

# The World of the Aramaeans II

Studies in History and Archaeology  
in Honour of Paul-Eugène Dion



Edited by P.M. Michèle Daviau,  
John W. Wevers and Michael Weigl



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*Paul-Eugène Dion*

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## PREFACE

The languages and literature of the Bible have been of life-long interest to Paul-Eugène Dion, in his teaching, research and public lectures. In the course of his academic life, Paul took a broad view of the biblical world, when he added the dialects, epigraphy and history of the Aramaeans of Syria to his research and teaching. In his research, he investigated the political activities, social structures, religious beliefs and culture of the Aramaeans and the ways in which these people interacted with those of Mesopotamia in the east, Phoenicia in the west, Israel, Judah and the states of Transjordan to the south. Their language had an even greater influence than individual cultural characteristics, extending in the Persian period as far south as Upper Egypt and continuing in later Syriac literature.

The papers presented here include biblical, historical and cultural studies, most of which reveal the richness of the world of the Aramaeans and examples of the extent of Aramaean cultural influence. These studies are presented in admiration and affection for the work of Paul-Eugène Dion, and as a contribution to the study of the Aramaeans of Syria and their neighbours.

The response to our call for contributors was overwhelming. So many papers of quality, sometimes very detailed, were submitted, that it proved necessary to divide the Festschrift into three volumes, each containing several essays related to the Aramaean world, but reflecting a different sphere of Paul Dion's interests and scholarship: biblical studies; historical and archaeological research; language and literature.

Most of those who contributed to this second volume of the Festschrift were not colleagues immediately associated with Professor Dion's teaching career, but specialists of the history, archaeology and indeed epigraphy of the Levant during the Iron Age: Phoenicia, Philistia, Transjordan and Syria—the stage on which Israelites and Aramaeans so long contended together, but where they could also fight side by side to ward off conquest by the Mesopotamian powers. Some



of the scholars who wrote these chapters, and especially Professors Couturier and Peckham, were almost life-long friends and collaborators, while many others began lively exchanges with Professor Dion during the preparation of his comprehensive history of the Aramaeans during the Iron Age (1997).

This work is the gift of all those who have contributed their scholarship, friendship and respect for Paul Dion, including his colleagues and former students in the Near Eastern Studies Department (now the Department of Near and Middle Eastern Civilizations) at the University of Toronto, as well as colleagues in North America, Europe and the Near East with whom he has maintained an active exchange of students and offprints. Invaluable was the contribution of John W. Wevers, who not only wrote an important article, but also reviewed all manuscripts with his unflinching standards for precision and excellence. Other contributors also deserve a word of thanks: original artwork on the cover and before the index of each volume is the contribution of Isabelle Crépeau (Montréal); Wilfrid Laurier University student assistants, Erin Mitchell (funded by a WLU Book Preparation Grant) and Daniel Lewis, prepared bibliographies in a standard format, and inserted Hebrew and Greek characters where needed, and Kathryn Bahun prepared inked drawings for the article by Daviau. Funding for this work was provided by Wilfrid Laurier University through a book preparation grant and by private gifts. A special thanks is due to resources of the Archive of the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, the University of Toronto online catalogue and the Karlsruher Virtueller Katalog; their extraordinary collections made available complete publication information for the preparation of bibliographies and footnotes. Finally, M. Daviau is especially grateful to all the contributors and to her students for their patience during the busy months needed to complete this work.

## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AAAS</i>	<i>Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syriennes</i>
<i>AAR</i>	American Academy of Religion
<i>AASOR</i>	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
<i>ABD</i>	David Noel Freedman (ed.), <i>The Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> (New York: Doubleday, 1992)
<i>ADAJ</i>	<i>Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AJBA</i>	<i>Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology</i>
<i>ANET</i>	James B. Pritchard (ed.), <i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</i> (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 3rd edn, 1969)
<i>AnSt</i>	<i>Anatolian Studies</i>
<i>AOAT</i>	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
<i>AoF</i>	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i>
<i>ARES</i>	Archivi Reali di Ebla Studi
<i>ARET</i>	Archivi Reali di Ebla Testi
<i>AuOr</i>	<i>Aula orientalis</i>
<i>AUSS</i>	<i>Andrews University Seminary Studies</i>
<i>BA</i>	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
<i>BAR</i>	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>
<i>BAR</i>	British Archaeological Reports
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
<i>BIN</i>	A. Clay, <i>Letters and Transactions from Cappadocia</i> (Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies, 4; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1927)
<i>BiOr</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>
<i>BN</i>	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
<i>CCT</i>	S. Smith, <i>Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets in the British Museum</i> (London: British Museum, 1956)
<i>CdE</i>	<i>Chronique d’Égypte</i>
<i>CIS</i>	<i>Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum</i>
<i>CIS II</i>	<i>Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum. II. Inscriptiones aramaicas continens</i>

<i>CRAI</i>	<i>Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i>
<i>CSMS</i>	Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies
<i>DBSup</i>	<i>Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément</i>
<i>DNWSI</i>	J. Hoftijzer and K. Jongeling, <i>Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions</i>
<i>Ebib</i>	Etudes bibliques
<i>EI</i>	<i>Eretz-Israel</i>
<i>HSAO</i>	Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient
<i>HUCA</i>	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
<i>JANES</i>	<i>Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society (of Columbia University)</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JNSL</i>	<i>Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages</i>
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period</i>
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
<i>JSOTSup</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement Series</i>
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
<i>KAI</i>	H. Donner and W. Röllig (eds.), <i>Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften</i> (3 vols.; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 3rd edn, 1966–69)
<i>KTU</i>	M. Dietrich, O. Loretz and J. Sammartin (eds.), <i>Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit</i>
<i>LA</i>	<i>Studii biblici franciscani liber annuus</i>
<i>LD</i>	Lectio divina
<i>LdÄ</i>	<i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i>
<i>MDAIK</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts: Abteilung Kairo</i>
<i>MEE</i>	<i>Materiali Epigrafici di Ebla</i>
<i>MUSJ</i>	<i>Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph</i>
<i>NABU</i>	<i>Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires</i>
<i>NEA</i>	<i>Near Eastern Archaeology</i> , formerly <i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
<i>OBO</i>	Orbis biblicus et orientalis
<i>OIP</i>	Oriental Institute Publications
<i>OLP</i>	Orientalia Iovaniensia periodica
<i>OLZ</i>	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>
<i>Or</i>	<i>Orientalia</i>
<i>OrSuec</i>	<i>Orientalia Suecana</i>
<i>OTS</i>	Oudtestamentische Studiën
<i>PEQ</i>	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>

PET	M. Krebernik, <i>Die Personennamen der Ebla-Texte: Eine Zwischenbilanz</i> (Berlin: Rimmer, 1988)
QDAP	<i>Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine</i>
RA	<i>Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale</i>
RAC	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i>
RB	<i>Revue biblique</i>
RES	<i>Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique, avec le concours de J.-B. Chabot. I. 1–500, II. 501–1200</i> (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1905, 1907–14)
RIA	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archaeologie</i>
RQ	<i>Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte</i>
RSR	<i>Recherches de science religieuse</i>
SA	Serie archeologica
SAA	State Archives of Assyria
SAAS	State Archives of Assyria Studies
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SEL	<i>Studi epigrafici e linguistici</i>
SHAJ	<i>Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan</i>
SHANE	Studies in the History of the Ancient Near East
SJOT	<i>Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament</i>
SMEA	<i>Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici</i>
SRS	<i>Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses</i>
SS	Studi Semitici
TA	Tel Aviv
TAD A-D	B. Porten and A. Yardeni, <i>Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt, vols. 1–4</i>
UF	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	<i>Vetus Testamentum, Supplements</i>
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
WZKM	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i>
ZAH	<i>Zeitschrift für Althebräistik</i>
ZÄS	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>

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## PAUL-EUGÈNE DION: AN APPRECIATION

John William Wevers

I consider it a privilege to write a few words in appreciation of my colleague and friend, Paul-Eugène Dion, whom I have known since 1972, first as a brilliant and mature graduate student in my Septuagint seminar, and later, since 1980, as my colleague and close associate in the Department of Near Eastern Studies (now the Department of Near and Middle Eastern Civilizations) at the University of Toronto.

His graduate studies culminated in his PhD dissertation, entitled *La langue de Ya'udi: Description et classement de l'ancien parler de Zencirli dans le cadre des langues sémitiques du nord-ouest*, which appeared in 1974. Prior to his Toronto studies he had been teaching Bible and theology at the Collège Dominicain d'Ottawa (1964–70), as well as serving as visiting professor or part-time instructor at l'Université de Montréal, Queens University and St Paul University in Ottawa. From that period I personally knew only one publication of his, which dealt with the Servant Songs in Deutero-Isaiah in *Biblica* 51. From his bibliography it is apparent that he had concerned himself with New Testament studies as well as with Old Testament. His earlier training had been at the Ecole Biblique et Archéologique Française in Jerusalem, but his graduate studies at Toronto were undertaken to broaden his background in the Semitic environment of the Hebrew Scriptures, and he concentrated largely in cuneiform studies, viz. Assyro-Babylonian languages and texts, as well as Northwest Semitic language and culture, as his above-mentioned dissertation written under the late Professor Ernest Clarke illustrates.

A few years later he left Le Collège Dominicain d'Ottawa to join the teaching staff in the Department of Near Eastern Studies at Toronto, where his broader graduate studies received full play. He quickly became our resident authority on the history and culture of the Aramaeans of pre-Christian times, was acknowledged as such far beyond the



borders of Canada, and his detailed knowledge of the ancient Semitic world was communicated freely to his graduate students in seminars on Deuteronomy, the Psalter and Deutero-Isaiah, his triennial offerings in the Graduate School.

Professor Dion had an amazingly wide bibliographic knowledge, and colleagues and students alike never approached him in vain for current bibliography on anything connected with the biblical world. His bibliographic database was and is immense and contemporary. I was myself often the beneficiary of his briefing on some difficult exegetical problem in the Pentateuch; he would inevitably give me references to discussions which I had overlooked, even in my own field of expertise.

He is truly a Renaissance-type scholar. For example, he fully kept up on archaeological matters of the Near Eastern world even though he had never had extensive training in archaeology (digging only for one season at Tall Jawa, in Jordan); he was able to hold his own in discussions with professional archaeologists. He could discuss intelligently with Jack Holladay details of Iron Age pottery characteristics of some site, or neolithic levels of digs in Iran with Cuyler Young. But his central interest dealt with historical and textual matters, such as early Old Aramaic inscriptional materials, the Tel Dan Stele, the bilingual inscription of Tell Fekherye, the Seal of Ariyaramna, the *ktym* of Tel Arad. These interests were in due course capped by his encyclopaedic study of the Aramaeans of the Iron Age in his 1997 *Etudes bibliques* volume: *Les Araméens à l'âge du fer: Histoire politique et structures sociales*.

Paul Dion, however, always remained faithful to his early devotion to Old Testament studies. His graduate courses in exegesis produced numerous articles on Deutero-Isaiah, the Psalter and Deuteronomy in various French or English journals and *Festschriften* throughout North America and Europe. Typologically, these reflect his catholic interests, historical insights, exegetical matters, poetic structures, legal matters, ritual perspectives, archaeological details—anything which might clarify our understanding of the Old Testament text, history and culture was important to our friend, whose retirement we now recognize by this volume of studies, but whose retirement which this necessitates we deplore.

May I be permitted a personal reflection on my friend and colleague. For many years we have had adjacent offices in the department, and have eaten our brown bag luncheons together at 12.30 daily. Our dis-

cussions have roamed widely, not only on our particular academic interests, but on literature, classics, history, theology, classical music, drama, painting, architecture, even food, but I don't believe he ever referred to the Stanley Cup finals in hockey, the Grey Cup rivalries, or the World Series. I suppose that Paul may have known the difference between hockey, football and/or baseball, but he never to the best of my recollection ever thought it of sufficient interest to mention it. I shall miss him.

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PHOENICIANS AND ARAMAEANS: THE LITERARY  
AND EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE

Brian Peckham

*Introduction*

The most productive contacts between Phoenicians and the Aramaean regions took place early in the Iron Age, when the Aramaeans first appeared in Syria and Anatolia, and before the Assyrians began the provincial organization of the area. Relations between them continued until the Aramaean kingdoms were dissolved at the end of the eighth century, but they seem to have been perfunctory and without more than local interest. Throughout this time the Phoenicians kept peaceably to themselves, minded their own business, and intruded in another region's affairs only when this was to their mutual advantage. The Aramaeans, meanwhile, became progressively more occupied with Assyrian aggression, border disputes, imperial designs and matters of tribal or national identity.

Phoenicians and Aramaeans are usually studied independently of each other as if they did not have any historical—political, commercial, social or religious—connections, and as if there were not even indirect—via Assyria, Babylonia, Anatolia, Syria, Palestine, Transjordan, Arabia or the Mediterranean world—interdependencies between them (Moscati 1988; 1995). There might have been some cultural contacts (Dion 1997: 70-78), since they shared the alphabet and, perhaps, minor artistic traditions, but these took place haphazardly or in some primordial time and their real, human, historical modalities seem to resist reconstruction (Kuan 1995). In what follows this apparent historical void is approached from a Phoenician perspective, that is, from an interest in Phoenician identity and how this may have developed over time, and with special attention to Syria and Anatolia, where Phoenicians and Aramaeans could coexist without much interaction or mutual influence. This perspective is further limited by concentrating on evidence that can be brought into a literary or an epigraphic focus.

*Phoenicians and Aramaeans*

Phoenicians were the Canaanites of Tyre, Sidon and Byblos (Baurain, Bonnet and Krings 1991; Moscati 1993a: 15-28, 67-68; Salles 1995). These coastal cities, which had matured under Egyptian control, became strong and independent in the Late Bronze Age (Arnaud 1992; Xella 1995) and were prepared to take advantage of the changes that ushered in the Iron Age. They were longtime competitors who usually contrived to stay out of each other's way and who were distinguishable not only by their civic, religious and artistic traditions, but also by the different international networks they established (Peckham 1992; 1993; 1998). Tyre was the city of Melqart, Sidon was devoted to Eshmun and Astarte, and Byblos was distinguished by its dedication to Adonis and the Ba'alat of the city. There were cremation burials in Tyre (Seeden 1991; Moscati 1993b), but inhumation in elaborate sarcophagi at Sidon and Byblos, and each type of burial expressed a perception of a life and death which was exemplified in the life and death of their titular gods. Ivories in 'Phoenician' style probably were produced at Tyre and sold by Tyrians and they were especially popular in the eighth century and later (Barnett 1982: 43-90); the earlier and more traditional ivories in North Syrian style have been found where Sidonians are known or are supposed to have travelled and may have been the products of their workshops or some of the precious wares they marketed (Barnett 1957: 44-51; Winter 1976); those in South Syrian style (Winter 1981) might be attributed to Byblian artists or merchants. Tyre was associated with southwestern Cyprus and built a New City ('Carthage') at Limassol (Lipiński 1983), while Sidon, at least in the early first millennium, seems to have had preferential dealings with Kition and the south-eastern part of the island (Yon 1997), and Byblos most likely continued its age-old relations with Lapethos (Branigan 1966). Tyre was completely urban and favoured colonization, that is, the establishment of walled settlements which maintained political ties to the island city and regulated relations with the local inhabitants; Sidon was the city of merchants and skilled craftsmen who typically built shrines to their gods wherever they settled but were content to intermarry and assimilate to the native population; Byblians, similarly, renowned as architects and masons, travelled extensively but could be recognized in their new surroundings by their persistent fidelity to Adonis and the Ba'alat of Byblos. Tyre had interests in overland trade with Transjordan and

Arabia, Sidon was drawn to the Greek world, and Byblos was renowned for its Egyptian connection. All in all, Tyre was eclectic, Sidon was adaptable, Byblos was traditional. There was traffic between them, and often Byblos and Sidon worked and travelled together, but until Sidon was destroyed and Tyre was promoted by the Assyrians in the eighth century, the cities maintained their independence. The autonomy and distinctiveness of this original *tripolis* was reflected in the different affiliations of the other Phoenician ports, enclaves and towns—in Syria and Palestine and ultimately throughout the Mediterranean—with their founding cities.

The Aramaeans (Dion 1997), unlike the aboriginal Phoenicians, were newcomers to the regions which they infiltrated and settled (Sader 1992). These regions, apart from those which Assyria absorbed, belonged to, or had been incorporated into, the Hittite Empire. The western Aramaeans, consequently, did not take over an unsettled and unsophisticated expanse, but gradually came to power in countries that had already been occupied and organized by Hittites and Syrians. Some of those which were prominent in the Late Bronze Age, notably the coastal kingdom of Ugarit, lost their monarchic structure but still survived in the system of townships on which their power and prestige had depended (Liverani 1975; van Soldt 1996). Others, particularly inland kingdoms, maintained their territorial integrity but were incorporated into larger Iron Age kingdoms, as Nuhašše was absorbed by Hamat. The main differences which emerged among the Iron Age Aramaean states seem to have depended on whether they were originally Hittite or Syrian, whether they began as tribal entities or national states, and whether they originally enjoyed, like Umqi, or eventually acquired by expansion and consolidation, like Hamat and Arpad, access to the Mediterranean.

Although the transition from the Late Bronze to the Iron Age in Syria had been relatively calamitous for the old order, its effects on Canaan and the Phoenician cities appear to have been mostly positive. The principal cities kept their inland possessions, and were invigorated by the emergence and organization of Philistia (Stager 1995; Bauer 1998), Israel and the Transjordanian states (Dornemann 1983: 165-84). On the coast they maintained their home ports and developed the southern network of harbour towns which were active when Ugarit was the hub of maritime trade. They travelled north along the coast of Syria as they did in the Late Bronze Age, installed themselves in Neo-Hittite

centres in Anatolia, and by the end of the twelfth century had become regular suppliers to the kings of Assyria.

*Phoenicia, Philistia and Israel*

Early contacts between Phoenicians and the interior are evident in the alphabetization of the new nations. The twelfth-century abecedarium from 'Izbet Šartah near Aphek, in a common Canaanite script, may reveal how the alphabet was learned, and might be indicative of regional variations in its transmission (Cross 1981: 8-15): the unusual order of some of the letters suggests that the scribe remembered the alphabet by pronouncing it (mem in the place of waw), or by grouping letters of similar shape (ḥeth and zayin in reverse order, qoph + qoph instead of qoph + resh); the unexpected order of others (pe and 'ayin) may have originated in Israel. The Gezer calendar, which might be classified as Byblian (Naveh 1982: 65, 76-77), is better understood as evidence for North Israelite Hebrew as it was learned and written in the tenth century (Young 1992).<sup>1</sup> Israel, demographically, may have been embedded in the Canaanite continuum, but its development of schools and of regional characteristics suggests instead that the alphabet was borrowed from the Phoenicians and adapted to national interests.

The situation in Judah may have been much the same. The earliest evidence for its script is in the mid-ninth-century inscriptions of Mesha of Moab. The alphabet, although originally indigenous to this part of Canaan, certainly was borrowed by Judah since there are not enough letters to suit Judah's consonantal inventory. The script, when it was learned in Moab, already had features which clearly separated it from its Phoenician origins. If these were specifically North Israelite (Naveh 1982: 65-67, 104), it might be argued that the alphabet and script, as well as the annalistic style, had been learned in the preceding generation when, according to the inscriptions, Moab was subject to the kings of North Israel. But its cursive and calligraphic features make it the ancestor of the scripts of Judaeon texts, such as the Siloam inscription, and it is just as likely that the alphabet, script and literary genre were

1. The script of the Gezer Calendar already has the lengthening of verticals which will become a typical feature of the Hebrew script. The word *yrḥw* has been subject to much debate (Tropper 1993a) but, like the singular form *yrḥ*, is probably just the dual with the third masculine singular pronominal suffix *-w*, the form which is attested at Byblos and which might be predicted for the dialect of North Israel.

introduced into Moab before the ninth century, and somewhat later into Edom, not from Israel but from Judah. It would follow, if these tokens of literacy are symptomatic of a self-consciousness or sense of national identity, that Judah was alphabetized at least by the tenth century.

Phoenician contacts with Israel and Judah and Philistia were probably neither amorphous nor without nuance. Ninth-century Phoenician inscriptions from Kuntillet 'Ajrud, as the eclectic dedications suggest, might have been left by Tyrian merchants whose interest in overland trade with Edom and Arabia and whose Red Sea ports are legendary (Hadley 1993). The Philistines, similarly, whose urban instincts had helped shape neo-Canaanite culture, seem to have learned the alphabet, the lapidary script and the Phoenician language from Phoenicians by the end of the ninth century (Naveh 1985), but they modelled their cursive script on contemporary developments in Judah. A seventh-century inscription from Ekron in this script follows Phoenician consonantal orthography and, although it uses some of the traditional terminology of Byblian texts, has a few variations on the usual Byblian dedications and follows the morphology of Tyrian and Sidonian inscriptions (Gitin, Dothan and Naveh 1997). The *Kittiyim* of the Arad letters (Dion 1992) were mainland Phoenicians (Yon 1987; 1989), probably Tyrians,<sup>2</sup> who had settled among the Greek-speaking people of Cyprus, and who were familiar with the routes of the Judaeans wilderness, and it was fitting that enterprising Judaeans should be associated with them in Kition (Heltzer 1989; Puech 1990). These separate interests of the coastal cities and their specific impact on the nations of the interior may also be exemplified in the diverse reactions of biblical writers to Tyre, Sidon and Byblos: Tyre dealt mainly with Judah, and it was the paradigm of material and intellectual excellence; Sidon's principal connections were with the Northern Kingdom, and its propensity for assimilation to the people with whom it did business made it, in the interpretation of the some of the later writers, the paragon of evil; Byblos, in their eyes, was mainly a supplier to the other two cities and thoroughly benign. Many of the necessary details are missing, but maintaining the individuality of the Phoenician cities and the peculiarities of their outreach in the Levant and around the Mediterranean

2. Until the end of the eighth century the Phoenicians at Kition, where there are traces of their temple and workshops, were predominantly Sidonian. After the Assyrian suppression of Sidon, the city probably came under the authority of Tyre, but it did not become an independent colony until sometime in the sixth century.



world provides a critical balance to the usual harmonization of the written sources (Briquel-Chatonnet 1992), a basis for organizing the evidence, and a useful theoretical model for historical reconstruction.

*Phoenicia and the Cities of the Canaanite Coast*

Administrative documents and letters from Ugarit describe its regular relations with Tyre, Sidon and Byblos, and with other coastal cities of Canaan. From these, and from bits and pieces of epigraphic material, most of it much later, it is possible to get some impression of the network of relations among the harbours, ports and cities of the Canaanite coast.

Sarepta, between Tyre and Sidon, belonged at various times to one or the other city. It is not mentioned in the Ugaritic archives, but two inscriptions in the Ugaritic cuneiform alphabet have been found at the site (Teixidor 1975: 102-104, Fig. 55.2; Bordreuil 1979; Puech 1989). The texts are inscribed in the 'Canaanite' form of this script—that is, they are written in a 22-letter alphabet, in simplified cuneiform letters, and from left to right or right to left—on the edge of a bowl and on a jar handle. The language of both texts is Phoenician, and each has features which might suggest a Byblian origin: the handle is inscribed with the personal name Adon ('*dn*) which, although it is very common alone or in combination with some theophoric element (such as *b 'l*), could be a reference to the titular god of Byblos; the inscription on the bowl, naming the potter and the owner, uses the relative pronoun (*Z*) peculiar to Byblos (rather than the common pronoun '*š*'). This tentative Byblian connection could be a clue to the city's affiliation with Byblos or, since the archaeological evidence (Koehl 1985) seems to suggest that Sarepta was a Sidonian port, it could indicate that Byblos was in business there with Sidon. Sarepta's affiliation with Sidon, in fact, lasted for centuries, and its periodic dependence on Tyre (Elayi 1982: 95) was the exception. During most of its history, and certainly in later times, it was a manufacturing town and a pilgrimage centre (Pritchard 1975; Greenfield 1985).

