cosmologiques des Orphiques selon lesquelles le Cosmos serait existant de soi-même et un certain panthéisme; (iii) on y rencontre aussi la phrase *πάντων μὲν σὺ πατήρ, μήτηρ* [= *tu (est) le père et la mère de tout*]. Ces éléments identifient la Nature comme la source de toute existence et de la vie. Nous croyons que ces vers qui caractérisent soit la Nature, soit le Cosmos, sont similaires à ceux qui désignent Ouranos, et indiquent que les conceptions du Ciel/Univers et de la Nature/ Cosmos étaient

Bleu-ciel, inapprivoisable, tout-variable, continuellement-changeant-de-face,

8 *Tout-voyant, père du Kronos, béat, dieu fort-puissant,
 Veuille écouter, en apportant une vie sainte au mystique nouveau-converti.*

²⁴ Voir Quandt 1973: *IO*, 6, 10, 18.

presque les mêmes dans le contexte de la pensée orphique. Enfin, le prédicat adverbial *αἰὲν ἀπειροῦς* montre que le ciel agit et tourne indépendamment des désirs des humains, et se trouve en mouvement éternel.

2^e Vers. Les idées cosmovisionnelles du vers précédent sont reprises ici. Le ciel, fils aîné du Cosmos (*πρεσβυγένεθλος*), est encore le commencement/origine de tout (*ἀρχὴ πάντων*) et la fin/but de tout (*πάντων τε τελευτή*). Ici il faudrait noter une similitude remarquable trouvée dans l'*Hymne à la Nuit*²⁵. La nuit y est considérée comme la mère de tout, même des dieux et des humains, elle s'identifie à Aphroditē (~ Hathor/*Hwt-Hr*), et est appelée bleuâtre–foncée et lumineuse par ses étoiles. Or la Nuit, déesse *creatrix* primordiale, s'identifie à la Nature et partiellement au ciel. Ailleurs, dans le même hymne, l'on trouve le vers suivant²⁶: “ | ἡ φάος ἐκπέμπεις ὑπὸ νέκτερα καὶ πάλι φεύγεις | εἰς Αἴδην· δεινὴ γὰρ ἀνάγκη πάντα κρατύνει | ”. Nous constatons qu'il existe ici un autre point commun entre les idées orphiques et les idées égyptiennes, soit la visite d'un Soleil Nocturne (~ *Khnum-Rē'*), personnification de la nuit, à Hadès (~ *Dw3t*), qui illumine le royaume des ombres quotidiennement, amené par Anagkē (~ *Ma'at*) qui gouverne toute action cosmique.

3^e Vers. Il s'agit ici d'un vers très important, qui –étant combiné avec le vers suivant– montre explicitement les conceptions astronomiques avancées des Orphiques. Ouranos est à la fois le père–cosmos et le père du cosmos (*κόσμος πατήρ*), tournant comme une sphère (*σφαιροῦδὸν ἐλίσσόμενος*) autour de la Terre (*περὶ γαῖαν*). Le ciel y est considéré comme le géniteur de tout et le père/ancêtre divin par excellence. Il est à noter que l'*hymnōdos* n'utilise pas l'adjectif *hémisphérique* pour décrire la forme et le trait principal du ciel. Il utilise en pleine conscience l'adverbe *sphériquement* (*σφαιροῦδὸν*) et montre que (hors de l'expérience commune quotidienne des anciens) les Orphiques ont conçu la notion de la voûte céleste comme une sphère virtuelle de rayon infini, qui entourait la Terre, cette dernière étant placée en son centre, juste comme dans l'Astronomie Sphérique²⁷ de notre ère. Dès qu'on a recours à un autre hymne orphique, celui honorant la Nature, il devient évident que *Ouranos/Ciel* et *Physis/Nature* sont des catégories interchangeable, la Nature

²⁵ Voir Quandt 1973: 3, 1-3, “ | Νύκτα θεῶν γενέτειραν ἀείσομαι ἠδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν. | {Nὺξ γένεσις πάντων, ἦν καὶ Κύπριν καλέσωμεν}. | [...] κυναναγής, ἀστεροφεργής | ”.

²⁶ Voir Quandt 1973: 3, 10-11.

²⁷ *Mutatis mutandis*. Voir Smart 1980: 25 ff.; Maravelia 2006: chap. II, § 3.1.

elle-même exprimant les traits principaux du Cosmos, c.-à-d.: la rotation incessante et le changement continu²⁸. Or, il est plausible de supposer que les Orphiques ne croyaient pas que la Terre était plate et infinie, mais ils la supposaient comme étant la partie centrale du Cosmos (géocentrisme archaïque?), le fondement même sûr et ferme du monde immortel²⁹, le centre du cosmos autour duquel les étoiles tournent sans cesse, selon l'*Hymne à Gaia*³⁰. La conception visuelle que l'on a de la sphère céleste aujourd'hui est exactement la même. *Contra* Zhitomirsky³¹, qui se base sur des traductions en anglais du texte original des *Hymnes Orphiques* (qui souvent déforment le sens du texte ancien), nous croyons que l'*Hymne à Oceanos* ne prouve pas explicitement que les Orphiques croyaient que la Terre était plate et infinie³². La "terre" mentionnée n'est pas la Terre comme planète, mais l'ensemble des pays connus pendant cette époque (~ *t3w*), qui étaient supposés entourés cycliquement par l'*Océan* (l'*W3d-Wr*, étant son analogue égyptien).

4^e Vers. Le ciel est considéré comme la demeure (*οἶκος*) des dieux béats (*θεῶν μακάρων*), qui se meut (*ὀδεύων*) en rotations (*δίναισιν*) d'une toupie virtuelle (*ῥόμβον*). Étant donné que les Orphiques connaissaient la vraie nature de la sphère céleste, l'on pourrait supposer qu'ils conçurent aussi l'idée de la précession de l'axe terrestre (qui prend place juste comme le mouvement composite d'une toupie). Cette même idée y est exprimée indirectement, si l'on prend en compte les références caractéristiques de l'*Hymne à la Nature* et de l'*Hymne à Gaia*. Il est également possible que les Orphiques eussent conçu l'idée d'un axe virtuel de rotation de la Terre autour d'elle-même; cet axe (*pôle*) n'est que le *sceptre* de Gaia, qu'elle porte en dominant l'Univers assise sur son trône cosmique³³. Le géocentrisme des Orphiques est ici bien évident.

²⁸ Voir Quandt 1973: 10, 22-23, " | ἀνάω στροφάλιγγι θοδὸν ῥύμα δινεύουσα, | πάνροντε, κυκλοτερής, ἀλλοτριμορφοδίαιτε, | ".

²⁹ Voir Quandt 1973: 26, 4, "ἔδρανον ἀθανάτου κόσμον".

³⁰ Voir Quandt 1973: 26: 8-9, "[...] | περιὶ ἣν κόσμος πολυδαίδαλος ἄστρον | εἰλεῖται φύσει ἀνάω καὶ ῥεύμασι δεινοῖς. | [...] ".

³¹ Voir Zhitomirsky 2003: 81.

³² Voir Quandt 1973: 83, 3, "ὄς περικυμαίνει γαίης περιέρονα κύκλον". Cf. aussi Martínez-Nieto 2000: 220 et n. 80.

³³ Voir Quandt 1973: 27, 4-5, " | σκηπτοῦχε κλεινοῖο πόλου, πολυώνυμε, σεμνή, | ἣ κατέχεις κόσμιο μέσον θρόνον, οὔνεκεν αὐτῇ | γαῖαν ἔχεις [...] | ".

5^e Vers. Ici le ciel est caractérisé comme le gardien (*φύλαξ*) à la fois céleste (*οὐράνιος*) et terrestre (*χθόνιος τε*), qui a tout entouré (*πάντων περιβληθείς*). Il s'agit donc d'une conception du ciel comme le divin élément cosmique qui englobe tout et garde tout, une idée trouvée aussi dans l'*Hymne à Atōn* du Roi Akhenaten (*ḥw-n-Itn*), où les mêmes principes sont rencontrés³⁴. Ces idées nous rappellent aussi le psaume hébraïque³⁵, qui a possiblement subi des influences égyptiennes. Enfin, l'expression *gardien terrestre* pourrait également signifier la protection métaphorique que le ciel offre à la terre en la touchant virtuellement dans un grand cercle sur l'horizon, entourant tout ce qui est visible.

6^e Vers. Le ciel est le porteur de la *nécessité cosmique* (forme archétypique de la Ma'at), nommée *Anagkē* (*Ἀνάγκη*), donc de la loi céleste insatiable (*ἄτλητος*) et perpétuelle, dominatrice de la Nature (*φύσεως*), portée par lui dans sa poitrine (*ἐν στέρνοισιν ἔχων*). Le firmament, image céleste de l'harmonie de la création, implique –par les mouvements réguliers et périodiques des corps célestes qui y sont visibles– l'ordre dans le Cosmos, qui est invincible à jamais.

7^e Vers. Il s'agit ici d'un autre vers aux idées cosmovisionnelles importantes. Le ciel est caractérisé comme *bleu-ciel* (*κτανόχρως*), *inapprivoisable* (*ἀδάμαστος*), *tout-variable* (*παναίολος*) et *continuellement changeant-de-face* (*αἰολόμορφος*). Ce dernier adjectif nous rappelle *ἀλλοτριμορφοδίαιτος*³⁶, un autre adjectif composite difficile à traduire par un seul mot dans n'importe quelle langage autre que la très riche langage hellénique. Il s'agit d'un mot exprimant la qualité pour le ciel de changer toujours de face à cause, soit: (i) de la rotation diurne de la Terre autour de son axe, qui crée la séquence journalière du jour et de la nuit (les Orphiques connaissaient ce phénomène); (ii) de la rotation annuelle terrestre autour du Soleil, qui crée le mouvement apparent du Soleil sur l'écliptique et le changement des saisons (les Orphiques connaissaient aussi ce phénomène astronomique, ainsi que l'utilisation de certaines étoiles pour leur navigation sur la mer et afin de déter-

³⁴ Voir *Grand Hymne à Atōn*: 2, 7, “*nb šnt nbt <in> Itn [...] stwt.k inhw.zn t3w [...]*”; pour une traduction, cf. Grandet 1995: 98-101; Lichtheim 1976: 96 ff.

³⁵ Voir *Psalms*: 104, 2, “*amictus lumine sicut vestimento, extendens caelum sicut velum*”.

³⁶ Voir Quandt 1973: 10, 23; cf. aussi la n. 28, *supra*.

miner l'heure pendant la nuit³⁷); (iii) de la précession des Équinoxes (il semble possible que les Orphiques connaissaient ce phénomène, ayant incorporé dans leur tradition astronomique les observations d'au moins 1000 ans avant leur ère); (iv) du changement de la latitude géographique, qui n'est pas seulement responsable des phénomènes météorologiques différents, mais aussi de la capacité de pouvoir observer des constellations différentes quand on se meut considérablement vers le Nord ou vers le Sud d'une latitude moyenne comme celle d'Hellas (les Orphiques étaient aussi au courant de ce cas; cela devient évident, dès qu'on considère les voyages dans divers pays, au moins dans la région de la Méditerranée, mentionnés par les Orphiques³⁸). Toutes les idées précédentes sont évidentes quand on considère les hymnes dédiés au Soleil, à la Lune, ainsi qu'aux étoiles³⁹. À noter enfin l'observation des Orphiques concernant la couleur du ciel pendant le jour (bleu-ciel), qui est expliquée –selon la Physique moderne– par la loi de la dispersion de Rayleigh, ainsi que le changement du “visage céleste” à cause des différents phénomènes météorologiques qui prennent place dans l'atmosphère. L'utilité de celle-ci et l'importance de l'air pour la vie fut comprise par les Orphiques⁴⁰, comme c'était le cas pour les Égyptiens⁴¹.

8^e Vers. Voici un vers sans valeur astronomique particulière. Le dieu céleste y est caractérisé comme tout-voyant (*πανδερχής*), père du dieu Kronos (*Κρονότεκνος*), dieu fort puissant (*πανυπέριστατος δαίμων*) et béat (*μάκαρ*). Du point de vue cosmovisionnel, il faut remarquer que le ciel est tout-voyant, car il se place en haut, ayant donc un des traits principaux d'une divinité cosmique. L'adjectif *πανδερχής*, utilisé aussi à la fois pour le Soleil⁴² et pour

³⁷ Cf. e.g.: *Αργοναυτικά*: 538-539, 1031.

³⁸ Voir *Αργοναυτικά*: 103 (Égypte et Libye); 1051 (Caucase); 1078 (Scythie); 1174 (Océan Atlantique); 1249 (Gibraltar, Stèles d'Hercule); or dans une zone de ~ 15° sur la globe terrestre.

³⁹ Voir Quandt 1973: 8 et 34, 9, 7. Pour leur étude détaillée, voir Maravelia 2006: chap. IV, §§ 2.1-3.1.

⁴⁰ Voir Quandt 1973: 16, 5.

⁴¹ Cf. l'expression *souffle de vie* (*tʿw n ʿnh*) et voir Bickel 1994: 220 et n. 26. Il y a des Chapitres convenables dans le *BD*, qui gratifieraient aux défunts l'action de la respiration humaine, si indispensable pour la vie [cf. e.g.: *BD*, 56 (*pBM 10477*, papyrus de Nu, c. 1400 BCE; voir Budge 1898: 127)].

⁴² Voir Quandt 1973: 8, 1; 34, 8.

la Lune⁴³, est indicatif du fait que le ciel –comme les astres du jour et de la nuit– peut “voir” tout de “là-haut” où il se trouve.

9^e Vers. L’hymne se termine avec une invocation au dieu céleste (Ouranos), afin qu’il veuille écouter (*κλῦθι*) la prière d’un mystique (*μύστη*) nouveau converti (*νεοφάντη*), en lui apportant (*ἐπάγων*) une vie sainte (*ζωὴν ὁσίαν*).

III. LE CIEL SELON LA COSMOVISION ÉGYPTIENNE

Les Égyptiens visualisaient Nūt en principe sous la forme humaine d’une femme céleste [voir Fig. 2], mais elle fut aussi représentée comme un bovidé divin (comme une vache céleste⁴⁴), ou même comme une abeille maniant un pouvoir considérable des dieux⁴⁵. La déesse du ciel s’unit avec son frère et époux Geb (*Gb*), dieu de la Terre⁴⁶, dans une hiérogamie archétypique supersubstantielle, afin de donner naissance à deux paires accouplées de divinités, soit: Isis (*Ist*)⁴⁷ et Osiris (*Wsir*)⁴⁸, Nephthys (*Nbt-Hwt*)⁴⁹ et Seth (*Stj*)⁵⁰, appartenant au cycle mythologique osirien et conceptualisant les principes de la monarchie pharaonique⁵¹ et de la régénération périodique de

⁴³ Voir Quandt 1973: 9, 7. Sur le vers 8 de cet hymne, voir aussi la fin de la n. 6, *supra*.

⁴⁴ Sur la synthèse funéraire connue sous le nom du *Livre de la Vache Céleste* et sa mythologie, voir Maystre 1941: 53-115; Piankoff 1977: 26-37 et 142-143; Hornung 1982: 81-85; Hornung 1999: 148-151; Bickel 1994: 194.

⁴⁵ Voir *PT*, 431, § 781a: 62; *PT*, 444, § 824a, 101: “*h̄.n.t m bit*”; voir aussi Hart 1986: 143. Cf. quand même Billing 2002: 98, 102-103.

⁴⁶ Voir *LÄ* II, 1977: 427-429, art. “Geb”; Lurker 1986: 54, art. “Geb”. Cf. aussi *BMD* 1996: 108-109, art. “Geb”; Ndigi 1996: 49-70.

⁴⁷ Voir *LÄ* III, 1980: 186-203, art. “Isis”; Lurker 1986: 71-72, art. “Isis”; Hart 1986: 101-107, art. “Isis”; cf. aussi Bleeker 1990 (pour une étude comparative entre Isis et Hathor); *BMD* 1996: 142-143, art. “Isis”.

⁴⁸ Voir Griffiths 1970; Griffiths 1980; *LÄ* IV, 1982, 623-633, art. “Osiris”; *BMD* 1996: 213-215, art. “Osiris”.

⁴⁹ Voir Altenmüller 1975: 92-94; *LÄ* IV, 1982, 457-460, art. “Nephthys”; Lurker 1986: 86, art. “Nephthys”; Hart 1986: 136, art. “Nephthys”; *BMD* 1996: 201-202, art. “Nephthys”.

⁵⁰ Voir te Velde 1977a. Cf. aussi Lurker 1986: 109-110, art. “Seth”.

⁵¹ Voir Tobin *et al.* 2001: 472-476; Hart 1990: 29-41.

la Nature⁵², tantôt au niveau terrestre tantôt au niveau céleste (qui se lie aux cycles des astres). En plus, Nūt fut aussi conçue comme une conceptualisation concrète de la Voie Lactée, s'allongeant tout au long du firmament comme une bande d'étoiles d'une lueur faible mais facilement visible pendant les nuits sans Lune. La représentation symbolique de Nūt comme une jeune fille qui nage tenant une oie (appartenant aux ustensiles des objets de toilette⁵³, comme les cuillers à fard, à onguent, etc.) doit être comprise dans le même contexte archétypique. Or, il s'agit d'une allusion virtuelle à la Galaxie/Nūt et de sa relation à la constellation du Cygne, comme la Voie Lactée et cet astérisme se projettent apparemment sur la voûte céleste⁵⁴. Cependant, Nūt est plus fréquemment représentée sous forme d'une jeune déesse arquant son corps nu au-dessus de la Terre (qui –quant à elle– est représentée par Geb couché sur le sol) et séparée de lui par Shū. Bien que les coutumes iconographiques de la peinture funéraire égyptienne dépeignent Nūt en courbant son corps au dessus de la Terre, ses bras et ses pieds étant toujours serrés, la conception actuelle que les Égyptiens se faisaient d'elle était qu'à la fois ses doigts et ses orteils touchaient les quatre points cardinaux sur l'horizon, donnant naissance à l'idée des *quatre piliers du ciel*⁵⁵ (*shnwt nt pt 4*). La séparation mythologique⁵⁶ de Nūt et de Geb par le dieu Shū, faisant une allusion virtuelle –comme nous croyons– à l'apparition des structures cosmiques plus réglées après la création de notre système solaire (selon la cosmogonie et les

⁵² Voir Tobin *et al.* 2001: 464-468 et 469-472.

⁵³ Cf. e.g.: CG 45117 (= JE 28737) au Musée du Caire; N 1725a au Musée du Louvre.

⁵⁴ Voir Kozloff 1992: 331-348; Kozloff 1993: 169-176 (suggestion préliminaire sur ce thème). À noter: *pas nécessairement* comme nous apercevons la constellation du Cygne aujourd'hui [voir Fig. 4].

⁵⁵ Voir *Urk.*, IV, 620: 16, pour une référence à la *Stèle Poétique* de Tuthmosis III. Sur les idées semblables des Orphiques, voir Ὀρφενὺς πρὸς Μουσαῖον, 39: “Κόσμου τε μέρη τετρακίονος ἀδῶ”, où l'*hymnōdos* invoque les parts du monde aux quatre piliers.

⁵⁶ Voir *CT*, II, 78, §§ 19a-19b: “*ink b3i šw, rdy n.f Nwt tpt, Gb hr rdwy.f(y); ink imy-tw.sn*” [B2C]; *CT*, II, 80, § 39f: “*m wpt.f Gb r Nwt*” [B2C]. Voir te Velde 1977b: 161-170; pour des remarques importantes, voir Bickel 1994: 182 ff et 188-189.

mythes relatifs⁵⁷), est la source possible de l'interprétation hellénique⁵⁸ de la délivrance pénible de Nūt des ses bébés divins. Par conséquent, l'idée égyptienne que la déesse céleste avalait quotidiennement le dieu solaire et son entourage, afin de le faire naître l'aube prochaine, fut la source du mythème selon lequel Geb était en colère envers son épouse, pour avoir mangé ses enfants. Dans le cénotaphe du Pharaon Sety I à Abydos⁵⁹, cette action "cannibalique" de Nūt est comparée à celle d'une truie qui mange ses cochons. En effet, la relation entre Nūt et le dieu solaire Rē' constituait un élément fondamental de la mythologie de la déesse céleste⁶⁰: elle dévorait le disque solaire au moment du coucher, pour le faire renaître de nouveau le matin suivant, dans le contexte des périodiques répétitions des phénomènes astronomiques. Le Soleil, quant à lui, traversait le ciel sur le corps de Nūt dans ses barques divines en illuminant la Terre; après son coucher, il portait la lumière aux ténèbres de la *Douat* (*Dw3t*) et à ses habitants⁶¹, en combattant victorieusement contre les forces chaotiques et en portant la vie aux défunts. Le symbolisme de Nūt comme une déesse funéraire, tutélaire des décédés dans l'au-delà⁶², est aussi explicable et compréhensible dans ce contexte mythologique, en termes de sa relation très vitale avec le Soleil. Or, comme déesse funéraire, elle: (i) représente le sarcophage⁶³, conceptualisé comme un "cocon amniotique" qui donne virtuellement naissance à une nouvelle existence; (ii) est considérée comme une déesse des arbres⁶⁴, qui offre des libations aquatiques, rafraîchissant les morts dans le paradis. Dans son

⁵⁷ Sur ces mythes, voir Bickel 1994: 182-188; Tobin *et al.* 2001: 469. Cela ne signifie en aucun cas que les Égyptiens connaissaient l'existence de notre système solaire, car leur niveau d'approche envers les phénomènes naturels restait toujours au niveau pré-scientifique (pour une discussion détaillée avec des comparaisons philosophiques, voir Maravelia 2006: 379-381 et 392-412).

⁵⁸ Pour une allusion, cf. Ploutarchos, *Περὶ Ἰσιδος καὶ Ὀσίριδος*, 12: 355^D-356^A.

⁵⁹ Voir Frankfort 1933: I, 72-86 et II, pls. LXXXI-LXXXV. Pour le texte dramatique dans le cénotaphe du Roi Sety I, voir *EAT* 1960: chap. 2 et tabs. 44-51. Nūt est aussi représentée dans l'intérieur du sarcophage en calcaire de Sety I (voir Reeves et Wilkinson 1997: 137).

⁶⁰ Voir Posener 1992: 192.

⁶¹ Voir Piankoff 1934: 57-61.

⁶² Sur le rôle funéraire de Nūt, voir Rusch 1922.

⁶³ Voir Lurker 1986: 90.