'Akko is mentioned in the Ugaritic archives and at that time seems to have been a port city within Tyre's jurisdiction (Cunchillos 1986). This situation apparently perdured and was confirmed in the treaty of Esarhaddon with Ba'al of Tyre in the early seventh century (Parpola and Watanabe 1988: 24-27). Other ports on the Bay of 'Akko, including

Achzib and Tell Abu Hawam, along with the interior which biblical geography ascribed to the tribe of Asher, as well as the landings and harbours on the southern Carmel coast—including the Late Bronze Age site at Tel Nami and the Iron Age installations at 'Atlit, Tel Mevorakh and Tell Qasile—probably also belonged to Tyre and were frequented by Tyrian and Cyprian ships. In the shorthand of Esarhaddon's treaty these were 'the ports and trade routes...to 'Akko, Dor, to the entire district of the Philistines' to which Ba'al of Tyre was given unhindered access. In the early Iron Age, in conjunction with the arrival of Aegean immigrants (Dothan 1988), 'Akko became an important manufacturing centre for potters, metalworkers and fullers. In the Persian period an ostrakon recording offerings made to the local temple by a guild of metalworkers is filled with foreign, possibly Greek, words and attests to the persistence of this craft, and to the continued creative influence of immigrant workers (Dothan 1985).

Byblos, famous for its natural resources, acquired its reputation from its control of the Lebanon. This seems to have involved good relations with cities of the interior. One of these was Kamid el-Loz, Kumidi, beyond the Lebanon in the Biqa' (Weippert 1998). This city is known from the Amarna letters, and from letters of the same sort discovered at the site itself, one of them apparently sent from the king of Byblos (Huehnergard 1996). The Late Bronze Age finds include two Phoenician inscriptions in the developed 'Canaanite' form of the Ugaritic alphabet written, as at Sarepta, on a jar handle and on the edge of a bowl (Dietrich and Loretz, 1988: 222-31). There are also inscriptions, undeciphered but thought to be Phoenician, which consist of a few letters and monograms written in South Arabic script (Mansfield 1983). Of no less interest, considering the development of Byblian artistic traditions, are splendid ivories which blend Egyptian and indigenous Syrian features and may be considered forerunners of the South Syrian style. Among the Iron Age materials is an inscribed jar handle (Röllig 1983) from the late eighth century whose legend '[measure] of the king' ([*b*]t mlk) would indicate either local monarchic government or dependence on a neighbouring kingdom. Kumidi probably remained faithfully in the Byblian orbit and formed part of its political and commercial network in the interior.

These three places, Sarepta, 'Akko and Kumidi, illustrate the endurance of geographical boundaries and traditional allegiances among the cities of the Phoenician coast. The evidence is slight, but consistent,

that Phoenician cities generally were affiliated with or controlled by one of the major centres, Tyre, Sidon or Byblos.

*Phoenicia and the Cities of the Syrian Coast*

The cities of the Syrian coast are those which, in the Late Bronze Age, belonged to either Amurru, Ugarit or the kingdom of Mukish (the quondam kingdom of Alalakh, the future Patina or 'Umqi), and which in the Iron Age came under the control of Tyre, Sidon or Byblos. They no longer formed part of fixed dominions, but were independent ports serving the newly constituted kingdoms along the coast and in the interior. None of these kingdoms, it seems, was Aramaean when the Phoenicians first came into contact with them, although all eventually were Aramaized. They were rather Neo-Hittite principalities, and part of the network of kingdoms with which the Phoenician cities, and Sidon and Byblos in particular, had preferential dealings.

The principal ports of Amurru were at Tell 'Arqa, Tell Kazel (Sumur), Amrit and Arvad. Amurru maintained its independent status at least into the early Iron Age; among the arrowheads of this heroic age there are two (Starcky 1982; Deutsch and Heltzer 1994: 12-13) from the late eleventh century inscribed 'Arrow of Zakarba'al, King of Amurru' (*hš zkrb'l mlk 'mr*); and it may have kept control of its Mediterranean ports, even though Amurru itself was not known as a seafaring nation. A similar situation prevailed in the eighth century when these towns, along with those along the north Syrian coast, came under the control of land-lubbing Hamat. At this time, perhaps, but certainly in the following centuries, the ports were Phoenician, or were frequented by Phoenician ships. The evidence for the preceding centuries is slight and often circumstantial.

A fourteenth-century seal (Cross 1954: 21-22) inscribed 'The Arqite' (*'rqr*) suggests that already by this time the port of Tell 'Arqa was frequented by Canaanites. It is in the foothills of the Lebanon, where the Hamat gap debouches into the Mediterranean, about halfway between Byblos and Arvad. At least by the eighth century, and probably as early as the ninth, Phoenicians were well established at 'Arqa, and the city was ruled by a king. A late-eighth-century inscription painted on a jar found at the site (Bordreuil 1983: 751-53; Pl. 142) has a rare dialectal feature (the assimilation of [L] in the name *b'ntn* < *b'lnn*) and a personal name (*'dnb'l*, 'Adon is Lord') which may suggest that the man

was of Byblian origin. Another with a rare hypocoristic name (*gmr*, '[God] Accomplished') mentions the royal standard (*lmlk*, 'of the king') either of the king of Hamat<sup>3</sup> or of the local Phoenician monarch. Another from Tamassos in Cyprus dated to the early fourth century was inscribed on a statue dedicated by a man whose great grandfather came from 'Arqa. There is also an early ninth-century statuette from 'Arqa which has its closest parallels at Tell Kazel and Sidon. All in all, although it is not certain how the town fitted into the Phoenician network, all the evidence suggests some sort of connection with Sidon and Byblos.

Tell Kazel, ancient Sumur, is just north of Tell 'Arqa in the plain of 'Akkar. It was an Egyptian administrative centre, replacing Byblos in the Amarna age, and was overrun by the Sea Peoples in the early Iron Age. There are Phoenician inscriptions from the site, all from very late in the first millennium, one inscribed 'servant of Eshmun' (*n'r šmn*) which attests to the cult of Sidonian Eshmun in the town (Bordreuil, Briquel-Chatonnet and Gubel 1996: 41-44), another on a rectangular stamp resembling those found at Tyre, Byblos and in the Galilee (Sader 1990). The archaeological evidence suggests that Phoenician presence in the eighth and seventh centuries, marked by terracotta figurines like those found at 'Arqa and Sidon (Gubel 1982), was discreet, and that the town was an essentially Syrian settlement, doing business on a very modest scale with Cyprus (Badre *et al.* 1990; Gubel 1994).

Amrit was the mainland city of insular Arvad. The inscriptions and the archaeological evidence attest that the town was essentially a Sidonian foundation and a pilgrimage centre with strong ties to Cyprus. The port at nearby Tabbat el-Hammam was built in the eighth century to handle traffic with Greece. The inscriptions from the sixth to the fourth century (Bordreuil 1985; Puech 1986) mention the god Eshmun and Shadraba, the genius of healing, and the sanctuary, like the temple of Eshmun at Sidon, featured lustral rites (Dunand and Saliby 1985).

3. The royal and common standards of Hamat are known from two bronze weights, one (Bron and Lemaire 1983a: 763-65) inscribed *št šql hmt*, the other (Heltzer 1995) *šql hmt*. The royal standard is indicated by the abbreviation *št* which comprises the letter *š* of the word *šql*, 'shekel', and a symbol which resembles the letter *tet* but is more likely a schematic and cursive scarab: this symbol is also found on Phoenician ostraca from Elephantine where it follows the phrase *lmlk* 'belonging to the king' (Peckham 1968: 128, 147).

The stele with the dedication to Shadrapa is a regional variation of the North Syrian style, mixing Anatolian, Egyptian, Assyrian and Syrian elements (Tore 1995: 477-78). A late-fifth-century seal which belonged to a votary of the god Melqart-Reshep (Puech 1986: 339-42) illustrates the sort of syncretism that flourished in Cyprus. In the sixth century, ex-votos of Heracles-Melqart which were imported from Cyprus (Jourdain-Annequin 1993) and a terracotta figurine of an enthroned god which illustrates the sophisticated style of Phoenicians from Cyprus (Bisi 1982) are further examples of the tendency, most notable among Cypriot Phoenicians, to associate or equate the gods Eshmun, Adonis and Melqart.

Arvad, according to the Amarna letters, supported Sidon in its open defiance of Egyptian authority and, since these letters refer to 'the people of Arvad' and make no mention of a king, it may have been a Canaanite or even a Sidonian settlement. It was an independent kingdom from at least the ninth century and its kings, who are mentioned in the Assyrian annals, had Phoenician names, some composed with the typically Syrian element 'Mighty' (*l'y*). There are inscriptions of two Egyptian officials, one from the eighth century, the other from the sixth, Greek texts and Phoenician-Greek bilinguals from the Hellenistic period, sculptures in an ancient local tradition and marble architectural elements of the Persian period which exhibit the island's cosmopolitan character (Yon and Caubet 1993). It was, if not a great commercial centre, at least a port of call for pilgrims from around the Mediterranean.

Amurru, as the arrowheads of its eleventh-century Phoenician king attest, had come under Canaanite influence, or was a Canaanite protectorate, by at least the Early Iron Age. Although the evidence from the coastal towns is slight, it tends to favour the same conclusion. But there is also indirect evidence from Hamat (Dion 1997: 137-70), whose relations with Amurru probably antedate its eighth-century control of the region by several centuries, that Canaanite cultural influence in the region was not haphazard or insignificant. Hamat's ties to Israelite Canaan are proposed in biblical texts, and its ongoing relations with those kingdoms may be suggested in proper names from eighth-century sources (Dalley 1990; Zevit 1991; Tadmor 1994). Its early Phoenician connections, particularly with Byblos, can also be proposed on the evidence of inscriptions and personal names from Hamat which indicate that the worship of the Byblian gods Adonis and Ba'alat was estab-

lished in the kingdom at least by the tenth century. An inscription of Irhuleni, who reigned in the second quarter of the ninth century, and who led the anti-Assyrian coalition, which included Israel and, some would argue, Byblos, records the dedication of thrones for the gods of Hamat, including one for Pahalati, or 'Ba'alat'. It goes on to note that his father and grandfather were negligent in their devotion to her, and insists that this impiety will not be repeated in his reign (Riis and Buhl 1990: 10, 28). Her cult, consequently, which the eighth-century personal name 'Servant of Ba'alat' ('*bdb 'lt*) shows persisted for centuries (Otzen 1990: 278), can be traced back to the reigns of the kings of Hamat in the early ninth or the tenth century. The worship of Adonis, more than likely established at the same time, is known from the name of an eighth-century palace overseer, 'May Adonis be Exalted' ('*dnlrm*, Otzen 1990: 275-77). Neo-Hittite Hamat, as is perhaps most obvious in the case of its king Zakkur, an Aramaean from 'Ana on the Euphrates and most likely an Assyrian appointee, welcomed adventurers and foreigners. It seems that Byblians had settled there early in the Iron Age, made it a manufacturing and distribution centre of ivories in the South Syrian style (Barnett 1957: 44-51; Winter 1981: 111), and were such an integral part of the society that some of them remained and held office even after the kingdom had been absorbed into the Aramaean imperial system.

The ports along the North Syrian coast, notably Tell Sukas, Ras el-Bassit and Al Mina—in the principality of Siyannu, the former kingdom of Ugarit, and the chiefdom of 'Umqi, were not Phoenician settlements but manufacturing centres where a few Phoenicians lived, and trading depots where Phoenicians travelling west stopped and did business with the local shops and with Greek and Cypriot merchants (Waldbaum 1997). These Phoenicians, originally from Sidon or Byblos, later perhaps from Tyre, were those who also frequented the more southerly ports. The local inhabitants with whom they lived and worked were Syrians and not Aramaeans (Bonatz 1993; Lehmann 1998). Ras el-Bassit, for instance, once the northernmost port of Ugarit, was a quiet Syrian town which began to thrive toward the end of the eighth century (Courbin 1990; 1993). The tokens of its prosperity are imports from Cyprus, Greece and Phoenicia. The occasion for its outreach into the Mediterranean may have been Assyria's reorganization of the coastal regions which, besides bringing the town into the Hamat network, also promoted the interests of Tyre at the expense of Byblian

and Sidonian monopolies on Levantine and Aegean trade. The situation at Al Mina, just to the north of Ras el-Bassit in the territory of 'Umqi, was quite different (Boardman 1990). It was a joint venture of Euboean and Sidonian merchants, dealing in typically North Syrian goods, doing business with Eastern Greek buyers, notably in Samos and Eretria, and travelling westward together to Italy and Sicily. It was the product of cooperation that began in the tenth century and business was especially brisk during the next two centuries. Their interests were complementary rather than common, each selling the other the goods which they produced or bought from their separate suppliers, each respecting the other's markets. The partnership was in decline by the end of the eighth century, but Al Mina preserved traces of its Sidonian and Greek (Euboean and then Athenian) heritage as late as the Persian period (Bron and Lemaire 1983; Elayi 1987).

There are no Phoenician inscriptions from these north Syrian ports, but there are several Aramaic inscriptions which might illuminate their overseas ventures and inland connections. The earliest of these are the inscriptions mentioning Hazael, the king of Damascus in the second half of the ninth century, which were offered by subject nations in commemoration of his victories and heroic deeds. Of these, two are identical inscriptions on a pair of horse blinkers made in his honour by 'Umqi when he 'crossed the River' (Eph'al and Naveh 1989). They probably were not presented to him, but rather intended from the start as votive offerings.<sup>4</sup> They were discovered separately in the Heraion on Samos and at Eretria, and almost certainly were brought to those places by Euboean traders who had acquired them, perhaps from Sidonian merchants, in the marketplace at Al Mina. They probably were antiques when one was finally deposited in the temple of Hera on Samos (Kyrieleis 1990; 1993), and it is likely that they were originally acquired as heirlooms, after the reign of Hazael, when he had lost his quasi-divine mystique as 'Our Lord,' perhaps when Arpad superseded Damascus and took control of 'Umqi toward the end of the ninth

4. The third word of the dedication, usually read *hdd* and understood as the proper name 'Hadad', should probably be read *hdr*, 'glory, splendour'. Eph'al and Naveh (1989: 193) note that resh is distinguished from dalet by its longer downstroke but, instead of comparing the two letters in the third word where this is the case, compare the resh in this word to its other occurrences at the end of the inscription where all the letters are slightly larger. If *hdr* is the correct reading, the meaning would be something like 'Which was given in honour of our Lord...'

century.<sup>5</sup> Slightly later than these is a dedication to the Tyrian god Melqart by the king of Arpad (Puech 1992). The dedication, unusual in Aramaic, and a local variant of a Phoenician genre, records the king's vow to the god of Tyre and the making of an inscribed monument with the likeness of the god when the vow was fulfilled. The genre and the wording must have been learned from Phoenicians, maybe those at the port of Al Mina which Arpad now controlled. The cult of the gods of Tyre was already known at Ugarit in the thirteenth century—the hero Keret makes a pilgrimage and offers a vow to Asherah of Tyre—and the cult of Melqart, the immortalized mortal whom the Greeks recognized as Heracles, apparently was very popular in this region in the ninth century. The king of Arpad's vow might imply a pilgrimage to Tyre, although it more likely reflects acquaintance with the legends of the Greeks at Al Mina, but his dedication to Melqart undoubtedly reveals his pretension to immortality like the god's or his aspiration to the heroic stature of Hazael. All in all these inscriptions, entirely in a religious vein, give some insight into the connections between the cities of the coast, in particular the Euboean and Sidonian enclaves at Al Mina, and the kingdoms of the interior. Phoenicians had little contact with Aramaeans; some or all of it may have been through Greek intermediaries, and it was limited to the ninth century or earlier, and focused on literary, religious and artistic borrowings.

### *Phoenicians in Anatolia*

The early presence of Phoenicians in Anatolia is attested by the epigraphic materials. The most important of these are the Zinjirli and the Karatepe inscriptions, along with a few others which help confirm the establishment of a Phoenician scribal and literary tradition in the region (Lebrun 1987; Lemaire 1991).

The inscriptions from Zinjirli were written in an archaic dialect of Aramaic which did not share in all the developments of standard old Aramaic (Garr 1985), and in a dialect of Phoenician like that of

5. A third inscription mentioning 'Our Lord Hazael' was carved on an ivory bedstead by another of the countries which he conquered (Puech 1981). It was found at Arslan Tash in North Syria, where there was a Phoenician quarter, and could have been the product of a local workshop, or might have been brought there as a valuable antique. In either case, it probably was not actually presented to Hazael, and it may not even have been delivered to the people who commissioned it.



Byblos.<sup>6</sup> The Kilamuwa inscriptions from the last quarter of the ninth century (Tropper 1993b) were written for a king with a Neo-Hittite name, in Aramaic script and in high relief as was featured in the Aramaic texts of the region, with Phoenician orthography, and in an elegant old Phoenician literary style. The monumental text mentions four kings who ruled before him, three with Aramaic names, one with a name of unknown origin, and alludes to kings who preceded them. It would be consistent with the learned style of the inscription if Phoenician had been introduced in one of these earlier reigns by people from Byblos, but it is clear that the Byblian scribal tradition was established in Zinjirli by the ninth century, and that Phoenician had become the literary language, not the *lingua franca*, of the region.

The Karatepe inscription is about a century later, from an adjacent area, written with the same literary flair by a potentate with a Luwian name, who ruled in the city by authority of the king of the Danunians, himself a descendant of the house of Mopsos. The interpretation of the dynastic and ethnic names is controversial, but it is plausible that they refer to people who traced their origins to the Greeks who settled in the region at the end of the Late Bronze Age and who, according to the Kilamuwa inscription, even in his time were an unintegrated and troublesome element of society. The inscription (Younger 1998), which is particularly interesting for its balanced and almost epic style, for its peculiarly Phoenician—perhaps specifically Byblian—ideology of kingship as a benefit to the people, and for its traditional piety, confirms the age-old presence of articulate and educated Phoenicians in this part of Anatolia.

The pre-eminence of Phoenician culture in Anatolia, as in North Syria, was soon to become a thing of the past. The land of Y'dy where Kilamuwa reigned in the ninth century was ruled by an Aramaic-

6. Both Kilamuwa inscriptions (Tropper 1993b: 27-47, 50-53) are Phoenician, and written in a purely consonantal Phoenician orthography (Tropper [1993a: 30, 170] concludes that final 'aleph in the proper name *Hy*' is a vowel letter, but it is probably just the consonantal morpheme regularly used in Phoenician to form personal names). The grammatical references which follow are to Friedrich and Röllig (1970): the third singular pronominal suffix is *-h*, and the third plural is *-hm* (#112: 1, 1 b); past narrative, at Zinjirli and Karatepe, is expressed by the infinitive absolute with a following first singular personal pronoun (#267); the relative pronoun is *z* (#293); the final *-Y* of third-weak verbs is retained (#176b); there is an infix *-t-* stem of the verb (##149, 150). Further, some of the expressions (e.g. *'rk hy*, 'length of life') are peculiar to Byblos and its satellites.

speaking Luwian dynasty in the first part of the eighth, and came under increasingly Assyrian control until, as 'Sam'al', the name preferred by the Assyrians, it became completely Aramaized like the rest of the empire. At Arslan Tash, a North Syrian neighbour, Phoenician was still spoken in the seventh century, but it was written in Aramaic script and orthography and, though the balanced and cadenced style of the Phoenician was maintained, the preferred genres were Aramaic (Cross 1974; Cross and Saley 1970). In Cilicia, where Karatepe was situated, political ties with Sidon continued for only a generation, but the ancient Phoenician literary and scribal traditions survived for centuries (Mosca and Russell 1987). In all the areas where the Aramaeans became predominant, Phoenician soon was forgotten and by the end of the eighth century Phoenician culture was replaced by the Aramaization of the empire.

#### *Phoenicia and the Alphabetization of the Aramaeans*

The alphabet was a Canaanite invention, and certainly was borrowed by the Aramaeans from the Canaanites or Phoenicians whom they met. This borrowing took place early in the Iron Age, when Sidon and Byblos were actively engaged in Syria and Anatolia, and long before the formation of Aramaean national states squelched the creative Phoenician spirit in these regions.

The alphabet probably had its origins in Egyptian group writing (Hoch 1994: 487-504), and was the successor of the early-second-millennium attempt to write Canaanite in a pseudo-hieroglyphic syllabary (Hoch 1990; Colless 1992). It had 22 consonantal phonemes and no vowels (Colless 1990; 1991), and was invented at a time when Canaanite had already adapted the more elaborate Northwest Semitic phonological inventory. Like the syllabary it replaced, as its Egyptian heritage recommends, and as its early use in the Sinai peninsula to write the name of the goddess 'Ba'alat' would suggest, it was probably a Byblian invention.

The alphabet was invented to be learned, with its pedagogical and mnemonic techniques embedded in the form and order of the letters, and, although it was the product of education, long deliberation and insight, its acquisition was easy, and its use simple for anyone who already knew the spoken language. It was composed according to the acrophonic principle, so that each letter represented a different thing

and had the spoken value of the first consonant in the name of that thing: the letter [d], for example, looked like a door, and represented the first letter of the word 'door' (which was \*dalt) in Canaanite. Further, all the things represented by the alphabet could be seen in an ordinary Canaanite homestead, or at least in a patrician Canaanite estate consisting of a house and a courtyard with a large pool: the house, the courtyard, the door of the house and its bolt; the man, his head, his eyes, his eyebrows, his mouth, his teeth, his arm, his hand, his staff; the woman's spindle and thread; an ox and an ox goad; a bag and the cord to tie it; the pool of water, a fish, a good-luck snake. Moreover, since the alphabet was designed to be learned by recitation, all the names of these things, following a device in Egyptian group writing, had [a] as the vowel of their first syllable. Furthermore, the alphabet was meant to be learned in two parts (Coogan 1974), the rudiments or A-B-Cs, which represented the man and woman at home, and the elements or L-M-Ns, which depicted a view from the doorway into the courtyard, and the connection between them was that the first part began with the letter 'aleph, whose sign was the ox, while the second began with the letter lamed, pictured in the ox-goad. Besides, the alphabet marked itself clearly as a symbolic system designed to be learned: the last letter is [t], Canaanite \*taw, meaning 'mark', and its picture is just a plain mark or symbol like the proverbial X which marks the spot; the first letter of the first part, the first consonant of the representative ox, is 'aleph which as a noun means 'ox' but as a verb also means 'to learn'; and the first letter of the second part, the first consonant of a pictured ox-goad, is lamed, which as a noun means 'ox-goad' but as a verb also means 'to teach'.

The alphabet did not just happen, and it was not learned by chance, or adopted at random, or adapted for another language without skill and deliberation. When the scribes at Ugarit, who regularly wrote in a cuneiform syllabary, took over the Canaanite alphabet, they invented new cuneiform signs to represent the Canaanite consonants, but had to devise other signs to represent the five additional consonants in their language, and a sign to represent the letter [š] which was used in transliterations. They adopted the alphabet as a system, practised writing its consonants in their proper shape and order, learned it by recitation and by pronouncing it as a syllabary, and in this syllabic mode added two other letters to represent initial 'aleph—already in the alphabet and pronounced with the vowel [a]—with the other two basic vowels [i and

u]. The cuneiform letters no longer represented the things to which they originally corresponded—for instance, the letter [d] did not represent the ‘door’ of which it was the first consonant—but instead imitated the shape of the letters as they were found either in the contemporary Canaanite linear alphabet (Stieglitz 1971), or in an earlier recorded form. The extra letters [š, i, u] were put at the end of the alphabet: the [š] looked like the Canaanite linear [s]; the ’alephs with the vowels [i] and [u] seem to have resembled earlier forms of their congeneric consonants [y] and [w]. Of the five additional consonants needed to write Ugaritic, one (an emphatic [z]) imitated a letter with a similar sound in the contemporary linear alphabet, two (an emphatic [h] and [š]) imitated earlier linear forms of letters with the same ([š]) or a similar (non-emphatic [h]) value, and two ([d] and an emphatic [g]) were just modelled on letters with similar sounds which already appeared in the Ugaritic alphabet. These additional consonants were inserted into the established order of the Canaanite alphabet next to letters they resembled, either in their original linear form (cuneiform [š] comes after cuneiform [k] because, while it is a fair approximation to linear [š], it more closely resembles Canaanite [k]) or in their cuneiform shape (the other four). The scribes of Ugarit, in short, borrowed the alphabet from Canaan and adapted it, but kept its mnemonic, now aural and visual, and pedagogic features. They learned the South Arabic alphabet as well (Bordreuil and Pardee 1995), but it was the Canaanite system that inspired them, and they kept adapting their own version to resemble it better. It was just their irresistible Syrian penchant for syllabic spelling that prompted them to diverge from it by inventing signs that represented a consonant-plus-vowel combination and, at the very beginning of the Iron Age, by using some of their consonantal signs to write vowels without consonants.

It was around the same time or slightly later that the Aramaeans learned the alphabet from the Phoenicians. The earliest Aramaic inscription is from Tell Halaf and belongs to the beginning of the ninth century. But the inscription from Tell Fekherye in the same region, which is from about the middle of the century, is written in a script that is almost two hundred years older (Cross 1995). It is clear that either the alphabet was borrowed at that earlier time and then preserved without change in a frozen form, or copied in an archaizing hand, or alternatively that, as at Ugarit, they learned the alphabet from people who could teach them both its current and its more primitive forms. Their

sophisticated orthographic system, in which consonantal signs represent long vowels in open unaccented or in closed accented syllables, suggests an earlier rather than a later borrowing, with time for the standardization of these developments. An archaizing script would harken back to an event deemed to be of great local significance. A frozen, copied or foreign form would reflect a situation analogous to that at Zinjirli where the alphabet developed normally and yet the Aramaic language did not, but instead maintained through the centuries some of the archaic forms it had when it was first written in the newly acquired alphabet. In any case, it seems reasonable to suppose that the alphabet was borrowed from the Phoenicians in one of these areas of Anatolia or North Syria no later than the eleventh century, and perhaps earlier.

The alphabet generally was not borrowed without regard for the culture which produced it. Moab and Edom received it from Judah with which they had much in common. The Philistines got it from Judah and from a Phoenician centre such as Tyre and had economic and cultural ties with both (Gitin 1995; Golani and Sass 1998). North Israel was influenced especially by Sidon with which it shared linguistic and ethnic roots. When Ugarit borrowed the alphabet, perhaps from Byblos, it borrowed along with it the Byblian legends and rituals of Adonis which in the Baal epic, in the guise of the struggle between Baal and Death, are combined with the old Amorite and Syrian story of Baal's defeat of the Sea. However, the Aramaeans, who found Assyrian and Babylonian customs and culture more compatible, seem to have borrowed the alphabet from the Phoenicians without any other token of their civilization.

When the Greeks borrowed the alphabet they were the beneficiaries of centuries of local adaptations. Like the scribes of Ugarit, they copied from old and more recent tables of scripts, and put the extra letters at the end of the alphabet. Like the scribes of Ugarit and the Aramaeans after them, they used consonantal signs as vowels. This means, not that the Greeks borrowed the alphabet from the people of Ugarit or from the Aramaeans (Amadasi Guzzo 1987; Knauf 1987; Röllig 1992), but that the Phoenicians who taught it to them understood and remembered the adaptations the alphabet had received at the hands of these early beneficiaries. There is a small and fragmentary eighth-century inscription painted on a jar from Sarepta which almost catches this educational process in the act (Teixidor 1975: 101, Fig. 55.1). When it was pub-

lished, it was noted that it was written from left to right, not from right to left like standard Phoenician, and only three of the four letters could be deciphered. Another look at the inscription shows that the four letters, are yod, ḥeth, 'aleph, and 'ayin, the letters used in Greek for the vowels *i*, *ē*, *a* and *o*, but written here in their original early eighth-century Phoenician form. If this is the case—there is a much later fragmentary Phoenician abecedarary from the same place (Teixidor 1975: 99-100, Figs. 30.2, 54.2)—it is clear that Phoenician scribes knew the vocalic equivalence of the consonantal signs, and may have invented it on the basis of Aramaean usage, and would be able to pass it on to the Greeks. These people were old friends and, unlike the Aramaeans, were eager to enter deeply into the culture that produced and disseminated the fundamental instrument of literacy and literature (Powell 1991).

### *Conclusion*

The relations between Phoenicians and Aramaeans were rare and mostly ephemeral. The only really significant exception was their borrowing of the alphabet. But it, like all the others, took place early in the Iron Age, before the formation of Aramaean national states, before imperial ambition provoked the Assyrians. Phoenician influence began along the Mediterranean coast and filtered into the interior only among the Neo-Hittites and similarly receptive peoples. When the Aramaeans and then the Assyrians took over the countries of Syria and eastern Anatolia the Phoenicians, now under the tutelage of Tyre, gave up their mainland interests and began to go overseas.

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ARAMAICA HABURENSIA V\*: LIMU-DATIERUNGEN  
IN ARAMÄISCHEN URKUNDEN DES 7. JH. V. CHR.

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In the course of excavations at Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad, in Syria, a group of Aramaic texts were found. Some of these texts bear names of Assyrian eponyms (year-officials = *limmu*) from the last decades of the Assyrian empire (between 674–22 BC). They also occasionally include Aramaic terms referring to these officials: *ps* ‘lot’ or *nsr* ‘part (time of term)’. The references for all of the 15 eponyms are discussed in this paper.

In Zusammenarbeit mit dem so überaus erfolgreichen Projekt der ‘State Archives of Assyria’ hat Alan Millard 1994 eine Publikation vorgelegt, die die Pionierleistung von Ungnad aus dem Jahre 1938 im *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, d.h. die dort zusammengestellte Liste der assyrischen Eponymen des 1. Jh. v. Chr., ersetzt. Es überrascht nicht, daß nach Vorliegen dieses Buches die Diskussion—vor allem über die sog. ‘postkanonischen’ Eponymen der Jahre nach 649 v. Chr.—mit Beiträgen von Finkel und Reade (1998) und Parpola (1998) neuerlich in Gang gekommen ist. Natürlich sind von Millard in seinem Buch auch die bis 1994 bekannten Belege von Eponymen in aramäischem Kontext berücksichtigt worden. Da jedoch durch die Ausgrabungen von Hartmut Kühne in Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad (neuassyrisch vielleicht *Magdalu*) überraschend viel zusätzliches Material zutage getreten ist, dabei auch einige recht interessante terminologische Besonderheiten hervortreten, seien hier die derzeit vorhandenen Belege von assyrischen Eponymen in aramäischen Urkunden zusammengestellt und diskutiert.

Die in den Dockets übliche Form der Limu-Datierung geschieht nach dem Schema *yrḥ x l'm PN...* ‘Monat<sup>1</sup> x, (Jahr des) Eponymen

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1. Die Monatsnamen in den aramäischen Urkunden stellen ein eigenes Problem dar, das hier nicht behandelt werden soll. Es sei lediglich darauf verwiesen, daß von den in Assyrien gebräuchlichen Monatsnamen bisher nur 7 belegt sind: 1.

PN.<sup>2</sup> Ganz selten (s. unten Nr. 12) kommt auch die Schreibung *lm* für den Titel des Eponymen vor, wobei Beyer (1988: 82-83) bereits festgehalten hat,<sup>3</sup> daß 'die Aramäer...akkadisches *līmu* "Eponymat" für dasselbe Wort gehalten (haben) wie *līmu* "Tausend", dessen etymologisches ' ihnen aus dem Westsemitischen bekannt war.' Daher also die ungewöhnliche Wiedergabe von *l* durch ' in fast allen Belegen. Es verdient Beachtung, daß diese Schreibkonvention sich im 7. Jahrhundert offenbar überall durchgesetzt hat.

Umso interessanter sind zwei neue Belege mit abweichender Formulierung aus Tall Šēḥ Ḥamad. In zwei Urkunden steht anstelle des assyrischen Wortes *līmu/limmu* vielmehr ein offensichtlich aramäisches Äquivalent. In SH 98/6949 I 310 (s. unten Nr. 1) lese ich Z.7-8: *yrḥ mlḥ ps blsdy* und in SH 98/6745 I 51 (s. unten Nr. 8) Rand: *yrḥ tšry n<sup>2</sup>sr nbwsršr*.

*ps* ist verhältnismäßig leicht zu erklären, gehört es doch zu Wurzel *ps* 'trennen, spalten', wozu dann aram. *pissā, passā* 'etwas Abgebrochenes, ein Stück', ferner 'Hand' bzw. 'Fuß', 'Los', '(Brot)bissen,' (Levy 1876/89: IV, 67-68) aber wohl auch *payis* 'Los' (Levy: IV, 41) gehören. Es bezeichnet also den 'Teilzeitraum', in dem das Eponymat ausgeübt wurde. Es bleibt vorläufig eine offene Frage, wieweit die Praxis des 'Auslosens', wie sie für die Festlegung der Reihenfolge der Eponymen offenbar in neuassyrischer Zeit üblich war (Millard 1994: 8), bei der Wahl des Ausdrucks—beachte die Bedeutung 'Los'—noch eine Rolle spielte.

Schwieriger ist die Deutung von *nsr*, wobei betont sei, daß die Lesung des ersten Zeichens wegen einer Beschädigung des Dockets nicht völlig sicher ist; *psr* käme ebenfalls infrage.<sup>4</sup> Die Wurzel *nsr*

Monat Nisannu (aram. 'sn), 3. Monat Simanu (aram. *smn*), 4. Monat Du'uzu (aram. *tmz*), 5. Monat Abu (aram. 'bw), 7. Monat Tašrītu (aram. *ts/šry*), 8. Monat Araḥsamnu (aram. *mḥšwn* [!]), 12. Monat Addaru (aram. 'dr), darüber hinaus aber noch wenigstens 6 aramäische Monatsnamen, allerdings keiner—soweit bisher erkennbar—für einen Schaltmonat.

2. Der Tag innerhalb des Monats, in dem die Urkunde ausgestellt wurde, wird nie genannt. Das steht im Gegensatz zu den neuassyrischen Urkunden in Keilschrift, die üblicherweise mit einem vollen Datum versehen wurden. Gelegentlich fehlen allerdings auch hier Tagesangaben, s. Radner (1997: 20 mit Anm. 52 und 53).

3. S. auch V. Hug (1993: 48).

4. Allerdings keinesfalls eine Ergänzung zu \**psr* akkad. *tušarru*, die man aufgrund des Titels des einen der beiden belegten Eponymen namens Nabû-šarru-ušur (Millard 1994: 107-108) annehmen könnte.

bedeutet im Aramäischen ‘sägen’ (*nīsrā* ist das ‘Brett’), im Arabischen allerdings ‘wegnehmen’. Etymologisch verwandt ist das akkadische *našāru* ‘abteilen, entnehmen usw.’ (AHw. 759b; CAD N<sub>2</sub> 60-64), was in aram. Orthographie als *nsr* realisiert werden muß (s. u. Anm. 8). So ist hier wahrscheinlich *nsr* als ‘Teil (einer Regierung)’ und eben als Äquivalent zu *līmu* zu deuten.

Vielleicht gehört hierher auch das bei Levy (1876/89: III, 410b unten) gebuchte *nīsrē* (m.pl.), das—ohne Angabe von Belegen—als ‘Herrschaft, Regierung’ bestimmt wird.

Die Verwendung der beiden von der assyrischen Terminologie abweichenden Begriffe macht überraschend deutlich, daß die Administration der Provinzen, soweit sie Aramäisch als Sprache benutzte, durchaus auch terminologisch eigene Wege zu gehen verstand.

Folgende Eponymen sind bisher belegt<sup>5</sup>.

(1) *blsdy* = Bēl-šadûa bzw. Bēl-Ḥarrān-šadûa, Eponym, 650 v. Chr. (Millard 1994: 89-90).<sup>6</sup>

SH 98/6949 I 310: *yrḥ. mlḥ. ps / blsdy*

Die Schreibung des Namens ist nur zum Teil unproblematisch. *bl* für *bēl* ohne Kennzeichnung des langen Vokals im Inlaut entspricht der Regel, ebenso die Wiedergabe von akkadisch *š* durch assyr./aram. *s*.<sup>7</sup> Die Bedeutung des Namens ‘Der Herr (von Ḥarrān) ist mein Berg (d.h. Schutz)’ erfordert am Ende ein Suffix der 1. Person Singular *-ja* > *'a* (s. GAG §65 i), das im Akkadischen bei den auf Vokal auslautenden Nominalstämmen an die deklinierte Form angehängt wird. Dem entspricht die überlieferte assyrische Schreibung KUR-*u-a* = *šadû'a*, die aber, wenn wir die aramäische Schreibung ernstnehmen, nur mehr historisch ist<sup>8</sup> und einem *šadûja* oder—wahrscheinlicher—*šadi* Platz

5. In den Textziten bedeuten Punkte die in den Dockets als Worttrenner verwendeten Punkte; mit / wird jeweils der Zeilenumbruch gekennzeichnet, auch wenn keine Zeilenzahlen angegeben werden.

6. Beachte den Zusatz von R.M. Whiting (in Millard 1994: 90; 74, Anm. 14), daß es wahrscheinlich auch einen postkanonischen Eponym mit Namen Bēl-šadûa gegeben habe. Klarheit wird hier vielleicht das Korpus der neuassyrischen Texte aus Tall Šēḥ Ḥamad bringen, in dem der Eponym jedenfalls in SH 98/6949/112 neben Bēl-Ḥarrān-šaddûa in SH 98/6949/308 genannt ist.

7. Parpola (1974: 2); Lipiński (1978: 201-10); Beyer (1984: 100, Anm. 1).

8. Aber s. noch die häufigen konventionellen Schreibungen z.B. <sup>4</sup>PA-KUR-*u-a* (SAA 6, 304 Rs.5); neubabylon. <sup>4</sup>Bēlet-ša-du-ú-a (NN: 37b); <sup>4</sup>Bēl-KUR-ú-a (NN: 42a).



gemacht hat,<sup>9</sup> vgl. *Šin-šadi* (Tallqvist NN: 182b).

(2) *ddy* = Daddī, postkanonischer Eponym, nach Reade (1998) c. 622.

O. 3656.<sup>10</sup> *yrh. t[mz] / l'm ddy mšn*

O. 3657: *yrh zh[t] / l'm d[dy]*

O. 3761.<sup>11</sup> *yrh/ smnh l[ 'm dd]y / mšn*

Die aramäische Namensform bestätigt die von Pedersén (1984–1986: 313–15) vorgeschlagene Lesung von <sup>1</sup>XX-*i* anstelle von \*Adad-milki-na'id bzw. \*Šarru-na'id. *mšn* entspricht jüngerem bab./assyrl. *mas/šennu* (<sup>14</sup>IGI+DUB) 'Verwalter' (s. CAD M<sub>1</sub> 363–64).

(3) *knny* = Kanūnāyu, wohl der postkanonische Eponym, nach Reade (1998) c. 627.

O. 3713: *yrh 'sn / [l] 'm . knny*

DeZ 13809.<sup>12</sup> *yrh smnh / l'm knny*

DeZ 13811: [ ] / l'm knny

Da der Name Kanūnāyu in recht kurzem Zeitabstand dreimal (671, 666 und postkanonisch) beiden Eponymen auftaucht, ist bei Fehlen eines Titels (K.1. war *sartennu*, K.2. *bēl pāḥiti bīti ešši*, K.3. *pāḥiti ša Dūr-šarru-kēn*<sup>13</sup> (Millard 1994: 97–98) nicht zu entscheiden, um welchen der drei es sich handelt. Millard hat den Beleg O. 3713 ohne Angabe von Gründen unter Kanūnāyu 2 eingeordnet.

Das Suffix *-āyu* kann evtl. bereits monophthongisiert worden sein; eine Endung *-āy/-ī /-ē* würde ebenfalls durch *-y* wiedergegeben (Zadok 1991: 36).

9. Vgl. für Belege zur Wiedergabe von *-ī (-ē)/-ayy* im Auslaut durch *-y* Zadok 1991: 36.

10. Die Belege mit O-Signaturen beziehen sich auf das Archiv in den Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire (Cinquantenaire) in Brüssel, das von P. Garelli, E. Lipiński und D. Homès-Fredericq bearbeitet wird, aber noch immer unpubliziert ist. Vgl. vorläufig Fales 1986: 269–73 (mit Literatur). Die Eponymennamen sind bereits nach Museumsnummern bei Millard (1994) notiert.

11. Millard (1994: 93), Druckfehler 3716.

12. DeZ-Nummern beziehen sich auf das Musée National in Dēr ez-Zōr, Syrien, wo die Texte der Grabung Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad aufbewahrt werden. Das Docket DeZ 13809 habe ich bereits publiziert (1997: 367–70).

13. Zum Problem des Gouverneurs von Dūr-Šarrukīn, s. Finkel und Reade (1998: 253) zu 664.

(4) *mlkrm* = Milkī-rāmu, Eponym 656.

SH 98/6949 I 306: *yrh. mlh / l'm mlkrm*

Die Entsprechung bietet keine Besonderheiten, denn auch lange Vokale werden im Inlaut im 7. Jh. v. Chr. noch nicht durch eine *mater lectionis* bezeichnet (Hug 1993: 52).

(5) *mngḥ* = Mannu-kī-aḥḥē, postkanonisch.

DeZ 13823: [*yr*][*h*] *mlh / l'm.m[n]gh*

Da das Docket beschädigt ist, ist die Lesung nicht vollkommen sicher, doch gibt es eigentlich keine Alternative zur vorgeschlagenen Lesung. Auch phonetisch macht sie keine Schwierigkeiten. Zur Wiedergabe von *mannu kī* 'wer ist wie...' vergleiche auch den folgenden Eponymennamen und z.B. die Namen *mng'sr* Mannu-kī-Aššur auf einem Docket aus Assur (Lidzbarski 1921: Nr. 1; Fales 1986: Nr. 46; Hug 1993: Ass U 1, Z.6), *mng'rbl* Mannu-kī-Arba'il in Ninive (CIS II 20; Fales 1986: Nr. 28; Hug 1993: B-Nin 8, Z.1). Der Wechsel zwischen Tenuis und Media erfolgt nur bei Entlehnungen von assyrischen, nicht babylonischen Wörtern ins Aramäische (Greenfield 1978: 253; Hug 1993: 48). Zur Aphäresis des ' vgl. Hug 1993: 54, 3.5.

Zum Eponymen Mannu-kī-aḥḥē bemerkt Reade, daß seine Nennung in K 336 'has been collated by I.L. Finkel and that is indeed how the name is written, but one is tempted to see this as a fanciful version of Iddin-aḥḥē, governor of Šimir, eponym of 688' (1998: 255).<sup>14</sup> Der aramäische Beleg zeigt nun, daß die 'fanciful version' nicht dem Schreiber von K 336 anzulasten ist und wir in der Liste der postkanonischen Eponymen auch diesen berücksichtigen müssen.

(6) *mngsr* = Mannu-kī-šarri, Eponym 665 (Millard 1994: 99).

O. 3655: *byrh smn. l'm / mngsr*

Lesung und Deutung machen in diesem Falle keine Probleme.

(7) *mrđgsršr* = Marduk-šarru-ušur, postkanonischer Eponym, nach Reade (1998) 631.

DeZ 13818: *l'm . mrđg/sršr*

DeZ 13825/2: *l'[m] / mrd'ḡ[sršr]*

14. Aufgrund dieser Beurteilung des Eponymennamens erscheint Mannu-kī-aḥḥē auch nicht in seiner Liste der postkanonischen Eponymen auf S. 256.

Die Lesung des Eponymennamen im Bruchstück eines Dockets DeZ 13825/2 ist zwar problematisch, doch kämen von den mit Marduk gebildeten Eponymennamen des 7. Jh. v. Chr. lediglich noch der schlecht bezeugte Marduk-rēmāni (s. Millard 1994: 100) infrage.

Der Name des Gottes Marduk wird auch im unvollständigen Namen *mrdg'* [(CIS II 35; Fales 1986: Nr. 11; Hug 1993: Nin U 3, Z.3) mit der bereits oben für das Assyrische festgestellten Vertauschung von Media und Tenuis geschrieben, im Gegensatz zu babylonischen Belegen wie *mrdky*, *mrdkbl'dn* usw. (Lipiński 1975: 97-99). Die Schreibung von *šarru* als *sr* ist regelgerecht (s. oben zu Nr.1), ebenso die Aphärese des anlautenden Vokals in der Verbalform *sr* entspr. akkadisch *ušur*.

Ein Eponym Marduk-šarru-ušur ist auch noch für das 8. Jh. v. Chr. bezeugt (784), doch ist dessen Nennung hier auszuschließen, da alle datierten Dockets erst ins 7. Jh. v. Chr. gehören.

(8) *nb(w)sršr* / *nbsr* = Nabû-šarru(-ušur), postkanonischer Eponym, 643 oder 624 nach Reade (1998).

CIS II 38 = Fales 1986: 3 = Hug 1993: 27; B-Nin 3: *l'm . rbsrs / nbsršr*

SH 98/6949/734: *yr[h] [ ]'sr / [l'm nb(w)][sr]sr*

SH 98/6745/51: *yrh / tšry . nsr . nbwsršr*

DeZ 5670: *yrh / mrhšwn . l'm / nbsr*

Der Gott Nabû als theophores Element eines Namens wird meist—and so z.B. auch noch in den Inschriften des 2./3. Jh. n. Chr. aus Hatra<sup>15</sup>—mit *w* als *mater lectionis* für *-û* geschrieben, doch kommen gelegentlich auch defektive Schreibungen vor, etwa *nbzrbn* 'Nabû-zēr-ibni' (CIS II 39 = Fales 1986: 9 = Hug 1993: 17; Nin U 1); *nbrb* 'Nabû-ērib' (Bordreuil 1986: Nr. 101). Deshalb ist eine sichere Ergänzung in SH 98/6949/734 nicht möglich. Zum Terminus *nsr* s. schon oben.