⁶⁴ Pour Nūt, déesse de la sycomore (*nbt-nht*) et les déesses des arbres en général, voir Buhl 1947: 80-97.

rôle archétypique d'une divine *mater deorum hominumque*, elle personnifie le berceau universel pour la résurrection *post mortem*, en protégeant, en nourrissant et en donnant naissance aux humains décédés, comme il devient évident à partir de nombreux textes et représentations d'elle, comme une déesse aux ailes ouvertes qui s'étendent (en protection) autour des morts, sur d'innombrables sarcophages datant de différentes périodes historiques⁶⁵. En plus, dans les *corpora* des textes funéraires (*PT*, *CT*, *BD*)⁶⁶, Nūt apparaît comme la mère tendre qui accepte et étreint le roi dans l'au-delà, dont l'union à elle "en son nom de sarcophage" –en tant qu'euphémisme– nie la mort, tout en transposant l'existence du défunt du monde terrestre mortel à la sphère céleste de l'immortalité et des dieux, dont Nūt fut considérée comme la mère (*mwt ntrw*). Or, la déesse du ciel n'était que l'échelle⁶⁷ virtuelle allégorique, transportant chaque mort transfiguré du *bas* (*inferius*) vers le *haut* (*superius*), de la Terre vers le Ciel. L'on rencontre des représentations semblables de Nūt, suivant les traits généraux de cette métaphysique et de cette cosmovision, sur les toits des divers temples tardifs datant de la Période Ptolémaïque⁶⁸, ainsi que sur les toits des tombes royales du Nouvel Empire, particulièrement de certains tombeaux ramessides datant de la XX^e Dynastie, qui se trouvent dans la Vallée des Rois sur la côte ouest de

⁶⁵ Voir, entre autres: (i) le sarcophage inscrit de la Princesse 'Ankh–nes–nefer–ib–Rē' (*ḥnh-ns-nfr-ib-R'*), dans Sander–Hansen 1937; (ii) le sarcophage élaboré d'Iret–Hor–er–u (*Irt-Hr-r-w*), dans Sadek 1990: 85-98; (iii) les cercueils ptolémaïques anthropoïdes de Thau (*T3w*) et de Ta–khered–Min (*T3-hrd-Mnw*), dans Maravelia et Kladaki–Manoli 2003: 5-20.

⁶⁶ Voir e.g.: *PT*, **1**: § 1a; *PT*, **6**: § 4a; *PT*, **222**, § 208b: 291; *PT*, **364**, §§ 616d-616f: 268; *PT*, **427**, § 777a: 61; *PT*, **446**, § 825a: 103; *PT*, **447**, §§ 834b-836a: 109-10; *PT*, **485**, §§ 1025a-1025d: 204⁺⁸-204⁺⁹; *PT*, **588**, §§ 1607a-1608b: 69; *PT*, **690**: §§ 2107a: 993. Voir en plus: *CT*, **I**, 44: § 191c; *CT*, **I**, 60: § 248f; *CT*, **VI**, 644: §§ 264a-264b; *CT*, **VII**, 792: §§ 3g-3j; *CT*, **VII**, 920: § 125g; et c. *BD*: **15**: *passim*; **59**; **181-82**: *passim*. Cf. aussi Altenmüller 1972: 26-28 (*CT Spells* pour Nūt); Billing 2002; Billing 2003: 129-136 (sur Nūt dans les *PT*). Sur les textes funéraires égyptiens (en general et concernant leurs idées astronomiques), voir Sethe 1908-10; Mercer 1952; Faulkner 1998; Berger–'el-Nagar *et al.* 2001; Krauss 1997; de Buck 1935-61; Barguet 1968; Faulkner 1973-78; Wallin 2002; Naville 1971; Allen 1960; Allen 1974; Barguet 1967; Faulkner 1993; Faulkner et Goelet 1998. Pour une analyse assez détaillée des passages donnés dans cette note, veuillez voir le livre de l'auteur Maravelia 2006: chap. III et V, *passim*.

⁶⁷ Voir *PT*, **271**: § 390a; *PT*, **667**: § 1941d; *CT*, **I**, 62: §§ 270e-270f; *CT*, **V**, 470: §§ 399e-399f; *CT*, **VI**, 769: §§ 402j-402r. Sur l'association du dieu Shū à l'échelle cosmique/intermédiaire entre le ciel et la terre pour les défunts, cf. Bickel 1994: 192-193. Sur les relations proposées avec les idées chrétiennes [voir Fig. 3], cf. Maravelia 2003b: 58 et n. 19; Maravelia 2004: Chapitre V et n. 42; Corrigan 1997: 376-377 et fig. 247.

⁶⁸ Voir Daumas 1951: 373-400.

Thèbes⁶⁹. Ces peintures, à la fois métaphysiques et astronomiques, sont en principe accompagnées de la représentation iconographique et textuelle du voyage nocturne du dieu solaire et de son passage par l'Hadès, un mytheme qui forme le sujet des diverses compositions funéraires, comme *Le Livre des Heures*⁷⁰ et *Le Livre Im-Dw3t*⁷¹, tandis que *Le Livre du Jour*⁷² et *Le Livre de la Nuit*⁷³, ainsi que *Le Livre de Nūt*⁷⁴, sont aussi des éléments contextuels très communs.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

Nous avons étudié en parallèle un hymne orphique, dédié à Ouranos et les conceptions égyptiennes sur la divinité céleste Nūt. Voilà les conclusions principales de notre étude comparative.

Après l'étude scrupuleuse de l'*Hymne Orphique à Ouranos*, il devient évident que la conception que les Orphiques se faisaient du ciel présente un aspect multiple. En effet, le ciel était considéré à la fois comme, soit: (i) une ancestrale divinité cosmique, toute puissante, ayant inclus les traits spécifiques d'une certaine cosmogonie: Ouranos, personnification du Ciel et du Cosmos était la source de la création; (ii) le firmament étoilé, riche en sources astrales lumineuses, donc le lieu-scène de leur mouvement périodique; (iii) la voûte céleste, comme une sphère virtuelle qui englobe la Terre (qui se trouve en son centre) et tourne perpétuellement autour d'elle, en mouvement d'une infinie toupie cosmique, étant responsable de divers phénomènes astronomiques (rotation annuelle et diurne de la Terre, précession, changement avec le lieu géographique, etc.) ou météo-

⁶⁹ Voir Porter et Moss 1960-64. Pour une introduction à la Vallée des Rois, voir Hornung 1990; Reeves et Wilkinson 1997. Il y a aussi des représentations murales de Nūt, suivant la typologie des déesses funéraires qui accueillent et purifient le défunt dans l'au-delà, comme celle de la tombe de Tut'ankhamūn (cf. Reeves 1990: 73); sur KV 2 (Ramesses IV), KV 6 (R IX) et KV 9 (R VI), voir aussi Maravelia 2003b: 59-62.

⁷⁰ Voir Faulkner 1958.

⁷¹ Voir Hornung 1963-67.

⁷² Cf. Piankoff 1942; Hornung 1999: 116-122.

⁷³ Voir Piankoff 1942; Hornung 1999: 122-135.

⁷⁴ Pour une édition complète avec des commentaires et traduction, voir *EAT* 1960: chap. 2 et tabs. 44-51; cf. en plus Hornung 1999: 113-116. Sur le voyage nocturne du dieu solaire et Nūt, voir Piankoff 1934: 57-61.

rologiques (nuages, précipitations, changement de la couleur du ciel pendant la journée, etc.), qui sont liés au changement continu de la forme céleste; et (iv) porteur-gardien de la Loi Universelle, qui implique l'harmonie céleste et se lie à la conception de la Ma'at. L'utilisation de certains termes astronomiques et cosmovisionnels dans cet hymne implique un cadre non seulement religieux, mais aussi astronomique (au niveau proto-scientifique).

Après une brève introduction sur la mythologie et les propriétés divines de Nūt (déesse funéraire, tutélaire des décedés dans l'au-delà, dont le symbolisme est aussi compréhensible en des termes de sa relation vitale au Soleil, une divinité céleste qui n'était que l'échelle virtuelle allégorique, transportant chaque mort transfiguré de la Terre vers le Ciel, une conception qui a peut-être passée dans la théologie chrétienne [voir Fig. 3]), nous avons aussi discuté brièvement sa relation avec la Galaxie. À partir de notre étude des textes funéraires (*PT*, *CT*, *BD*) il devient évident que Nūt fut conçue à la fois comme la voûte céleste [*pt*, *pdt*, *bi3(yt)*, *hr(y)t*] et comme une conceptualisation concrète de la Voie Lactée s'allongeant tout au long du firmament [voir Fig. 4]. La relation entre Nūt et la Voie Lactée a été évoquée par Arielle Kozloff dans deux articles⁷⁵, avec lesquels nous sommes d'accord en général sur la plupart de ses idées, mais nous avons commenté ailleurs quelques points erronés qui sont rencontrés⁷⁶.

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⁷⁵ Voir Kozloff 1992: 331-348; Kozloff 1993: 169-176.

⁷⁶ Cf. e.g.: Maravelia 2003b: 66-70; Maravelia 2004: chap. V, § 1.2.

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AN EPIGRAPHIC REANALYSIS OF TWO STELAE FROM FIRST INTERMEDIATE PERIOD DENDERA IN THE CAIRO MUSEUM*

TRACY MUSACCHIO
tmusacch@sas.upenn.edu

*Department of Near Eastern Language and Civilizations
University of Pennsylvania, USA*

Summary: An Epigraphic Reanalysis of Two Stelae from First Intermediate Period Dendera in the Cairo Museum

As the Old Kingdom weakened and the Memphite court lost power, there was a shift in the way in which wealth was redistributed throughout Egypt. This shift gave more power to nomarchs, who were able to usurp more and more formerly royal prerogatives for themselves through titulary and phraseology. The site of Dendera, in Middle Egypt, was an important regional center during Egypt's First Intermediate Period. The history of the First Intermediate Period shows that, in the absence of a cohesive and unified state, regional centers vied for power. Alliances were based on geography, access to resources, and (on occasion) aggressive action. There are no overt references, either at Dendera or contemporaneously from another site, to aggression involving Dendera. However, Dendera was certainly affected by the power struggles which governed in the absence of a unified leadership. Two First Intermediate Period autobiographical fragments from Dendera, currently in Cairo, help shed light on the political situation through epigraphic/paleographic clues and through explicit content. This paper offers a rereading of these inscriptions, JE 32139 and JE46048.

Keywords: Dendera – First Intermediate Period – epigraphy – funerary stelae

Resumen: Un nuevo análisis epigráfico de dos estelas de Dendera del Primer Período Intermedio en el Museo de El Cairo

En la medida en que el Reino Antiguo se debilitó y la corte menfita perdió poder, hubo un cambio en el modo en el que la riqueza se redistribuyó a través de Egipto.

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Este cambio dio más poder a los nomarcas, quienes pudieron usurpar más y más prerrogativas regias para ellos mismos, a través del uso de la titulación y fraseología propias de los reyes. El sitio de Dendera, en el Egipto medio, fue un importante centro regional durante el Primer Periodo Intermedio egipcio. La historia del Primer Periodo Intermedio muestra que, en ausencia de un Estado cohesionado y unificado, los centros regionales rivalizaban por el poder. Las alianzas estaban basadas en la geografía, el acceso a los recursos y (en ocasiones) en acciones agresivas. No existen referencias manifiestas de agresión relacionadas con Dendera, ni en la misma Dendera ni en otro sitio contemporáneo. Sin embargo, Dendera fue por cierto afectada por las luchas de poder que se produjeron en ausencia de un liderazgo único. Dos fragmentos de inscripciones autobiográficas pertenecientes al Primer Período Intermedio, provenientes de Dendera -que actualmente se encuentran en El Cairo- ayudan a echar luz sobre la situación política por medio de pistas paleográficas y epigráficas y a través de su contenido explícito. Este trabajo ofrece una relectura de estas inscripciones, denominadas JE 32139 y JE 46048.

Palabras clave: Dendera – Primer Período Intermedio – epigrafía – estelas funerarias

This paper is a look at two inscriptions, Journal d'Entrée (JE) 32139 and JE 46048, currently in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo which were found at Dendera and can be paleographically and archaeologically dated to the later half of Egypt's First Intermediate Period. These inscriptions are interesting for their epigraphy, their inscriptional content, and their significance to the historical context from which they came. Dendera's place in the warfare that divided Egypt during the First Intermediate Period is not clear, but an examination of some relevant texts provides evidence that Dendera played a larger role than typically suspected.

The site of Dendera, in Upper Egypt, is one of the better preserved sites with First Intermediate Period remains, and it has also given us one of the most extensive collections of inscribed material dating from the period. The First Intermediate Period cemetery at Dendera lies unprotected in the area behind the Late Period temple to Hathor. The cemetery as excavated¹ spans

¹ Excavations were conducted at Dendera initially in 1898 by Sir Flinders Petrie, excavating on behalf of the Egypt Exploration Fund (EEF). Petrie was joined late in his season by Charles Roshier of the American Exploration Society (AES). Although Petrie published his reports promptly in two monographs (Petrie 1900a and Petrie 1900b), Roshier's records were never published. Dendera remained untouched until the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, sponsored by the Coxe Fund and lead by Clarence Fisher, resumed excavations

a wide area: from immediately behind the temple to the base of the *gebel* north to south (about one-third of a mile), and about two-thirds of a mile east to west. All of the architecture and the vast majority of finds from this area date from the period beginning at the end of the Old Kingdom and continuing through the entirety of the First Intermediate Period.²

The causes of the collapse of the Old Kingdom are well beyond the scope of this paper, but the collapse had been developing slowly in the provinces before the Old Kingdom officially ended. Once elite burials began to appear at Dendera as of the end of the Fifth Dynasty, evidence to attest to the impact of the royal capital on daily life in the provinces is minimal and life likely continued unchanged for the citizens of Dendera.³ The Seventh and Eighth Dynasties represent this dissolving Old Kingdom monarchy, when Dendera was still under Memphite control. The Ninth and Tenth Dynasties are named for the Heracleopolitan rulers who established a monarchy of their own in the northern half of the country, but this monarchy ultimately failed. Rebellions, primarily in the southern half of the country and nearly always centering around Thebes, led to the eventual reunification of the country under Theban rule in the Eleventh Dynasty. The Theban rulers defeated the Heracleopolitans, united the country under a single monarchy, and founded the Middle Kingdom.

in 1915. Three seasons of work were conducted by the University Museum, and the full results of their excavations were never published. Two dissertations from the University of Pennsylvania (Fischer 1955, later published as Fischer 1968, and Slater 1974) have been written, treating the inscriptional and the archaeological finds separately.

²This article deals exclusively with the funerary remains excavated from the First Intermediate Period cemetery at Dendera. Although this cemetery was necessarily associated with a town, which is presumed to be in close proximity, the exact location and extent of the contemporaneous town is not known. The town site was assumed by Barry Kemp to have been located immediately to the east of the temple, within the temple enclosure (Kemp 1985). Recent ceramic surveys undertaken by the French team have expanded the First Intermediate Period greatly, with late Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period remains being spread throughout the surface of their surveyed area (See Marchand and Laisney 2000 and Marchand 2004).

³Denderite officials did hold positions of prominence in the Old Kingdom government, but prior to the end of the Fifth Dynasty, these individuals were largely buried near the royal capital (for instance *Mtn*, published in Urk. I 2.6 or *Ntr-ꜥpr.f* buried at Dahshur). The evidence for burials at Dendera dating prior to the end of the Fifth Dynasty is limited and is discussed in Fischer 1968: 14 ff.

What was Dendera's place during the conflicts of the later half of the First Intermediate Period? Dendera remained loyal to the Memphite Seventh and Eighth Dynasties, but its situation vis-à-vis the Heracleopolitans is unclear, and it may never have fallen under Heracleopolitan rule. The common argument suggests that Dendera was one of the first regions to accept the Theban rule at the onset of Theban aggression.⁴

This – that Dendera fell to Thebes almost immediately – was Henry Fischer's conclusion after studying the titulary at Dendera. Fischer traced the development of the titulary in the cemetery at Dendera as a means of understanding the chronology of the cemetery, and he provided a paleography that has proved essential for dating the material from Dendera. While Fischer's study is exemplary, he focused specifically and tightly on the major individuals who held elevated positions. There were more of these heavily-titled individuals during the earlier part of the Intermediate Period. In particular during the Eleventh Dynasty, lacking the centralized Memphite government, there are a surplus of private individuals with non-extraordinary titulary who create funerary stelae. Despite a lack of titles, these inscriptions can be extraordinary for the content and for what this content reveals in terms of daily life at Dendera during this crucial time. Both of the inscriptions which I am looking at today date from the later part of the Intermediate Period. A critical reading of these inscriptions for information beyond the top-down history provided by their titulary can reveal important information about Dendera's history.

With few exceptions and few clear archaeological or contextual clues, dating at Dendera is done through the changing paleography established by Fischer.⁵ In the first publication of the Dendera material, Sir Flinders Petrie's dating of the art and inscriptions was largely visual. He based his assessment on the material's deviation from the art of the expected earlier Old Kingdom Memphite corpus, and he then dismissed many of the Denderite inscriptions using loaded labels like "rude" or "laboured."⁶ The iconography and inscriptions of this period have

⁴ As argued throughout Fischer 1968. For instance, see n. 580 or p. 177.

⁵ The paleographic changes at Dendera were tracked throughout Fischer's work. See, for instance, Fischer 1968: figures 15 and 24-26.

⁶ Petrie's chronological designations included descriptions such as "Severe," "Good, early," "Corrupt VIth Dynasty," "Crowded inscriptions," "Widespread, coarse inscriptions," "Rude

since been shown to be provincial rather than simple.⁷ Far from being crude, the material shows a clear paleographic evolution across the First Intermediate Period.

The characteristic mark of the later part of the Intermediate Period, as first recognized by Henry Fischer,⁸ is that the citizens on the whole lack significant titles. Another indication is that the inscriptions, which include stelae, architraves, and lintels,⁹ can also show a slight degradation in quality that could be related to their significant increase in production.

In studying the two stelae discussed here, I was able to do direct tracings of the pieces onto vellum. I was allowed to photograph each piece; however, their placement in the storeroom and their immovability made proper lighting impossible and only detailed study photographs were taken. Also, I was allowed limited access to each stela, which made it necessary to do collations of the stelae from photographs or from my notes. There are few to no traces of paint remaining on the stelae from Dendera, and the stones which I was studying in Cairo were in excellent condition, which made direct tracing the most adequate method of epigraphic recording.

The first inscription that I will be considering is Cairo Journal d'Entrée (JE) number 32139, which is the more widely known of the two inscriptions. It is from the mastaba of *Sn-ndsw*, an individual with a significant number

and simple," "Laboured work. Simple inscriptions. Puffy faces," and concluded with, "Double lines. Finer work." See Petrie 1900a: 13.

⁷There is some discussion that the provincial style of the First Intermediate Period could have developed out of a so-called "Second Style," a Memphite style that developed in conjunction but separate from the royal school. Not enough work has been done on the Second Style at this point to speak about it with any confidence, and Russmann's work focused on three-dimensional representations. For more information, see Russmann 1995. Russmann's article, which was the first to propose this theory, has been readily adopted by scholars of the First Intermediate Period. For its manifestations, see for example Spanel 1996; Wildung 1999; or Robins 1990 (this work appeared prior to the publication of Russmann's article, but it deals solely with provincial art). Recent work by Stephen Seidlmayer on the archaeology of the First Intermediate Period is continually yielding more information about the archaeology and dating of the period. For instance, Seidlmayer 1990; Seidlmayer 2001; and Seidlmayer 2003.

⁸Fischer 1968: especially p. 177.

⁹Interestingly, tomb wall decoration seems to have been extremely infrequent at Dendera and the stelae are by-and-large limestone. This is fortunate for posterity in that many of the walls have been badly denuded, but a great number of limestone inscriptions are preserved.

of texts whom Fischer dated non-specifically to the “Dynasty IX and Later” period.¹⁰

The second of the two inscriptions, a natural complement to the first, is Cairo Journal d’Entrée number 46048. It has no Catalogue General (CG) number. It carries the University of Pennsylvania field number of D3128. This piece was found in the findspot of 13:483, which places it in a portion of the cemetery prevalent with Eleventh Dynasty texts. Other pieces found in the same tomb confirm the identity of the tomb owner as Hornakht. A brief communication by Aly Abdalla in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* published a line drawing of the stele with translation.¹¹ Although Abdalla’s 1993 article was the first proper publication of the inscription, Faulkner cites the inscription in his *Concise Dictionary*, published as early as 1962.¹²

With bands of hieroglyphs and no accompanying iconography, both of the inscriptions appear stylistically to have functioned as part of architraves, although lacking a clear architectural context, it is difficult to say with certainty.¹³ Architraves at Dendera were fairly uncommon and seem to have been limited exclusively to mastaba tombs¹⁴ rather than the (more common type of) tombs with a limited or non-existent superstructure. Mastabas at Dendera were few in number and were an indicator of wealth and elite status.¹⁵

The inscribed architraves were placed over the doorway of the mastaba in the facade which led into the offering chamber. They might have measured as much as 20 feet in length and could be comprised of several shorter

¹⁰ Petrie published the text on plate X of his work on Dendera, Schenkel translated it (Schenkel 1965: 142-143), and other scholars have touched on the stele periodically as appropriate.

¹¹ Abdalla 1993.

¹² Faulkner 1999: 196, under the reference for *hrwy*t (meaning war).

¹³ Because of how badly the walls at Dendera were denuded, none of the architectural pieces were found *in situ*. In many instances, such as that of the two pieces examined here, the pieces were found near to the place from where it is assumed that they came. The excavation cards, housed in the University of Pennsylvania Museum Archives, provide detailed descriptions of the findspots of the pieces.

¹⁴ Slater 1974: 324, says that they were “no doubt restricted to mastabas as is shown by the distribution pattern.”

¹⁵ Slater 1974: 128: “As its [a mastaba’s] size suggests, it was restricted to the more important and wealthy officials.”

sections.¹⁶ They do not seem to have had any actual function architecturally, but inscriptionally they provided the tomb owner with a slightly larger forum in which to record his deeds beyond the space provided by a typical funerary stele. At Dendera, funerary stele were most commonly fit into smaller offering niches and therefore had room only for a short inscription reserved for simple titles or *hṯp dj nsw* offering formulae occasionally complemented by biographical data.

JE 32139

The first inscription, JE 32139 (Fig. 1), shows three lines of hieroglyphic text, done in sunk relief, reading right to left. The right side of the stele is broken off (to an unknown length) and the left side is fully preserved. The first two registers of hieroglyphs show standard inscribed forms with fine interior detailing given to the hieroglyphs, but the last line is of a crowded style known from several other examples at Dendera.

The inscription reads as follows:

(1) [break]... my father Mrrj gave to me his house, and I found it consisting of rooms of bricks, it being (2) [break]... it in standing wood, in every wood, 10 being its height in cubits, with doors of (3) [break]... on cutting down; gardeners were making vegetables; overseers of the garden were planting sycamores. The nḏs man was protected because of his bow; every man was protected because of his works.¹⁷ I did this from then on, truthfully. This is not as is said in the "offices of the necropolis"...

The very last signs of the text are clear: *Sn-nḏsw* is mentioning his father *Mrrj*. The few signs before that are puzzling.¹⁸ This expression is not easy, but I would like to propose some new suggestions. The phrase Fischer originally suggested, is read *hr ʒgt*, with the foot-sign representing the hoof rather than

¹⁶ Slater 1974: 323-324.

¹⁷ In both instances, the verb is translated as a stative in the passive, introduced by *jw*, with *n* introducing the object.

¹⁸ Fischer 1968: 156 (i).

the letter *b*. However, most parallels of this expression typically use the ʕ biliteral sign, which this example does not.¹⁹

An alternative would be to understand the preceding statement as “*This is not as is said in the ‘offices of the necropolis,’ but immediately*”. The initial bird of the next word would not be an alef-bird, but instead *bʕ* (with the break in the text passing crucially through the neck). However, this word relates to being exhausted²⁰ and seems contextually inappropriate as relating to *Sn-ndsw*’s father *Mrrj*. A third possibility is that this word is related to either the verb to mourn²¹ or to a noun meaning overabundance.

Whatever the precise translation, that which *Sn-ndsw* is stressing remains the same: his action was truthful, immediate, and was taken on earth, in life. His actions, along with the actions of his father, resulted in the continued reliance of the Denderites in his ability to provide for them and to ensure that their daily lives continued unaffected.

On paleographic grounds, Henry Fischer dated this piece to the Ninth or Tenth Dynasties.²² Some of the features which caused him to come to this conclusion are immediately evident: for instance, the long tails on the letter *h* or the rounded back of the head on the *alef*-bird, whose indicating feature is typically his squared head. By his own paleography, both of these features indicate a non-specific date in the First Intermediate Period, with the long tail of the *h* suggesting the later part of the period. On contextual grounds, *Sn-ndsw* is the son of *Mrrj*, giving another clue towards dating.

Although there is much room for stylistic and creative variation, typically Egyptian hieroglyphs are read right to left. This is consistently true in the Denderite inscriptions.²³ The writings in several contemporaneous inscriptions,

¹⁹ This expression is uncommon, and none of the parallels are from Dendera.

²⁰ See Hannig 2003: 412-413 or Wb. I, 431.

²¹ Wb. I, 22 (13, 14).

²² For the purpose of this study, I am ignoring the fact that Dendera never fell to the Heracleopolitans and that, therefore, the notion of the “Ninth or Tenth Dynasty” is irrelevant at Dendera. Although most scholars would agree that there was significant chronological overlap between at least the Tenth (Heracleopolitan) and Eleventh (Theban) Dynasties, Henry Fischer’s historical designations, which seem to imply that the Seventh through Twelfth Dynasties happened sequentially, are used to avoid further confusion.

²³ An obvious exception to this statement are two stelae in the University Museum, 29-66-627 and E17809, which are written retrograde. Regarding 29-66-627, see Fischer 1986: 115. Penn E17809 is an unpublished fragment.

like that of the last line of this text of *Sn-ndsw*, appear cramped and almost jumbled. There is a decline in the quality, even within the same inscription, as the hieroglyphs grow smaller and more crowded. Although this style of writing can occur when a scribe is pressed for space at the end of a text, the scribes responsible for these inscriptions at Dendera seem to choose this style of writing intentionally and there are no indications that it is accidental. All of the 20 inscriptions that show this style of writing at Dendera date from the later part of the Intermediate Period.²⁴ The first appearance of this style of writing comes from *Mrrj*, the father of *Sn-ndsw*.²⁵ Several of the inscriptions come from the tomb of *Sn-ndsw*. The content of these inscriptions is standard biographical and does not differ from other inscriptions.

JE 46048

The second inscription, JE46048 (Fig. 2), is six registers of hieroglyphic text. It reads from right to left, and the right side is fully preserved. The left side of the text is broken off, although the length is likely fully preserved with only a few signs missing from the bottom registers. The break is jagged and more of the top two lines are lost than of the bottom four. There is very mild surface damage.

Regarding the man standing to the right of the stele, Abdalla surmised that it was most likely a later graffito although he conceded, citing Fischer, that the motif of a private person holding an *ankh* is otherwise attested.²⁶ Unfortunately, Abdalla was evidently unaware that after Fischer published an article citing the many reasons why the stele on which Abdalla based his comparison was unusual, he renounced the comparative stele as a forgery.²⁷

²⁴ These inscriptions are as follows: from Fisher's excavations, UM 29-66-589, 29-66-611, 29-66-608, 29-66-618, and the unpublished D628 (likely from the tomb of *Sn-ndsw-j*); from Petrie's excavations, Penn E17879; Penn E17325 (Petrie Pl. X, b2l); Manchester 2933 (Petrie Pl. VIIA, b12); Cairo CG 1666 (Petrie Pl. VIII, b12); Manchester 3307 (Petrie Pl. IX, br); Bolton 56.98 (Petrie Pl. IX, top); Chicago 5015 (Petrie Pl. X, t2r); Ashmolean 3927 (Petrie Pl. XI, bl); Edinburgh 1898.382.3 (Petrie Pl. XI, tr); Manchester 2891 (Petrie Pl. XIB, tr); Chicago 4625 (Petrie Pl. XIB, tl); and Chicago 5014 (Petrie Pl. XIB, t3l).

²⁵ See CG1666.

²⁶ Abdalla 1993: 249 and n. 5. The other attestation is in JE 88876.

²⁷ The stele in question is JE 88876. See Fischer 1973 and Fischer 1981a. In the 1973 article, Fischer gives a scant five examples of private figures holding the *ankh*-sign from the later First Intermediate Period, and stresses that this is uncommonly used for private individuals.

Having viewed JE 46048, I am not convinced that it is even an *ankh* which the figure is holding. The man standing to the right does seem to be a later graffito. He appears to be an unusual variation on a common Eleventh Dynasty motif, wherein a small cupbearer holds a hemispherical cup to the mouth or nose of the deceased person. This motif is echoed by another motif, that of a person holding a lotus flower to his own nose. Given no direct parallel for the motif seen in this stele, and given the popularity of the Hathor cult and subsequently the popularity of the site of Dendera throughout later Egyptian history, it seems highly possible that this graffito is a later addition.

Other pieces from the Dendera cemetery can also show graffiti of a similar style. JE 46050, for instance, has two *s3*-birds drawn in to the right of the deceased as he stands next to his wife. Were one of his sons pictured, the birds (both of which are the hieroglyph for “son”) would be written as a label, typically giving their names. These two tombs both date from the Eleventh Dynasty and were found in the same general vicinity of the cemetery, making it likely that they would have been exposed for a Middle Kingdom visitor to see and embellish. In both instances, the graffiti is present in the field photo (indicating that it was not a recent addition).

Returning to the inscription, the architrave reads as follows:

(1) The sole companion Hornakht says: I built the house of my father after I found it consisting of rooms (of bricks)... [break] (2) every door of 5 cubits. I raised up 50 columns therein. I built this tomb in the second year of building this house with my own crew of 30 nds men. The herdsman²⁸ was beside... [break](3) the herdsman were beside the swine,²⁹ and the washerman was washing. I gave grain to Dendera, all of it in its entirety, for 56 years, 400 measures each year, from the excess, during the hostility with the Thinite nome. I made boats... [break] (4) every mh3w boat with 46 oars. I made 12 large boats and 8 small boats. I gave bread to one who came hungry, and I gave sandals to one who came barefoot, water to one who came parched.³⁰ I gave

²⁸ This word, which I have translated as “herdsman,” is never fully written out, although it appears twice in this text. This translation follows Fischer 1968: n. 686 who follows Clère’s unpublished manuscript. Abdalla 1993: 250 also follows Fischer.

²⁹ Although the meaning is clear and the sign for the pig couldn’t be more clear, the reading of *š3jw* follows Fischer 1968 (using Clère’s notes) and Abdalla 1993.

³⁰ This word poses a great difficulty. Barring an extreme scribal error, the word is not a variant of *jbj*, to be thirsty. This reading is based on Abdalla’s suggestion, which is to consider it

grain to one who asked for grain, and I gave [clothes]... [break] (5) to one who asked for clothes, and I gave copper to one who asked for copper. I gave yarn and I gave linen flax. I never took it from them. Moreover, I gave female children to husbands. People were born because of it:³¹ with 24 heads, from 14 men to 12 women. Moreover, [I did this].(6) Moreover, I built houses for girls from my houses, myself. I gave a span of ox to one who asked for a span of ox, and I gave donkeys to one who asked for donkeys, and I gave a boat to one who asked for a boat. Moreover, I [did this.]

Looking at the example that carries from the end of line 4 through the beginning of line 5, it is clear that there are only a few signs missing off of the last few rows of text. The final line of the text ends abruptly, and may have continued onto another piece that has not been found or simply is to be read emphatically.

Something of note about this text is its reliance on hieratic signs. Abdalla gave examples of the hieraticized *ʿ*³² and *mj*³³ biliteral signs, but missed the first instance of the *ʿ* in line 3 (as did Fischer). The hieratic evidence does not necessarily suggest that there was a papyrus original, but it could have indicated an adaptation from a more crude original. Other unfinished pieces at Dendera³⁴ show that the original drawings or hieroglyphs were carved onto the stone, without grid lines, and embellished in the final steps, facilitating similar inadvertent copy errors.

Much of the content of this text is fairly standard. For instance, many First Intermediate Period stelae from Dendera detail the number and size of

a reading of the word *tʿ* (Abdalla 1993: 252 (j)). However, this still leaves the walking legs unaccounted for.

³¹ I have translated this verb form as a passive *sdm.f* with *rmtw* as the subject. There are obvious problems with this translation. Even the reading of the *ms* sign is uncertain. However, this translation more adequately considers the clear *t* than Abdalla's does.

³² Abdalla 1993: 252 (q).

³³ Abdalla 1993: 251 (g).

³⁴ These pieces include at least 29-66-586, 29-66-650, 29-66-664, 29-66-667, 29-66-676, 29-66-690, 29-66-695, 29-66-796, 29-66-807, E17743, E17748A, and E17748B. It seems from these examples that the hieroglyphs were carved first, since the majority of the unfinished examples show complete inscriptions but unfinished illustrations.

boats which the deceased claims to have built.³⁵ Also common in stelae of this period is the idea that he satisfied those townspeople who approached him with needs: giving clothing or food to those without, for instance. His inscription is somewhat unique in the length to which he goes in providing for these people, giving copper or donkeys, or even female children.

Both of these inscriptions, that of Hornkaht as well as that of *Sn-ndsw*, come from the tombs of elite individuals. Both of them stress their prosperity. Hornakht does so explicitly, by boasting of needs that he supplied to whomever asked. *Sn-ndsw* mentions his gardeners – certainly not standard for a middle or lower class home – and his sycamore trees – also a luxury item.

Both texts also insist that normal affairs were being conducted as expected, and both imply that the status quo was maintained through their actions and their own efforts.

Hornakht says that there was no interruption in the activities of the herdsman or the washerman. This is a direct counter to the opening lines of the (allegedly First Intermediate Period) text of the Admonitions of Ipuwer, whose initial lines suggest the disarray into which the nation has fallen, including the quote that “*the washerman does not think of carrying his load.*”³⁶

The last line of *Sn-ndsw*'s text is perhaps the most interesting. It begins with a similar boast that chores were being conducted as expected. By including this information in his funerary texts, he is attempting to take credit for the stable situation at Dendera with the result that the *nds*-man is able to protect himself, and every man is protected because of his own works. The offices of the necropolis to which *Sn-ndsw* refers is cited by Fischer, who credits Clère,³⁷ as an uncommon title given to someone after death that they do not hold in life. By using this title, *Sn-ndsw* is reiterating that the stable situation at Dendera is the result of actions which he actually did while alive and is not hyperbole.³⁸

Despite their best protestations to the contrary, the status quo was shifting. In stressing that life was continuing uninterrupted, both texts are

³⁵ For the *mḥ3w* boat in particular, Jones defines it as simply “a kind of boat.” Jones 1988: 139.

³⁶ Lichtheim 1973: 150.

³⁷ See Fischer 1968: 156 (h) and 145.

³⁸ As Fischer pointed out, this statement is paralleled by one written by his father *Mrrj*. See Fischer 1968: 142-143.

actually suggesting the possibility of a disrupted daily life. Hornakht refers to the disruption outright, mentioning the “war with Thebes.”

Many caveats apply when examining the Egyptian (or any) textual material in search of an underlying, historical truth. The texts from Dendera are a mixture of formulaic and novel statements. I would argue that, particularly regarding their attitudes toward warfare, the texts from First Intermediate Period Dendera show a clear development: the earlier texts bear no references to warfare and limited references to soldiery, and the later texts can include persons of military career or who list military-esque endeavors amongst their accomplishments. The absence of these later inclusions in earlier texts, along with their novelty, support that the biographical inscriptions (albeit often formulaic) are a depiction of what was occurring at Dendera at the point when they were written.

References to possible strife first appear in the texts of *Sn-ndsw*'s father, *Mrrj*. A text from his tomb, which slightly predates these examples, makes mention of the Nehesy-people of the desert,³⁹ a Nubian people who often acted as mercenaries for the Egyptians.⁴⁰ Although a mention of them is not necessarily explicitly warfare related,⁴¹ this is one of the many nearly contemporaneous suggestions that Dendera was engaging in battle.⁴² Another

³⁹ Fischer 1968: 138. The text itself appears in Petrie 1900b: Pl. VIII C.

⁴⁰ For more information, see Fischer 1961: 77. Fischer surmises that, at least at Gebelein, where the *Nhsy* set up several funerary stelae for themselves in a dress distinct from their native Egyptian neighbors, they “enjoyed considerable prestige among the Upper Egyptians at Gebelein on account of their prowess as hunters and warriors, and accordingly would have taken some pride in showing themselves as they actually looked.”

⁴¹ Fischer 1961: 78. Although he states this unequivocally, in fn. 86 he goes on to clarify slightly that the evidence is limited.

⁴² The text of *Mrrj* is a badly broken cornice piece (of which much has survived and can be reconstructed), and thereby its interpretation must be used sparingly. In at least one instance from stela Berlin 24302, from Gebelein (quoted in Fischer 1961, fig. 1), the author of the text uses the *Nhsy* people as a parallel for the Egyptians, indicating that the author was pre-eminent amongst *all* peoples, both Egyptians and foreigners. (However, the passage in question is of an unmistakably war-like context, reading, “...I was an excellent commoner who acted with his strong arm, one who was the foremost of his recruits... I surpassed this town in its entirety in swiftness – (both) its Nubians and its Upper Egyptians.” quoted in Fischer 1961: 48. Fischer points out on p. 52 that the last sentence of this inscription likely has a military context: “Swiftness is linked with military prowess in other inscriptions of the time.”) Problematic to this interpretation is Fischer’s assumption that *šmꜣy* is being used as a noun, describing Upper Egyptians, an otherwise unparalleled (but believable) use of the term which he defends on p. 52-53.

clue from the texts of *Mrrj* is his statement that he “*spoke up when the nobles were silent on the day of arousing fear.*”⁴³ Another fragment from *Mrrj*’s inscriptions also mentions building a fortress, and (according to Fischer) “*a small fragment that seems to belong to the same inscription shows the [Nḥsy determinative] sign at the end of a segment.*”⁴⁴

That both of these inscriptions include references to the *nds* man is no coincidence. As an adjective, *nds* means small, but it can also designate a type of person. Translations have varied from the literal “small man” to suggestions of *nds* as an indicator of “economic independence”⁴⁵ or a “private citizen[] without titles.”⁴⁶ The *nds* man primarily appears in autobiographical texts and primarily in two circumstances: either as a self-identification, or a designation of a group of people with whom the speaker does not relate.⁴⁷

In both of these inscriptions, the author refers to the *nds* man as either one who has done his tomb building (in the case of Hornakht), or as one who has protected himself (in *Sn-ndsw*’s text) – both falling into the category of *nds* men which does not include the speaker. *Sn-ndsw* even contrasts “the *nds* man” with “every man.” Intriguingly, the name of *Sn-ndsw* means “Brother of *nds* men.”⁴⁸ Of the known individuals at Dendera, *Sn-ndsw*’s name is the earliest onomastic reference to the *nds* man. *Nds* appears in names at Dendera only four times: one example is *Sn-ndsw*, another is his son *Sn-ndsw*. The next two are women, also dating from this period, both named *Bbj-nds*.

The *nds* man also appears at Dendera in an unparalleled Eleventh Dynasty example, on a sarcophagus of *Bb*. One entry into a list reads, “*making less the officials and advancing the ndsw.*”⁴⁹

⁴³ quoted in Brovarski 1989: 714.

⁴⁴ Fischer 1968: 140.

⁴⁵ Loprieno 1996.

⁴⁶ Literally “Bürger = amtlose Privatleute,” by Assmann as quoted in Franke 1998: 33.

⁴⁷ All of the varying translations and a summary of the ideas behind the *nds* man can be found in Franke 1998. Another lengthy interpretation of the *nds* man can be found in Moreno García 1997 on p. 32ff. Additionally, a recent mention of the *nds* man in a context quite similar to these can be found in Silverman 2006.

⁴⁸ One suggestion, that *Sn-ndsw*’s name could possibly mean “younger brother,” is unlikely. Number agreement would be expected between the singular “brother” and the plural adjective “younger.”

⁴⁹ Columns 37-38 of his sarcophagus inscription, reproduced in Petrie 1900a: Pl. XXXVII. Fischer takes this list to be “*a list of things or incidents that concern the goddess*”; Fischer 1968: 183.

The *nds*-man can also have a military significance. Contemporaneously at Naga ed-Der, one man refers to himself as “a *nds*-man skilled in battle.”⁵⁰ Another common epithet refers to “an excellent *nds* man who acted with his arm.”⁵¹ The Hatnub graffiti include references to the recruiting of soldiers, specifically men who are *nds*-men.⁵²

At Dendera, a final intriguing mention of the *nds* man distinctly relates him to warfare and fighting. One stele’s Eleventh Dynasty author specifically clarifies that the *nds* men are being involved in warfare, saying that the stela owner⁵³ prepared the vanguard of the troops, supplying it with all the strong *nds* men. Not only did *Sbk-nht* prepare the troops, but he fought amongst them.

The only other allusions to warfare at Dendera are similarly from this period. Two of *Sn-nds*w’s eight sons both hold the title “overseer of the house of soldiers.” These are the only two examples of this title.⁵⁴ A third son of *Sn-nds*w is similarly “overseer of the house and the gate of the soldiers.” This third son, named *Sbk-nht*, may be the same individual who prepared the vanguard of the troops. Another Eleventh Dynasty individual, *Nwj*, held the title of “overseer of soldiers.”⁵⁵

Hornakht’s mentions of caring for young girls, both finding them husbands and providing them with houses, also could be interpreted as a sign of warfare.⁵⁶ The men who would ordinarily be responsible for these young women are unable to care for them.

⁵⁰ Brovarski 1989: 622-623.

⁵¹ Fischer 1981b: 61. Moreno García 1997: 36 n. 105 discusses this epithet at length. His conclusion is that it does not imply actual, physical strength, but instead personal autonomy. Moreno García also traces the epithet’s usage through the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period and analyzes the common metaphorical usage of the arm as a rhetorical device in ancient Egypt.

⁵² Doxey 1998: 196.

⁵³ As translated by Silverman 2006.

⁵⁴ Fischer 1968: 164.

⁵⁵ Military titles in general are not uncommon during the First Intermediate Period, and at times seem from their positioning in lists of titulary to suggest that these functions were common to provincial dignitaries of the time. For instance, to give one example of several similar, *W3hj* of El-Hagarsa has two titles: *h3ty-ꜥ* and *jmy-r mꜥꜥ*. See Kanawati 1995 Vol. III, p. 11 (with discussion following).

⁵⁶ It is necessary to point out that the motif of the strong caring for the weak is a commonly used literary device in ancient Egypt, especially in autobiographical texts (which tend towards

The directly relevant section of Hornakht's inscription, however, is the part in which he states that he gave grain to Dendera during the war with the Thinite nome. One thing to note is that the preposition which he uses is *hn^c*, or "together with," and that this cannot be translated as "at war with the Thinite nome," meaning "at war against the Thinite nome," as we would use in English. The war was not *against* the Thinite nome but, presumably, fought together with or alongside. However, it is likely that this was a part of the wars against Thebes, which were increasing in intensity over the course of the later Intermediate Period.

Another clue to Dendera's involvement in this warfare comes from the tomb of Ankhtifi. Ankhtifi, a southern nomarch of the First Intermediate Period, recorded a lengthy biographical inscription in his tomb detailing the military exploits which he took against the Theban and Coptite nomes. It is interesting, however (and relevant), that Ankhtifi gave support to Dendera⁵⁷ –but not to Thebes or Coptos. The implication, again, is that Dendera was *not* allied with the Theban nome. This supports the suggestion, in contradiction to that which was put forth by Henry Fischer, that Dendera did not fall to Thebes nearly immediately, and that Dendera was independent for longer than previously thought.

The breakdown of the state is suggested in that Hornakht gives grain to Dendera, all of it, in its entirety. The pronoun "it" is feminine and must refer to Dendera and not to the masculine grain. Perhaps this is suggesting that tax structures had been broken down, allowing Hornakht to distribute his grain directly to Dendera without a middle man. Not having to pay taxes could also account for additional prosperity.⁵⁸ Hornakht was not alone in his wealth; throughout the provinces, more and more Egyptians were experiencing a general wealth during this time period.⁵⁹

self-aggrandizing hyperbole). With that caveat, this mention from Hornakht's text is included. His text is intriguing and is definitely a reflection on the political situation of the time; no single piece of evidence is completely revealing, but the sum-total of all of the evidence does seem to have implications in agreement with the central theme of my argument.

⁵⁷ Vandier 1950: 39.

⁵⁸ This is entirely supposition on the part of the author. There is no evidence in the text that reflects clearly on the levying of taxes except for this passage, wherein I have chosen to interpret an absence of evidence as a possible indication of an absence of taxes.

⁵⁹ For more evidence on the increase in wealth, see for example Moreno García 1997: 70-72. Moreno García sees the battle against famine (epitomized in specific descriptions of grain donations, such as that of Hornakht) as a new – and important – motif to come out of the First Intermediate Period, one which was also inextricably linked with the rise of the *nds* man.

An interesting note regarding the amount of grain which Hornakht specified that he gave to Dendera each year: using comparative data, 400 measures a year would be the rations sufficient to provide for approximately 6-7 soldiers each for an entire year.⁶⁰

In the later half of the First Intermediate Period, beginning in the generation of *Mrrj* and carrying through the Eleventh Dynasty, there are several explicit mentions of warfare. The increase is gradual and subtle but undeniable, and the idea that Dendera was at peace for the entirety of the First Intermediate Period is impossible. I would also question the standard logic that Dendera was subservient to the Thebans from an early date. By being at war *with* the Thinite nome, they were likely to have been fighting *against* the Theban nome.