Ob der Eponymenname in DeZ 5670 eine Kurzform zu dem sonst dreimal belegten ausführlicheren ist, läßt sich nicht mit Sicherheit sagen. Die Lesung ist allerdings sicher und läßt eine Ergänzung des Namens nicht zu. Eine Kurzform zu *\*nbsrhš* 'Nabû-šar-aḥḥešu,' einem postkanonischen Eponym und Gouverneur von Samaria (Millard 1994: 106), den Reade auf 646 ansetzt, ist nicht auszuschließen.

15. Vgl. die Eigennamen bei Beyer (1998: 161) und s. zur *interpretatio graeca* Tubach (1986: 380-83).

Da drei Eponymen namens Nabû-šarru-ušur aus dem 7. Jahrhundert belegt sind, ist Anlaß zur Konfusion gegeben.<sup>16</sup> Der N. des Jahres 682 ist *šakin Marqasi*; von den beiden postkanonischen wird N. *rab šarēšī* von Reade auf 643 und N. *tuṣṣar ekalli* auf 624 festgelegt. Da in den oben zusammengestellten Belegen aber nur beim ersten der Titel *rbsrs* hinzugefügt ist, läßt sich nicht mit Sicherheit behaupten, daß die restlichen 3 Belege ebenfalls diesen Amtsinhaber meinen, auch wenn mir das aufgrund der sonst aus Tall Šēḥ Ḥamad verfügbaren Daten wahrscheinlich ist.

(9) *nb(w)šgb* = Nabû-sagib, postkanonischer Eponym, 629 nach Reade (1998).

DeZ 13810: *yrḥ tsry l'm / [n][b]wšgb*

DeZ 13814: *yrḥ 'sn / l'm / l' nbšgb*

Der Eponym Nabû-sagib ist als *rab alāni* schon wohlbekannt. Über die merkwürdige Formel in DeZ 13814 habe ich (Röllig 1997: 370-74) bereits geschrieben und habe dem nichts hinzuzusetzen.

(10) *srgnr* = Aššur-garūa-nērī, postkanonischer Eponym<sup>17</sup>, 640 nach Reade (1998).

AO 25341 = Bordreuil (1973: 95-102). Z.4.<sup>18</sup> *bl'm srgnr*

Die sehr defektive Schreibung des Eponymennamen befremdet. Assur als theophores Element wird recht häufig mit anlautendem Aleph geschrieben, *'srḥ'dn* 'Aššur-aḥa-iddin', *'srmlk* 'Aššur-malik', *'srslmḥ* 'Aššur-šallim-aḥḥē', *'srsrṣr* 'Aššur-šarru-ušur' usw., im Inlaut z.B. *sb'sr* 'Šēpē-Aššur(-aṣbat)', vgl. aber schon *srslmḥ* 'Aššur-šallim-aḥḥē' in VA 7499 (Fales 1994: 47; Hug 1993: 22-23; Ass U 2,2) neben *'srslmḥ* für die gleiche Person in VA 7496 (Fales 1994: 46; Hug 1993: 22; Ass U 1,2) und VA 7487 (Fales 1994: 48; Hug 1993: 23; Ass U 3,2). Da auch lange Vokale im Inlaut nur selten bezeichnet werden, ist *-gr-nr* kaum überraschend, lediglich das *-ī* des Auslautes hätte eigentlich eine *mater lectionis* verdient.

16. Mit Recht bemerkt Whiting: 'There are at least two post-canonical eponyms named Nabû-šarru-ušur, one who was chief eunuch [*rab šarēšī*] and one who was palace scribe [*tuṣṣar ekalli*]. The *ša arki* eponym follows the latter' (in Millard 1994: 109). Vgl. auch Reade (1998: 258) zu den Jahren 624 und 623.

17. Jetzt auch bezeugt in Til Barsib, s. Dalley (1996-97: 75 Nr. T 6, 9; *arki Aššur-garūa-[nērī]*).

18. S. jetzt Hug (1993: 25): RechtsÜ und die dort verzeichnete Literatur zum Text.

Der Eponym, der das Amt des *rab šāqê* innehatte, ist keilschriftlich aus Urkunden aus Kalḫu, Ninive und Assur bekannt.

(11) *srmtblt* = Šarru-mītu-uballit, postkanonischer Eponym, 642 nach Reade (1998).

DeZ 5669: *yrḥ* [bw] / [l'] [m] *srm't'blt*

Die aramäische Wiedergabe dieses Eponymennamen löst wohl die Probleme, die die unterschiedlichen keilschriftlichen Realisationen aufgeworfen haben. Millard (1994: 119-21) hat sowohl unter Šamaš-zēru-uballit<sup>19</sup> als auch unter Šarru-lū-dāri jeweils auf Šamaš-mītu-uballit (Umschrift: <sup>m</sup>Šamaš<sub>2</sub> [d.h. MAN] -mītu-uballit<sub>2</sub>) verwiesen. Er tat das aus gutem Grund, denn die Aussage des *mītam bulluṭu* wird fast ausschließlich von Göttern und zwar ganz besonders von Šamaš gebraucht,<sup>20</sup> der ja sogar das Epitheton *muballit mīti* trägt. Wenn das hier auch vom König ausgesagt wird, so ist das zumindest ungewöhnlich. Dennoch wird man diese Deutung akzeptieren müssen. Dafür spricht nicht nur die aramäische Wiedergabe des Namens, sondern Donbaz (1995: 114) hat bereits auf einen Assurtext (A 2689, Ass. 11701a, Lower edge 3') hingewiesen, der mit seiner Schreibung des Namens als <sup>l</sup>LUGAL-ŪŠ-TILA ebenfalls eine Lesung *Šarru-mītu-uballit* erzwingt.

(12) *srrny* = Šarru-nūrī, Eponym des Jahres 674 (Millard 1994: 121).

K 3785 (CIS II 39; Fales 1986: 9; Hug 1993: 17-18; Nin U 1): *lm . srrny*

Zur Orthographie des Namens beachte, daß der lange Vokal im Auslaut hier durch die *mater lectionis* -y bezeichnet ist. *līmu* ist phonetisch *lm* und nicht schein-etymologisch *l'm* geschrieben (s. oben S. 41-42). Der Eponym, der *šakin Barḫalzi* war, ist aus Texten von Ninive und Sultan-tepe bekannt. Er ist der früheste Jahresbeamte, der in aramäischer Umschrift erscheint.

(13) *šlmsrqb* = Šalmu-šarru-iqbi, postkanonischer Eponym, 623/25 nach Reade (1998).

DeZ 13813: [y] [r] [h] 'sn l' [m] *šlmsrqb*

Die Orthographie des Namens entspricht derjenigen, die auch sonst bei

19. Diese Variante beruht lediglich auf der im Katalog angegebenen Datierung einer bisher nicht in Kopie veröffentlichten Rechtsurkunde aus Nimrud.

20. S. die ausführliche Diskussion bei Janowski (1989: 65-68).

der Wiedergabe assyrischer Namen zu beobachten ist. Zur Aphäresis des ' im Inlaut s. schon oben zu Mannu-kī-aḥḥē Nr. 5. Der Eponym Ṣalmu-šarru-iqbi ist in Texten aus Assur, Nimrud und Ninive belegt. Er war *turtān šumēli* und Statthalter von Kummuh.

(14) *šlm'sr* = Silim-Aššur, Eponym des Jahres 659 (Millard 1994: 113).

VA 7498 = KAI 236 (Fales 1986: 49; Hug 1993: 23-24; Ass U 4: *yrḥ / tṣrḥ / l'm . šlm'sr / skl*

Zum Namen des Eponymen vgl. etwa *šlmhdd* 'Silim-Hadad' in DeZ 13814,1 (Röllig 1997: 370). Der Amtsinhaber trug den Titel *sukkallu*, der nach dem aramäischen *skl* hier konsequent als *šukkallu* anzusetzen ist.

(15) *nbršw* = Nabû-rēšūw/'a, bisher nicht als Eponym belegt.

SH 98/6949 I 166 Rs. 5-7: ...*yrḥ / 'dr . l'm / nbršw*

Die Lesung der Zeilen ist nicht zweifelhaft. Der Name *Nabû-rēšū'a* 'Nabû ist meine Hilfe' ist wohlbekannt, auch die Lautentsprechung ist durchaus korrekt; zu *rēšu'a*, *rēšuwa* s. GAG §§42 j.k; 65 i und §21 h (sekundäres *w* als Gleitlaut aus urspr. ' ). Träger dieses Namens sind auch aus neuassyrischer Zeit belegt, so ein <sup>1.d</sup>PA-*re-šu-u-a* (SAA 7, 4 r II 9) als LÚ. GAL. TŪG.UD, also 'Oberster der Walker' und mit gleicher Schreibung ein [EN<sup>2</sup>.NUN] LUGAL, 'Wächter des Königs' (SAA 12, 63, 2), ferner (ohne Titel) <sup>1.d</sup>PA<sup>?</sup>[*-r*]e-*šu-u-a* (CTN 3, 67, 1.4).

Es stellt sich hier natürlich die Frage nach lokalen Eponymen, die möglicherweise in Texten der Hauptstädte garnicht auftauchen (vgl. Whiting, 'extra-canonical eponyms', in Millard 1994: 78), weil sie am Ende der Assyrerherrschaft lediglich in Teilen des Reiches anerkannt wurden bzw. zur Datierung verwendet worden sind. Es ist deshalb auch nicht verwunderlich, daß in den jüngst in Tall Šēḥ Ḥamad gefundenen neuassyrischen Keilschrifttexten ebenfalls ein bisher nicht belegter Eponym erscheint: <sup>1</sup>*se-i-la-a-'i* (SH 98/6747/246).<sup>21</sup> Da nach wie vor die Evidenzen von Texten außerhalb Ninive und Kalḥu sehr spärlich sind, mag sich hinter dem aramäisch überlieferten Nabu-rēšūwa vielleicht sogar einer der beiden oben genannten Assyrer verbergen, am ehesten der 'Wächter des Königs', der nach dem Typ des Dokuments,

21. Nach freundlicher Mitteilung von Dr Karen Radner, München, die das neue Textmaterial während der Grabung einer ersten Sichtung unterzog und mit der Edition beauftragt werden ist.

in dem er genannt ist, wahrscheinlich in die Assurbanipal-Zeit (oder wenig später) gehört.

Die Übersicht über die bisher verfügbare Information über *limu*-Datierungen in aramäischen Urkunden zeigt, daß auch dieser Sektor der Administration—wie nicht anders zu erwarten—sich während der Zeit der letzten Sargoniden bei den Datierungen den assyrischen Gepflogenheiten anglich, allerdings mit verändertem Kalender. Der älteste Beleg für einen assyrischen Eponym in aramäischem Gewande stammt von 674 (Šarru-nūrī), der jüngste—mit Vorbehalt—von 622 (Daddī). Die Amtsbezeichnung war schließlich so geläufig, daß sie durch aramäische Äquivalente (*ps* und *nsr*) ersetzt werden konnte. Für chronologische Fragen ist das Belegmaterial bisher unergiebig; ob der zuletzt aufgeführte Nabû-rēšūwa ebenso wie Sē'-ilā'ī eine lediglich lokale Erscheinung war, wird sich erst durch neue Belege klären lassen. Wichtig ist die aramäische Überlieferung vor allem für die Klärung von in Keilschrift zweideutigen Schreibungen (Nr. 2; 11) und als zusätzliche Evidenz für einen bisher nur sehr spärlich bezeugten Eponym (Nr. 5).

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THE *BYTDWD*-INSCRIPTION AND ISRAELITE HISTORIOGRAPHY:  
TAKING STOCK AFTER HALF A DECADE OF RESEARCH\*

Carl S. Ehrlich

*Discovery*

On the afternoon of 21 July 1993, Gila Cook, the surveyor of the Tel Dan Excavation in northern Israel, noticed what appeared to be writing on a basalt stone, which was wedged into a wall on the edge of a stone-paved piazza. Excitedly she called over the director of the excavation, Avraham Biran, and together they confirmed the discovery of what has proven to be one of the most important epigraphic finds made in Israel in the nineties or in any other decade.<sup>1</sup>

About a week or so later, the Society of Biblical Literature held its annual International Meeting in Münster, Germany. Although papers were presented across the whole spectrum of fields touching on the subject of biblical studies in its broadest sense, the major focus of the conference was on the current debate concerning the besieged 'historicity' of the Hebrew Bible. Only a short time before, Davies had published his *In Search of 'Ancient Israel'* (1992), and on the spur of the moment E.J. Brill Publishers decided to make Thompson's *Early History of the Israelite People* (1993), which was hot off the press, available to conference participants at a heavy discount.

In a crowded plenary session, these two advocates of the so-called cautious or minimalist school of biblical interpretation were joined on the podium by Whitelam and Blenkinsopp. In the ensuing discussion,

\* This brief note was originally held as a talk at the 1998 Annual Conference of the Association for Jewish Studies in Boston. I am pleased to offer it here in tribute to Paul-E. Dion, who in 1987 attended the first lecture that I presented at a major academic conference (viz. AAR/SBL) and provided me with invaluable encouragement afterward.

1. On the discovery of the Tel Dan inscription, see the appendix to Biran (1994: 274-78).

the position of the gentlemanly Blenkinsopp was to a great extent drowned out by the strenuous arguments of his interlocutors. It appeared that we were witnesses to the birth of the new mainstream in biblical studies, one that denies the efficacy of employing the biblical texts in the reconstruction of a history of—for lack of a better term—‘biblical Israel’, which is considered to be an invention of the Persian, or preferably, the Hellenistic period.<sup>2</sup>

During a break in the discussion, I encountered a friend who had attended a sparsely peopled concurrent session. At that session, the Israeli archaeologist, Barkay, had mentioned in an aside that an inscription had just been found at Tel Dan, in which the ‘House of David’ was mentioned. In his opinion, this indicated that the historical memory of the biblical texts extended much farther back than Davies, Thompson and Whitelam were willing to concede. My friend and I speculated about how this news would be greeted by the speakers at the plenary session, who continued to debate the issue without benefit of the latest possible datum in the discussion.

To his great credit, Biran, together with the eminent epigrapher Naveh, published the Tel Dan inscription with exemplary speed (Biran and Naveh 1993: 81-98). In order to allow the scholarly world immediate access to the inscription, the two of them were not afraid to present an *editio princeps* of the text based, among others, on some preliminary observations that have not withstood the test of time.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, many of their observations have set the tone of debate during the five years that have passed since their initial discovery of the fragment.

2. See, e.g., Whitelam (1996).

3. Among other interpretations that the original editors themselves have retracted are their translation of *ʾlpy* in line 7, which they have changed from ‘two thousand’ to ‘thousands,’ and their dating of the text to the first half of the ninth century BCE. See also Ahituv (1993: 246-47), who proposed a few additional readings that supported the dating of the stele to the time of Ben/Bir-Hadad II of Aram and Ahab of Israel. For discussions of the historiographic problems associated with a putative Aramaean king designated Ben/Bir/Bar-Hadad II and his possible relationship to Hadadezer, see: Pitard (1987: 125); Halpern (1994: 71); Kreuzer (1996: 114); and Yamada (1995: 613). Basing himself on evidence adduced solely from the first fragment found, Halpern (1994: 73-74) dated the stele to the reign of Hazael’s successor Bar-Hadad c. 800 BCE.

*The Stele*

Although the exact locus of the find was unclear in the original edition,<sup>4</sup> its editors assigned it an approximate date according to a number of interlocking criteria. A *terminus ante quem* was provided by the date of the destruction level of the gate complex in which the fragment was found, namely the latter part of the eighth century BCE, presumably the time of Tiglath-pileser III's campaign against Damascus and Israel in 733–732 BCE. A *terminus post quem* was assigned on the basis of the admittedly scanty pottery found beneath the surface upon which the fragment was resting, namely the as yet elusive ninth century. In addition, Naveh's palaeographic analysis of the script led them to assign a date within the ninth century for its production.

The fragment itself measures some 32 × 22 cm, and has a smoothed surface, upon which 13 lines of text had been written in a dialect of Early or Old Aramaic. The fragment comes from the right edge of what is presumed by most to have been a monumental inscription recording the great deeds of the author of the stele,<sup>5</sup> and would appear to have been deliberately smashed in antiquity by someone who was not necessarily well disposed to the message that it conveyed. A form-critical analysis of the text would indicate that it is to be placed near the beginning of its source text.<sup>6</sup> Preserved line lengths vary between 3 letters (in line 1) and 14 (in line 5). Estimates of the original line lengths range from under 20 (Cryer 1994: 5-6) to more than 30 letters (Margalit 1994: 20).<sup>7</sup> Hence, it should be evident that much

4. On the one hand, the claim is made that the fragment was part of the wall built over the pavement of the piazza (Biran and Naveh 1993: 81, 85), on the other that the fragment was part of the stone pavement of the piazza (p. 98). A somewhat more consistent (harmonious?) version of the find spot is to be found in Biran and Naveh (1995: 2).

5. Cryer (1994: 6 n. 7) has unconvincingly suggested that it was a foundation deposit. If this were so, he provides no explanation for (1) why, in an area relatively poor in stone-engraved inscriptions, effort would have been expended to produce an inscription that no-one would have seen; and (2) how and why the buried foundation deposit was uncovered and smashed.

6. See Demsky (1995: 29-31), who has identified the genre of the text as a 'monumental display inscription.'

7. Although the Zakkur stele is often mentioned as a rough contemporary of the Tel Dan inscription (Lemaire 1994b: 89-90; Halpern 1994: 68), Margalit (1994: 21), in what can only be considered an act of scholarly hubris, declared

information is missing from the preserved text. Nonetheless, the primary editors attempted to place the text within a historical framework, using roughly contemporaneous inscriptional materials as well as the biblical text to guide them.

The language of the text and the reference to the god Hadad clearly indicate that the inscription must have been commissioned by an Aramaean ruler interested in recounting his triumphs in battle. Line 8 of the inscription mentions *mlk yšr'l* 'the king of Israel'. In itself this is a historically most significant find, since it is arguably the earliest mention of Israel in a northwest Semitic text, antedated only by the Egyptian Victory Hymn of Merneptah from the close of the thirteenth century BCE (see *ANET* 376-78). As Biran and Naveh have indicated, war between Aram and Israel was not an uncommon occurrence in the ninth century. In their attempt to harmonize the fragmentary Tel Dan inscription and the biblical texts, they attempted to fit the Tel Dan inscription into the biblical framework, while acknowledging that there may have been conflicts between Aram and Israel that are not narrated in the Bible. Since the author of the text refers to 'by 'my father' on a number of occasions (lines 2, 3, 4), they assumed that the author of the text could not have been Hazael, in whose days there was war between Aram and Israel, because Hazael supposedly murdered his predecessor, Ben-Hadad, according to 2 Kgs 8.15, and was a usurper according to an inscription of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III (*ANET* 208b); hence, he would not have been in a position to refer to his predecessor as his father.<sup>8</sup> In addition, Biran and Naveh understood the reference to *mlky* 'my king' in line 6, which others have read as 'my rule', as indicating that the author of the inscription could not have been the powerful king of Aram-Damascus, but rather a subsidiary ruler of the Damascene king.<sup>9</sup>

Be that as it may, it is a word in the ninth line of the inscription that

that the Zakkur stele quotes extensively from the Tel Dan inscription!

8. In response to these claims, Dion, among others, has argued (1) that 2 Kgs 8.7-15 does not necessarily refer to the murder of his predecessor by Hazael; and (2) that although he may have been a son of a king of Aram, Hazael's accession to the throne was not unproblematic, hence later tradition and/or enemy propaganda portrayed him as a usurper; see Dion (1997: 191-93), as well as Lemaire (1994b: 90, 92); Na'aman (1995: 387-88); and Sasson (1996: 547-49, 552).

9. In this they were followed by, e.g., Tropper (1994: 396). But see already Ahituv (1993: 246-47).

has caused the greatest uproar in ancient Near Eastern and biblical studies. In a seeming parallel to the mention of the 'king of Israel' in line 8, line 9 mentions what Biran and Naveh have translated as 'the house of David', which according to them is a synonym for the kingdom of Judah and its ruling dynasty (Biran and Naveh 1993: 90, 93). If their reading is correct, and, as their critics have pointed out, they did not consider any other possible readings of the word *bytdwd*,<sup>10</sup> then what we have in this inscription is a powerful witness for the existence of a David, who about one century after his putative death was remembered as the founder of a dynasty.

### *The Debate*

All of which brings us back to the question posed between sessions at the Society of Biblical Literature conference in Münster; how would the evidence of this inscription be evaluated by those who would go so far as to deny the very existence of a biblical Israel? The answer was not long in coming. Cryer was the first to weigh in with a response (1994) although he would soon be followed by a number of others.<sup>11</sup> Since Cryer's work would prove to be basic for much of the rejectionist argument, it is important to outline the major points of his argument concerning the Tel Dan inscription and its possible relationship to biblical studies. First, Cryer attacked the archaeological recovery of the text, implying that something was not quite in order with its discovery and publication. Although he considered the possibility of its being a forgery, he decided against that position in his first article, although internet rumour has it that Cryer is going to publish an article in the near future presenting just such an argument.<sup>12</sup> After all, the sudden appearance of an inscription allegedly mentioning David at the very time at which the historicity of the united

10. See, e.g., the cautions expressed by Ben Zvi (1994: 25-32) and Lemche (1995: 102).

11. Among these scholars may be mentioned P. Davies, N.P. Lemche, T. Thompson, E.-A. Knauf, T. Römer and A. de Pury, the last three of whom collaborated on an article in *Biblische Notizen* 72 (1994), of which I was unfortunately unable to get a copy in time to incorporate it into this essay.

12. Another scholar who raised the spectre of forgery only to reject it was Victor Sasson (1995: 14 n. 10). See, however, Garbini (1994), who argued that the inscription is a blatant forgery.

monarchy was under attack both from some literary critics and from some archaeologists could give rise to some suspicion (Cryer 1994: 14-15).<sup>13</sup> Second, although Cryer did pay lip service to the 'Pitfalls of Typology' as enunciated by Kaufman (1986) in an important article from the mid-1980s, he concluded that a typological analysis of the fragment should place it within the context of the scripts of the late-eighth or early-seventh centuries BCE.<sup>14</sup> And third, Cryer cast doubt on the reading of *bytdwd* as 'house of David' both on the literal and the figurative level. He correctly pointed out that in their euphoria about having brought David into the realm of history, Biran and Naveh had neglected to consider other possibilities of interpreting *bytdwd*. Cryer was troubled by the fact that the word was written as one, without a word divider between the two elements.<sup>15</sup> Interestingly enough, he had recourse to the Hebrew biblical text in order to demonstrate that the term was invariably written as two words. In addition, the presence of at least one medial vowel in this word troubled him. And finally, he questioned the meaning of the name. Was it a toponym akin to Bethel or Bethlehem?<sup>16</sup> Or a composite personal name? Or maybe even a theophoric name? Lemche was probably speaking for many in the minimalist school when he suggested that the element that the biblical historicists transcribe as David could also be transcribed as *dawd* or *dôd*, with the meaning of kinsman or beloved, and hence be an epithet of Yahweh, the god at home in Canaan or Israel. The 'House of Dod/Dawd' would then be either a sanctuary of Dod near Dan, or a city named after him (Lemche 1995: 102-104).<sup>17</sup> Indeed, Lemche (1995: 102-104) went so far as to deduce

13. As Cryer succinctly stated: 'Given the many questionmarks [*sic!*] that have been put by contemporary scholarship against the reliability of the Old Testament account of Israel's history, it is more worrisome than gratifying suddenly to be presented with an inscription that purports to set our minds at rest on at least some issues' (1994: 15).