This article is a limited look at only two of the more historically significant of the hundreds of stelae and fragments dating from Dendera's Eleventh Dynasty. There remains significant work to be done on this material. These stelae need to be translated, treated epigraphic- and paleographically, and contextualized. This paper represents a start, but a full treatment of the Eleventh Dynasty material from Dendera is necessary to continue to help to piece Denderite history into the greater First Intermediate Period history.

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⁶⁰These calculations are based on a translation that Simpson made of a compensation list in Papyrus Reisner I. In this text (Simpson 1973), the work force (written with the *ms*^c soldier hieroglyph) is rationed 2/3 heqat of northern barley (as seems to be the type specified here) and 1 heqat of wheat every 10 days. Kemp then extrapolated this data (Kemp 1986) with the modern estimates of the size of the heqat, to come up with a weight of 2.25kg for 2/3 heqat of northern barley and 3.75kg per heqat of wheat. With a heqat of barley at approximately 3.38kg, and 400 heqat given each year, the yearly rations per soldier were approximately 219kg, meaning that 400 heqats could feasibly have provided for 6-7 soldiers. (Note: this calculation is a rough approximation only, as the type of barley was not clearly specified, thus I have averaged an amount between barley and wheat.)

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MASS PRODUCTION IN MESOPOTAMIA*

MORRIS SILVER
msilver12@nyc.rr.com

*Economics Department, City College of the
City University of New York, USA*

Summary: Mass Production in Mesopotamia

This short paper responds to some interesting remarks made by Assyriologist Marc Van De Mieroop. It considers the meaning of mass production and its relevance in an ancient Mesopotamian context. The paper discusses mold technology and craft goods. It also analyzes evidence for Ur III and Isin workshops. Finally, the paper deals with the question of whether craft goods were produced only on order for an advance payment. The conclusion is that Mesopotamia knew mass production as well as production of craft goods in advance of order.

Keywords: economies of scale – division of labor – specialization – spot market

Resumen: Producción en masa en Mesopotamia

Este breve artículo responde a algunas apreciaciones interesantes efectuadas por el asiriólogo Marc Van De Mieroop. Considera el significado de la producción en masa y su relevancia en el contexto de la antigua Mesopotamia. El artículo discute la tecnología de molde y los bienes artesanales. Analiza la evidencia provista por los talleres de Ur III y de Isin. Finalmente, trata la cuestión acerca de si los bienes artesanales fueron producidos por encargo con un pago por adelantado. La conclusión es que Mesopotamia conoció tanto la producción en masa como la de bienes artesanales por encargo.

Palabras Clave: economías de escala – división del trabajo – especialización – lugar de mercado

Speaking of Mesopotamia Van De Mieroop maintains that “*as there was no mass production of craft goods to be available to the buyer on the market, they were custom-made for an advance payment.*”¹ One may well wonder

*My thanks to Jan Gerrit Dercksen for his most helpful comments. The responsibility for any errors is mine alone.

¹ Van De Mieroop 2002: 171.

whether this means that the ancient production strategy was backward or precocious! As I press the keys on my Dell computer, I am reminded that something known as “mass customization” is very much “in.” Basically, this is a build-to-order (BTO) system in which orders precede manufacture and customers pay in advance. Be this at is may, Van De Mieroop presents no supporting evidence nor does not tell us what he means by “mass production” or by “craft goods.”

Let us see what can be made of Van De Mieroop’s interesting assertion beginning with the problem of mass production. Obviously, if we are talking about *contemporary absolute amounts* of production then, of course, mass production did not (could not) exist anywhere in antiquity. However, if mass production is understood as a *technique* for producing standardized craft goods involving division of labor/specialization and/or economies of scale, then the concept is applicable to Mesopotamia.

MOLD TECHNOLOGY

Obviously, Mesopotamia was intimate with utilitarian objects made in molds. These *standardized* “craft goods” ranged from clay figurines used as votive offerings to pins, pots, and axe-heads. Concerning pottery production, Van De Mieroop has elsewhere observed:

“The professionalization of pottery production is also visible in the archaeological record. From early prehistory on, starting with the earliest permanent settlement in Mesopotamia proper, pottery was standardized in shape, ware, and decoration. At times, the standardization for certain types of vessels was so rigorous that something approaching on industrial level production can be imagined. For instance, in the late fourth millennium, enormous numbers of bowls, now referred to as bevelled-rim bowls, were produced in moulds of one shape and a limited number of sizes. ...Finally, we have a limited number of accounts listing enormous quantities of pots produced in specialized workshops. Unfortunately, no archive of such a workshop has been preserved, but their existence cannot be denied.”²

² Van De Mieroop 1987: 177.

Van De Mieroop goes on to quote an Ur III text listing “*an enormous number of vessels produced in a single year.*”³ There is no reason to assume that all the steps in the production process for the pots were taken in the same place by the same craftsman. Indeed, it is reasonable to assume that there was a flow of work. *The mold technology demonstrates clearly that Mesopotamia realized mass production gains via division of labor/specialization.*

This brings us face-to-face with Van De Mieroop’s “craft good.” It might immediately be objected that an object made in a mold has ceased to be a “craft good” because that object was not made from beginning to end by a single skilled craftsman. I have two responses. First, the objection reduces Van De Mieroop’s important claim to a tautology. If a pot previously (or possibly) produced by a single skilled craftsman is instead “mass produced” in a mold-technology involving the use of workers of various skills and even of unskilled labor, then it ceases to be a craft good. So, of course, there has been no “mass production” of “craft goods”! Second, and more importantly, why should we care about this? The ancient consumer ends up with the pot and he/she gets it at a lower price!

OCCUPATIONAL AND PROCESS SPECIALIZATION

Moreover there is evidence for the Ur III period that “craftsmen,” including workers in wood and ivory, gold- or silversmiths, stone workers, carpenters, smiths, leather workers, rope makers and reed workers, produced final products and were not necessarily responsible for all the steps in the production process. This is indicated by the fact that “*along with raw materials described for the individual objects to be produced, many times other manufactured items are listed as materials to be used for the production of different objects.*”⁴ Thus, we have evidence not only of *occupational* specialization but also of *process* specialization within an occupation. The objects being produced, it should be added, are primarily luxuries of undetermined ownership.⁵ As is well known the division of labor is limited by the extent of the market. It is well to add that the market must be even larger to support process specialization than for occupational specialization.

³ Van De Mieroop 1987: 177-178.

⁴ Loding 1974: 6, citing the twelve column tablet UET III, 1498.

⁵ Loding 1974: 2, 6, 16.

Van De Mieroop (1986) has elsewhere provided additional evidence for Isin. A number of texts show a workshop employing carpenters, leather workers, reed workers and felters. It was supplied with inputs by a “supply house,” a “house of weavers,” and, with animal skins, by various individuals with no mentioned professional designation. The products of the workshop were sent for further processing or to various customers “*most prominently... the palace, the temples, and foreign dignitaries.*”⁶ There is no question here of specialized craftsmen carrying out the entire productive process from raw material to finished product. Van De Mieroop explains:

*“This is especially clear from the activities of the leather workers. They received hides which had already been prepared for tanning... Just as the craftsmen did not always start from the basic materials, they did not always produce the entire finished product. Some products were, for instance, sent to the house of the goldsmiths to be used in objects such as thrones for deities.”*⁷

The ownership and method of remuneration of the workshop is not made clear in the documents. As a footnote to this discussion, we may take note that in the Isin workshop only the lids of vessels were produced.⁸

PROBLEM OF ADVANCE SALE

Now let us turn to the question of advance sale. What we do have are letters mentioning the intention to buy goods or the price one is willing to pay but these communications cannot demonstrate that craft goods were custom-made for an advance payment. There is, however, evidence against Van De Mieroop’s claim. In the early second millennium, Assyrian merchants sent “standard” Babylonian textiles (e.g., *kutānu*-cloths) to be sold in Anatolia. The Anatolian demand for “fine textiles” might be satisfied by purchase in Assur’s marketplace.⁹ Advance payments were not required.

⁶ Van De Mieroop 1986: 91.

⁷ Van De Mieroop 1986: 90; cf. 1987: 33, 42, 118.

⁸ Van De Mieroop 1987: 42.

⁹ Veenhof 2003: 111.

Of course, craftsmen sometimes did require an advance payment. An Ur III lawsuit (ITT II 3538 = NG II 131) demonstrates that a private craftsman received an advance payment to produce a chair for a private buyer. The contract specifies that the chair was to be manufactured from boxwood and bronze.¹⁰ It appears that this is a rather special chair to meet the tastes of a wealthy consumer. The special circumstances probably explain why the terms were reduced to writing in the first place.¹¹ Even today, when purchases of craft goods “off the shelf” are commonplace, it would not be surprising for a cabinetmaker to require payment in advance for a specialized, valuable product like the one in question.¹² Van De Mieroop adduces only a Mari letter as evidence for advance payment:

“In the past I have given you grain for the acquisition of stones for a necklace, but you have not yet bought those stones...Now the goldsmith has received the gold and silver, but the toggle-pins have not been made yet...If the work is not finished soon, it is no longer a commission.”¹³

Again, we seem to be dealing with a specialized, valuable product. Moreover, as Dercksen points out, “*the receipt of silver and gold by the smith might also be interpreted as providing him with the necessary materials.*”¹⁴ The fact remains that there are many references in the ancient texts to trade in ordinary craft products and these do not demonstrate that payments had to be made in advance of production.

A *spot market* is a market in which products are bought and sold for cash and delivered immediately. The idea that Mesopotamian consumers and merchants did not know spot markets for “craft goods” is incredible on the face of it. An invariable practice of insisting upon payment in advance of production would have raised transaction costs by an order of magnitude. Such an increase in cost was easily avoidable. Urban craftsmen might, after

¹⁰ Neumann 1993: 153-154.

¹¹ See Neumann 1993: 151.

¹² Another Ur III document (NRVN I 192) obligates a debtor to pay interest on a loan by performing carpentry work (Neumann 1993: 154). However, this appears to be an “antichretic” loan rather than a case of payment in advance for a craft good. In an antichretic loan, the debtor pays interest by providing the lender with (land or labor) services instead of cash.

¹³ Van De Mieroop 2002: 171.

¹⁴ Personal correspondence dated September 28, 2004.

all, count on a certain volume of trade and, in their own interest, produce accordingly.¹⁵ Those producers who insisted, despite the absence of good economic reason, on being paid in advance for cheap goods/goods of everyday use would certainly have been punished by the laws of supply and demand – that is, they would have lost clients to competitors who sold off the shelf.

ECONOMIES OF SCALE

There is one more problem to deal with. Van De Mieroop's implies that the ancients reaped no benefits from mass production. However, the kiln of the potter/oven of the baker/press of the olive oil producer gives rise to "fixed," "sunk," or "overhead" cost for his enterprise. There were also indivisible factors of production. Consequently, over some initial range of production, however limited, *per unit* cost would decline with the number of pots/loaves/olive oil produced per period. The reductions in average total cost due to "economies of scale" represent gains from mass production. The gains, it should be understood, would accrue even within technologies where a single skilled craftsman produced the entire product.

To summarize: (1) antiquity knew standardized craft goods; (2) craft goods did not invariably have to be paid for in advance; (3) there was mass production of craft goods. I cannot agree with Van De Mieroop about this matter.

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¹⁵ In this connection Kawami (July 28, 2003) has called my attention to an old film titled "Folk Potters of Hebron" made by Robert Haber and distributed by Janus Films in New York City: "It clearly showed how the potter used members of his family as specialized workers and how pots were actually 'mass produced' on a small scale. There ...was a steady demand for certain types of ceramics and so the potter could, and did make them 'on spec,' that is prior to sale, or even order, since the potter knew the demand would be there." I understand that a corresponding Egyptian film is "The Potters of Deir Mawas" (Nickelson and Wendrich).

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IRON AGE “NEGEVITE” POTTERY: A REASSESSMENT

JUAN MANUEL TEBES
jmtebes@hotmail.com

*CONICET (National Research Council)
University of Buenos Aires
Argentine Catholic University*

Summary: Iron Age “Negevite” Pottery: A Reassessment

Negevite pottery, a coarse, hand-made ware ubiquitously found in Iron Age Negev and southern Jordan sites, is almost our only archaeological source of information for the pastoral groups that inhabited these areas. This paper aims at studying some typological and technological aspects of the manufacture of this pottery, as well as its spatial distribution. An analysis of these issues may give a clue for a better interpretation of the Negevite wares and may help in gaining some insight into the socioeconomic framework that conditioned their producers. Based on ethnographic parallels, it is suggested that production of Negevite pottery was made in pastoral households for their own demand, and that its geographical distribution is a consequence of the movements of pastoral groups.

Keywords: Negevite pottery – Hand-made wares – Pastoral groups – Iron Age

Resumen: Cerámica “negevita” de la Edad del Hierro: Un nuevo estudio

La cerámica negevita, un conjunto de vasijas toscas y hechas a mano encontradas en gran número en sitios del Negev y Jordania meridional de la Edad del Hierro, es casi nuestra única fuente de información respecto de los grupos pastorales que habitaron estas áreas. El objetivo de este trabajo es estudiar algunos aspectos tipológicos y tecnológicos de la manufactura de esta cerámica, así como su distribución espacial. El análisis de estas características puede darnos la clave para una mejor interpretación de la cerámica negevita, y ayudarnos a comprender el marco socioeconómico en el que vivieron sus productores. Basándonos en paralelos etnográficos, sugerimos que la producción de cerámica negevita se realizaba en los hogares pastorales para suplir su propia demanda, y que su distribución geográfica no es sino una consecuencia de los movimientos migratorios efectuados por los grupos pastorales.

Palabras clave: Cerámica negevita – Cerámicas hechas a mano – Grupos pastorales – Edad del Hierro

INTRODUCTION

We do not know much about the history of the pastoral groups of the Negev and southern Jordan (ancient Edom) in the Iron Age (ca. 1200-586 BC). One obvious reason is the fragmentary quality of our surviving evidence. The contemporary Biblical, Egyptian and Assyrian sources are rather reluctant to give information about these peoples, and when this data does exist is likely to be biased against them. Therefore, and not surprisingly, most of our information comes from archaeological excavations and particularly from studies on the pottery found in them. For our purpose, it is critical the study of the so-called “Negevite” pottery, a locally manufactured, coarse hand-made ware. Most scholars agree that Negevite pottery should be closely associated with the pastoral and semi-pastoral groups that inhabited in and wandered through the Negev desert and southern Jordan, in the Iron Age but also in other periods. This paper aims at studying the Negevite pottery inside the original social and economic framework in which it originated. I intend to accomplish two goals. The primary one is a synthesis of old and new archaeological data on the Negevite wares. No effort at exhaustiveness is implied, but I attempt to consider some of the more conspicuous issues. The second goal is a re-interpretation of the current data. It seems to me that at present it is not sufficient to analyze the archaeological remains. We need to reconstruct the socioeconomic framework and try to present comprehensive models of pottery production and distribution.

This paper has three parts. The first section discusses the basic technological aspects of the Negevite wares. In the second section, a survey of the geographical distribution of this pottery will be undertaken. Lastly, I will suggest some ideas on its socioeconomic background, and especially on its producers and mode of production.

THE NEGEVITE POTTERY

Negevite pottery, also known as “Negebite” or “Negev” ware, is a crude, hand-made ware manufactured from coarse clay, containing straw and other organic materials.¹ It is represented by a fairly limited range of forms and fabrics that can be seen as primarily local in manufacture. The most common type is a cylindrical cooking-pot with flat base, irregular hole-mouth rim,

¹ Cf. the first complete description in Aharoni *et. al.* 1960: 98-100.

and vertical sides that can taper slightly inwards (e.g. Fig. 1); followed by different types of cooking-pots and bowls (Fig. 2). Mat-impressions are found on many bases of these wares, probably the result of their drying on textiles woven from the wool and goat-hair of the pastoralists' flocks.² According to petrographic studies, Negevite wares were manufactured from Negev clay sources located at a variety of locations, more remarkably Timna valley in the southern Arabah³ and the Ramon crater in the central Negev.⁴ In addition, neutron activation analyses performed on samples of these wares proved to have originated in the north-western Negev and southern Jordan.⁵

A point of importance is that Negevite pottery is not exclusive of the Iron Age: it has a long time-span of existence, appearing in the Negev in periods earlier (Early Bronze II and Middle Bronze I Ages) and later (Early Islamic period) than the Iron Age.⁶ Because throughout these periods Negevite wares remained typologically very much the same, they do not possess independent chronology, that is, they can be dated only by the (mostly non-local) wheel-made pottery that is found associated with them.

Negevite pottery was firstly discovered by Woolley and Lawrence in their excavations at 'Ain el-Qudeirat.⁷ Glueck⁸ re-discovered similar pottery at Tell el-Kheleifeh, and interpreted them as crucibles for a local metallurgical industry. Glueck's theory was, however, totally rejected by a thorough study of Rothenberg,⁹ who saw these artefacts as no more than domestic cooking-pots and bowls, in the line of a previous work of Aharoni. It was Aharoni who firstly identified the Negevite pottery as the ware used by the pastoral peoples of the Negev: "*It may be conjectured that the vessels were the work of nomads potters, who, being constantly on the move from settlement to settlement in the Negev and Aravah, could not make use of the more highly developed*

² Sheffer 1976; Sheffer and Tidhar 1988: 229-230.

³ Slatkine 1974: 108-110; 1978: 115-116; Glass 1988.

⁴ Haiman and Goren 1992: 148.

⁵ Gunneweg *et. al.* 1991; Gunneweg and Balla 2002.

⁶ Haiman and Goren 1992.

⁷ Woolley and Lawrence 1914-1945: 61.

⁸ Glueck 1938: 11-12.

⁹ Rothenberg 1962: 52-53.

instruments of their craft, such as the potter's wheel and a permanent clay oven".¹⁰

Typologically, Negev wares share certain forms with other Iron Age pottery traditions. For example, some Negevite cooking-pots are typologically related to Late Iron II Edomite vessel types,¹¹ and Negevite traits are reminiscent of those found in Edomite vessels¹² and other Iron Age Palestinian and Jordanian pottery.¹³ In addition, some Negevite shapes are comparable to the primitive shapes of the Iron I Midianite bowls.¹⁴ Bowls with flat bottom, vertical or flaring sides are common among both pottery repertoires.¹⁵ Typological and petrographic studies do not rule out the possibility that the same potters manufactured both wares. Glass¹⁶ has split the Negevite wares of Timna into two repertoires: the Negevite pottery itself and the "rough hand-made pottery". The latter, though locally made, is a petrographically non-homogeneous group that comprises: a) some vessel types that deviate considerably from the typical shapes of the Negevite wares, and b) some wares that show petrographic affinity to the "normal" wheel-made pottery (i.e. the Egyptian and Midianite wares), as they were tempered with crushed fragments of "normal" pottery, as well as slag and coarse shale fragments that also occur in the "normal" pottery. Based on these differences, Glass postulates that the rough hand-made pottery was produced not only by the local Negev population, but also by Egyptians or "Midianites" –people from north-western Arabia.¹⁷

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION

The second part of this paper will present the basic data sets for the Iron Age sites or areas in which Negevite pottery was found (Fig. 3). The Negev has

¹⁰ Aharoni *et. al.* 1960: 100.

¹¹ Singer-Avitz 2002: 143; e.g. compare fig. 14:CP14 with Oakeshott 1978: pl. 28: 13-14.

¹² Eitam 1988: 326 n. 42; Hart 1995: 59.

¹³ Pratico 1993: 38.

¹⁴ Rothenberg and Glass 1983: 100; Eitam 1988: 325.

¹⁵ E.g. compare Rothenberg 1988: figs. 4:1-7 and 14:1-11.

¹⁶ Glass 1988: 108.

¹⁷ Glass 1988: 111.

seen a plethora of recent fieldwork, and the amount of new material that has been discovered is overwhelming, though regrettably a lot of this material has not reached the stage of publication yet. A great deal of effort has been done to include in this review unpublished material from old and new excavations.

The core area of concentration of Negevite wares is the *Negev Highlands*. In this area, a large number of settlements, about 350, were founded during the Iron Age. The architectural remains consist of mostly one-period sites that can be identified as fortresses, strongholds, towers, farmhouses and enclosures. A great deal of discussion has arisen about the date of these settlements, between those who supported a date in the 10th century¹⁸ and those who preferred an 11th-early 10th centuries date,¹⁹ though at present a 10th century date is defended even by Finkelstein.²⁰ Negevite wares are a typical characteristic of the findings in the Negev Highlands, and their large number and variety of types²¹ point to this area as the geographical core of the production and distribution of these wares. Negevite pottery comprises a significant proportion of the local sites' ceramic assemblages, up to 39 % of the total ceramic finds.²² After the wave of settlement of the 10th century, only sparse occupation existed in the Negev Highlands during the Late Iron II, and the quantity of Negevite pottery decreases substantially.²³

At *Ain el-Qudeirat (Kadesh-barnea)*, Negevite vessels were firstly described by the survey conducted in the site by Woolley and Lawrence in 1914.²⁴ *Ain el-Qudeirat*, being the only site with several strata (three superimposed fortresses) where Negevite wares have been found and adequately recorded, provides evidence that Negevite pottery underwent typological changes through the time.²⁵ Also, the proportion of Negevite wares changed throughout the layers: at the Earliest fortress (10th century BC) it consisted of 20 % of the total pottery assemblage, in the Middle fortress (eighth-seventh centuries BC)

¹⁸ Cohen 1980; 1986; Cohen and Cohen-Amin 2004.

¹⁹ Eitam 1988; Finkelstein 1995.

²⁰ Finkelstein 2002.

²¹ Cohen and Cohen-Amin 2004: 7*-8*, 135-141, figs. 90-91; Jericke 1997: fig. 17.

²² Cohen 1986: 276-295, 363-364.

²³ Cohen and Cohen-Amin 2004: 13*.

²⁴ Woolley and Lawrence 1914-1915: 61.

²⁵ Cohen 1981: 102-103; 1983: XVII, figs. 25-27.

it increased to 80 %, and in the Upper fortress (seventh-sixth centuries BC) fell to a 10 %.²⁶ Neutron activation analyses on the Negevite pottery of the Upper fortress showed that these vessels matched the composition of north-western Negev samples, although one cooking-pot had its origin in Edom.²⁷

Negevite wares are strongly related to the Egyptian copper mining activities in the southern Arabah (13th-12th centuries BC), and they have been found in large numbers at the sites of *Timna valley* and *Nahal cAmram* together with Egyptian and Midianite pottery. At the Timna smelting sites excavated so far -Sites 2 and 30- they comprise the majority of the cooking-pots (e.g. Fig. 1). Conversely, at the Mining Temple, dedicated to the goddess Hathor (Strata IV-II), only 10 % of the pottery assemblage was vessels of this group, which nonetheless contained smaller and more delicate types, such as juglets, pilgrim flasks and one goblet, clearly imitating vessels of the wheel-made pottery. These wares were likely used in the rituals performed in the temple or brought as offerings to Hathor.²⁸ The Negevite wares from Timna should be dated to the times of the Ramesside pharaohs of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties (from Seti I to Ramesses V, 13th-12th centuries BC), except for an assemblage found in Site 30 (Layer 1) associated with Egyptian pottery of the Twenty-Second Dynasty (10th century BC).²⁹ At a cluster of 13 sites, possibly open-air sanctuaries, at the foot of *Har Shani* (north-west of Eilat), fragments of Negevite pottery were found, together with Midianite and Egyptian pottery.³⁰

Also, Negevite wares are characteristic of sites of the Arabah valley farther south-east and north. At *Tell el-Kheleifeh*, Glueck found, in his 1938-1940 excavations, a wide variety of wares, among them Negevite pottery, which he identified as “Kheleifeh ware”.³¹ As already said, his identification of the Negevite wares as crucibles did not stand the criticism. Based on his identification of Tell el-Kheleifeh with the Solomonic port Ezion-Geber, Glueck

²⁶ H. Greenberg, pers. comm., 2004.

²⁷ Gunneweg *et. al.* 1991: 249, table 2.

²⁸ Rothenberg 1972: 63-179, figs. 31 [pl. 44], 35, 45:7-12; 1988: 94-95, figs. 14, 15, 16:1-3, pls. 106:2-6; 1980: 192-201, fig. 209; 1999: 158-162, 170-72, fig. 16; Rothenberg and Glass 1983: 115.

²⁹ Rothenberg 1980: 198-201, 212; 1999: 162.

³⁰ Avner 1982: 84; 2002: 111, cf. also fig. 6:2.4.

³¹ Glueck 1938: 11-12.

dated the earliest occupational level and its ceramics to the 10th century BC. In a recent reappraisal of the evidence, Pratico³² demonstrated that the pottery assemblage uncovered by Glueck was fairly representative, and a new survey at the site found 63 Negevite sherds, the largest pottery group. However, the excavation and recording methodology employed by Glueck made it very difficult to associate the pottery assemblages with each of the occupational periods. Furthermore, the conclusions of Pratico contradicted in part the dates offered by Glueck, since the former has shown that the wheel-made pottery actually belongs to the eighth-early sixth centuries BC.³³ The largest pottery horizon at Tell el-Kheleifeh is the Negevite pottery, both in the early casemate fortress and in the later offsets/insets settlement, with wide range of types. Among the most common types in the Negevite repertoire are the cooking-pots and bowls.³⁴

Moving from south to north along the Arabah valley, we reach the oasis of *Yotvata* (*ʿAyn el-Ghadian*), where an irregular casemate fortress was excavated. In view of the occurrence of Midianite pottery, the excavator Meshel prefers an Iron I date for the fortress. The finds in the site, still unpublished, include several fragments of Negevite wares -mainly cooking kraters.³⁵ Further north, at *ʿEn Hazeva* (*Ain Husb*), a complete Negevite cooking-pot was retrieved from Stratum VI's south-eastern room (10th century BC).³⁶ At *Givat Hazeva* (*Givat Parsa*), a hill to the north-west, a smelting site was found with pottery dated to the seventh-sixth centuries BC,³⁷ including Negevite wares.³⁸ Gunneweg *et. al.*³⁹ analyzed samples of Negevite pottery found in the site, finding that two samples originated in the north-western Negev.

North of the Negev Highlands, Negev wares appear in low numbers, most of them in sites in the Beersheba valley. At *Tel ʿArad* (*Tell ʿArad*), one

³² Pratico 1985; 1993.

³³ Pratico 1993: 13, table 1.

³⁴ Fig. 2; Pratico 1993: 37-38, pls. 11-15; cf. also Oakeshott 1978: pl. 77:5-9.

³⁵ Meshel 1993: 1518.

³⁶ Cohen and Yisrael 1995a: 229; 1995b: 17; 1996: fig. 6.

³⁷ Cohen and Yisrael 1983.

³⁸ Y. Yisrael, pers. comm., 2005.

³⁹ Gunneweg *et. al.* 1991: table 2.

Negevite cooking-pot was found in Stratum VIII (late eighth century BC).⁴⁰ At *Beersheba (Tel Sheva)* two Negevite sherds were found, and it is not clear whether a third sherd belongs to this group or is a fragment of a crude hand-made vessel. One sherd originated in Stratum V's glacis (10th or ninth century BC), and the other two in Stratum III (late eighth century BC).⁴¹ At *Tel Masos (Khirbet el-Meshash)*, one Negevite vessel was discovered in Area F, Stratum II.⁴² The excavators dated this layer to the 12th-11th centuries BC,⁴³ although some scholars have lowered its date to the 10th century BC.⁴⁴ From *Horvat Qitmit*, a one-period site of the early sixth century BC, Freud and Beith-Arieh⁴⁵ published a number of crude, usually hand-made shallow vessels of large diameter, most of which were found in Building A rooms and identified as clay basins. Bienkowski *et. al.*⁴⁶ are of the opinion that the shapes, fabric and manufacturing technique of some of these vessels⁴⁷ indicate that they are Negevite wares. In a cluster of structures along the bank of the *Nahal Tale* (Site 75) surveyors found a sherd of a Negevite krater dated, according to the Israeli terminology, to the Iron II-III.⁴⁸ In the *Nahal Besor* area, a multi-period campsite was found (Site 107) with a Negevite hole-mouth jar, tentatively dated to the Iron I.⁴⁹

In southern Jordan, east of the Arabah valley, Negevite wares also appear though in less quantities. The majority is concentrated in the *Faynan* area, the richest zone in copper in the southern Levant, associated with Edomite, "Early Edomite" pottery⁵⁰ and Midianite wares. The recent excavations at the

⁴⁰ Singer-Avitz 2002: 143-144, fig. 15:CP14.

⁴¹ L. Singer-Avitz, pers. comm., 2003.

⁴² Fritz 1983: 91, pl. 161:7.

⁴³ Fritz and Kempinski 1983.

⁴⁴ Finkelstein 2002: 114-116; Herzog and Singer-Avitz 2004.

⁴⁵ Freud and Beith-Arieh 1995: 215.

⁴⁶ Bienkowski *et. al.* 2002: 276.

⁴⁷ Cf. Freud and Beith-Arieh 1995: figs. 4.5:24, 4.7:3-5, 4.12:18, 20.

⁴⁸ Beit-Arieh 2003: 18*, 34*, 45, fig. 75.1.

⁴⁹ Gazit 1996: 25*, 50*, 53, fig. 107.1. At Nahal Besor Site 87, in a collapsed installation, fragments of hand-made pottery were found, although they are suggested to be oven fragments. The site provided Iron I and Byzantine pottery; cf. Gazit 1996: 46*, 87.

⁵⁰ Hart and Knauf 1986; Hart 1989: 125.

main fortress at *Khirbet en-Nahas* (12th-ninth centuries BC?) found a large number of Negevite bowls and jars with slag temper, clearly associated with the local production of copper.⁵¹ At the same site, a small pillared building (House 200; ninth century BC) provided Negevite wares associated with Edomite pottery.⁵² At *Barqa el-Hetiye*, four-room Building 2 (House 108; ninth century BC?) provided several Negevite vessels in association with Midianite and other Iron Age pottery.⁵³

Leaving the Faynan area we move to the Edomite plateau, where Negevite wares are found in association with Late Iron II Edomite pottery, generally dated to the seventh-sixth centuries BC. At *Busayra*, the most prominent Edomite site, several fragments and one complete Negevite bowl were found,⁵⁴ and neutron activation analyses on one sample indicate it originated locally.⁵⁵ Excavations at *Tawilan* have found fragments of Negevite bowls, and a cosmetic palette similar to a Negevite ware.⁵⁶ Edomite *Ghrareh* has also produced several samples of Negevite ware.⁵⁷ At the mountain settlement of *Ba'ja III*, a knob handle of a Negevite ware was found associated with Edomite pottery.⁵⁸ A similar picture emerges at *Feifa*, which has produced just one Negevite sherd near the south-east corner of the town wall, probably constructed in the seventh century BC.⁵⁹ The Wadi el-Hasa survey published several wares allegedly belonging to the Iron I. Hart has identified one sample from *Ash-Shorabat*⁶⁰ as a possible Negevite ware, but has re-dated it to the Iron II.⁶¹

To sum up, during the Iron Age the geographical distribution of Negevite pottery appears to have been limited to a central area with large concentration

⁵¹ Levy *et. al.* 2004: 875.

⁵² Fritz 1996: 4-5, fig. 4:1-8.

⁵³ Fritz 1994: 146, fig. 13.

⁵⁴ Bienkowski *et. al.* 2002: 276, figs. 9.23:1-4.

⁵⁵ Gunneweg and Balla 2002: 485, BUS 18.

⁵⁶ Hart 1995: 55, 59, figs. 6.36, 6.37:11, 14; cf. also Bienkowski 1990: 100; 1992: 101.

⁵⁷ Hart 1989: 18, 67, pls. 24, 28:7-17.

⁵⁸ Lindner and Farajat 1987: 180, fig. 4:8.

⁵⁹ Lapp 1994: 223-224, fig. 13-2:6.

⁶⁰ WHS site 147; listed in MacDonald 1988: pl. 8:25.

⁶¹ Hart 1992: 95.

of wares -the Negev Highlands-, with important points of concentration further south at Timna valley and Tell el-Kheleifeh. To this might be added a number of wares discovered north of the Negev Highlands, in Beersheba valley sites⁶². East of the Arabah, in the lowland-area of Faynan and the Edomite plateau, Negevite pottery is an important feature although certainly a not very impressive one.⁶³ On the question of chronology, albeit not all Negevite wares mentioned above are securely dated, it can be stated that Negevite pottery is a characteristic of the entire Iron Age, from the early assemblages of Ramesside Timna (13th-12th centuries BC) down to the Late Iron II settlements in the Negev and the Edomite plateau (seventh-sixth centuries BC).

THE SOCIOECONOMIC BACKGROUND

Determining the characteristics and spatial distribution of the Negevite pottery leads us straight into the current debate on its producers and socioeconomic background.

The terrain of the Negev area is, in general, not suitable to extensive or intensive agriculture, but rather to livestock breeding. The Negev economy was therefore based on pastoralism of sheep and goats, which the Negev inhabitants grazed in great numbers. Pastoralism, in turn, implied that mobility was a central feature of the local communities. Consequently, any discussion on the material culture of the Iron Age Negev should take into account the centrality that pastoralism and mobility had in the local communities.

The model that Aharoni constructed, that viewed the Negev pottery as the ware manufactured and used by the nomadic peoples of the Negev, has been very influential in the research on the archaeology of the Iron Age Negev. However, attempts to equate the producers of Negevite wares with Biblical peoples –e.g., Kenites, Rechabites, Calebites, and Yerahmeelites,⁶⁴ Kenites,⁶⁵

⁶² No Iron Age Negevite pottery has been reported in or near the Mediterranean coast. The recent excavations at the coastal site of Blakhiyah, 3 km. north-west of ancient Gaza, have not found Negevite wares (J.-B. Humbert, pers. comm., 2005).

⁶³ However, surveys and excavations in the Negev have been very much intensive than in southern Jordan.

⁶⁴ Glueck 1965: 76.

⁶⁵ Cohen 1980: 77.

Edomites,⁶⁶ and Amalekites⁶⁷— do not take into account the typological similarities of this ware with Iron Age wheel-made pottery traditions, especially Midianite and Edomite wares. In fact, the presence of Negevite pottery at both sides of the Arabah valley shows that the Negev and Edom belonged to the same socio-economic system, and that the Arabah acted as a bridge between areas, rather than a barrier between two states (Judah and Edom).⁶⁸ Also, the longevity of the Negevite pottery, documented also for other ceramic traditions elsewhere,⁶⁹ goes against its identification with a single ethnic group. Moreover, previous equations between material culture and ethnicity have been criticized in recent anthropological research, on the grounds that ethnicity is not a stable and permanent entity but rather a flexible phenomenon adopted, and manipulated, by social groups.⁷⁰ Therefore, I will by-pass the rather naïve identifications of ethnicity based on the Negevite pottery. The technological and typological characteristics of the Negevite wares, instead of being considered markers of ethnic groups, should be seen as partial reflections of the distinct socioeconomic and geographic conditions, as well as cultural backgrounds, of the groups that manufactured them.⁷¹

To analyse Negevite pottery, we have to consider what socioeconomic mechanisms were behind its production and distribution. We do not have enough information about the Negev inhabitants, not to say the Negev potters, to know who they were and how they produced and distributed their wares. Again, our understanding comes from the analyses of the artefacts themselves. As already said, Aharoni saw the Negevite potters moving from one site to the other. In a more recent study, Haiman and Goren,⁷² based on their hypothesis that the only clay source for the Negevite pottery was the Ramon crater area, claimed that production took place seasonally, either when the community reached the clay source area or by “semi-qualified potters” who carried the clay from one site to the other.

⁶⁶ Eitam 1988: 333.

⁶⁷ Rothenberg 1972: 153-154; 1988: 276.

⁶⁸ Cf. Bienkowski and van der Steen 2001: 36.

⁶⁹ Stark 2003: 206.

⁷⁰ Jones 1997.

⁷¹ Cf. Herzog and Bar-Yosef 2002; Tebes 2004.

⁷² Haiman and Goren 1992: 149.

Aharoni's model and Haiman and Goren's second approach, of nomadic potters that travelled from one camp-site to the other, are very appealing, taking into consideration the numerous parallels that appear in the ethnographic record.⁷³ While, indeed, these simplistic pictures are not drawn in thin air, they need to be re-examined because an unstated and possibly implicit conclusion would be that the Negevite wares were exchanged between producers and users, and that therefore production occurred outside the households. However, Negev potters should not be considered outside the group in which they lived, that is, there was no difference between producers and consumers. Economic reasons account for this. The most important one is that there is little reason to assume that the manufacture of Negevite pottery was aimed at fulfilling the demand outside the household community.

An alternative picture, congruent with the evidence as it continues to emerge, is that pottery-making was an activity carried out in households, what some scholars have called "household production".⁷⁴ According to this, pottery manufacture is occasional, techniques are simple, and no wheel or kiln is used. Pottery is made mainly for the household's own requirements, with little or no incentive for intensification and surplus production; therefore, pottery is normally not exchanged. According to the characteristics of this mode of production, manufacture of Negevite pottery may have been occasional and primarily concerned in supplying the household demand for domestic wares. Since, as we know, the requirements of pastoral households for pottery are usually small, household production may have been sufficient to cope with that low demand. This approach avoids falling back on doubtful hypotheses about experienced potters who travelled through the desert selling their goods. It follows that these wares were not normally exchanged outside the local groups nor were seen as trade commodities. Therefore, the postulate of the existence of a class of specialized potters and traders is not a requisite for explaining the wares' spatial distribution. If, as we maintain, Negevite wares were primarily the result of household manufacture, then trade did not play any role in their distribution.

To be sure, the range of forms of the Negevite wares was very limited, concentrating on cooking-pots and bowls, a characteristic that appears in other pastoral archaeological assemblages as well. Archaeologists working on nomadic societies agree that their pottery should bear a narrower range

⁷³ E.g. Stark 2003: 208-209.

⁷⁴ Peacock 1981: 188; Rice 1987: 184; cf. Wood 1990: 39 n. 1.

of vessel typology than the pottery assemblages of sedentary communities.⁷⁵ Specifically, Cribb maintains that nomadic sites are expected to have a distinctive pattern of pottery. Small items (teapots, cups, jars) are generally regarded as valuables, circulate from one site to the other more frequently than other pottery types, and thus enter, occasionally, in the archaeological record. On the contrary, large vessels like cooking pots, storage jars or bowls, tend to bear a much higher rate of breakage and abandonment, and therefore are incorporated into the archaeological assemblage in the form of broken pots.⁷⁶ Juli,⁷⁷ working on prehistoric periods, argue that in pastoral sites "*ceramic artifacts related to food storage and processing would be absent, while utilitarian forms associated with domestic activities would be present*". However, studies on Negev pastoral archaeology have demonstrated that cooking or storage vessels do appear at pastoral sites.⁷⁸

Nomadic groups used and still use pottery imported from the sedentary societies. This is so, among other things, because pastoral nomadism is not an autarkic activity, namely, it is inseparable from supplementary forms of economic activity, and particularly it depends on supplies of commodities and goods (e.g. pottery, foodstuff, clothing, etc.) imported from the sedentary neighbours.⁷⁹ This has deep implications in the archaeological record, since there is a dichotomy between the different chances of preservation of the material cultures of nomads and sedentaries. As Orme has pointed out, "*the [pastoral] home-made goods are manufactured from animal products and normally perish, whereas the imported metal objects have a much higher chance of survival. Therefore a pastoral society could leave an archaeological record that was dominated by the artifacts of another culture*".⁸⁰

I would argue that the pattern presented by scholars working on archaeology of nomadic groups is congruent with the Iron Age Negevite pottery assemblages. Negevite cooking-pots and bowls did not adequately cope with all the needs of the nomadic group (especially storage and transport), and for that reason imported wheel-made wares –especially from

⁷⁵ Juli 1978: 115-116; Cribb 1991: 76; Saidel 2002: 191.

⁷⁶ Cribb 1991: 76.

⁷⁷ Juli 1978: 116.

⁷⁸ Banning and Köhler-Rollefson 1992: 191-192; Saidel 2002: 187.

⁷⁹ Khazanov 1994: 69-84.

⁸⁰ Orme 1981: 263.

Palestine and Egypt—, which appear with the Negevite pottery in the same sites, were intended to supplement the needs not covered by the Negevite wares. This pattern is fully congruent with the non-autarkic nature of pastoral nomadism, which, as already stated, models an archaeological record with a high proportion of artefacts imported from sedentary societies.

At any rate, one can almost certainly assume that, although Negevite wares were certainly not used as containers for commodities, their wide distribution can only be explained as an outcome of movements of people. Patterns of pastoral movements in the Negev are well known for recent periods. In pre-modern Negev, the grazing period (late winter and spring) was spent anywhere pasture land was found, even in the arid areas of the central Negev; while in the dry summer the herds were moved to the higher-rainfall areas of the northern Negev, the southern coastal plain and Palestine.⁸¹ Similar models of long-distance movements have been proposed for other periods, as the Early Bronze and the Intermediate Bronze Ages, according to which people moved seasonally from the Negev Highlands to the Beersheba valley, the Hebron hills and even central Palestine.⁸²

As in other periods in its history, the backbone of Negev's economy in the Iron Age was nomadic pastoralism. Because nomadic movements were performed by all or parts of the pastoral community, Iron Age Negevite vessels are found precisely where the daily pursuits occurred. Even though their area of distribution is large enough, it exhibits a sharp fall-off in frequency outside the Negev Highlands and the southern Arabah. In the light of the pastoral socioeconomic context in which the users of the Negevite pottery

⁸¹ Amiran and Ben-Arieh 1963; Marx 1967.

⁸² E.g. Dever 1985: 25; Finkelstein 1995: 95; Saidel 2002: 189-191. All of this is admittedly circumstantial: as these models are based on interpretations of the archaeological evidence, and sometimes on parallels drawn from recent times, they are open to criticism. For the Early Iron Age, for example, Knauf-Belleri (1995: 98), based on ethnographic records of Bedouin of the Petra region, supports the idea that the *shasu* of the Egyptian sources only migrated very short distances. However, one must note that several ethnographic examples can be cited to argue the opposite view. Thus, Wood cites the case of the distribution of the Midianite pottery as an archaeological example of the "movement of consumers" that is known in contemporary societies, as the Fogy and Kasa in southern Senegal or the Fulani in northern Cameroon. According to Wood, "*There can be little doubt that the people of antiquity were as mobile as their counterparts in contemporary peasant cultures, probably in response to economic conditions*" (Wood 1990: 79-80). Although the examples cited by Wood refer to small peasant societies, the important point is that the presence of an homogeneous ceramic style over a large region does not necessarily imply itinerant peddling by the producers or by intermediaries, since it can be explained by the movements of consumers through large areas.

lived, it is not a surprise that just a handful of sherds have been discovered at sites outside the Negev Highlands, since those sites seem to have been the terminal point of their movements.⁸³ No Negevite ware appears to be found in south-central Palestine (which is the traditional grazing resource in dry summers), and therefore the pastoral movements should have been limited, in the north, to the Beersheba valley.

The only significant exception to this pattern seems to have been the large quantity of Negevite wares found in the southern Arabah. This area is too hot and has no grazing in summer or early winter, and indeed not a lot of grazing at any time. The occurrence of Negevite wares in this zone, especially in Timna valley, should be connected with the presence of local population working at the mines and workcamps. To this one must add the small Negevite pottery assemblage found at the Mining Temple of Timna, where the wider ware typology should be understood in the terms of the cultic framework in which the vessels were used, i.e. either as ritual utensils or votive offerings in a predominantly Egyptian cult.

So much for the general mode of distribution; however, we have pointed out that the spatial distribution of Negevite pottery is neither geographically homogeneous nor temporally uniform. An important point to note is that whereas much of the Negevite wares have been found in the Negev Highlands settlements, dated to the Iron II, this same area has a conspicuous dearth of Negevite wares dated to the Iron I (though in fact this only means that no Iron I wheel-made pottery was found associated with them). Although this absence is puzzling, it is a pattern not unique to the Iron I, since this archaeological lacuna seems also to have occurred in the cases of the Midianite pottery in the Iron I and the Edomite pottery in the Late Iron II. Two interpretations may be offered. First, it can be argued that the Iron Age mobile groups only manufactured pottery in great quantities when they settled down (Ramesside Timna, the Iron II settlements of the Negev Highlands, etc.)⁸⁴ Second, it may be evidence that the mobile groups by-passed rather than crossed the Negev

⁸³ In comparison, the distribution of the Midianite pottery is far broader, reaching sites as far north as Amman, in Jordan, and Lachish, in Palestine, even though its homeland was situated in north-western Arabia (cf. Rothenberg and Glass 1983). However, Midianite wares were probably seen as "exotic" imports due to their rich polychrome decorations and/or cultic significance, being valued for their social as well as their functional content, and therefore their large geographical distribution would point to exchange mechanisms of some kind (cf. Tebes 2005).

⁸⁴ Cf. Meshel 2002: 295-296.

Highlands. An alternative north-south route would have been the Arabah valley, and this last option can indeed be supported by the pottery findings at Timna, Yotvata and Faynan.