14. Among the scholars who have argued that the script of the Tel Dan inscription does indeed fit into what is known of the scripts of the region in the ninth century BCE, one may mention Athas (forthcoming) and Tropper (1994: 398-401; 1995: 487-89).

15. Among the various studies arguing that the lack of a word divider between *byt* and *dwd* is not problematic, see Rendsburg (1995: 22-25) and Schniedewind (1996: 75, 79).

16. See also Lemche and Thompson (1994: 9-10).

17. See also Lemche and Thompson (1994: 3-22). Davies (1994a: 23-24) has

from this that the Davidic house owes its origin to a claim of descent from the deity.

A major proof-text in the debate on both sides of the issue has become the Mesha' stele from Transjordan (*ANET* 320-21; *KAI* 181). Ever since Puech (1994: 227) and Lemaire (1994a: 18; 1994b: 89; 1994c: 30-37) independently proposed restoring line 31 of the Mesha' inscription to read *btwdw* in 1994,<sup>18</sup> a parallel has been found in the analogous expression in the Tel Dan inscription, both of which are ninth-century texts. The so-called maximalists understand the phrase as a reference to the Dynasty of David, that is, the land of Judah, while the so-called minimalists identify here a reference to a temple of Yahweh as 'Beloved'. It should be noted that the case of the latter is strengthened by recourse to the enigmatic *'r'l dwdh* in line 12 of the Mesha' inscription.<sup>19</sup>

Barely had the biblical minimalist and maximalist sides weighed in with their less than dispassionate arguments, when two more fragments of an inscription incised in basalt were discovered in intensive excavation of the piazza at Tel Dan during the summer of 1994. Once again they were published by Biran and Naveh (1995) with what in the scholarly world can only be reckoned as breathtaking speed. The so-called Fragment B1 was found in the fill, 80 cm above the surface of the piazza, while Fragment B2 was found in secondary usage in the piazza's pavement. While the two fragments can be joined to form a composite Fragment B, their exact relationship to the previously found Fragment A is unclear; although the assumption that they are parts of the same monumental inscription is not unwarranted, this position is not universally accepted.<sup>20</sup> The restored Fragment B consists of eight incomplete lines from the body of the inscription. Its great importance to this investigation lies in the final two lines of text, in which the ends of two personal names are found right before

emended and reinterpreted Amos 9.11 on the basis of this interpretation of *dwd*.

18. Lemaire (1994c: 32) has claimed that he first considered this restoration of the Mesha' stele about two years before the discovery of the Tel Dan inscription.

19. On which phrase see Jackson (1989: 112-13) and Stern (1991: 29-31). To claim that the root *dwd* means one thing in line 12 and another in line 31 is a problematic point in the maximalists' argument.

20. See the references in Parker (1997: 156 n. 31) to articles by Cryer and Thompson in *SJOT* 9 (1995), which volume was unfortunately missing from the library while I was working on this article.



the word *br* 'son of'. Going on the assumption that these are two names known from the biblical and/or northwest Semitic onomasticon, perhaps even the missing names of the kings of Israel and Judah that Biran and Naveh had hoped to find in the text, the latter was able to posit only two possible matches for them in the ninth century BCE, namely King Joram/Jehoram of Israel and his contemporary King Ahaziah of Judah. Since these kings were also contemporaries of Hazael of Aram-Damascus, who reigned in the latter half of the ninth century, Biran and Naveh felt themselves forced to the conclusion that the inscription was indeed commissioned by Hazael.<sup>21</sup> However, according to their restoration of the inscription, the author, Hazael, was claiming to have killed kings Joram and Ahaziah, even though the book of Kings ascribes the deed to Jehu, son of Nimshi, as part of his extirpation of the house of Omri at the instigation of the prophet Elisha. Most of those who follow Biran and Naveh's interpretation of the stele are forced to conclude either that the biblical author is exaggerating the extent of Jehu's personal involvement in the overthrow of the allegedly Baalist dynasties of ancient Israel or that Hazael is claiming credit for a deed that was actually performed by his vassal and ally, Jehu.

A possible solution to this conundrum has recently been proposed by Dion (1997: 194-95). In his comprehensive study of Aramaean history, Dion has proposed reading the putative *-yahu* theophoric suffix of Fragment B line 8 not as the end of the name Ahaziah but as a defective spelling of the name Jehu (i.e. *yhw* instead of *yhw'*), which, according to Dion, would not be out of place in an Old Aramaic inscription. Although he also removes the word *mlk* 'king' from the awkward reconstructed phrase 'king of the house of David' in his reconstruction of the inscription, Dion doesn't exclude the possibility that it was employed here in analogy with the phrase 'king of the sons of the Ammonites' in the Tell Siran inscription. Even though he does not present his findings in this manner, in effect Dion has harmonized the inscriptional and the biblical evidence. According to Dion's reconstruction of the text of the Tel Dan inscription, Hazael defeated Joram of Israel, after which the weakened Joram was killed by Jehu, Hazael's vassal. If this reading is to be accepted, then it would provide a more compelling illustration of the historical memory of the

21. See also Knoppers (1997: 39).

Hebrew Bible than previously suspected. On the other hand, there are so many question marks in every line of the inscription that certitude in any interpretation will have to await the discovery of additional evidence.

We are thus left in an interesting position. On the one hand, the minimalists would argue that the Tel Dan inscription has no bearing on a 'biblical history', although it does have some bearing on the history of ancient Israel, which is unequivocally mentioned in the text. On the other hand, the maximalists would argue that the frontier of the historical memory of the biblical narrative has been pushed back by a number of years.

The minimalists are, however, minimal only in their evaluation of the information to be gleaned from the biblical narrative that also has bearing on a putative biblical period.<sup>22</sup> They show no hesitancy in reconstructing the ideological history of a period for which we have minimal sources, namely the Persian and Hellenistic periods, on the basis of these selfsame biblical texts, nor in weaving elaborate theories regarding previously unknown epithets of Yahweh and/or previously unknown sanctuaries or towns. The maximalists, however, are or have often been guilty of trying to harmonize the biblical and extra-biblical, without letting the individual pieces of evidence speak on their own behalf. Davies's characterization of maximalist methodology as 'If a Biblical text fits, then the fit proves the accuracy of the Bible; if it doesn't fit, then the event must be something not recorded in the Bible' (Davies 1994b: 55) certainly did apply at one time. While the question of whether this characterization applies equally to the methodologies of all who disagree with Davies and his late dating of the biblical traditions is a matter that is open to debate, it cannot be denied that the so-called maximalists are faced with having to attempt to harmonize seemingly conflicting pieces of evidence in this case.

And so the debate has remained for most of the last five years, with both sides refining their arguments. Parker is undoubtedly correct, when he claims that '[u]nfortunately, scholarship on these three

22. See Dever (1998: 42-44) for an attempt at a psychoanalysis of Davies's and Thompson's crusade against the historicity of the biblical text, the former allegedly as a reaction to his fundamentalist upbringing and the latter allegedly as an expression of his need to overthrow the scholarly establishment as a function of his 1960s radicalism.

scraps has radiated as much heat as light, with political and personal passions discernible in the language of the participants' (Parker 1997: 156 n. 30).

### *Conclusion*

Nonetheless, with that caution in mind, what then would I personally conclude in regard to the possible mention of the House of David in the Tel Dan inscription? Nothing more than that about one century after his alleged passage from this world, David's memory was probably still kept alive as the founder of what (eventually?) became a Judaeen royal dynasty.<sup>23</sup> Hence, the Tel Dan inscription tells us no more on this account than what was previously suspected by some. While I would not dismiss the alternate readings of the 'minimalist' school out of hand, the burden of proof would appear to rest on their shoulders. Granted that if we were not familiar with the biblical text, then the conclusion that a Davidic dynasty is the referent in the Tel Dan inscription would not necessarily be the most obvious choice. Nevertheless, under the current circumstances it would appear to be the most logical one, given the parallel to Israel in the previous line. Lemche and Thompson's claim (1994: 19) that '[w]hether we are dealing with Homer, the Bible or mediaeval epic, the quest for a historical heroic age must fall short' is undoubtedly correct. In spite of this, their conclusion that '*we now have concrete extra-biblical evidence supporting the eponymic and metaphorical character of both David and the House of David*, as reflections of an ideology that understood Yahweh's relationship to Judaism as eternal, centred in the *Byt Dwd* or temple of Jerusalem' (Lemche and Thompson 1994: 21) is somewhat overstated, given the current level of knowledge. There is no doubt that the glories of David, his great deeds and his magnificent empire remain firmly ensconced in the realm of legend, but he himself has probably taken a first tentative step toward the realm of history.

23. See Knoppers (1997: 39) for a somewhat more forceful formulation of this conclusion.

## APPENDIX

## I-A. Transcription of Fragment A

- [...]מר .ע[...] (1)  
 [...] .אבי .יס[ק...] (2)  
 וישכב .אבי .יהכ .אל[...]יש- (3)  
 ראל .קדמ .בארק .אבי[...] (4)  
 אנה .ויהכ .הדד .קדמי[...] (5)  
 י .מלכי .ואקתל .מ[...]ר- (6)  
 כב .ואלפי .פרש[...] (7)  
 מלכ .ישראל .וקתל[...] (8)  
 כ .ביתדוד .ואשמ .[...] (9)  
 ית .ארק .המ .ל[...] (10)  
 אחרנ .ולה[...] (11)  
 לכ .על .יש[...] (12)  
 מצר .על[...] (13)

## I-B. Translation of Fragment A

- 1) [...] XX. X[...]
- 2) [...] my father we[nt? ...]
- 3) my father lay down, he went to [... Is-]  
 OR: he lay down, my father went to [... Is-]
- 4) rael before in the land of my father/of Abi[la ...]
- 5) I(?). Hadad went out before me [...]
- 6) X my king/my kings/my two kings/my kingship, and I killed o[f... cha-]
- 7) riots and thousands of horsemen [...]
- 8) the king of Israel, and I/he killed [...]
- 9) X BYTDWD and I placed? [...]
- 10) their land X [...]
- 11) other?/after us? and XXX [...]
- 12) [ru]led over Is[rael? ...]  
 OR: go against Is[rael? ...]
- 13) siege against/besiege [...]

## II-A. Transcription of Fragment B1-2

- [...]וגזר[...] (1)  
 [...]לחמה .בא[...] (2)  
 [...]ה .ויעל .מלכ .י[...] (3)  
 [...]המלכ .הדד .א[...] (4)  
 [...]אפק .מנ .שבע[...] (5)  
 [...]נ .אסרי .א[...] (6)  
 [...]רמ .בר .[...] (7)  
 [...]יהו .בר [...] (8)

## II-B. Translation of Fragment B1-2

- 1) [...] and cut [...]
- 2) [...] made war against/at [...]
- 3) [...] and the king of I[srael?] entered/went up [...]
- 4) [...] Hadad made XXX king [...]
- 5) [...] I went forth from the seven[ty? ...]  
OR: [...] Aphek from seven[ty? ...]
- 6) [...] X who harnessed X [...]
- 7) [... X-]ram son of [...]
- 8) [... X-]yahu son of [...]  
OR: [...] Jehu son of [...]

## III. Translation of Fragments A and B as joined by Biran and Naveh

- 1) [...] XX.X [...] and cut [...]
- 2) [...] my father we[nt?...] made war against/at [...]
- 3) my father lay down, he went to [... Is-]  
OR: he lay down, my father went to [...] and the king of I[srael?]  
entered/went up [...]
- 4) rael before in the land of my father/of Abi[la] Hadad made XXX  
king [...]
- 5) I(?). Hadad went before me [...] I went forth from the seven[ty? ...]  
OR: [...] Aphek from seven[ty? ...]
- 6) X my king/my kings/my two kings/my kingship, and I killed o[f ...]  
X who harnessed X [... cha-]
- 7) riots and thousands of horsemen [... X-]ram son of [...]
- 8) the king of Israel, and I/he killed [... X-]yahu son of [...]
- 9) X BYTDWD and I placed? [...]
- 10) their land X [...]
- 11) other?/after us? and XXX [...]
- 12) [ru]led over Is[rael? ...]
- 13) siege against/besiege [...]

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## QUELQUES OBSERVATIONS SUR LE *BYTDWD* DE LA STÈLE ARAMÉENNE DE TEL DAN

Guy Couturier

The discovery of an Aramaic inscription at Tel Dan has created much interest and a lively controversy. This article will only deal with the *bytdwd* of line 9, specifically its proper meaning and the reason for the lack of a divider between *byt* and *dwd*.

That the *bytdwd* is a geographical name designating the kingdom of Judah is beyond doubt. Indeed, the element *byt* followed by a determinative (the name of a god, a king, or simply a common noun) is widely attested in geographical names of Syria-Palestine. A review of this type of name, and of the name *bytdwd*, shows its usual context in the first half of the first millennium BC.

The absence of a divider between *byt* and *dwd* has been seen as a sign that this description is a forgery, or that the expression refers to a town (like Bethel), or to a temple in honour of the god Dôd. While a word divider, usually a dot inserted between the words, was widely used in inscriptions of the tenth–sixth centuries BC, there are numerous cases where dividers were not used. This is especially true in the case of a syntagma, formed by two substantives in a genitive relationship, as in King of X, or House of Z.

### *Introduction*

Un premier fragment A d'une stèle araméenne trouvé à Tel Dan, en 1993, et publié aussitôt (Biran et Naveh 1993) ne tarda pas à attirer l'attention des historiens et des épigraphistes. Deux autres fragments (B1 et B2), plus petits, suivirent en 1994; leur publication parut dès le début de 1995 (Biran et Naveh 1995). Il est assuré que les fragments B s'ajustent parfaitement; ces derniers s'ajusteraient au fragment A, par un point assez ténu, en-dessous de la surface inscrite (Biran et Naveh 1995: 11 et Fig. 9).<sup>1</sup> De toute évidence la stèle fut fracassée dans

1. Lemaire (1998: 3) a pu vérifier lui-même les jonctions proposées par les

l'antiquité; ses fragments connus à ce jour ont été utilisés dans les ouvrages d'une place devant la porte de la ville, détruite vers le milieu du 8<sup>e</sup> siècle. Elle doit donc être antérieure à cette destruction; comme elle n'est pas *in situ*, la datation dépend beaucoup de l'interprétation du texte, qui demeure nécessairement inachevée.

Il est rare qu'en si peu de temps une telle découverte suscite un débat aussi intense; les études publiées à ce jour dépassent déjà le nombre de soixante-dix. Pour notre part, nous nous arrêterons sur un seul point de détail, le *bytdwd* de la ligne 9. Il est l'objet de controverses à deux niveaux différents: le sens de l'élément *dwd* et l'absence d'un point séparateur entre *byt* et *dwd*.

### *Le sens de dwd*

L'expression *bytdwd* est spontanément traduite par *maison de David*, une autre appellation du royaume de Juda. Cette lecture semble s'imposer du fait que l'auteur de l'inscription, un roi araméen dont le nom n'est pas mentionné, est en guerre contre le roi d'Israël (*mlk ysr'l*: ll. 2-3) et éventuellement tue ce roi d'Israël (l. 8), et le roi de la maison de David (*[ml]k bytdwd*: l. 9). Les noms de ces deux rois peuvent être restitués puisque les terminaisons de leurs noms sont bien lisibles aux lignes 7 et 8 du fragment B. Il ne peut s'agir que du roi Joram d'Israël (852–841 BCE) et d'Ochozias de Juda (841), qui tous deux se liguerent contre Hazaël, roi de Damas (2 R. 8.28).<sup>2</sup> Nous ne croyons pas qu'il soit possible d'interpréter autrement cette expression.<sup>3</sup>

éditeurs, pour conclure: 'I agree with the presentation of the *editio princeps* which seems to me the most probable, even if not practically certain.'

2. Dion (1997: 194) fait l'hypothèse que la finale *-yahu* du nom du roi judéen peut être aussi lue *yehu* (Jehu), nom d'un roi d'Israël; la mention claire de la *maison de David* dans le contexte immédiat permet difficilement une telle conjecture.

3. Quelques historiens, doutant sérieusement de la crédibilité de *1 et 2 Rois* comme documents historiques, interprètent tout autrement le *bytdwd* en question: l'élément *dwd* serait le nom d'un dieu ou une épithète divine ('oncle,' 'chéri' d'après l'hébreu), par conséquent *bytdwd* ne saurait être qu'un temple d'un dieu *Dôd* situé dans le voisinage de Dan (Knauf *et al.* 1994: 66-67; Uehlinger 1994: 88-89; Davies 1994: 23-24; Ben Zvi 1994), ou un temple à Yahweh-ami (Lemche et Thompson 1994: 9-10; Thompson 1995: 60-61). Mais un tel dieu *Dôd* n'est attesté nulle part (Barstad et Becking 1995: 5-6; Dietrich 1997: 17-18); quant à *dwd* comme épithète yahviste, Am. 8.14 (LXX) ne peut être sérieusement invoqué (cf. Mulzer 1996). Garbini (1993) n'a vraiment pas démontré que l'inscription de Tel Dan est l'œuvre d'un faussaire!

*Textes assyriens*

Il est bien connu que dans les inscriptions assyriennes plusieurs petits royaumes de la première moitié du Ier millénaire av. J.-C. sont désignés par un terme composé du mot *bît* ('maison') suivi d'un nom propre. Si quelques endroits sont ainsi mentionnés dans le sud de la Mésopotamie, ils deviennent plus nombreux dans la partie ouest de l'Assyrie, pour atteindre une assez forte concentration dans la grande région Nord de la Syrie, le foyer principal de l'histoire et de la civilisation araméennes. Le tableau de ces royaumes a été très bien dressé récemment, en lien avec l'inscription de Tel Dan (Na'aman 1995a: 19-20; Rendsburg 1995: 24-25; Kitchen 1997: 37-39). On peut même lire l'histoire d'un certain nombre de ces petits royaumes dans l'étude magistrale de P.-E. Dion (1997).

Il est encore plus intéressant de signaler que les Assyriens désignaient des royaumes du sud de la Syrie-Palestine par des noms composés aussi avec l'élément *bît*. Si Damas est très souvent appelé tout simplement *Aram*, on sait que parfois on la désigne des noms qu'ils forgent sans doute eux-mêmes: *mât ša imērīšu* ('Pays de ses ânes,' Dion 1997: 171) et *Bît-Haza'ili* ('maison de Hazaël,' Dion 1997: 212). Cette dernière appellation doit être soulignée car elle est composée du nom propre du grand roi de Damas, qui règne vers le milieu du 9<sup>e</sup> siècle et qui est fort probablement l'auteur de l'inscription araméenne de Tel Dan. Ajoutons le fait connu depuis longtemps que les mêmes Assyriens, connaissant fort bien le nom propre du royaume d'Israël, utilisent aussi les noms de *Samerina* ('Samarie') et surtout de *Bît-Ḥumri* ('maison d'Omri'), le nom du fondateur d'une courte dynastie dans ce royaume du nord, qui prit fin avec la révolte de Jéhu (841); que ce même Jéhu soit appelé *mâr Ḥumri* ('fils d'Omri'), voilà matière à nous étonner, car c'est là un fait contraire à l'histoire. Toutefois, vu que le nom d'Omri fait désormais partie d'un idiome à connotation géographique, il est normal que les rois de cette même région puissent être référés comme fils d'Omri.<sup>4</sup> Ceci est confirmé par une inscription de Salmanasar III qui mentionne un certain Ba'asa *mâr Ruḥūbi* ('fils de Rehob'), parmi ses ennemis à Qarqar, qu'il nous faut alors comprendre

4. Les inscriptions assyriennes nous révèlent que les habitants, et parfois le roi, de lieux ainsi désignés sont aussi appelés *DUMU* (*mâr*), soit fils de X (v.g. c'est le cas avec Adini, -Gabbari, -Yaḥiru); il est évident que ce terme *fils* ne fait pas référence à l'origine génétique de ces personnages.

comme le roi de *Bît-Ruḥûbi* ('maison de Rehob,' Na'aman 1995b: 385). Enfin, rappelons-nous que les Assyriens désignent presque toujours le royaume d'Ammon comme le *Bît-Ammana* ('maison d'Ammon'). Vu la proximité de ces deux royaumes d'Israël et d'Ammon, et d'autres s'y ajouteront bientôt, avec le royaume de Juda, il ne doit pas être surprenant, à prime abord, que Juda lui-même puisse être désigné d'un nom qui soit de même nature linguistique, bien que les Assyriens n'utilisent que le terme *ya-û-di* / *ya-û-da-a* pour le désigner (Millard 1990: 271-73).

### *L'Ancien Testament*

Une source importante pour l'étude de noms géographiques composés de l'élément *bêt* ('maison') suivi d'un autre terme est sans contredit l'Ancien Testament. Pour les seuls royaumes d'Israël et de Juda nous avons relevé trente noms différents, répartis à peu près en nombre égal entre les deux royaumes, dont nous ne dresserons pas une liste complète. Pour notre propos, il suffit de préciser que le terme déterminant le mot *bêt* peut être parfois un nom divin, comme *'El* (Béthel), *'Anat* (Bet-Anat, en Galilée [Jg. 1.33; Jos. 19.38] et en Juda [Jg. 15.59]), *Hôrôn* (un dieu du panthéon d'Ugarit), *Dagôn* (dieu philistin; il y a un Bet-Dagôn en Galilée [Jos. 19.21] et en Juda [Jos. 15.41]), *Shemesh* (*Soleil*, faisant sans doute référence à un dieu solaire; trois Bet-Shemesh sont attestés: le plus connu en Juda [v.g. Jos. 15.10; 1 S. 6.9], en Galilée [Jg. 1.38; Jos. 19.38] et dans la vallée de Yizréel [Jos. 19.22]), et *Shahan* (Bet-Shan). Un nom de personne peut déterminer ce *bêt*, ce qui est le cas pour des sites comme Bet-ha-Éçel, Bet-Hogla, Bet-Hanan, Bet-Pélèt, Bet-Paççèç. Il n'est pas rare non plus que des caractéristiques d'ordre végétal (v.g. Bet-ha-kérèm [vigne]; Bet-ha-Shitta [acacia]) ou géographique (v.g. Bet-ha-Ēmeq [plaine]), ou encore que des ouvrages humains puissent marquer ainsi de tels lieux comme un jardin (Bet-ha-Gân), un enclos ou une muraille (Bet-Gadèr), une charrerie (Bet-ha-Markabot).<sup>5</sup> Il ne fait pas de doute que la

5. Une ville de Galilée souvent mentionnée dans les Evangiles, mais non attestée dans l'Ancien Testament, Bethsaïde ('maison du chasseur/pêcheur') vient d'être identifiée avec et-Tell, dans la plaine au nord-est du lac de Tibériade, l'ancien royaume araméen de Geshur; la ville romaine est bien connue, mais les niveaux de l'Âge du Fer ne sont encore qu'à peine atteints (voir Arav et Rousseau (1993: 415-28). En épigraphie hébraïque, deux noms de cette nature sont attestés: tout d'abord dans une lettre de Lachish, fin du 7<sup>e</sup> siècle, on fait mention d'un *byt hrpd*, qui nous

formation de tels noms géographiques n'est pas du tout monolithique.