One last observation concerning the scientific analyses. Meshel⁸⁵ remarks that the conclusions from the petrographic and neutron activation analyses are sometimes contradictory, and that the principal cause is the use of a small number of samples. However, contradictions seem to be solved once one acknowledges that the groups that manufactured these wares moved across different areas. Although the raw data from the analyses are too complex for immediate assertions on the characterization of sources to be made, the hypothesis that mobile groups were present in the Negev and southern Jordan seems to be confirmed by them, showing a wide geographical horizon of these ceramics, a complex picture of both local and non-local pottery manufacture.

CONCLUSION

In this paper, we have analyzed several questions concerning the Negevite pottery of the Iron Age. This analysis strongly suggests that production and consumption of Negevite wares was a matter of the nomadic pastoral groups of the Negev and Edom in that period. Technological aspects were taken as evidence that part-time potters manufactured these wares under the “household production” mode; while their distribution might have been a consequence of the mobility of the pastoral communities. These remarks are to be taken as suggestive of no more than a broad explanatory direction. We do not of course expect that all the various problems surrounding this issue can be resolved. However, what we have attempted to show is that study of the Negevite wares does provide important clues on the inhabitants and the social and economic conditions of the Negev and Edom in the Iron Age.

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⁸⁵ Meshel 2002: 293-294.

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THE CORDAGE FROM THE 2001- SEASON OF THE EXCAVATIONS AT BERENIKE (EGYPTIAN RED SEA COAST): PRELIMINARY RESULTS

ANDRÉ J. VELDMEIJER
veldmeijer@palarch.nl

PalArch Foundation, The Netherlands

Summary: The Cordage from the 2001- Season of the Excavations at Berenike (Egyptian Red Sea Coast): Preliminary Results

The excavations at Berenike, the Ptolemaic and Roman harbour at the Red Sea Coast, Egypt, yielded during the 2001-season over 700 pieces of cordage. The present paper presents the cordage, focusing on various aspects of cordage (such as the features) and on the relation within the appearance category.

Keywords: cordage – Berenike – features

Resumen: El cordaje proveniente de las excavaciones de 2001 en Berenice (costa egipcia del Mar Rojo): resultados preliminares

Las excavaciones llevadas a cabo en Berenice, el puerto ptolemaico y romano ubicado en la costa del Mar Rojo (Egipto), proveyeron más de 700 piezas de cordaje durante la temporada de excavación del 2001. En este trabajo presentaremos el cordaje, enfocándonos en varios aspectos del mismo (como los rasgos) y la relación dentro de la categoría de apariencia.

Palabras clave: cordaje – Berenice – rasgos

1. INTRODUCTION

Berenike, the Ptolemaic and Roman harbour at the Egyptian Red Sea coast (Figure 1), was excavated during 1994-2001. The cordage was treated as a separate finds category and during these years, about 10,000 pieces have been registered. The cordage has been extensively published¹; the present

¹ Veldmeijer 1998; 1999; 2003; 2005a; 2005b; 2005c, 2006; accepted; Veldmeijer and Van Roode 2004; Wendrich 1995; Wendrich and Veldmeijer 1996.

paper is the last in the series on the cordage from this important site and follows the same layout as the previous preliminary reports.

The 2001-season yielded a total of 784 pieces of cordage. The cordage originated from four trenches, although the bulk was recovered from one trench (BE01-48; figure 1 inset) the corpus of which will be given ample attention whereas the cordage of the remaining trenches will be dealt with only in passing.

The registration procedure used this excavation season was the same as in previous years² except for the fact that yarns were registered in terms of “low”, “medium” and “high” quantities per pb-number rather than per fragment. A second difference in registration between the 2001-season and previous seasons was the treatment of the soft fibre cordage. The procedure used for this material was comparable to the procedure used during the 1998-season,³ for which reason was that most of the “extreme”⁴ compositions of soft fibre cordage occurred only once. Therefore, a detailed description was not necessary because the figures are of limited statistical value. For terms and definitions, the reader is kindly referred to previous works.⁵

2. THE CONTEXT

2.1. Trenches BE01-44, BE01-47 and BE01-51

Seven pieces of cordage were recovered from trench BE01-44 (Figure 1 inset). The trench was situated at the westernmost part of the site and excavated in an area of burials. One piece of cordage, a zS₃ string (possibly grass but certainty on the material was impossible to obtain due to the deteriorated state) originated from locus 007, which was dated to the 5th-6th centuries AD. Three pieces (possible lamp wicks) were recovered from locus 010 and locus 052, also dated to the 5th-6th centuries AD, contained the other three pieces of zS₂ cordage, which were made of grass.

Trench BE01-47 (Figure 1 inset), situated east of trench BE96/...-10 in the city centre, yielded five pieces of cordage, which were all recovered from

² See Wendrich and Veldmeijer 1996: 270.

³ *Ibidem*.

⁴ The compositions in which ‘_n’ was larger than five (compositions in which ‘_n’ was three, four or five occurred more often).

⁵ Veldmeijer 2005a; 2005b; accepted.

locus 012. Three of the pieces were $zS_3[Z_2]$ ropes, made of palm. The other two pieces were zS_3 strings. The material was identified as palm but certainty could not be obtained due to the deteriorated state. Possibly, these two originated from the same or comparable cabled ropes as mentioned previously. The plies then, were left after the [Z]-cabling lost its coherence. The locus was dated to the 5th-6th centuries AD.

Only one deteriorated (palm?) sZ_2 piece of cordage was recovered from trench BE01-51 (Figure 1 inset). This trench was situated in the area of the church, at the easternmost part of the site, and the locus from which the cordage originated (locus 004) was dated to the late Roman era.

2.2. Trench BE01-48

The most prolific trench of the season was trench BE01-48 (Figure 1 inset). The trench was the westernmost trench in the area of the 1st century AD dump (all loci of trench BE01-48 were dated to the 1st century AD), and its position was next to trench BE00-33. Other trenches in that area were BE96/97-13, BE97/98-19, BE99-29, BE99-31 and BE00-33.

Table 1 shows the materials of which the cordage was made, divided by locus. The cordage was recovered from 20 different loci. The baulk cleaning loci (ebc, nbc, sbc) are regarded as ‘normal’ loci because they were dated like the rest of the loci, *viz.* the 1st century AD. This situation contrasts with, for instance, trench BE94/95-01, in which a deposition over different periods occurred. The trench clean loci (tc) remained undated.

The table⁶ shows that one locus (008) in particular contained large numbers of cordage (29% of the total from this trench) whereas other loci contained far less and never exceeding more than 100 pieces. The cleaning loci were responsible for 13% of the total of recovered cordage. The number of loci, if compared to the other trenches from the same area, were especially comparable to that of trench BE00-33.

The preservation of the cordage was less favourable relative to the other trenches, hence the relatively large number of pieces of which the material was unidentified (listed with “other material”). Furthermore, the classification “other material” was given to cordage that was made of leather or of cordage made from two different materials (only two “multi-material”

⁶ The presented percentages (except of the total of the material) do not appear in this table, although the figures in the table were used to calculate the percentages.

pieces of cordage were registered). Besides this, 10 pb-numbers contained large numbers of deterioration products. This cordage was recognisable as cordage but no description of the twist/composition and no measurements or identification of the materials proved possible anymore.

As with all trenches from this early Roman rubbish dump area, grass was the most important material (50%). The second most often encountered material was palm (21%) followed by soft fibre (12%), (goat) hair (7%) and “other material” (10%).

3. THE CORDAGE

3.1. *Statistics*

Cordage that was registered as “other material” is left out of the discussion due to the character of this group. The amount of plied cordage made of soft fibre and (goat) hair was too small (see table 2) to provide statistical reliable percentages; the detailed discussion of plied cordage is therefore limited to the plied cordage made of grass and palm. A general description of all plied cordage is presented.

Plied cordage

Eighteen pieces of soft fibre cordage were plied (Table 2). This was three percent of the total of plied cordage⁷ and 19% of the total of recovered soft fibre cordage.⁸ All plied cordage made of (goat) hair was sZ₂-plied. The plied cordage made up 41% of the total of recovered (goat) hair cordage,⁹ which was 4% of the total of plied cordage.¹⁰

A detailed description, accompanied with a table of percentages, of the exact occurrence of twists and compositions will be published elsewhere¹¹ but it became clear that the far majority of the plied grass cordage was made in the zS twist (94%) which was over half of all plied cordage, regardless

⁷ 18 out of 552 (table 2).

⁸ 18 (Table 3) out of 94 (Table 1) pieces of cordage.

⁹ 23 (Table 2) out of 56 (Table 1).

¹⁰ 23 (Table 2) out of 552 (Table 1).

¹¹ Veldmeijer, accepted.

the material from which they were made. Of these, 81% was made in the zS_2 composition. Thus grass was, as seen in general in Berenike, by far the most important material for cordage.

Plied cordage made of palm did not exhibit as strong an emphasis on one of the twists as seen with grass: 49% of the total of plied palm cordage was zS twisted (this was 39% of all palm cordage). Of these, only 22% was made in the zS_2 composition. This contrasted sharply with grass cordage; with palm the sZ_2 and zS_3 compositions were more often encountered than with grass plied cordage.

Cabled cordage

Cordage with a composition in the 'I'-direction was regarded as non-alternating because the 'I'-orientation does not lock previous levels. The 10 pieces of cordage that were registered as "other" (various compositions which were not registered in detail), are left out of the discussion.

Table 3 shows nine types of twist of which four were double cables. Those twists contained 25 compositions of which the majority were alternating twists, *i.e.* $sZ[S]$ and $zS[Z]$. The total of alternating twists was 76%.¹² Twenty-two percent of the total amount of cordage from this trench was cabled.¹³

Only one grass cable was made in a non-alternating twist ($zS[S]$) whereas the rest was made in the alternating twists (three different twists). The $zS[Z]$ twist was encountered most often and not only with grass but among the cables in general. Eight percent of all grass cordage was cabled¹⁴ and seventeen percent of the cables from trench BE00-48 were cables made of grass (Table 3). The four twists exhibit seven different compositions.

Eighteen percent of the palm cordage was cabled.¹⁵ All cables were made according the alternating twists, $sZ[S]$ and $zS[Z]$ of which the majority in the $zS[Z]$ twist. Palm cables exhibited four different compositions: double cables were not encountered. Palm cables comprised 16% of the total of cables from trench BE00-48 (Table 3).

Forty-six percent of the soft fibre cables from trench BE00-48 were made according a non-alternating twist ($zZ[S]$, $zS[S]$, $zI[S]$ and $zI[S]\{S\}$),¹⁶

¹² 132 out of 173.

¹³ Table 3 shows 23, but this difference is due to the adding of rounded off figures.

¹⁴ 29 (Table 4) out of 384 pieces of grass cordage (Table 1).

¹⁵ 28 (Table 4) out of 158 pieces of cordage (Table 1).

¹⁶ 30 out of a total of 65 soft fibre cables, Table 3.

which was much higher relative to the other materials. Fourteen compositions occurred within these six twists. The variety in composition was large. Soft fibre cables comprised 38% of the total of cables, which was a far higher percentage relative to any of the other materials. Sixty-eight percent of the total of the soft fibre cordage from the trench was cabled,¹⁷ which was also by far the largest percentage.

All (goat) hair cables were made according to one of the alternating twists. The three twists exhibited eight different compositions. The six pieces of cordage that were made with zS as first two levels were surprising because most of the (goat) hair cordage was made with sZ as first levels. The majority (57%) of the excavated (goat) hair cordage was cabled.¹⁸ The (goat) hair cables made up 18% of the total of cables.

*The relation between material and CIP*¹⁹

CIP values were calculated for 59% of all grass plied and cabled cordage and of the majority of the palm cordage too (63%). The bar graph (Figure 2) is the graphic representation of the calculations (not included). It shows the distribution of CIP values of grass and palm cordage and represents the relation between the materials and the CIP's, visualized by means of percentages CIP's (calculated of the total number CIP's of that material) per interval.

With grass cordage, CIP values falling in the intervals '40-49' and '50-59' were encountered most often (representing 69% of all CIP-calculated cordage). The values falling in the interval before ('30-39') and after ('60-69') were encountered less often.

Cordage made of palm showed a different pattern. The CIP values were much more evenly spread but with a slight domination of the values of the lower intervals '20-29' and '30-39': these two intervals represented 51% of the CIP-calculated material.

The picture representing all CIP's calculated (thus including the soft fibre, (goat) hair and "other material" cordage) showed a gradual increase of the percentages towards the peak-interval '40-49'. The intervals after this peak-interval showed a gradual decrease in occurrence.

¹⁷ 65 cables (Table 3) out of 95 soft fibre pieces (Table 1).

¹⁸ 32 cables (Table 3) out of 56 (goat) hair pieces (Table 1).

¹⁹ The discussion is limited to grass and palm cordage; soft fibre and (goat) hair cordage are not taken into account due to their small number.

The relation between composition and CIP

The relation between the composition and CIP is visualised in Figure 3.²⁰ The zS_2 composition showed a domination of CIP values falling in interval '40-49' and '50-59' (69% of the zS_2 cordage). Far less material showed values in the intervals previous to and following onto these two. Most of the sZ_2 cordage displayed CIP's falling in the first intervals ('20-29' and '30-39'), whereas the cordage with a zS_3 composition fell mainly in the '40-49' interval. The sZ_3 cordage, by contrast, displayed predominantly higher values (the '60-69' interval represents over half of the pieces). The cabled cordage showed a tendency towards the highest CIP intervals ('60-69' up to '90-99').

String and rope

Table 4 shows the number of recovered ropes. Ropes made of soft fibre and (goat) hair were not encountered. The percentage of ropes made of grass was five percent of the total of plied and cabled cordage whereas 14% of the palm cordage had a diameter of 10 mm or more. The percentage ropes made of "other material" was surprisingly large (35%).

The total number of ropes, regardless material, was 67, which made up 11% of the total number of 587 plied and/or cabled pieces of cordage and 9% of the total of recovered cordage. Cabled cordage had more often a diameter of 10 mm or more relative to plied cordage.

3.2. Features

Knots

The number of registered knots was 175, of which the far majority were known types.²¹ One knot was not previously encountered (Figure 4).²² The material could not be determined due to its deteriorated state. The zS_3 string had a CIP of 73. The knot was tied with two strings and seems to have functioned as a bend. However, the construction functioned badly as a bend

²⁰ Note that the amount of cordage of most compositions, except zS_2 , from which CIP's were established was low. Consequently, the percentages has to be regarded as to illustrate a tendency and one has to reckon with distortion.

²¹ See Veldmeijer, accepted.

²² BE01-48.019 3411-h-7243.

because the knot slips by pulling the extremities marked 'I' and 'II' in the figure or change into a hitch when pulling the extremities marked 'III' and 'IV'. The construction was encountered only once and the fact that it can easily be the result of the malformation of other knots, as discussed below, leads to the suggestion that it was the result of the malformation rather than an intended construction.

Beginnings

Plied cordage did not display the start or finish of plying often. A total of eight pieces of cordage (four grass, two palm, one soft fibre and one "other material") showed a beginning (which is almost 1.5% of all plied cordage). All beginnings were the result of folding of the yarns.

The number of beginnings in cabled cordage was larger. Twenty-three beginnings were registered, encountered in a total number of 18 pieces (two grass, three palm, eight soft fibre, three (goat) hair and two "other material"). Those 18 cables made up 10% of the total of cabled cordage. The majority of the beginnings were the result of folding the plies (FT1); only one cable displayed FT2 as beginning.

Loops

Only one new loop lock was registered. The zS_3 palm string shown in Figure 5²³ had an irregular CIP. The piece of cordage was made into a noose of an approximate diameter of 78 mm. The loop lock was an S-granny knot and although the granny knot is known as an extremely unreliable knot which slips easily, the loop itself is fixed due to the fact that the two halves of the granny turns in comparison to each other and locks. However, this happens only when forces are exerted from inside out or by pulling the extremities (marked 'I' and 'II'). Pulling one of the extremities and one of the points marked 'III' and 'IV' results in slipping and moving of the loop lock. Pulling both 'III' and 'IV' tighten it. The noose can be changed relatively easily into the running loop of figure 5B by pulling the extremity marked 'I'.

²³ BE01-48.018 3377-h-7258.

4. COMPARISON²⁴

The number of pieces of cordage was comparable to that of the, previous mentioned, neighbour trenches. The layout of the corpus of trench BE01-48 was, regarding the materials, most comparable to the corpus of trench BE00-33 (same date) except for the relative large percentage of "other material". The most comparable 5th-6th centuries AD corpus was that of trench BE6/16. The number of soft fibre yarns, and to a lesser extend grass and palm, and unspun material, soft fibre as well as grass and palm, recovered from trench BE01-48 was high, as with the other trenches from this area.

As with all other corpora, the far majority of recovered cordage was plied. The most important twist for grass was zS. Although this twist was most important with the grass cordage of the other early corpora as well, the percentage of BE01-48 was slightly higher and more in line with the corpora of the 5th-6th centuries AD. Palm did not exhibit an emphasis on the zS twist, a situation encountered in most of the early trenches (except for trench BE99-29 and, to lesser extend, BE00-33). The palm cordage originating from the later periods again showed far higher percentages of zS twists. The percentage twist of the total of material was influenced by the registration of yarns and unspun material (the total of material). This percentage was therefore higher with trenches of which the yarns and unspun material were not counted by number of pieces.²⁵

As with all other trenches, regardless period, grass plies were the most often encountered plied cordage. They made up between 50% and 65% in all but two trenches (trench BE96/97-13 and trench BE99-29). Most of the trenches displayed a share of the palm-plied cordage between 25% and 40% of the total of plied cordage, except for trench BE96/97-13, BE97/98-19 and BE01-48 which had lower percentages. The amount of soft fibre plies was low; comparable percentages were encountered in trenches BE94/95-01, BE99-31 and BE00-33, whereas the percentage (goat) hair was in line with that of the percentages of the other trenches, except the relative large percentages of trench BE6/16 and BE96/97-13.

²⁴ The comparison of the tables and graphs of the cordage of trench BE01-48, which is based on a few hundreds of data, with those of the tables and graphs of the final publications, which is based on thousands of data, is malformed due to the large difference in data.

²⁵ For example, the grass plies of trench BE96/97-13, of which yarns were registered by piece, made up 76% of the total of grass material whereas this percentage was 95% with trench BE97/98-19, of which no yarns and unspun material was registered during the 1998-season.

Cabled cordage had, as the corpora of all other trenches, the largest variety in composition among the cordage made of the soft fibres. Furthermore, the (goat) hair cordage was mainly made with sZ as the first two levels. Six pieces of (goat) hair cordage were recovered that were made with zS as first two levels. This was encountered rarely. Grass and palm cables showed, as with the cables from the other trenches, predominantly alternating (zS[Z]) twists.

The percentages cabled cordage, made of a certain material, relative to the total amount of cordage recovered from the trenches fluctuated. The grass cables made up 17% of all cables. This was relatively low because most other trenches showed a percentage between 20-35%, except trench BE97/98-19 and BE00-33. The percentage palm cables, of the total of cables, was comparable to that of three other trenches (BE96/97-13, BE99-29 and BE6/16). The percentage soft fibre cables fluctuated strongly; the lowest percentage (13%) for trench BE98-21 and the highest (68%) for trench BE97/98-19. Strong fluctuations were also observed with the percentages (goat) hair cables of the total of cables, varying from 0% and 2% for trench BE97/98-19 and BE99-29 respectively up to 24% for trench BE6/16.

The percentage cabled cordage of the total corpus of trench BE01-48 was higher relative to the average from the site. This is not surprising because all corpora from early Roman periods showed higher percentages cables relative to corpora from late Roman periods.

Although the number of CIP calculated pieces of grass and palm cordage was high in comparison to that of soft fibre, (goat) hair and "other material" one should keep in mind that Figure 2 visualises a pattern based on a smaller number of calculated CIP's relative to the tables and bar graphs to which it is compared. The pattern of the plied cordage made of grass from trench BE01-48 was comparable to that of the total of the site regardless period. Values falling in interval '40-49' and '50-59' were most often encountered although '30-39' was strongly represented as well with the total of the site. The same patterns were visible with cordage separated by period.

The palm cordage showed an emphasis on the lower CIP's whereas the total of the site showed a clear peak at the '40-49' up to and including '60-69' intervals. This latter observation was made of the dated material as well.

The zS₂ cordage showed mainly CIP values falling in the '40-49' and '50-59' interval; the '30-39' interval was less well represented. However, the total reveals that values falling in the latter interval ('30-39') were encountered almost as frequently as the values falling in the '40-49' interval and even more often as the values of the '50-59' interval. The sZ₂ cordage showed a

similar pattern (the intervals with lower CIP values strongly represented), as did the other composed material. The zS_3 cordage from trench BE01-48 displayed a larger percentage values that fell in the '40-49' interval.

The percentage ropes that was made of cabled cordage was higher relative to the percentage ropes of plied cordage. This was seen with the corpora of all trenches and with all materials. The percentage ropes of all cordage and made of grass did not exceed 10% in most cases (except trench BE96/97-13 and BE99-29). The percentage palm ropes of the total of palm cordage fluctuated more heavily. The percentage ropes of the total of cordage registered from the trench was 9%, which was relatively high and only surpassed by trench BE99-29 and BE99-31.

5. DISCUSSION

The fact that the number of pieces of cordage was comparable to that registered from the neighbour trenches was not surprising. The trenches were located in an early Roman (1st century AD) rubbish dump. No rubbish was encountered after the excavation of these early Roman layer.²⁶

All excavated trenches in this area contained large amounts of soft fibre yarns (and to a lesser extend yarns of grass and palm), and unspun material (soft fibre as well as grass and palm). This was partly due to the deterioration of matting, basketry, textile (also present in abundance) and cordage, also suggested by the bad conservation of the registered cordage.²⁷ More will be said on the possibility of production centres in the final publications.

The superficial comparison of the corpus of trench BE01-48 with the previous published corpora showed that the corpus of the trench excavated in the 2001-season, was well within the established pattern of cordage from Berenike, for the material of which cordage was made as well as for the distribution of twists and compositions (plied and cabled cordage alike). The corpus however, contained a relative large percentage cabled cordage. The patterns of CIP values were, except few smaller differences, comparable as well. The strong representation of the lower values with palm cordage in trench BE01-48 might be due to the fact that half of the palm cordage had an sZ twist and, has been shown, sZ_2 -composed cordage in particular had a low CIP. Whether this was due to a less strong plying of sZ cordage in general or that cordage with an sZ twist was more susceptible to deterioration remains

²⁶ This was true for all trenches in this early Roman layer.

²⁷ Hence the large numbers of pieces of cordage registered as "other material".

at the moment questionable. The general tendency of relative more CIP values that fell in the lower intervals might be explained, at least partly, by the fact that deterioration lessened the internal coherence of cordage, with plies more strongly than with cables, through which the CIP value decreased. The corpus of knots (one of the features) was extended with one knot. Possibly, the knot was a malformation of a reef knot.

A new type of loop lock was presented as well. The knot that was used (a granny knot) was registered before but its use as a loop lock was new. Although the granny knot has a bad reputation, the knot used as a loop lock is less unreliable. Still, people who are used to work with cordage and has to rely on cordage probably will choose more secure loop locks.

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context	dated	material						total
			grass	palm	soft fibre	(goat) hair*	other	
	001	1 cad	25	10	6	11	6	58
	005	1 cad	49	19	12	5	10	95
	008	1 cad	136	38	14	12	22	222
	009	1 cad	22	14	10	6	2	54
	014	1 cad	0	3	1	0	0	4
	015	1 cad	1	0	0	0	2	3
	016	1 cad	0	0	0	0	2	2
	017	1 cad	20	4	4	1	1	30
	018	1 cad	34	4	4	4	7	53
	019	1 cad	26	8	17	9	9	69
	020	1 cad	6	10	6	0	8	30
	021	1 cad	1	0	0	0	0	1
	022	1 cad	3	11	10	0	0	24
	026	1 cad	2	4	1	0	1	8
	027	1 cad	1	0	0	0	0	1
	028	1 cad	2	11	2	4	0	19
subtotal	16	n/a	328	136	87	52	70	673
	ebc	1 cad	2	2	1	0	1	6
	nbc	1 cad	50	15	6	4	7	82
	sbc	1 cad	4	5	0	0	0	9
	tc	n/d	0	0	0	0	1	1
subtotal	4	n/a	56	22	7	4	9	98
total	20	n/a	384	158	94	56	79	771
% of total								
trench	n/a	n/a	50	21	12	7	10	100

Table 1.

Materials from which the cordage, encountered in trench BE01-48 during the 2001-season was made. The corpus is presented per locus. Dates are incorporated as well (“n/a” = “not applicable” and “n/d” = “not dateable”).

* On the identification of (goat) hair see Wild and Wild 1996; 1998.

composition	material					total
	grass	palm	soft fibre	(goat) hair	other	
zS ₂	264	27	9	0	18	318
sZ ₂	7	49	0	23	6	85
zS ₃	33	34	4	0	4	75
sZ ₃	13	15	0	0	27	55
zS _n	11	0	4	0	1	16
sZ _n	0	0	1	0	2	3
total	328	125	18	23	58	552

Table 2.

Plied cordage and the variety of compositions, quantified per material. The table shows the quantities from which the percentages, discussed in the text, were calculated. Key: Forty-nine (bold) pieces of all plied palm cordage showed the sZ₂ composition whereas 85 (bold) plied pieces of cordage displayed the zS₂ composition.

twist	composition material		total						
			grass	palm	soft fibre (goat)	hair	other		
cables	zZ[S]	zZ _n [S ₂]	0	0	15	0	0	15	
		zZ _n [S ₃]	0	0	1	0	0	1	
	sZ[S]	sZ ₂ [S ₂]	3	0	1	19	0	23	
		sZ ₂ [S ₃]	0	0	0	2	0	2	
		sZ ₂ [S _n]	0	2	0	1	1	4	
		sZ _n [S ₂]	0	0	2	0	0	2	
	zS[Z]	zS ₂ [Z ₂]	3	10	1	0	0	14	
		zS ₂ [Z ₃]	13	6	0	2	3	24	
		zS ₂ [Z _n]	6	0	1	0	3	10	
		zS ₃ [Z ₂]	2	0	3	0	1	6	
		zS ₃ [Z ₃]	0	10	0	0	7	17	
		zS ₃ [Z _n]	0	0	0	0	1	1	
		zS _n [Z ₂]	0	0	10	0	2	12	
		zS _n [Z ₃]	0	0	4	4	0	8	
		zS _n [Z _n]	0	0	3	0	0	3	
		zS[S]	zS ₃ [S ₂]	1	0	0	0	0	1
			zS _n [S ₂]	0	0	4	0	0	4
			zS _n [S ₃]	0	0	1	0	0	1
	zI[S]	zI _n [S ₂]	0	0	8	0	0	8	
	other	other	0	0	10	0	0	10	
double cable	Z[S]{Z}	sZ ₂ [S ₂]{Z ₃ }	0	0	0	2	0	2	
		sZ ₂ [S ₃]{Z ₂ }	0	0	0	1	0	1	
	zS[S]{Z}	sZ ₂ [S ₃]{Z ₂ }	0	0	0	1	0	1	
		zS ₂ [S _n]{Z ₃ }	0	0	0	0	1	1	
	zI[S]{S}	zI ₂ [S ₂]{S ₂ }	0	0	1	0	0	1	
	zS[Z]{S}	zS ₂ [Z ₂]{S ₂ }	1	0	0	0	0	1	
total alternating			28	28	25	32	19	132	
total non-alternating			1	0	30	0	0	31	
total trench			29	28	65	32	19	173	
% of total cables			17	16	38	18	11	100	
% of total trench (= 771)			4	4	8	4	3	23	

Table 3.

Cabled cordage an the variety of twist and composition, quantified per material. The row ‘% of total cables’ shows the percentage cables of a material from the total number of cables recovered from the trench. The row “% of total trench” shows the percentage cables of the total of cordage regardless material, twist and composition. Key: Seventeen percent (bold) of the total number of 173 cabled pieces of cordage was cabled cordage of grass and 4 % (bold) of all registered cordage from the trench was cabled palm cordage. _n >3

quantity/ percentages	material					totals
	grass	palm	soft fibre	(goat) hair	other	
quantity rope	18 (13/5)	22 (9/13)	0	0	27 (19/8)	67 (41/26)
n=total (ply/cable)	357 (328/29)	153 (125/28)	0	0	77 (58/19)	587 (511/76)
percentages of 'n'	5 (4/17)	140 (7/46)	0	35 (33/42)		11 (8/34)
total material	384	158	94	56	79	771
percentages of total	5	14	0	0	35	9

Table 4.

The occurrence of ropes among the different materials of trench BE01-48, quantified per plied and cabled cordage and in percentages. Key: Eighteen percent (bold) grass pieces of cordage were ropes of which 13 (Italic) were plied and 5 (Italic) cabled. Five percent (bold) of the total amount of plied and cabled cordage, made of grass, were ropes whereas 4% (Italic) of the plied cordage were ropes; 17% (Italic) of the cabled cordage were ropes. Fourteen percent (bold) of the total amount of palm cordage (regardless twist and composition) were ropes. The last column shows the totals.

ARTICLE REVIEW*

CARR, DAVID M., *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2005. Pp. xiv + 330. Hardcover. US\$ 65.00. ISBN 0195172973.

ITAMAR SINGER
singer@post.tau.ac.il

*Department of Archaeology and
Ancient Near Eastern Cultures
Tel Aviv University, Israel*

This exceptionally erudite and readable book examines the educational curriculum in several ancient Near Eastern and Eastern Hellenistic cultures. In the wake of the renewed scholarly interest in the interplay between orality and textuality in pre-modern societies (especially the studies of Susan Niditch on ancient Israelite literature), Carr's study breaks new ground by investigating the ways in which both writing and oral traditions worked in tandem in shaping the social identities of literate elites.

Part I investigates the educational curriculums of two pre-alphabetic cultures, Mesopotamia and Egypt, which are then compared to the alphabetic cultures of early Israel and Greece. In cuneiform cultures the written media of instructional texts have survived in large numbers and provide a wealth of information pertaining to the subsequent revisions of the learning curriculum over the course of more than two thousand years. Though less abundant, the Egyptian educational materials demonstrate even more clearly how textuality was used as part of a broader process of enculturation of literate elites. The emphasis in both educational systems was not so much in preparing the students for everyday scribal tasks, but rather on passing on the basic core of "cultural texts", which, as defined by Jan Assman, were highly authoritative compositions by virtue of their extreme antiquity and numinosity. The Egyptian system differed from its Mesopotamian counterpart by placing a

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stronger emphasis on “wisdom literature” which was attributed to the great sages of earlier times.

Carr’s main assertion is that in both cultures the core texts of the curriculum were not only copied down from older manuscripts, but were also memorized by the students, who were able to cite them by heart and allude to them in new compositions. In this way some literary products of Near Eastern scribes were in fact “*a patchwork of distant and closer echoes of other texts, a product of an educational system where people learn to write new texts by internalizing ancient ones.*” Hittite literature, which is only cursorily mentioned, could add further aspects on the oral-written interplay, although its documentation is much more limited in time.

Intertextuality in ancient Israelite literature is probably the most widely studied topic among ancient Near Eastern literatures. Yet Carr, building on previous insights, suggests a revolutionary approach. Contrary to the basic assertions of the traditional documentary hypothesis, he argues that biblical intertextuality did not usually rely on the visual consulting and comparing of multiple ancient manuscripts, but rather on the ability of the erudite scribes to recite from memory long passages from the authoritative curriculum and to use them as templates in the composition of new texts. The memorization of a basic educational-enculturational corpus was also a prerequisite for the preservation of tradition in a small nation dominated and exiled by powerful suzerains. It is doubtful, asserts Carr, that during the Babylonian exile the Israelite scribes had access to reference copies of their ancient traditions; rather, they were most likely dependent on “*the texts inscribed on their hearts.*” Similar models of education based on verbatim memorization in a text-supported environment are of course well known from Rabbinic Judaism (and from other religious systems), but Carr seeks their roots in the earliest stages of Israelite literacy.

The shorter chapter on ancient Greece reflects the limited evidence of early textual education, partly attributable to the use of perishable writing materials in a humid climate. This scarcity in early teaching materials is somewhat alleviated by artistic depictions of education on pre-Hellenistic pottery (e.g. on the cover of this book). Significantly, on these scenes women can be seen reading almost as frequently as men, a refreshing departure from ancient Near Eastern practices. Another important innovation of the Greek curriculum was the central focus on the musical accompaniment to the recitation of poetry, which besides its beauty was also a very effective mnemotechnic method. For the first time in history, the aim of education was

no longer the training of a small scribal elite, but rather the formation of an aristocratic class of Greek citizens.

Part II examines the Eastern Hellenistic world, with the lion's share of the study dedicated to the development of Jewish education and textuality. Carr examines the ways in which Greek education became an elitist legitimating tool for Greek overlordship in the East and the reactions of the dominated cultures by redefining their own cultural heritage. In Egypt, after an initial cordiality towards the Macedonian liberators from a hated Persian rule, the locals became disillusioned with the ruling class and soon put up a growing resistance, both active and passive, through cultural means. The temples became the focal points of Egyptian nationalism, where priests revitalized older forms of education and began to write down Egypt's age-old history (Manetho). But the utopian dreams of resuscitating a Pharaonic "golden age" did not curb the inevitable decline of the Egyptian language and culture and their gradual replacement by Greek and Hellenistic educational systems. The influence, however, went both ways and the result was a complex interaction between two great civilizations, epitomized by the cultural competition between the ubiquitous and open Greek libraries of Alexandria and the far more restricted and secretive Egyptian temple collections.

Parallel but longer lasting developments characterize Hellenistic Judaism. The Qumran manuscripts provide unparalleled evidence for the transmission of the sacred literary corpus, and first century authors (Philo, Josephus) testify to the public study of texts in the emergent Jewish synagogue. In contrast to the hybrid Egyptian-Greek blend of Hellenism, Judaism developed its own indigenous educational system which came close to the ideal of achieving a universal (male) education-enculturation system focused first and foremost on the mastery of the Hebrew Bible. As in contemporary Egypt and Mesopotamia, in Hellenistic Israel too this system was centered in the temple and was focused on a priestly personnel, an ongoing feature that lasted in later forms of Jewish education. Besides extensive chapters on Qumran and various aspects of Hellenistic Jewish Scripture, Carr also provides some shorter sketches on later developments in post-Hellenistic Jewish and Christian educational systems. A most useful appendix defines the contribution of this study to earlier research.

This encyclopedic perspective on three millennia of education-enculturation, presented in a lucid and stimulating manner, will arouse the interest of anyone interested in cultural history. Biblical scholars will need to seriously consider this well laid out challenge to the generally accepted theories of documentary sources.

RESEÑAS BIBLIOGRÁFICAS

JOAQUÍN GONZÁLEZ ECHEGARAY, *Pisando tus umbrales, Jerusalén. Historia antigua de la ciudad*, Estella, Editorial Verbo Divino, 2005, 412 pp., con ilustraciones, mapas y fotos, € 30,00. ISBN 84-8169-684-6.

Este libro, del reconocido arqueólogo español J. González Echegaray, representa, en verdad, una valiosa introducción a la historia de Jerusalén, desde los primeros tiempos hasta nuestros días. La obertura de la obra la hace un capítulo dedicado a la “Teología de Jerusalén” (pp. 17-28), seguido por otro dedicado a la “Topografía de la ciudad” (pp. 29-43). De modo desigual, ciertamente, ambas secciones permiten que el lector ubique tanto el rol espiritual que juega la ciudad en el pensamiento judeocristiano, como los detalles más profanos de su geografía inmediata. La narrativa propiamente histórica comienza en el tercer capítulo, con un tratamiento sobre “Jerusalén antes de los jebuseos” (pp. 45-55), continúa con “La ciudad jebusea” (pp. 57-68), “La ciudad de David” (pp. 69-91), “Un templo para Yahweh” (pp. 93-115), “Los asirios amenazan la ciudad” (pp. 117-141), “Caída y destrucción de Jerusalén” (pp. 143-158), “Renace la ciudad” (pp. 159-175), “Dentro del mundo helenístico” (pp. 177-206), “Formando parte del imperio romano” (pp. 207-255), “Jerusalén y Jesús” (pp. 257-293), “La destrucción de Jerusalén” (pp. 295-342), “Aelia Capitolina” (pp. 343-362), hasta llegar al capítulo decimoquinto, dedicado a “La Jerusalén bizantina” (pp. 363-389). Por último, un Apéndice final (pp. 391-410) completa la trayectoria histórica relatando rápidamente la situación de la ciudad desde la conquista árabe en 638 de nuestra era hasta 1967, año en que las tropas militares del moderno Estado israelí conquistaron la ciudad, anteriormente en manos jordanas, en el marco de la Guerra de los Seis Días.

Cada uno de los capítulos cuenta con variados detalles arqueológicos, de historia política, económica, social y, no menos, religiosa (las referencias a capítulos y versículos del Nuevo y del Antiguo Testamentos abundan), en conjunción con una descripción de los principales monumentos y construcciones que han sobrevivido hasta nuestros días, cerrando con una breve lista bibliográfica del período tratado. La narrativa del libro es, por cierto, erudita, pero no deja así de estar destinado a un público esencialmente no académico, más bien, culto e interesado en temas bíblicos.

Si bien hay que reconocer la importante labor de síntesis que representa la obra, existen algunos puntos historiográficos que merecen notarse. Una cuestión singular es que no aparece en ella, en general, un interés por una

apreciación crítica de la interpretación en conjunto del material arqueológico y las fuentes textuales antiguas. La Biblia aparece como obvio testigo privilegiado que viene a completar los aspectos oscuros que la labor arqueológica no puede iluminar –i.e., “*creemos que la clave para tratar de comprender la situación de Jerusalén en la etapa inmediatamente anterior a la conquista de David, está contenida en un texto del libro de los Jueces [...]*” (p. 64)–, y, en mayor medida, el autor se mantiene lejos de los recientes debates que han girado en torno a la historicidad de los relatos bíblicos y su pertinencia para la historia de Israel y de Palestina en la antigüedad. Por otro lado, es notable la importancia secundaria que posee Jerusalén bajo dominio árabe y otomano (especialmente), y luego judío, en contraposición al extenso tratamiento de más de 300 páginas que el autor ofrece de la Jerusalén de tiempos bíblicos hasta la del cristianismo bizantino. Es cierto que el propio González Echegaray confiesa la tendencia de la obra –“*desde la perspectiva cristiana, dentro de la cual se enmarca este libro, la presencia de Jesús en la vieja ciudad constituye el centro de toda la historia*” (p. 257)–, pero un tratamiento más equilibrado de los diferentes períodos históricos de Jerusalén le hubiera conferido al libro una mayor valoración, en ánimo de pagar tributo a la siempre deseable –aunque inalcanzable por completo– objetividad académica, y un carácter menos evidente de erudito manual cristocéntrico. Aun así, y a sabiendas de estos detalles, el libro no deja de ser una excelente introducción a la larga historia de la ciudad “tres veces santa”, centro espiritual por excelencia del Occidente judeocristiano.

EMANUEL PFOH

Universidad Nacional de La Plata

CATHARINE H. ROEHRIG, RENEE DREYFUS y CATHLEEN A. KELLER (eds.), *Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh*, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of New York Series– New Heaven and London, Yale University Press, 2005, pp. xv + 340. Con mapas, planos, fotos a color y en blanco y negro, apéndice y glosario. US\$ 65,00. ISBN 0-300-11139-8.

Una mujer al frente del reino egipcio, aunque peculiar, no fue ni el primer caso ni el más conocido –al menos para los lectores modernos– de la historia egipcia. Pero si de reinas se trata el nombre de Cleopatra VII es el que viene a nuestra memoria antes que cualquier otro. Sin embargo, Hatshepsut fue aún más influyente que aquélla. Evidencia de esto es la “explosión de creativi-

dad artística” de su tiempo, en su templo funerario *Djeser Djeseru*, al oeste de Tebas, en Deir el-Bahari. El estilo innovador y la variedad de recursos son una muestra, a su vez, de los contactos con las zonas vecinas: Nubia, el Mediterráneo Oriental y el Egeo. Sin embargo, Hatshepsut desapareció de la memoria histórica egipcia, de manera tan efectiva que sólo nos quedan vagas referencias a su gobierno. Es por ello que su “reputación en la historia” es ciertamente pobre, y podemos rastrearla por intermedio de Manetón, quien la menciona bajo otro nombre –Ahmesis–. Aún hoy resulta controversial indagar sobre varios aspectos de su reinado, dado que las referencias sobre ellos son vagas y confusas. Después de presentarnos a Hatshepsut, el libro ofrece a lo largo de seis capítulos diversos aspectos de este gobierno bajo la lupa de renombrados especialistas. Todo ello confluye en un catálogo que reúne discusiones académicas junto al despliegue del estilo artístico que caracterizó al reinado de Hatshepsut.

Dividida en distintos capítulos temáticos, la obra es una compilación que presenta discusiones académicas asociadas al despliegue artístico que caracterizó al reinado de Hatshepsut. Los rasgos generales de Hatshepsut y su reinado aparecen delineados en la introducción, dejando en claro que la obra no está orientada al lector especializado únicamente. “*Setting the scene*” es el título del capítulo primero, donde A. Roth rastrea los antecedentes históricos que sirvieron de modelo a Hatshepsut al asumir su gobierno. Entre ellos la autora menciona a los reyes, a las madres de reyes y a las reinas regentes. Ante la minoridad de su sobrino, Tutmosis III, hijo de una reina menor -Isis- también esposa de Tutmosis II, Hatshepsut se coronó en el trono de Horus como “rey”. E. Russman proporciona un trasfondo artístico para el surgimiento del estilo tutmósida en la escultura y el relieve, prestando atención a elementos como el arcaísmo y la progresión de la escultura tanto de figuras regias como de aquellas que no lo eran. Siguiendo en la línea del contexto cronológico que propone este primer capítulo se hace hincapié en el estado de las relaciones culturales de Egipto con sus vecinos. W. Vivian Davies provee una descripción de los hechos transcurridos desde la descentralización del poder con la llegada de los hicsos y la toma de la Baja Nubia por los reyes de Kush hasta el surgimiento de la dinastía XVIII, al igual que detalles sobre la relación con la posterior Nubia colonial y los fenómenos culturales derivados de ella. Tratando el vínculo con el Cercano Oriente, C. Lilyquist repara en tres registros particulares: la tumba de Maiherperi, las posesiones encontradas en los entierros tebanos y los recipientes cerámicos que presentan rasgos esculturales. En los primeros dos casos se detallan objetos que sugieren la influencia oriental, mientras que en el tercer caso se hacen referencias de corte estilístico. En la misma línea, C. Roehrig se refiere a la tumba de Maiherperi y lo referente al

trabajo en vidrio en la época. M. Bietak, haciendo hincapié en las relaciones mediterráneas, comenta sobre lo ocurrido con Avaris tras la expulsión de los hicsos. Presenta una descripción del sitio arqueológico y, más importante aún, del hallazgo de influencia minoica en representaciones gráficas al igual que ciertos patrones decorativos y estilísticos similares a los que han sido encontrados en Grecia. Finalizando el capítulo primero, James P. Allen presenta el significado teológico del dios Amón y su fusión con Ra en el marco temporal del reinado de Hatshepsut, al igual que la mención del rol de éste en la legitimación regia.

El capítulo segundo se refiere a la corte que acompañó a Hatshepsut durante su gobierno. En primer lugar, P. Dorman trata sobre la metamorfosis de Hatshepsut, quien pasó de princesa a “esposa del rey” en tiempos de Tutmosis II, hasta coronarse, finalmente, en el año VII “rey” con forma masculina. Pudo hacerlo por la descendencia directa de su padre, el primero de los tutmósidas de la dinastía XVIII y por la elaboración de la mitología de su predestinación a través de un oráculo de Amón–Ra. Esto permite considerar que su actitud “*no fue una usurpación del poder real (sino) el resultado final de un experimento sin precedentes en el que se exploró la posibilidad de que una mujer de la corte ascendiera al trono egipcio*” (Dorman, p. 88). C. Keller, por su parte, apoya estos argumentos al mencionar que Hatshepsut no habría adoptado los atributos del rey masculino por ambición política, sino que ante la ausencia de convenciones diplomáticas o políticas, ella encontró la salvación por la vía artística, por un lado, a través del énfasis en restaurar la tradición (Templo de Hathor), y por otro, al recalibrar los calendarios y al re-institucionalizar las celebraciones cúllicas y los festivales. Keller explica la retórica imperial de Hatshepsut, evidenciada en su campaña a Nubia, y en los cambios en la administración de sus predecesores. Finalmente, los cambios institucionales de “la corte real” oscilaron entre la mayor complejidad burocrática, la incorporación de una armada regular, y el establecimiento de oficiales a cargo de la administración colonial del oeste Asia y Nubia. Todo ello dirigido desde, por un lado, la ciudad de Tebas -donde se hallaban el palacio real y los templos- y, por el otro, Menfis, en el rol de capital administrativa. Una vez presentado el contexto y la corte de Hatshepsut cobran relieve las manifestaciones monumentales, en el capítulo tercero “*Hatshepsut’s building projects*”. Si bien construyó templos en el norte (Beni Hasan) y en el sur (Nubia), su mayor esfuerzo, según lo explica D. Arnold estuvo centrado en la ciudad de Tebas; en su artículo no solo se detallan aspectos arquitectónicos, sino que también se lo relaciona con los cultos a los diferentes dioses y cómo esto afecta a los motivos estéticos y estructurales del templo de Deir el-Bahari. Por su parte, C. Keller se refiere a las estatuas y el motivo de su representación

femenina y, de manera más tardía, su apariencia masculina como método de legitimación. El estilo artístico de este gobierno quedó evidenciado, además, en las artes decorativas mencionadas en el capítulo cuarto, “*Decorative Arts: Jewellery*”. Estas abarcan todo tipo de elementos tales como cosméticos (D. Craig Patch), cerámica y recipientes de piedra (S. Allen), vasijas con forma humana (C. Roehrig), vasijas con forma de animales, trabajos en metal, mobiliario y carpintería (R. Dreyfus). Los sucesos posteriores a la muerte de Hatshepsut son presentados con un sugestivo título para el capítulo quinto: “*The Proscription*”. Sin embargo, autores como J.P. Allen demuestran que la memoria del reinado de Hatshepsut habría quedado intacta hasta el año 42 del reinado de Tutmosis III. A fin de responder porqué Tutmosis III inició acciones para eliminar la memoria del reinado de Hatshepsut veinte años después de su muerte, P. Dorman observa la extensión y la naturaleza de las alteraciones del nombre y la figura de la reina. Los ataques fueron directos a sus representaciones como “rey”, bajo el nombre de *Maatkara*. Por su parte, D. Arnold considera que “*no parece haber sido una manifestación de resentimiento personal hacia su predecesora, sino que fueron brutales fuerzas de antagonismos políticos todavía muy vivos dentro de Egipto casi cien años después que los tebanos pelearan por la supremacía contra los hicsos en el norte y con los nubios en el sur de su territorio*” (Arnold, p. 274). Y, por último A. Roth explica detalladamente distintas técnicas utilizadas para lograr la destrucción de las estatuas de Hatshepsut de Deir el- Bahari.