L'Ancien Testament est aussi une source importante pour l'étude de noms géographiques des royaumes voisins de Transjordanie, à l'est, et des petits royaumes araméens au nord et à l'est d'Israël.

On fait mention de cinq villes moabites, dont deux se retrouvent aussi sur la stèle de Mésha, roi de Moab, vers 840. Le Bet-Péor du livre du Deutéronome (3.29; 4.46; 34.6; voir aussi Jos. 13.20) est sans doute à rapprocher du fameux Ba'al-Péor du livre des Nombres (23.28; 25.1-5), lieu de culte bien connu au temps de l'installation des premiers israélites en Transjordanie. Dans le même contexte historique, ces mêmes israélites traversent Bet-ha-Yeshimot (Nb. 33.49; Jos. 12.3; 13.20), qui existait toujours plusieurs siècles plus tard (Ez. 25.9).

La stèle de Mésha mentionne un *Bt bmt* (Bêt-Bamôt; cf *KAI* 181: 27) qui n'est pas attesté tel quel dans l'Ancien Testament, mais pourrait correspondre au *Bamôt* de Nb 21.19-20, ou encore au *Bamôt Baal* de Nb. 22.41 et Jos. 13.17. Le *Bêt-Baal-Meôn* de Jos. 13.17 se retrouve tel quel sur la stèle de Mésha (*KAI* 181: 30), tout simplement appelé *Baal-Meôn* au début de l'inscription (*KAI* 181: 9); nous retrouvons la même forme abrégée dans l'Ancien Testament (Nb. 32.38; 1 Ch. 5.8 et Ez. 25.9).<sup>6</sup> Il faut sans doute voir le même site dans le Bet-Meôn de l'oracle de Jérémie contre Moab (48.23). Il est intéressant de noter ici qu'un même lieu peut être désigné sous différentes variantes d'un même nom originel. Enfin, sur la stèle de Mésha il est aussi fait mention d'un *bt dbltn* (*KAI* 181: 30), que les critiques rapprochent aussitôt du Bet-Diblatayim de Jér. 48.22, dans le même oracle contre Moab; certains croient que ce site peut aussi s'appeler Almôn-Diblatayim d'après Nb. 33.46-47.

Nous n'avons pas beaucoup d'informations, sur ce point qui nous intéresse, concernant le royaume d'Ammon, le *Bît-Ammana* des Assyriens. Le Bet-Harân de Nombres 32.36 pourrait bien être le même que le Bet-Harâm de Josué 13.27. Il n'est question, ensuite, que d'un Bet-Nimra (Nb. 32.36 et Jos. 13.27), caractérisé par la présence d'un bassin d'eau.

est inconnu (*KAI* 194: 5); sur un ostracon de Tell Qasileh il est question d'or d'Ophir pour *Bythrn* (le Bet-Horôn de l'Ancien Testament), sur lequel nous reviendrons pour une autre question discutée plus loin (Maisler 1951: 266, Pl. XI).

6. Sur un ostracon de Samarie (27: 3) on lit la forme adjectivale de ce même nom, qui semble être utilisée comme un nom personnel: sans doute que *B'lm'ny* (Baalmeoni) fait référence à ce même Baal-Meôn (Diringer 1934: 29).

Il nous reste à réunir encore quelques informations éparses dans l'Ancien Testament sur l'existence de royaumes ou de villes araméennes dont les noms comportent aussi l'élément *bêt*. Une ville du nom de Rehob figure sur une liste de la tribu d'Asher, dans la plaine d'Acre, où l'influence phénicienne dominante rend peu probable celle des Araméens (Jos. 19.28, 30; cf. 21.31; Jg. 1.31). Le même nom de Rehob, toutefois, est donné comme celui du père d'un certain Hadadézer, un beau nom araméen, roi de Çoba (2 S. 8.3, 12). Çoba, comme il est bien connu, est un petit royaume araméen qui s'est développé, dès le 11<sup>e</sup> siècle, dans la Béqa libanaise, autour de Baalbeq (Dion 1997: 172-76). Or il est associé, dans l'Ancien Testament, à un autre petit royaume araméen, le Bet-Rehob (2 S. 10.6, 8), qui se trouve dans le nord de la Palestine, dont une partie deviendra plus tard l'héritage de la tribu de Dan (Jg. 18.28). C'est au sud de Çoba que s'établit ce royaume araméen, occupant la partie sud du Litani et la partie nord de la hautevallée du Jourdain (Dion 1997: 175).

Un autre royaume araméen à la frontière du royaume d'Israël est Maaka, associé à un autre, Tob, qui doit être situé dans le voisinage de ceux de Bet-Rehob et de Çoba (2 S. 10.6, 8), donc non loin de la région de Dan. Il est aussi mentionné une fois sous le seul nom d'Abel (2 S. 20.18), mais à quelques reprises sous l'appellation plus longue de Abel-bet-Maaka (2 S. 20.15; 1 R. 15.20; 2 R. 15.29); on pourrait croire qu'Abel n'était qu'une partie de Maaka si l'on interprète strictement la formulation de 2 Sam. 20.14: Abel *et* Bet-Maaka. En examinant de près tous les témoins sur l'existence de ce Bet-Maaka, c'est dans la partie nord de la petite plaine du lac de Hulé et dans la majeure partie de la région à l'est de cette plaine qu'il nous faut situer ce royaume araméen (Dion 1997: 80). On sait qu'au sud de Bet-Maaka, sur les hauteurs du Golan actuel se trouvait le royaume araméen de Geshur, son voisin immédiat (Dion 1997: 81). Nous devons citer ici cette petite notice intéressante du livre de Josué, évaluant la situation politique de cette région de la haute Galilée, au lendemain de la conquête: 'Les Israélites ne dépossédèrent pas les Geshurites ni les Maakites, aussi Geshur et Maaka sont-ils encore aujourd'hui au milieu d'Israël.' Cette situation doit représenter davantage la période post-davidique, et nous sommes fortement enclin à croire qu'elle prévalait aussi pour la région de Dan, où se trouvait le royaume de Bet-Rehob. En résumé, il nous faut accepter le fait que la région nord du royaume d'Israël, que nous appelons la Haute Galilée, devait s'accommoder d'un mélange de

populations israélite et araméenne, d'où l'offensive fréquente des rois de Damas, surtout au 9<sup>e</sup> siècle, pour se l'annexer.

Il reste un seul texte de l'Ancien Testament à utiliser un nom en apparence géographique composé avec l'élément *bêt*, c'est Am. 1.4. Dans un oracle contre Damas, le prophète s'attaque à un *Bêt-Hazaël*, contre lequel il envoie un feu. Cet Hazaël est bien sûr le roi de Damas et c'est parfois en utilisant l'expression *Bît-Haza'ili* que les Assyriens se référaient à Damas, comme nous l'avons souligné plus haut. Faut-il penser que le prophète Amos, au 8<sup>e</sup> siècle, connaissait une telle appellation? On peut en douter, car le même feu dévorera les *palais* de Ben-Hadad, le fils de Hazaël; le parallélisme bien établi entre les deux parties de ce verset nous force à voir dans ce *Bêt-Hazaël* un palais du roi de Damas.<sup>7</sup>

### *Textes araméens*

Il ne reste plus qu'à évoquer deux inscriptions araméennes qui font mention de villes et de zones géographiques dont les noms commencent par le terme *bêt*. La stèle I de Sfiré fait référence à un Béthel, dans la région d'Arpad (*KAI* 222 A: 34). De plus il est question d'un *byt gš* (*KAI* 222 B: 11), qui ne peut être que le *Bît-Agûsi*, à l'ouest du *Bît-Adini*, des noms bien connus dans les inscriptions assyriennes. Le même *Bît-Agûsi* revient encore deux autres fois, mais associé à un *byt šll*, un site inconnu, (*KAI* 222 B: 3), alors que la forme *byt gš* est aussi utilisée sur la stèle II (*KAI* 223 B: 10).<sup>8</sup> L'ostracon d'Assur, que l'on date vers le milieu du 7<sup>e</sup> siècle, fait souvent référence à un *byt- 'wkn*, qui n'est nul autre que le *Bît-Amukkâni*, dans le sud de la Babylonie, fortement colonisé par des araméens (*KAI* 233: 4, 5, 9, 13 et 15). On y rencontre aussi un *byt- 'dn*, le *Bît-Adini* du nord de la Syrie (*KAI* 233: 14, 15). Un troisième lieu qui nous est inconnu, soit le *bytdbl'* (*KAI* 233: 21), a parfois été rapproché du *Bet-Diblatayim* de Jérémie 48.22, et le *Bet-Diblaton* de la stèle de Mésha (ligne 30); le contexte ne se prête guère à une telle interprétation, vu que l'action se passe presque entièrement en Mésopotamie.

7. C'est aussi l'opinion de Dion (1997: 227 n. 13), qui est tout-à-fait justifiée. Le royaume de Hazaël n'est pas visé dans cet oracle d'Amos.

8. Les *filis* d'Agûsi, pour désigner les habitants de ce petit royaume (*KAI* 222 B: 3) nous rappellent que c'est la façon très répandue, dans l'Ancien Testament, pour parler des Israélites (fils d'Israël), des Judéens (fils de Juda) et des Ammonites (fils d'Ammon).

*Juda = Bêt Dawid?*

La revue des noms géographiques composés avec l'élément *bêt/bît* dans l'Ancien Testament et en épigraphie sémitique des 10<sup>e</sup> au 7<sup>e</sup> siècles nous montre bien que ce mode d'appellation est largement répandu. S'il y a une concentration forte de ces noms dans les royaumes araméens de la Syrie, ils ne manquent pas pour autant en Mésopotamie et dans les petits royaumes de Palestine et de Transjordanie. Ainsi, que Juda puisse être désigné comme le *bytdwd* ('maison de David') n'est pas, en soi, une anomalie. Mais avons-nous des indices d'une telle pratique en dehors de l'inscription de Tel Dan? Une réponse positive nous semble tout à fait justifiée, même si les appuis ne sont pas nombreux.

En effet, le syntagme *bêt Dâwid* est attesté vingt-cinq fois dans l'Ancien Testament.<sup>9</sup> Nous pouvons établir trois groupes de textes d'après le sens premier du syntagme. Tout d'abord, il réfère de façon obvie à la résidence personnelle de David, avant son accession au trône (1 S. 19.11); et à deux reprises, il désigne clairement le palais royal de David (Ne. 12.37; 2 Ch. 8.11). Il n'est pas toujours facile, cependant, pour le reste des cas, d'être assuré que *bêt Dâwid* fasse référence en premier lieu à la *dynastie* (famille) davidique ou au *royaume* (état) davidique. Il peut arriver que les deux sens soient même voulus. Il nous semble que dans la majorité des cas il faut nettement comprendre que c'est la dynastie davidique qui est visée. Le premier texte est évidemment 2 S. 7.26 (=1 Ch. 17.24), l'oracle de Natân qui met fin au projet de David de construire un temple (*bêt*) à Yahweh, car c'est Yahweh lui-même qui doit d'abord bâtir une *dynastie* (*bêt*) à David. À deux reprises on rappelle explicitement cette promesse divine (1 R. 13.2; 2 Ch. 21.7). Isaïe s'adressera deux fois à Achaz en utilisant le syntagme *Bêt Dâwid* au lieu de son nom personnel, car il voit en lui, en quelque sorte, toute la dynastie depuis David, son fondateur (Is. 7.2, 13); Jérémie fait de même à l'endroit de Sédécias (Jr. 21.12). Le prophète Zacharie, au retour de l'exil, réunit dans une même adresse les habitants de Jérusalem et la 'maison de David' ce qui laisse entendre qu'il considère en premier les personnes, et non les lieux géographiques (Za. 12.7, 8, 10, 12; 13.1). Le Psaume 122.5 est ambigu: en tant qu'hymne de pèlerins montant à Jérusalem, il invite ces derniers à

9. Avec la Septante il faut lire 'maison de Saül' au lieu de 'maison de David' en 1 S. 20.16, comme l'exige d'ailleurs le contexte.



se réjouir puisqu'ils seront à la fois en présence de Yahweh, dans son temple, et de la 'maison de David', ce qui semble évoquer d'abord la résidence de cette famille royale; en vertu de l'oracle de Natân, pourrait-on croire que la dynastie royale rend aussi présent Yahweh à ce titre?

Un troisième groupe de textes fait très clairement référence au royaume de Juda sous le nom de *Bêt Dâwid*. Un événement tragique est au centre de cette nouvelle appellation, soit le schisme politique entre Israël et Juda, au lendemain de la mort de Salomon. En effet la révolte d'Israël a établi une déchirure permanente de l'unique maison de David (1 R. 12.19 = 2 Ch. 10.19); seule la tribu de Juda demeurera dans cette maison de David (1 R. 12.20). Pour assurer cette nouvelle situation politique, le nouveau roi d'Israël, Jéroboam, établit deux sanctuaires nationaux, qui seront les lieux de pèlerinage officiels de ce royaume; si les Israélites devaient monter à Jérusalem pour célébrer leur Dieu, le danger d'un retour du peuple à la maison de David, Juda, serait trop grand; il est urgent de dresser une barrière contre une telle éventualité (1 R. 12.26). Deux autres textes font référence à cet événement, qu'ils décrivent littéralement comme l'arrachement d'une partie de la maison de David (1 R. 14.8; 2 R. 17.21).

Un signe avant-coureur de cette scission avait pourtant déjà été donné au temps du conflit politique entre Saül et David. Ce conflit est directement décrit comme une lutte de pouvoir entre deux *maisons*, celle de David et celle de Saül (2 S. 3.1, 6), qui se soldera par la création d'un petit royaume davidique à Hébron, appelé *maison de Juda* (*Bêt Y<sup>e</sup>hûdâh*: 2 S. 2.4); c'est là que les anciens d'Israël, ces notables du royaume de Saül, viendront plus tard proclamer David roi sur tout le pays (2 S. 5.1-5).

Enfin, dans son oracle célèbre contre Shebna, ministre d'Ezéchias, Isaïe déclare que ce dernier sera remplacé par un certain Hilqiyahu, dont il décrit la cérémonie d'investiture. Le nouveau ministre exercera son pouvoir sur la *maison de Juda*, qui est aussitôt défini aussi comme la *maison de David*; le parallélisme des deux expressions garantit donc la portée politique de cette maison de David (Is. 22.21-22).

Cette brève revue des textes vétérotestamentaires nous montre bien qu'en hébreu aussi les noms géographiques composés avec l'élément *bêt* sont connus et largement utilisés en Palestine même. Dans le contexte du *bytdwd* de l'inscription de Tel Dan, il est important de souligner que la même expression est aussi attestée dans ce corpus lit-

téraire hébreu dont l'origine remonte au 10<sup>e</sup> siècle, donc à peine un siècle avant notre inscription araméenne. Il est vrai que *maison de David* n'a jamais supplanté *Juda* comme nom propre du petit royaume du sud de la Palestine, mais il a quand même circulé dans les documents officiels de la chancellerie royale.<sup>10</sup>

Avant la découverte de l'inscription de Tel Dan, en 1993, *Bêt Dâwid* comme nom de Juda n'avait jamais été attesté dans les textes du Levant. En 1994, de façon indépendante semble-t-il, le syntagme *bt dwd* est lu à la ligne 31 de la stèle de Mésha, dans le coin gauche, au bas, une partie fortement endommagée. Puech (1994: 227 n. 31) propose cette lecture sans justifications. Par contre, Lemaire (1994a: 18; 1994b: 34.36; 1994c: 89; 1998: 10) décrit brièvement l'état actuel de cette partie de l'inscription, après l'examen minutieux à la fois de la stèle au musée du Louvre et de l'estampage que l'on y conserve.<sup>11</sup> À la fin de la ligne 31, après les mots *yšb. bh*, on peut lire un *b* avec certitude et les vestiges moins assurés d'un *t*, suivis d'une lacune où deux lettres pourraient être inscrites; après cette lacune, on lit assez facilement la partie supérieure d'un *w* et d'un *d*, d'où la restitution du syntagme *bt[.d]wd*.<sup>12</sup> Les raisons pour une telle restitution nous semblent fondées: tout d'abord il est fait mention du *roi d'Israël* à trois reprises dans l'inscription (ll. 5.10–11.18), et une fois on s'y réfère très clairement en ne parlant que de sa *maison (bt)*, soit celle d'Achab (l. 7). De plus, dans cette partie finale de la stèle, le roi Mésha décrit la région sud de son royaume, où il doit libérer Hôronên d'une occupation ennemie (*yšb. bh*); vu la situation géographique de cette ville, dans la région sud-est de la mer Morte (Aharoni 1967: 57), il est tout normal que ce soit le roi de Juda qui ait envahi cette région, contiguë à la partie sud de

10. Les noms géographiques hébreux comportant l'élément *bêt* et désignant une entité politique dépassant le simple village ou la ville sont rares, en dehors de celui de *Bêt Dâwid*: nous ne connaissons que ceux de *Bêt 'Efrâyim*, le territoire le plus important du centre de la Palestine, utilisé en lien avec celui de Juda et de Benjamin (Jg. 10.9), et de *Bêt Yiśśakâr*, le territoire de la tribu du même nom dans la partie est de la vallée de Megiddo (1 R. 15.27). Dans les deux cas, on se serait attendu de lire plutôt les *filis (b<sup>e</sup>nê)* d'Ephraïm et d'Issachar, ou la *montagne (har)* d'Ephraïm.

11. Cet examen a été fait en vue d'une *editio princeps* de la stèle que Ch. Clermont-Ganneau n'a jamais publiée; à ma connaissance cette publication de Lemaire n'est pas encore parue. Une bonne photographie agrandie de cette partie abîmée est publiée par Lemaire dans la version anglaise de son article (1994b: 35).

12. L'état construit de *byt* dans la stèle de Mésha est *bt* (lignes 7, 23, 27, 30), sauf une fois à la ligne 25 (*byt*).

son propre royaume.<sup>13</sup> Avec d'autres historiens, nous sommes fortement enclin à suivre Lemaire dans cette restitution.<sup>14</sup> Si nous pouvions expliquer de façon sûre le syntagme *'r'l.dwdh* de la ligne 12, nous aurions une confirmation non équivoque de la présence des Judéens en Moab, avant l'avènement de Mésha. Qu'il s'agisse ici d'un autel ou d'un autre objet, il reste qu'il est caractérisé par un substantif (*nomen rectum*) dont les consonnes sont celles du nom de David. L'objection fréquente pour une telle interprétation est le suffixe pronominal *h*, qui normalement n'est pas attaché à un nom propre, bien que des exceptions soient possibles (Rainey 1998: 244-49).<sup>15</sup>

En résumé, nous ne devrions pas être surpris que Juda puisse être aussi appelé *maison de David* (*byt dwd*), sur la base des témoins que nous venons d'évoquer. Si Mésha a pu faire usage d'un tel nom, à peine quelques années après l'auteur de la stèle araméenne de Dan, il est assuré du moins que ce nom circulait dans les milieux judéens eux-mêmes, qui, par leur proximité, n'étaient pas inconnus des petits royaumes araméens au nord et à l'est du royaume d'Israël.

#### *L'absence d'un séparateur dans bytdwd*

Le scribe qui grava la stèle de Tel Dan fit usage de points séparatifs entre les mots; on observa aussitôt qu'un tel point n'a pas été inscrit entre *byt* et *dwd*, ce qui devint là aussi un sujet de discussions. Comme dans l'Ancien Testament ces deux mots sont toujours séparés, leur jonction ici doit donc avoir une signification autre. On pense alors soit à un nom de lieu, comme dans le cas de Bethel ('maison de El'), et de nature assez semblable, soit le nom d'un temple où une divinité particulière est honorée. Dans notre cas présent, un dieu Dôd est à retenir, dont le sanctuaire doit être assez près de la ville de Dan (cf. Lemche et Thompson 1994: 9). On a cru surtout pouvoir montrer que le scribe écrivant ainsi *bytdwd* sans séparateur avait en vue une 'entité' bien

13. Lemaire [1994a: 18-19] attire notre attention sur les occasions possibles d'une telle invasion, dans la deuxième moitié du 9<sup>e</sup> siècle, au temps d'Athalie et de Joas.

14. Voir K.A. Kitchen (1997: 35-36), A.F. Rainey (1998: 249-51), W. Dietrich (1997: 21-23).

15. Le nom de David se trouverait aussi attaché à un lieu du Negev dans une inscription de Shéshonq I, autour de 925, à peine cinquante ans après sa mort (cf. Kitchen 1997: 40-41).

précise, qui va au-delà d'un syntagme constitué d'un substantif à l'état construit suivi de sa base, le *nomen rectum*. Cette entité unifiée, évidemment, ne saurait être autre qu'un état, selon les parallèles proche-orientaux connus, en particulier les parallèles araméens (Rendsburg 1995; voir aussi Rainey 1994: 47; Dietrich 1997: 26-27). Les pages qui vont suivre montreront, nous l'espérons, que cette absence de séparateur peut être rencontrée partout, sans qu'un groupe en particulier ne puisse en faire sa caractéristique.

Divers procédés ont été utilisés, avant le sixième siècle, pour séparer les mots d'un texte, que la *scriptio continua* usuelle rendait souvent obscur (Naveh 1973: 206-208; Millard 1970: 4-9). La pratique d'un espace de la valeur d'une lettre laissé libre entre les mots devint courante à l'époque perse seulement. Plus tôt, si la pratique de l'espace est parfois attestée, on a surtout recours à l'insertion d'un petit trait vertical, en haut des lettres ( $x^{\uparrow}y$ ), ou un trait vertical de la dimension des lettres elles-mêmes ( $x|y$ ). Ce système, toutefois, a été largement remplacé par l'insertion d'un point ( $x.y$ ) entre les mots, comme on peut le constater dans l'inscription de Tel Dan. Il arrive parfois que plus d'une pratique est utilisée à l'intérieur d'une même inscription, y compris celle de l'espace laissé libre.

Nous avons d'abord voulu distinguer la nature des inscriptions étudiées pour évaluer l'importance de l'usage de ces séparateurs: une inscription monumentale destinée à la lecture publique devrait être plus respectueuse de cette pratique qu'un simple billet tracé à l'encre sur un morceau de céramique. Après l'examen d'un très grand nombre de textes, une telle distinction ne nous a pas semblé opportune, car les mêmes façons de procéder de la part des scribes se retrouvent dans ces deux types de textes. Evidemment, nous ne considérons que les textes faisant usage de l'alphabet phénicien.

### *La Phénicie*

L'inscription sur le couvercle du sarcophage d'Ahiram de Byblos, au début du 10<sup>e</sup> siècle, présente déjà de beaux cas d'absence de séparateurs, des traits verticaux entre les mots. Ainsi on écrit de façon continue *bn'hrm* et *mlkgbl* (*KAI* 1.1), deux titres de l'auteur qui forment un tout clair: 'fils d'Ahiram' et 'roi de GBL (Byblos).' La fin de l'inscription est un peu endommagée, mais il est assuré qu'un trait séparatif manque entre un verbe et son sujet: *ymhšfrh* ('que son inscription soit effacée' [2]). La spatule d'Azarbaal, plus ou moins de la même époque,

utilise les mêmes traits séparateurs, mais ce trait fait défaut entre une préposition (*'m*) et le verbe (*nhl*: *KAI* 3.3). Une inscription peu soignée sur un bloc de calcaire, aussi du 10<sup>e</sup> siècle, fait usage de petits traits verticaux entre les mots, sauf à deux reprises dans le syntagme *'lgbl* ('dieu[x] de Byblos', *KAI* 4.4, 7) et une fois entre une préposition et un substantif *'lgbl* ('sur Byblos', ligne 6). Quelques années plus tard, l'inscription d'Abibaal omet aussi ce séparateur dans *'lgbl* (*KAI* 5.2). À la fin de ce siècle, sur un autre bloc de calcaire, l'inscription de Shipitbaal introduit des points séparatifs à côté des traits usuels. Deux fois on omet ces séparateurs dans des syntagmes comme *bn'lb'l* ('fils d'Alibaal', *KAI* 7.2) et *b'ltgbl* ('Dame de Byblos', 4).