Por último, el capítulo sexto bajo el título de “*The Aftermath*”, muestra de la mano de J. Lipinska, las características del templo de Tutmosis III en Deir el- Bahari. D. Arnold, en cambio, presenta una cronología relacionada con su templo mortuorio con posterioridad a su gobierno, y, finalmente C. Keller, rastrea la exclusión de la reina de ciertos documentos, y considerando que su memoria se mantuvo por fuera del ámbito de la oficialidad, permitiendo a Manetón mencionarla aunque bajo el nombre de Ahmesis. Luego, la autora se refiere a cómo la ignoraron los autores clásicos, y su recuperación por parte de Champollion en el siglo XIX. Diversas interpretaciones acompañaron el nombre de Hatshepsut a lo largo de la centuria siguiente, pasando de escenarios de intriga y romance con su cortesano Senenmut, hasta considerarla usurpadora del trono de su sobrino justificando la posterior venganza de éste. Sin embargo, “*el debate actual, más que analizar su reputación personal, se centra en apreciar la dinámica que la llevó al trono y las innovaciones que caracterizaron a su reino*” (Keller, p. 296).

A modo de conclusión, se puede decir que *Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh* es un catálogo que provee un completo repertorio de aspectos relevantes del reinado de esta figura. Se aprecian imágenes a lo largo de todo el

volumen que respaldan e ilustran lo expuesto en los artículos, la mayoría de ellas tomadas del registro arqueológico. Dada la vastedad de temas tratados, esta compilación puede ser útil para cualquiera que estudie, no sólo el reinado de Hatshepsut específicamente, sino las tendencias artísticas y arquitectónicas de la época, al igual que los asuntos referidos a las formas de legitimación regia y como éstas se expresaban en el Egipto de la dinastía XVIII. Por último, el catálogo provee una lista de bibliografía que permite al lector interesado profundizar en los tópicos tratados.

VIRGINIA LAPORTA y LUCA PIETROSANTI

Universidad Católica Argentina

MARIO LIVERANI, *Más allá de la Biblia. Historia antigua de Israel*, Barcelona, Crítica, 2005, pp. xvii + 532. € 29,90. ISBN 84-8432-590-3.

Leer una historia sobre Israel en la antigüedad oriental escrita por el reconocido historiador italiano del Cercano Oriente antiguo Mario Liverani, me ha producido una doble sensación de placer y decepción intelectuales. El placer está dado por la notable condición de Liverani como historiador, circunstancia no menor al tratar temas bíblicos y relacionados con la historia de Israel, ya que la gran mayoría –¡si no la totalidad más absoluta!– de quienes abordan profesionalmente estos temas son ya teólogos, ya arqueólogos, ya filólogos. Esta trinidad de aproximaciones, aunque la encontremos en una sola persona, la mayor parte de las veces pierde la plena perspectiva histórica, aquella que se adquiere con el entrenamiento como historiador. Y Liverani, haciendo buen uso de este entrenamiento, nos presenta una historia renovada del antiguo Israel, una historia que va “más allá de la Biblia”, en tiempos en los que tal tópico parecía imposible luego del debate académico de los años ’90. Por supuesto, este trabajo de Liverani no tiene como público exclusivo a eruditos bíblicos o arqueólogos de Palestina, sino que se presenta como síntesis –aun así, de excelente factura– de los conocimientos históricos de esta región desde la Edad del Bronce Tardío hasta las vísperas del período helenístico, integrando críticamente las tradiciones bíblicas. Ahora bien, la decepción arriba aludida surge del alejamiento parcial, por parte del autor, de los prospectos historiográficos críticos resultantes del mencionado debate académico transcurrido en la última década del siglo pasado. No cabe duda de la postura “centrista” de Liverani con respecto a las polaridades “maximalista” y “minimalista” del debate. Sin embargo, el autor había mostrado en

sus intervenciones (i.e., “Nuovi sviluppi nello studio della storia dell’Israele biblico”, *Biblica*, vol. 80, 1999, pp. 488-505) un verdadero acercamiento hacia la disposición metodológica “minimalista” (N.P. Lemche, Th.L. Thompson, P.R. Davies), aunque sin adoptarla por completo, para reconstruir la historia del Levante meridional en la Edad del Hierro. En consecuencia, uno bien puede mostrar una cierta decepción ante el resultado de lo que sin duda puede llamarse “la primera historia de Israel” post-’90s, por mantener un optimismo considerable ante relatos bíblicos carentes de confirmación concreta (algo que también puede decirse de su *partner* historiográfico inmediatamente anterior: I. Finkelstein y N.A. Silberman, *The Bible Unearthed*, Nueva York, 2001).

La obra aquí reseñada representa la traducción de la original en italiano: *Oltre la Bibbia. Storia antica di Israele* (Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2003). El libro está dividido en dos grandes partes, una propiamente histórica y otra de carácter ideológico-interpretativa, algo en verdad novedoso para el común de las historias de Israel. El inicio está dado por una introducción (“Entorno y condicionamientos”, pp. 1-34) que prepara el escenario para el comienzo de la historia de Israel a partir de la sociedad del Bronce Tardío en Palestina. La primera parte, “Una historia normal” (pp. 37-238), aborda el pasado de Palestina a partir de la perspectiva del historiador oriental, esto es, a partir de la interpretación de textos exhumados y el análisis de informes arqueológicos. Junto a esta perspectiva, y quizás ante la ambigüedad de los materiales producto de las excavaciones, encontramos algunos versículos bíblicos, imprimiendo una cierta dirección –si no guía– al relato de la historia de Israel. La etnogénesis de esta entidad tiene como punto de partida la crisis general del siglo XII a.C. y el arribo de los llamados Pueblos del Mar, pero también se vincula a condicionamientos previos (económicos, políticos, sociales), propios de la historia general de la región. Por su parte, el inicio de la monarquía israelita es interpretado en clave antropológica evolucionista; el reino “carismático” de Saúl (pp. 105-110), que puede equipararse a una jefatura, antecede al Estado o reino incipiente de David y al posterior dominio territorial de Salomón (pp. 110-123). La reconstrucción de los reinos separados de Israel y de Judá entre los siglos IX y VI a.C. (pp. 125-169), si bien se hace eco de los resultados arqueológicos que demuestran la disparidad socioeconómica agro-pastoral entre norte y sur y que, en consecuencia, presentan al reino septentrional como anterior al de Judá y más rico y poderoso (a diferencia del relato en los libros bíblicos de Reyes), se encuentra narrada a partir de un engarzamiento de material propiamente histórico y relato bíblico. Es importante destacar, por otra parte, el énfasis que Liverani otorga a la intervención de los imperios asirio y babilónico en la región (pp. 171-238), especialmente con relación a la redacción de la historia deuteronomista (y su retrospectión del

pasado de Israel), la presencia de la ideología imperial foránea en los textos bíblicos, la prédica de los profetas pre-exílicos en torno a la condena del culto pagano y en pro de la justicia social y la reconfiguración demográfica a partir de deportaciones unidireccionales.

Un amplio “Intermedio” (pp. 241-294) centra la atención narrativa en la época axial que experimenta el Cercano Oriente –pero también la India y China– hacia el siglo VI a.C. Esta época es considerada como el contexto de la aparición del monoteísmo, de la “religión ética” (p. 247), que enfrenta al individuo con su responsabilidad colectiva. También, ya ahora en el marco diaspórico posterior al exilio, resurge el mensaje de los profetas en torno a la restauración de la alianza con Yahvé. El exilio pone de manifiesto asimismo –de acuerdo con Liverani– la necesidad de reformular la visión del pasado de Israel; este es el cometido que persigue la historia deuteronomista en época exílica: crear las bases para forjar una idea de “nación”. La influencia que las crónicas y las inscripciones babilónicas en la redacción de los libros de Reyes tienen en esto parece ser, en efecto, evidente (cf. pp. 271-274). Por último, la imagen bíblica de la “tierra vacía” luego del exilio es confrontada con el panorama más amplio del Cercano Oriente (pp. 275-294). Si bien existió un retroceso demográfico, el valor de este período de la historia bíblica es ideológico, en tanto escenario para la aparición de narrativas como la del diluvio universal, la torre de Babel y el jardín del Edén (pp. 279-286), así como de genealogías tribales (Gn 10, la “tabla de los pueblos”). Liverani atribuye la terminología tribal presente en los relatos bíblicos a la aparición de elementos nómades árabes (pp. 290 ss.)

La segunda parte, “Una historia inventada” (pp. 297-493), intenta poner de relieve la ideología implícita detrás de cada bloque temático veterotestamentario. Así, el autor atribuye al retorno de Babilonia, luego del edicto de Ciro en 538 a.C., la motivación original para la creación de las narrativas patriarcales (pp. 297-320), en tanto “fundación mítica del asentamiento” (p. 306) en un territorio ahora ocupado por los que no fueron exilados (de allí también las referencias bíblicas a las fricciones étnicas en el relato patriarcal). La intención ideológica del éxodo y la conquista responden también a un enfrentamiento étnico entre cananeos e israelitas bajo la administración aqueménida, como puede evidenciarse en los libros de Esdras y Nehemías (pp. 321-347); y es también bajo el dominio persa que las narrativas sobre los jueces de Israel, en un país “sin rey”, tienen origen (pp. 349-367). Durante el período post-exílico de Palestina –sostiene Liverani– tienen lugar tanto la invención de la Monarquía Unida, ideal utópico de dominio territorial autónomo, con tendencias anti y pro-monárquicas enfrentadas, como se puede

evidenciar en la historia deuteronomista (pp. 369-387), como la glorificación del templo salomónico, ideado a partir de modelos babilónicos durante el cautiverio (pp. 389-409). Por último, es en este preciso período que surge el judaísmo, a partir de una ley, un pacto y un ideal de justicia social, centrados en la figura de Yahvé (pp. 411-433), y con el paso del “mesianismo regio al mesianismo escatológico” (p. 382).

Finalmente, en el “Epílogo” (pp. 437-443), seguido de una amplia bibliografía comentada (pp. 445-486), de tablas y de útiles índices, onomásticos y temáticos (pp. 487-532), se hace un balance general de la obra, en donde se reafirma un tenor interpretativo “al centro” de la controversia entre un enfoque tradicional conservador y uno mucho más crítico.

En conclusión, como ya notamos, el placer intelectual es evidente al terminar de leer la obra. El juicio crítico del historiador es mantenido en todo momento, a pesar de la utilización –en mi opinión, a veces desmedida– de versículos bíblicos para “rellenar” situaciones históricas oscuras. Aun así, es evidente el esfuerzo que hace el autor por separar los fragmentos históricos del pasado de Israel de la evocación bíblica que se hace de ese pasado, teniendo en cuenta cada uno de los contextos de dicha evocación antigua. El valor historiográfico de la obra se deja ver desde el comienzo y no hay duda de que se establecerá como un nuevo clásico de la historiografía sobre Israel. Ante el anquilosamiento –muchas veces conservador– de interpretaciones previas, es ciertamente bienvenida esta nueva historia de Israel, una contribución que merece la atención de todo especialista en el tema. No necesariamente por las interpretaciones finales que ofrece Liverani (que, sin duda, están abiertas a la discusión), sino fundamentalmente por la disposición metodológica detrás de la obra.

EMANUEL PFOH

Universidad Nacional de La Plata

TREVOR BRYCE, *The Kingdom of the Hittites*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2005, 554 pp., con mapas, fotos, lista de reyes y apéndices (cronológico y documental), U\$S 55,00. ISBN 0-19-928132-7.

Este libro de Trevor Bryce constituye una edición revisada de la original de 1998, que incluye nuevas reflexiones derivadas de publicaciones recientes, así como de comentarios hechos por sus colegas. En función de perfeccionar su obra, Bryce ha llegado a reescribir casi por entero algunos capítulos y a reelaborar sus mapas.

Bajo el objetivo manifiesto de mantener el interés creciente acerca del antiguo pueblo hitita, Bryce recorre la historia política y militar de dicha civilización desde sus orígenes más ocultos hasta su enigmático derrumbe al rededor del 1200 a.C. Al pasar las páginas el lector podrá observar que existe una lógica que se repite a lo largo de la obra y que constituye una metodología a la que Bryce somete cada capítulo. Nos referimos a la regularidad con que el autor presenta –para cada tema– un breve esbozo acerca del camino andado por los investigadores hasta nuestros días. Se trata de sintéticos *status quaestionis* a los que Bryce suma una mirada crítica, situando fortalezas y debilidades de cada una de las teorías, que en ocasiones simplemente cita, permitiendo que el lector pueda ampliar, si así lo desea, lecturas al respecto.

Junto con la claridad metodológica, la obra presenta una estructura simple –derivada de la división de los capítulos en apartados– que, acompañada de una escritura amena, admite que el lector no especializado participe de una ágil comprensión del tema. Al mismo tiempo, cada uno de los catorce capítulos se encuentra debidamente documentado. En el capítulo 1, se expone el debate historiográfico sobre la presencia indoeuropea en Anatolia, como también sobre el lugar que ocuparon estos pueblos en una región posiblemente habitada de antemano, que Bryce vincula con un proceso de integración apresurado entre población nativa e indoeuropea que habría conducido a la formación de una “población mixta”. En el capítulo 2, se bosqueja el conocimiento arqueológico actual sobre el período del comercio paleoasirio y se profundiza –en función de la presencia de vastos establecimientos destinados al intercambio– sobre las posibles motivaciones que habrían desarrollado las empresas comerciales asirias en torno a Kanesh.

En los capítulos 3 y 4, Bryce presenta las dificultades que surgen al tratar de establecer una geografía política del mundo hitita, al mismo tiempo que sitúa al lector respecto de los pueblos que históricamente fueron sus rivales: hurresos, luwitas y kaskas. Las páginas que le siguen, discurren acerca del fundador del reino hitita y de la veracidad histórica del primer Labarna, incógnita que Bryce responde al negar que exista evidencia fundada para dudar de la autenticidad de éste posible primer rey. Al finalizar el capítulo 4, luego de sentar algunos lineamientos acerca de la organización de la política hitita –como la asamblea de Kussara o el modo de elección del nuevo gobernante– y de la ideología real, Bryce retorna al debate sobre los títulos regios que había iniciado con la temática del primer Labarna y luego continúa con el título usualmente asignado a la reina: Tawanana.

El par de capítulos que les suceden, el 5 y el 6, giran en torno a dos crisis paralelas que afectaron fuertemente el Estado hitita posterior al reinado de Hatushilli I, entre 1620 y 1400 a.C. La primera crisis se asocia con la lucha

fratricida por la sucesión al trono -cuya respuesta más concreta la hallamos en el *Edicto* del rey Telepinu- mientras que la segunda -en parte derivada de la primera- se liga con la rebelión de los territorios sujetos al poder real. En líneas posteriores, durante la descripción del reinado de Tudhalyia I/II -que corresponde al capítulo 6-, el autor centrará su mirada en los acontecimientos de orden externo: un lineamiento que perpetuará durante su análisis del reinado de Suppiluliuma I -perteneciente al capítulo 7-, puesto que es durante este reinado que se intensificarán las relaciones entre Hatti y sus vecinos, causados por las conquistas y por los lazos políticos que se sucedieron a las mismas.

En el capítulo 8 se analiza un nuevo momento para la historia del reino hitita. En él, los conflictos de sucesión, la persistencia de los enemigos del norte -los kaskas-, las rebeliones en Siria y la peste, azotan al Estado hitita en su conjunto. Esta serie de dificultades, que continuarían precipitándose sobre una población consumida por las guerras, se tornan casi insuperables cuando Estados poderosos, como Egipto y Asiria, decidan tomar provecho. En consonancia con este panorama el capítulo 9 trata principalmente sobre la emergencia militar egipcia bajo la dinastía XIX. En los capítulos siguientes, Bryce se limitará a continuar su avance sobre las vicisitudes internas y externas que el pueblo hitita debió sortear junto con sus líderes en los años que precedieron a la disgregación estatal. Frente a este proceso casi dramático que se describe puntualmente en el capítulo 13, el apartado que precede las conclusiones finales abandona el desarrollo paulatino de los acontecimientos para dar paso a una temática diferente: *La guerra troyana: ¿Mito o Realidad?* El texto concluye comparando al reino hitita con un gran organismo viviente que crece en belleza y magnitud, floreciendo poco tiempo antes de su inevitable fin.

A modo de apreciación, valga señalar que la obra de Trevor Bryce constituye un valiosísimo aporte para generaciones de estudiantes, profesores y aficionados interesados en aproximarse al conocimiento de los pueblos antiguos. Hallarán aquí la historia hitita desde una mirada política y militar, ampliamente fundamentada con fuentes y oportunamente acompañada de una vasta y actualizada bibliografía, mapas y fotos. En suma, *The Kingdom of the Hittites* compendia la historia de uno de los pueblos que permaneció oculto por cientos de años y aún tiene mucho por develar.

ROMINA DELLA CASA

Universidad Católica Argentina

WOLFRAM GRAJETZKI, *The Middle Kingdom in Egypt. History, Archaeology and Society*, London, Duckworth, 2006, pp. xii + 208, con mapas, fotos, ilustraciones y apéndices, US\$ 31,00. ISBN 0-7156-3435-6.

Aquellos que hicimos del Reino Medio egipcio nuestra área de estudio, recibimos con sumo interés y agrado la aparición de este volumen que se aboca al análisis de un período que, a diferencia de lo que suele suceder con otros períodos de la historia egipcia -como el Reino Antiguo o el Nuevo- no suele convocar tantas aproximaciones o interpretaciones relativas a su problemática.

El libro se inicia con un Prefacio, donde el autor indica claramente que se trata de un trabajo introductorio al Reino Medio y, efectivamente, con la lectura de las páginas que siguen se advierte que se atiende a ese carácter de obra general de referencia, útil y aprehensible tanto para el especialista como para el lego en la materia.

El recorrido continúa con una Introducción (pp. 1-5) en la que se señalan las dificultades que entraña el estudio del período, y donde se presentan los documentos de los que se dispone para emprender esa tarea; a lo que sigue el cuerpo central de la obra, dividido en tres grandes capítulos: “Historia” (pp. 7-75), “Arqueología y Geografía” (pp. 77-137) y “Sociedad” (pp. 139-165).

En primer lugar, el autor estructura la “Historia” del Reino Medio en base a una línea de tiempo que se inicia en el fin del Reino Antiguo y a partir del cual recorre, reinado por reinado, las evidencias relacionadas con los “reyes heracleopolitanos” del Primer Período Intermedio y con la línea tebana que reunifica Egipto y conforma la dinastía XI, para luego analizar las particularidades de las dinastías XII y XIII. A continuación, se adentra en el capítulo denominado “Arqueología y Geografía” donde, precisamente, sigue un orden geográfico basado en la lista de nomos de la Capilla Blanca de Sesostri I ubicada en Karnak y, a medida que los presenta, detalla los hallazgos que tuvieron lugar en cada uno de ellos, en especial, en las principales ciudades, necrópolis y templos. Sobre el final del capítulo, dedica algunas páginas a la problemática de la relación de Egipto con los “territorios vecinos”, en particular, Nubia y el Levante (pp. 133-137). Finalmente, el tercer y último capítulo (“Sociedad”) está estructurado en torno a la diferenciación de la sociedad egipcia en clases: por un lado, una aproximación a aquella que no es dirigente (“los grupos marginales” y “la población trabajadora”) con una breve referencia a la discusión acerca de la existencia de una “clase media” en el Egipto del Reino Medio (pp. 149-151); por el otro, a los funcionarios y finalmente, al rey y la familia real.

La organización estructural de la obra es adecuada, aunque la disposición de las notas al final del trabajo entorpece una lectura fluida del texto. Por cierto, el libro cumple con su objetivo, aunque hubiera sido deseable que temas relevantes, como los vínculos con los territorios vecinos –en especial Nubia y el Levante- o la discusión acerca de la “clase media” en el Egipto del Reino Medio, recibieran un tratamiento más pormenorizado. Asimismo, una referencia a los recientes hallazgos llevados a cabo en Mersa Gawasis (costa egipcia del Mar Rojo) hubiera dimensionado en mayor medida la capacidad organizativa y logística del Estado egipcio en relación con las expediciones al Punt. Por cierto, más allá de estas cuestiones, la obra reviste un carácter sumamente valioso en tanto constituye un aporte amplio y actualizado al conocimiento del Reino Medio egipcio.

ROXANA FLAMMINI

Universidad Católica Argentina

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PRATICO, G. D. 1985. "Nelson Glueck's 1938-40 Excavations at Tell el-Kheleifeh: A Reappraisal". In: *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 259, pp. 1-32.

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Centro de Estudios de Historia del Antiguo Oriente
Departamento de Historia- Facultad de Filosofía y Letras
Universidad Católica Argentina
Av. Alicia Moreau de Justo 1500 P.B.
(C1107AFD) Ciudad de Buenos Aires
Argentina

Dirección electrónica / E-mail address

cehao_uca@yahoo.com.ar

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