L'inscription monumentale en langue phénicienne de Kulamuwa de Sam'al, vers la fin du 9<sup>e</sup> siècle, présente plusieurs exemples intéressants d'absence d'un point séparatif. Tout d'abord le verbe *kn* ('il existe') n'est pas séparé de son sujet *BMH* (*KAI* 24.3), alors qu'immédiatement après, à trois reprises, il l'est (3[2×].5). Nous relevons quatre cas d'un syntagme à consonance génitive, tels *bt'by* ('maison de mon père', 5), *mlk'sr* ('roi d'Assyrie', 8), *brhy* ('fils de Hayya', 9) et *nbšytm* ('l'âme d'un orphelin', 13). Le cas d'une jonction sans point d'une préposition et d'un verbe est attesté deux fois pour *blhz* ('sans qu'il ne vit', 11), et aussi deux fois pour *'lykbd* ('qu'il n'honore pas', *KAI* 14.15). L'écriture continue est utilisée dans la sentence *w'dr'lymlk* ('et fut puissant sur moi le roi...', 7). Enfin, à la ligne 6, deux expressions n'ont pas de séparateurs: *ydl(h)m* ('une main pour combattre'), et *mlkkmk'š* ('des rois comme un feu').

### Ammon

L'inscription de la citadelle d'Amman, que l'on date en général vers le milieu du 9<sup>e</sup> siècle, est difficile à lire à plusieurs endroits, vu le mauvais état de la pierre. Cependant, nous pouvons attirer l'attention sur quelques absences de point séparatif. À la ligne 2, les deux derniers mots sont joints de toute évidence: *mtymtn* ('ils mourront certainement'; cf. Cross 1969: 17; Dion 1975: 32; Fulco 1978: 41; Puech et Rofé 1973: 532; Sasson 1979: 118). Par contre, l'expression qui les précède est lue différemment par les épigraphistes. Entre *msbb* et *lk* on a un trou qui est nettement plus gros que les points de séparation, et plus petit que le cercle d'un 'ayin, dont le centre se serait brisé. Certains donc lisent *'lk* ('contre toi'), ce qui cadre bien avec le *msbb* précédent ('tout

autour');<sup>16</sup> d'autres préfèrent voir là un point de séparation, bien qu'il soit beaucoup trop gros.<sup>17</sup> Nous penchons beaucoup vers cette dernière lecture, d'autant plus que le calcaire assez tendre de la pierre peut facilement s'être effrité, comme on peut l'observer ailleurs.<sup>18</sup> Nous ne considérerons pas des cas possibles au milieu de la ligne 3 et de la ligne 4, car la pierre est trop endommagée. Par contre à la ligne 5 nous pouvons lire clairement, sans point séparatif, l'expression *tdltbdl*,<sup>19</sup> où nous reconnaissons les consonnes du mot 'porte' (*dlt*); comme nous n'avons ni le début ni la fin des lignes, il est bien difficile de bien comprendre ce que l'expression signifie réellement.<sup>20</sup> Enfin, à la fin de la même ligne on lit assez facilement *btñ kbh* avec un espace laissé libre entre les deux mots; ici encore un effritement de la pierre pourrait expliquer la disparition d'un point.<sup>21</sup>

L'énigmatique inscription sur la bouteille en bronze de Tell Siran, qui doit dater autour de l'année 600, se présente sur huit lignes autour de la bouteille. L'écriture continue est utilisée sauf à la ligne 4 où des traits verticaux séparent les mots à trois reprises (Thompson et Zayadine 1973: 7; Aufrecht 1989: 203). Il est un fait assez curieux: un de ces traits sépare l'article du substantif: *wh'gnt* ('le jardin'); il est possible que nous ayons le même phénomène à la fin de la même ligne: *wh'thr* ('et le fossé'[?]).

L'ostracon de Nimrud, milieu du 7<sup>e</sup> siècle, contient une liste de quinze noms personnels sur 15 lignes. De façon très régulière on a un séparateur entre le nom de la personne et son patronyme; mais ce patronyme est toujours donné selon la formule *bn* + N ('fils de N'), et dans aucun cas un point de séparation n'est inscrit entre ce *bn* et le N (Aufrecht 1989: 118-19).

16. Cf. Horn 1969: 5; Puech et Rofé 1973: 532; Fulco 1978: 41; Jackson 1983: 10.

17. Cf. Cross 1969: 17; Dion 1975: 32; Sasson 1979: 118.

18. Par contre, on s'étonnera qu'Aufrecht (1989: 154) lise un point et un 'ayin, car il n'y a pas d'espace pour les deux! Voir l'excellente photo publiée par Puech et Rofé (1973: 536, Pl. xx).

19. Aufrecht 1989: 154 place un point après *tdlt* qui n'apparaît pas sur la photo (voir n. 18).

20. Aufrecht (1989: 161) donne les principales solutions proposées.

21. Cet effritement peut expliquer que le *b* de *kbh* puisse être lu comme un *r* (*krh*, 'festin'; ainsi Horn 1969: 8; Dion 1975: 32).

*Juda et Israël*

La somme d'inscriptions hébraïques s'est beaucoup enrichie au cours des récentes décennies; l'épigraphiste peut y trouver plusieurs champs d'études, dont celui de la pratique des scribes. Le premier texte à évoquer est sans doute le 'calendrier' de Gézer, que l'on doit dater au milieu du 10<sup>e</sup> siècle, au plus tard. Même s'il est probablement un exercice d'écolier, il révèle l'art de l'écriture à cette époque fort ancienne de son histoire en Israël. Les sept lignes d'écriture qui ont subsisté consistent en la nomenclature des 'travaux et des jours' au cours d'une année. La *scriptio continua* est ici d'usage, comme il convient à une telle date reculée, mais à deux reprises le jeune scribe introduit un trait vertical de la grandeur des lettres après chacun des deux premiers mois (KAI 182.1-2).

Deux ostraca incisés trouvés en surface à Tell Qasileh, près de Tel Aviv, sont datés du 8<sup>e</sup> siècle par la céramique. Il s'agit de petits billets d'expédition, comme le sont les ostraca de Samarie, que nous verrons aussitôt. Un de ces billets accompagne de l'or d'Ophir destiné à Beth-Horôn, en Ephraïm. Des points séparent 'or' et 'Ophir,' mais on écrit *bythrn* (Maisler 1951: 266, Pl XI B). Dans l'Ancien Testament ce nom est attesté treize fois et est toujours écrit en deux mots, souvent reliés par un *maqfef* (cf. Jos 10.10; 16.3; 18.14). Voilà un bon indice de l'unité forte de ces deux termes. Le deuxième ostracon utilise le fond d'une cruche pour inscrire l'envoi au roi d'une grande quantité d'huile, réparti sur trois lignes. Après le mot 'huile' (*šmn*) il semble qu'un point ait été incisé, ce que l'éditeur ne mentionne pas (Maisler 1951: 266, Pl XI A).<sup>22</sup> À supposer que ce point ne soit qu'un défaut dans la céramique, il faut alors noter qu'un espace libre, pour division, est évident.

Les soixante-trois ostraca de Samarie, au 8<sup>e</sup> siècle, font un usage très régulier d'un point séparatif après chaque mot, ce qui laisse peut-être supposer qu'un même scribe attentif les ait écrits. Nous n'avons relevé qu'une seule exception (#38.3), soit un espace libre bien marqué entre deux noms propres 'l' 'lh ('Ela [fils de] Ullah'? Cf. Diringier 1934: 31).

Nous connaissons tous l'inscription royale sur la paroi du canal d'Ezéchias (716–687), à Jérusalem. Elle a été gravée avec soin, car tous les mots sont bien séparés par des points (KAI 189). Sur les pentes de la colline de Siloé, en face de la sortie du canal, on découvrit une

22. Gibson (1971: 17) rapporte ce point de séparation, sans justification de cette présence.

inscription funéraire au-dessus de la porte d'un tombeau. Il semble bien que ce soit la sépulture d'un ministre d'Ezéchias, un certain Shebna, qui fut bien critiqué par Isaïe (22.15-25). L'inscription, répartie sur trois lignes, peut être assez facilement lue, malgré les usures du temps. Seuls trois points de séparation sont présents, ce qui nous étonne sans doute; l'écriture continue est bien d'usage, mais un espace libre est remarquable entre l'article et son substantif, *h byt* ('la maison,' voir le fac-similé d'Avigad (1953: 144, Pl. 9). Si les lettres sont bien gravées, une certaine négligence est présente dans leur étalement.

Les fouilles de Tell Arad dirigées par Y. Aharoni ont révélé plus d'une centaine d'ostraca hébreux, dont une petite minorité ne consiste qu'en quelques lettres encore lisibles (Aharoni 1981). Les textes datant des 10<sup>e</sup> au milieu du 8<sup>e</sup> siècles sont très fragmentaires, mais nous sommes assurés que la *scriptio continua* est parfois parsemée de points de division. Il serait trop long de relever chacune des particularités du grand nombre de textes de la deuxième moitié du 8<sup>e</sup> siècle jusqu'au début du sixième. Voilà pourquoi nous avons cru pouvoir les regrouper en des catégories distinctes. Tout d'abord un premier groupe de neuf lettres fut expédié à un même Elyashib, en commençant toujours par la même adresse: *'lyšyb* ('à Elyashib'). Dans quatre cas un point est inséré après la préposition *'l* (Aharoni 1981: 1, 2, 3, 11);<sup>23</sup> la *scriptio continua* est utilisée pour les cinq autres cas (4, 5, 6, 7, 8). Quant à l'ensemble de ce corpus, voici donc une synthèse des pratiques remarquées. Un seul ostracon est bien ponctué par des points séparatifs, avec une seule omission (ligne 4); il est plutôt fréquent que nous ayons un mélange de points et d'écriture continue (3, 5, 7, 8, 10, 24). Nous n'avons noté que deux ostraca où l'écriture continue est utilisée seule (39, 59). Une autre pratique est la combinaison de points et d'espaces libres (18, 40); par contre ils sont plus nombreux à n'utiliser que les espaces libres (4, 6, 11, 27, 31). Enfin, il arrive aussi qu'un même ostracon combine points, espaces libres et écriture continue (2, lignes 2, 6, 7). Cette revue rapide montre bien que les scribes n'étaient pas astreints à un seul mode d'écriture.

Un assez grand ostracon en six fragments fut découvert dans une forteresse judéenne, à Yavneh-Yam, datant du 7<sup>e</sup> siècle. Le mode d'écriture correspond tout à fait à ce que nous avons rencontré à Arad, soit la *scriptura continua* dominante, et l'insertion sporadique de

23. Les chiffres renvoient aux numéros des textes dans l'édition d'Aharoni.



points séparatifs, dont quelques-uns marquent la fin d'une sentence (Naveh 1960: 130; *KAI* 200).

Tout récemment on a publié deux ostraca hébreux de provenance inconnue et faisant partie d'une collection privée. On s'accorde à les dater de la deuxième moitié du 7<sup>e</sup> siècle. Tous les deux sont de bons témoins de l'utilisation de points de séparation. Le premier traite de la livraison d'argent pour le temple de Yahweh, débutant par l'ordre de le faire (ligne 1): *k'sršwk*, qu'il nous faut comprendre *k'sr šwk*, 'comme il a été ordonné à toi' (ligne 1, Bordreuil *et al.* 1996: 50). Ainsi on a réuni en une seule unité une préposition et le verbe. Aux lignes 2-3 on a le cas très intéressant de *ksftršš*, 'l'argent de Tarsis,' une autre unité ou syntagme composé d'un substantif et son complément génitif (Bordreuil *et al.* 1996: 50). La destination de cet argent est le *bytyhwh* ('maison de Yahweh'), un autre bel exemple d'une unité presque indissoluble de deux substantifs (Bordreuil *et al.* 1996: 50). Nous croyons que le scribe, dans ces trois cas, a volontairement omis les points de séparation. Le deuxième texte rapporte la plainte d'une veuve sans enfants réclamant une part de l'héritage de son mari. Nous relevons cinq cas d'omission d'un point de séparation. Ici le texte s'ouvre sur une bénédiction divine: *yhw hšlm* ('Yahweh [te bénisse] en paix,' ligne 1), une autre unité facilement compréhensible (Bordreuil 1996: 61). À la ligne 2, la particule de l'accusatif est directement attaché au substantif: *'t mtk* ('ta servante'): la même particule est toutefois utilisée deux autres fois, mais séparée du substantif par un point (lignes 4, 6 [Bordreuil *et al.* 1996: 61]). La condition de cette veuve est tout simplement décrite par ce syntagme: *l'bnm* ('pas d'enfants'), comme s'il s'agissait d'un adjectif unifié. Plus bas, à la ligne 5, l'héritage demandé est collé au pronom relatif qui introduit sa description par cette curieuse combinaison: *nhlh 'šr* ('l'héritage que...' [Bordreuil *et al.* 1996: 61]). Enfin, l'héritage convoité est situé géographiquement par cet autre syntagme unifié: *'šrbn 'mh* ('qui [est] à Na'amah,' Bordreuil *et al.* 1996: 61). Ici encore il est difficile de penser que le scribe ait omis les séparateurs par simple inattention; chaque expression constitue une unité bien délimitée.<sup>24</sup>

24. L'authenticité de ces deux ostraca publiés par Bordreuil a été mise en doute par Eph'al et Naveh (1998: 269-73), pour des raisons qui ne nous ont pas convaincu; la céramique et l'écriture ne posent pas de problème. Une datation de l'encre au C<sup>14</sup> pourrait être une bonne confirmation du doute posé.

Le dernier examen porte sur le groupe des dix-huit ostraca de Lachish, datant de la fin du 7<sup>e</sup> et du début du 6<sup>e</sup> siècle. L'ostracon 1 donne une liste de cinq noms propres suivis de leurs patronymes. Un point de séparation suit le nom propre, sauf à la ligne 4, et ce point est inscrit après le mot *bn* ('fils') aux lignes 3 et 5 seulement (Gibson 1971: 36). L'ostracon 2 comprend vingt-neuf mots, mais seuls onze points de division sont utilisés, sans qu'une raison logique ne soit détectable (KAI 192). Plusieurs cas d'omission de séparateur peuvent être signalés dans l'ostracon 3 (KAI 193). Tout d'abord nous avons deux crases évidentes aux lignes 8 et 9: *wky'mr* = *wky y'mr* ('et parce qu'il dit'), et *hyhwh* = *hy yhwh* ('[par] la vie de Yahweh'). De telles combinaisons sont certes voulues. Les autres omissions se présentent dans les circonstances suivantes: un verbe et son substantif (lignes 14, 15), une préposition suivi d'un substantif (ligne 10), un pronom relatif et le verbe (ligne 11), un nom propre et son patronyme (lignes 17, 20) et un substantif suivi de son attribut (ligne 19). Tant de circonstances diverses laissent supposer une écriture négligée. L'ostracon 4, qui ne diffère guère du précédent par son usage des points de séparation, offre deux particularités: on est surpris qu'à quatre reprises le séparateur soit le petit trait vertical, pourtant disparu depuis longtemps (KAI 194.1, 2, 10, 11); c'est à la ligne 5 qu'on rencontre le nom géographique, inconnu: *byt.hrpd*, dont il a été question dans la première partie de notre étude.<sup>25</sup> Les ostraca 6, 9 et 13 (KAI 196, 197, 198) font aussi usage de façon très libre, pour ne pas dire irréfléchie, de points de séparation, sans qu'il nous soit possible de déterminer les principes logiques d'une telle pratique.

### *Aram*

Il convient de clore cette enquête par le groupe des inscriptions araméennes. La plus ancienne à retenir notre attention est la statue de Tell Fekherye, qui doit dater autour de 850 (Abou-Assaf *et al.* 1982: 23-24). Le séparateur utilisé est un deux points superposés (:), sauf à la ligne 1 où nous avons deux traits verticaux séparant les trois premiers mots, puis à la ligne 8 où trois points superposés (:) sont utilisés et c'est là le seul séparateur apparaissant à la dernière ligne (23). Des omissions sont toutefois bien évidentes. Tout d'abord à la ligne 13 nous notons

25. Gibson (1971: 41) et Noll (1994: 72) ne lisent aucun point entre *byt* et *hrpd*. Il nous a été impossible de vérifier par nous-même la présence ou l'absence de ce séparateur.

deux substantifs sans séparateur (*l'rmwrđt*: 'pour l'exaltation et la perpétuation') sont reliés à un troisième (*krs'h*: 'son trône') dans un rapport génitival; l'oubli semble la seule raison, car l'unité se fait avec le mot 'trône' en premier lieu. Nous avons deux autres omissions, cette fois entre une préposition et un substantif: *w'l'nšn* ('et aux hommes'), précédé d'un autre syntagme de même nature, mais pourvu d'un séparateur (*'l.lhn* ['aux dieux']: ligne 14), et *qđm hdd* ('devant Hadad,' ligne 15); dans le cas présent, l'omission est vraiment accidentelle. À la ligne 19 nous avons deux phrases construites de la même façon: semer une quantité de grains et en récolter une quantité anormale; or entre le verbe *lžr'* ('qu'il sème') de la première phrase et la quantité *wprys* ('demi-mesure') de la deuxième il n'y a pas de points de séparation, ce qui est inexplicable, hormis un oubli. À la ligne 23, le séparateur manque entre un verbe et une préposition: *ygtzr mn* ('qu'il soit séparé de [son pays]'), un autre oubli difficilement contestable. Un dernier cas devrait nous intéresser plus particulièrement, car il présente la jonction de deux substantifs en lien génitival, sans même un espace libre entre les deux: *hđđskn*, 'Hadad de Sikan,' comme s'il s'agissait d'une expression unifiée comparable à celle du *bytdwd* de Tel Dan.<sup>26</sup>

Au début du 8<sup>e</sup> siècle, nous avons la courte inscription de Bar-Hadad de Damas au dieu Melqart (*KAI 201*). La lecture du texte est difficile, surtout la ligne 2, vu le mauvais état de conservation du monument. Deux études ont retenu notre attention, celles de Lemaire (1984) et surtout de Puech (1992), qui a su l'examiner de près au Musée d'Alep; nous nous limiterons donc à ne relever que les points de convergence entre ces deux épigraphistes (Lemaire 1984: 349; Puech 1992: 315-16). Les séparateurs utilisés sont des traits verticaux placés entre les mots. Nous avons deux cas d'omission de ce trait de séparation entre un verbe et son sujet (ligne 1: *šmbrhđđ* ['a érigé Bar-Hadad']), et un verbe et son objet indirect (ligne 4: *zynzr* ['à qui il a fait vœu']). Le patronyme de Bar-Hadad est aussi écrit sans séparateur à la ligne 2 (*br...*<sup>27</sup> ['fils de...']); le patronyme de ce dernier suit aussitôt, et d'après Puech

26. La stèle de Zakkur, roi de Hamath, datant du début du 8<sup>e</sup> siècle, utilise de façon très régulière le trait vertical, de la grandeur des lettres, comme séparateur de mots. À une dizaine de reprises ces traits sont presque invisibles à cause du mauvais état de la pierre (*KAI 202*; Gibson 1975: 7). Il est donc imprudent d'y voir des omissions de séparateurs.

27. Le nom du père est lu avec difficulté, d'où les nombreuses hypothèses proposées.

le séparateur manque aussi dans ce cas. Au début de la ligne 3 nous lisons clairement le syntagme *mlk'rm* ('roi d'Aram,' sans séparateur.<sup>28</sup> Ces trois derniers cas de substantifs en relation génitive forte sont particulièrement intéressants pour notre propos.

La longue inscription de Panamuwa, fils de QRL, roi de Sam'al, au milieu du 8<sup>e</sup> siècle, sépare régulièrement les mots par des points; une seule omission semble évidente, à la ligne 6, dans l'expression *'rq šmy* ('terre des ails,' *KAI* 214.6), qui est parallèle à celle de 'terre du blé,' où un point est très visible. Toutefois, un espace est laissé libre entre 'terre' et 'ails.' Nous avons aussi un cas intéressant dans une inscription dédiée à un autre Panamuwa, fils de BRŠR, dans la deuxième moitié du 8<sup>e</sup> siècle: à la ligne 14 nous lisons l'expression *rb't'rq*, qui est la combinaison de deux mots: *rb't* ('les quatre quartiers') et *'rq* ('de la terre,' *KAI* 215.14). Comme l'inscription est aussi très longue et que des points de séparation sont toujours utilisés, il ne peut s'agir ici que d'un oubli.

L'ostracon d'Assur, daté autour de 650, sépare les mots par des espaces libres. Nous avons deux noms géographiques écrits de façon continue: *bytdbl'* ('Bêt-Diblâ,' *KAI* 233.21), et *byt'wkn* ('Bêt-'Ukin' = Bît-Amukkâni: 13.15), écrit aussi de façon séparée dans le même texte (lignes 4, 5, 9), ce qui est un indice assez clair que l'omission est sans doute le fruit d'une négligence.

Récemment, à Tell Shioukh Fawqani, dans le Bêt-Adini, on découvre une tablette en terre cuite, inscrite en araméen (Fales 1996: 89-91). On la date de la deuxième moitié du 7<sup>e</sup> siècle. Fait étrange, le scribe utilise encore l'écriture continue, sauf dans les cinq premières lignes où à cinq reprises les mots sont séparés par des points.

Nous avons reporté à la fin de la présente section sur Aram les textes sur plâtre du sanctuaire de Deir 'Alla, dans la vallée du Jourdain, juste au nord du Yabboq. On s'accorde pour dater ces textes de la deuxième moitié du 9<sup>e</sup> siècle, mais on discute toujours de la vraie nature de la langue. Weippert (1997: 29-30) opte pour l'appellation 'proto-araméenne', c'est-à-dire 'une langue qui est sur la voie de devenir araméenne sans l'être déjà,' car les textes de Deir 'Alla seraient une copie d'un texte plus ancien, sans doute remontant à un siècle plus tôt. Dion (1997: 200) n'hésite pas à qualifier cette langue de 'dialecte araméen

28. Puech (1992: 316) publie un très bon facsimilé de l'inscription. Toutefois à la ligne trois sur ce facsimilé on a un séparateur après le *mlk* du début qui n'est pas indiqué dans sa transcription (p. 315).

archaïque et marginal'. Chose certaine, il faut reconnaître au moins une très forte influence araméenne sur ces inscriptions, influence rendue possible par l'expansion de la présence araméenne vers le sud de la Transjordanie au cours du 9<sup>e</sup> siècle. Rappelons-nous que c'est dans le même contexte historique que l'inscription de Tel Dan fut gravée dans le nord d'Israël.

Les fragments de plâtre inscrits ont été assemblés en diverses combinaisons, auxquelles nous nous référons (Hoftijzer et van der Kooij 1976). Le point séparateur est utilisé de façon régulière entre les mots, sauf quelques exceptions. À la ligne 1 de la Combinaison I on lit l'expression curieuse: *h'wy'tw* (Hoftijzer et van der Kooij 1976: 173); l'éditeur propose de lire le pronom 3<sup>e</sup> m. sing. (*h'*: '[à] lui') et un verbe à la 3<sup>e</sup> m. plur. (*y'tw*: 'ils viennent,' soit les dieux). Il est évident que le scribe a commis ici un oubli, devenu embarrassant. À la ligne 2, le patronyme du devin Balaam est écrit *brb'r* ('fils de Bé'or'), sans point de séparation, contrairement à sa pratique habituelle. À la même ligne nous lisons aussi un *yp'bl'*, où les éditeurs croient y voir un verbe à la 3<sup>e</sup> m. sing. (*yp'l'*: 'il fait'), mais on n'arrive pas à comprendre le *bl'* qui suit (Hoftijzer et van der Kooij 1976: 173). La Combinaison II présente quatre autres omissions de points. Celle de la ligne 6: *wy'bd'l* ne présente aucune difficulté: 'le dieu El a fait;' le verbe et le sujet sont donc réunis. À la ligne 8, c'est la jonction d'une préposition et d'un substantif qui est effectuée: *mngdš*: 'de la tombe' (Hoftijzer et van der Kooij 1976: 174). La ligne 23 ne contient qu'une seule expression: *kyhz'y1* [ ], que les éditeurs n'arrivent pas à s'expliquer à leur satisfaction (Hoftijzer et van der Kooij 1976: 266-67); la même expression se retrouve dans la Combinaison XII (Hoftijzer et van der Kooij 1976: 177). On reste aussi perplexe devant le seul mot de la ligne 30: *y'lmyl*, qui doit contenir un verbe et son sujet (Hoftijzer et van der Kooij 1976: 175). Le *hrbtyš* [ ] de la ligne 1 de la Combinaison X doit contenir la forme *haf'el* du verbe *rbb* ou *rwb*, mais le sujet ne peut être précisé (Hoftijzer et van der Kooij 1976: 177). Nous croyons que nous avons ici dans tous ces cas de verbes et sujets réunis des omissions accidentelles difficilement contestables.

### *Inscription de Tel Dan*

Pour terminer cette deuxième partie de notre enquête, nous avons réservé deux observations importantes sur l'inscription de Tel Dan qui

illustrent bien les façons de faire, parfois peu attentives, des scribes. La première porte sur les dernières lettres de la ligne 3 du fragment B1, où nous pouvons lire très clairement sur la photo: *mlk y [ ]*, avec un espace sans point entre le *k* et le *l* (Biran et Naveh 1995: 5). Or le fac-similé d'Ada Yardeni et les transcriptions de Biran et Naveh (1995: 9, 12) ignorent cet espace libre, en lisant de façon continue *mlky(š)r'l*, le 'roi d'Israël,' comme pour le *bytdwd*, à la ligne 9 du fragment A.<sup>29</sup> Nous refusons un tel cas, car il s'agit plutôt d'une omission d'un point de séparation entre les mots 'roi' et 'Israël,' sans doute par inattention, car ce point est très visible dans la même suite de mots à la ligne 8 du fragment A (Biran et Naveh 1995: 12).<sup>30</sup> Notre deuxième observation porte sur une omission des éditeurs qui ne manquera pas d'étonner. À la ligne 6 du fragment A, après le *y* initial suivi d'un point, nous pouvons lire très clairement sur la photo ce qui suit: *ml.ky*. (Biran et Naveh 1993: 88; 1995: 10). Ici encore l'auteur du fac-similé et les transcrip-teurs ne respectent pas l'inscription dans son originalité en écrivant *mlky* ('mon roi'), sans le séparateur entre le *l* et le *k* (Biran et Naveh 1993: 87, 89; 1995: 12). Il ne fait pas de doute que leur interprétation est juste: 'mon roi,' mais on ne doit pas passer sous silence une distraction pour le moins grave du scribe, qui nous invite à beaucoup de prudence dans notre interprétation des omissions de points séparateurs, comme dans leur rare addition injustifiée.<sup>31</sup>

### *Conclusions*

Notre examen assez étendu, sans prétendre à l'exhaustion, de l'ensemble du corpus des inscriptions nord-ouest sémitiques, faisant usage de l'alphabet phénicien, du 10<sup>e</sup> au début du 6<sup>e</sup> siècle, nous permet de tirer quelques conclusions que nous considérons bien fondées. C'est dans ce contexte que nous avons voulu situer en tout premier lieu l'inscription de Tel Dan.

29. Les éditeurs croient qu'un seul *š* manque à la fin de cette ligne 3, puisque le reste du nom d'Israël (*-r'l*) est bien attesté au début de la ligne 4 du fragment A.

30. L'omission du point est notée par les éditeurs dans leur commentaire, bien qu'ils l'ignorent dans leur transcription (Biran et Naveh 1995: 14). Nous ne pouvons accepter leur double explication: une telle omission peut être 'naturelle' dans une telle expression unifiée, comportant un rapport génitival, ajoutant aussitôt que l'espace libre entre les deux lettres est 'insignifiant', ce qui ne peut être soutenu, car il y a vraiment la place pour un point de séparation.

31. Ce point inutile dans *ml.ky* a été signalé par Demsky (1995: 31 n. 10).

Il est important de souligner ce fait incontestable qu'il est très rare qu'une inscription soit parfaite dans son utilisation d'un système pour séparer les mots. La remarque vaut autant pour les inscriptions monumentales et publiques que celles destinées à des fins restreintes, comme les ostraca, ordinairement des billets de livraison ou des lettres de fonctionnaires ou d'individus. Dans un tel contexte, il ne fait aucun doute que l'inscription de Tel Dan est tout à fait conforme à ce que nous avons pu observer partout ailleurs.<sup>32</sup>

L'attestation de noms géographiques composés de l'élément *bêt/bît* ('maison') suivi d'un substantif qui le détermine, pouvant être un nom divin, un nom de personne, ou encore un simple objet, est omniprésente; la fréquence de tels noms, toutefois, s'intensifie en Syrie du Nord, surtout en Israël et Juda. Ainsi le *bytdwd* ('maison de David') de Tel Dan, comme nom propre du royaume de Juda, ne doit pas surprendre l'épigraphiste ou l'historien. Il est vrai que son utilisation n'est pas courante, même dans l'Ancien Testament, pour désigner le royaume de Juda; nous avons pu montrer que ses emplois sont confinés aux premières décennies de l'histoire des royaumes séparés d'Israël et de Juda. C'est bien à cette même époque que l'inscription de Tel Dan fut gravée. Il est fort probable que ce même *byt.dwd* doive être restauré à la fin de la stèle moabite de Mésha.

L'autre particularité de notre inscription qui a retenu notre attention est l'omission d'un point séparateur entre *byt* et *dwd*. Ici, l'inscription de Tel Dan nous a paru en tout semblable aux autres inscriptions du monde nord-ouest sémitique, à l'Âge du Fer II. Le système du point de séparation est sans doute celui qui a été le plus utilisé; cependant, il est très souvent contaminé par l'introduction, dans des cas plutôt isolés, d'éléments d'autres systèmes, comme les traits verticaux entre les mots, ou des espaces laissés libres. Nous n'avons relevé que de très rares inscriptions à séparer de façon parfaite tous les mots. À ce chapitre l'inscription de Tel Dan est encore dans la parfaite normalité, tantôt en

32. Les quelques variantes sur des points de détails concernant quelques lettres que certains ont cru pouvoir évoquer pour soutenir que les fragments B appartiennent à une inscription différente de celle du fragment A (Cryer 1995: 225; Becking 1996: 22-24) nous semblent impertinentes dans ce contexte, car de telles variantes sont présentes partout. Elles s'expliquent facilement par les conditions physiques des matériaux sur lesquels les scribes écrivent, et par le simple fait que chaque lettre est formée à la main, et non imprimée par une même matrice.

laissant un espace libre, tantôt en introduisant un point séparateur inutile, tantôt même en omettant ce point séparateur. Dans ce dernier cas, nous avons observé que cette omission se présente très souvent dans un syntagme constitué de deux substantifs dans un rapport génitif (*état construit*), comme ‘roi de Byblos’, ‘fils de N’, et aussi ‘maison de Y’. Ainsi, nous devons être prudent dans notre interprétation de ce *bytdwd*, écrit de façon continue. Aussi longtemps que nous ne pourrons pas prouver que l’élément *dwd* puisse être un nom autre que celui du roi David, il est donc bien justifié de traduire cette expression par ‘maison de David’, et de l’interpréter comme une autre appellation du Royaume de Juda.

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## TELL AFIS AND THE LU'ASH IN THE ARAMAEAN PERIOD

Stefania Mazzoni

### *Introduction*

Finds from recent archaeological excavations at Tell Afis and from a survey in its region confirm the lengthy duration and stability of the occupation of the area during the Iron Age. While the epigraphic material recovered in 1997 supports the identification of Afis with the city of Hazrek mentioned in the stele of Zakkur, the capital of the kingdom of Hamath and Lu'ash after 800 BCE, the long sequence of Iron Age I occupation indicates a gradual urban growth of the site beginning in the mid-twelfth century BCE. This same continuity could also be proven for other Iron Age settlements of the region to the north of Afis, an area which can confidently be identified as the Lu'ash of the textual sources.

### *The Aramaean Site of Hazrek*

The latest epigraphic finds from Tell Afis would appear to confirm its identification, frequently propounded but also frequently questioned, with the Aramaean city of Hazrek. This geographical name is cited in the stele of Zakkur (*KAI* 204), as well as in Assyrian texts as Hatarikka, and as Hadrach in the Bible. Among the various documents, the most telling is undoubtedly an incised sherd with the Aramaic letters *hw*r, that is to say, the god Iluwer to whom Zakkur dedicated his stele. The lengthy development of the site during the Iron Age and its transformation in Iron II, around the ninth century, would appear to be in line with the city's history as learnt from texts. Obviously, there are still many points to be clarified in order to make such an identification certain. The texts themselves furnish us with few details, as does the information relating to the region of which Hazrek would appear to have been the capital, Lu'ash. This was a trans-Orontes area, probably

the Nuhashe of the Bronze Age, called Luhuti in the Assyrian texts. Nor do the rare textual references to the region enable us to identify its effective size or geographical position in more than very general terms.

### *Iron Age I Occupation*

The archaeological data provided by the excavations at Tell Afis, on the other hand, enable us to define a development of the Iron Age in three phases on the basis of changes in settlement pattern, in architecture and in material culture, all of which are usually diagnostic in establishing periods and relative chronologies. The presence of a residency dating to the end of Late Bronze II and of a fair sized settlement in Iron I A-C supports the identification of Afis with the Apsuna mentioned in the text of Yabninu of Ugarit and, therefore, with the Ab-zu<sup>ki</sup> of the Ebla texts and consequently with the 'apsh of Zakkur's stele. The evident difficulty of an identification with Hazrek could be overcome by admitting, as I have done, that 'apsh could be a quarter, possibly the earliest and most sacred, of a city founded anew by Zakkur and renamed Hazrek.<sup>1</sup> The settlement of Afis in Iron I seems to cover the entire citadel with a dense urban presence well defined by an orthogonal road layout and well-organized buildings. The pottery demonstrates clear leanings towards both the coastal regions and Anatolia, a characteristic which is apparently inherited from the immediately preceding Late Bronze II. In the first case we are dealing with material of types such as the 'deep bell-shaped bowls' of LH III C early-late, Proto White Painted and White Painted ware; in the second we have materials such as Drab Ware.

Both the continuity of the settlement, its structures and pottery and the notable Anatolian integration would appear to coincide with the documentation provided by epigraphic sources relating to the Luwian dynasties during the post-Hittite phase following the destruction of 1190–1180 BCE (Table 1). The family connections on a dynastic level between the kings of Carchemish and Malatya, analogies in the urban transformation of these centres and their artistic celebration programme indicate both continuity and an internal reworking and reciprocal transmission of iconography and ideological structures of the Hittite phase. The data we have confirms a rapid urban resettlement of the entire

1. Dion 1997: 141 and n. 17, in favour of the identification of Afis with Hazrek. For the Afis materials and chronology, see now Cecchini and Mazzoni 1998.

Syro-Anatolian area. This is marked by an unprecedented increase in monumental public structures, such as the gates (the Lion Gate at Malatya, the Water Gate at Carchemish, the South Gate of the city at Zincirli, the Outer Gate of the citadel at Zincirli), cult buildings such as the temples ('Ayin Dara, Aleppo) and by ceremonial structures like the façades in the citadel courtyards (the Herald's Wall, the Long Wall of Sculpture at Carchemish). This tradition of the architectonic decoration of the gates, together with such unprecedented monumentality, especially in the figures guarding the gates, such as sphinxes and lions, point directly towards the Hittite sphere of Hattusha and of Alaca Höyük. Syro-Anatolian continuity and integration, under the persisting presence of the Luwian dynasties, therefore, are factors which characterize this phase of Iron I, apparently uniform even in its different regional variations. Its duration would seem to correspond with that of the autonomy of local Syro-Hittite dynasties. The artistic documentation, in fact, gives a uniform picture throughout the tenth century. Material culture, in the same way, shows a continuity of development up to the tenth century although the point of change between this and the following phase is here less clear and not so fully documented.

### *Iron Age II*

The ninth century BCE is apparently marked by certain important transformations throughout the area. The absence of great decorative projects to be attributed to this period in cities such as Carchemish, Malatya and Zincirli which, between the twelfth and eleventh centuries, had seen continuous monumental works being undertaken, may be a question of chance and must be re-evaluated at some future date. With the exception of a few isolated works, however, a renewal would appear to be documented only from the middle of the eighth century both at Carchemish (Royal Buttress) and at Zincirli (Nordliche Hallenbau, Hilani II–III). It is true that we have, apparently from the ninth century, the lions which decorated the gates of Building II and III at Hama, the 178 small orthostats reused at Guzana/Tell Halaf, and the stele of Kilamuwa, which, in effect, introduce a new element and seem to speak a new language, not only on the ideological plane. As I have already pointed out (1997: 305), the start of the ninth century is

Table 1: *Iron Age in Syria: Relative Chronology*

Date BCE*	Phases	Tell Afis	Hamath Lu'ash	Hama	Damascus	Pattina 'Ayin Dara Tell Ta'yinat
1200	LB II	<i>Afis VI</i> E: 10-9c		<i>G 1</i>		
1150	IA	<i>Afis VII</i> E: 9b				Base: G 1 Podium: E
1100		E: 9a-8				Socle: C, D, G
1050	IA IB	E: 7abc-6		<i>Cimetières I</i> <i>F 2</i>		Outer Reliefs: A-B
1000					To'1	
950	IA IC	E: 5-3		<i>Cimetières II</i> <i>F 1</i> Gate I	<i>Rezon</i>	'Amuq Oa
900		<i>Afis VIII</i>			<i>Ben Hadad I</i> <i>Hadad-ezer</i>	'Amuq Ob Halparuntiya <i>/Qalparunda</i>
850	IA IIA	E: 2-1	<i>Irhuleni/Urhilina</i> <i>Uratami</i>	<i>Cimetières III</i> <i>E 2</i> Buildings II-III	<i>Samos Frontlet:</i> <i>Haza'el</i> <i>Ben-Hadad III</i>	
800		D: 7-6	KAI 202: <i>Zakkur</i>	Meharde stela	KAI 201: <i>Bar-Hadad</i> <i>Hadianu</i>	Antakya stela Pazarcik stela
750	IA IIB	D: 5-4	<i>Eni'il - 738</i>	<i>Cimetières IV</i> <i>E 1</i>	<i>Rezon/Rahianu</i> conquest: 732	'Amuq Oc <i>Tutammu</i> conquest: 738
700		G: 8b-a	<i>Yaubi'di - 720</i>			
650	IA III	<i>Afis IX</i> D: 3-1	Khatarikka			Kullani 'Amuq Od
600						

\* approximate

<i>Arpad</i>	<i>Karkemish</i>	<i>Tell Ahmar</i>	<i>Assiria</i>	<i>Date BCE*</i>
	<i>Ini-Teshub</i>		<i>Shalmaneser I</i> 1273-1244	
	<i>Talmi-Teshub</i>		<i>Tukulti-Ninurta I</i> 1244-1207	
	<i>Kuzi-Teshub</i>		<i>Ashur-nadin-apli</i> 1206-1203	1200
			<i>Ashur-nirari III</i> 1202-1197	
			<i>Entil-kudur-usur</i> 1196-1193	
			<i>Ninurta-apil-ekur</i> 1192-1180	
			<i>Ashur-dan I</i> 1178-1133	1150
			<i>Ninurta-t-Ashur/</i> 1132-1115	
	<i>Ini-Teshub</i>		<i>Ashur-r.-ishi</i>	
	<i>Water Gate</i>		<i>Tiglath-pileser I</i> 1114-1076	
	A4b: <i>Ura-Tarhunza</i>		<i>Ashared-apil-ekur</i> 1075-1074	1100
	A16c: <i>Tudkhaliya</i>		<i>Ashur-bel-kala</i> 1073-1056	
	A14a: <i>Suhi I</i>		<i>Erib-Adad II</i> 1055-1054	
	A14b: <i>Astuwatimanza</i>		<i>Shamshi-Adad IV</i> 1053-1050	1050
	<i>Herald's Wall</i>		<i>Ashurnasirpal I</i> 1049-1029	
	<i>Suhi II</i>		<i>Shalmaneser II</i> 1030-1019	
	<i>Long Wall</i>		<i>Ashur-nirari IV</i> 1018-1013	1000
	<i>Katuwa</i>		<i>Ashur-rabi II</i> 1012-972	
	<i>King's Gate</i>	<i>Masuwari</i>	<i>Ashur-resh-ishi II</i> 971-967	
	<i>Processional Entry</i>	<i>Stela B: Hamiyata</i>	<i>Tiglath-pileser III</i> 966-935	950
		<i>Stela A:</i>	<i>Ashur-dan II</i> 934-912	
		<i>Ariayahina' son</i>		
			<i>Adad-nirari II</i> 911-891	
			<i>Tukulti-Ninurta II</i> 890-884	900
			<i>Tell Ashara stela</i>	
			<i>Ashurnasirpal II</i> 883-859	
<i>Gusi</i>	<i>Sangara</i>	<i>Bit Adini</i>		850
<i>Arame</i>		<i>Ahuni</i>	<i>Shalmaneser III</i> 858-824	
		<i>Kar Shalmaneser</i>	<i>Shamshi-Adad V</i> 823-811	
			<i>Adad-nirari III</i> 810-783	800
<i>Atarshumki</i>	<i>Astiruwa</i>	<i>Shamshi-ilu</i>	<i>Shalmaneser IV</i> 782-772	
<i>KAI 222-224</i>	<i>Yariri</i>		<i>Ashur-dan III</i> 771-755	
<i>Mati'ilu</i>	<i>Kamani: Royal Buttress</i>		<i>Ashur-nirari V</i> 754-745	750
conquest: 740	<i>Sastura: Pisiri</i>		<i>Tiglath-pileser III</i> 744-727	
	<i>Gate Great Staircase</i>		<i>Shalmaneser V</i> 726-722	
	conquest: 717		<i>Sargon II</i> 721-705	700
			<i>Sennacherib</i> 704-681	
			<i>Asarhaddon</i> 680-669	
			<i>Assurbanipal</i> 668-631	650
			<i>Ashur-etil-ilani</i> 630-627	
			<i>Sin-shar-ishkun</i> 627-612	
			<i>Ashur-uballit II</i> 611-609	600



conveniently illustrated by the stele of Terqa/Tell Ashara with its Syro-Hittite images and its Assyrian inscription celebrating the conquest of the region by Tukulti Ninurta II (890–884 BCE). Similarly, the stele of Kilamuwa, a king who bears a Luwian name but is son of Hayanu, whose name is Aramaic, showing a Phoenician inscription (*KAI* 24) and a relief in the Assyrian style, bears reliable witness to the period as one of greater inter-ethnicity, cultural assimilation and political interaction. The same scenario is illustrated by the stele from Brej of Bar-Hadad, son of a king of Aram, with its Aramaic dedication (*KAI* 201) to the god of Tyre, Melkart, and with its Phoenician-style figure (Pitard 1988; Sader 1987: 255-58; Puech 1992; Dion 1997: 121-22).<sup>2</sup> Also in Aramaic are the inscriptions on a horse blinker from the temple of Apollo at Eretria and a frontlet found in the Heraion of Samos, probably a product of a Pattina workshop, which cites the tribute of 'Unqi to Hazael of Damascus in the year he crossed the river (Kyrieleis and Röllig 1988: 37-75; Amadasi Guzzo 1987: 3-27; Bron and Lemaire 1989: 35-44). On the basis of this last piece it is thus possible to date the ivory frontlet inscribed on the back with the name Lu'ash, from Nimrud SW 37, which can also be compared to the Meharde stele (Riis and Buhl 1990: 13-14, Figs. 6-7; Hawkins 1988; 1995: 97, Pl. 2). At the end of the century, we have the stele of Zakkur (*KAI* 202) which is, up to the present documentation, the earliest monumental Aramaic inscription of a historical and celebratory nature.

A far from secondary aspect of the ninth century is the fact that the Aramaeans become less elusive.<sup>3</sup> The visible Aramaeanization of the region is achieved with the presence of images and celebratory inscriptions of ideological propaganda. This, for us, is a documentary visibility which is not altogether coherent, given the random and sporadic nature of the data at our disposal. On the one hand, a city like Guzana, capital of the Bit Bakhiani, is founded *ex novo* in the ninth century and takes shape in the ninth and eighth centuries. On the other hand, Hittite Masuwari becomes Bit Adini and Hittite Hamath is annexed to Lu'ash by the Aramaean Zakkur. Nor is the development

2. The identification is uncertain; Pitard suggests a Bir-Hadad, son of 'Attarhamek, apparently a king of Aram of the northern district as distinct from Aram-Damascus.

3. As Ikeda has noted (1999: 272). If we follow Zadok (1991), their historical prominence in the ninth century concludes the two stages of a pre-history ending in 1111 and a proto-history ending in 912.

between Arne and Arpad of the Bit Agushi any less important. The gradual transformation of Assyrian policy into a stable military commitment in the area in preparation for the territorial annexations of the following century is counterbalanced by an increasingly autonomous policy on the part of the Aramaean dynasties and of the Luwians, starting with the enterprising and aggressive policy of Aram with its capital, Damascus.

The emergence of Zakkur at the start of the eighth century occurs, therefore, at a moment of great vitality for the Syrian states, in particular Aram, which must have been greatly annoyed by the unification of Hamath and Lu'ash or, rather, the creation of a strong power in northern Syria, whether it had the support of Assyria or not.<sup>4</sup> I do not wish to enter into the internal reasons for the coalition against Hazrek or the complex political situation in this phase.<sup>5</sup> Certain elements, however, deserve to be stressed. In the first place, the fact that Zakkur did not succeed in maintaining his territory for a long time is clearly shown by the stele of Antakya which describes new borders in favour of Arpad.<sup>6</sup> Evidently, notwithstanding Zakkur's declaration the coalition, although not managing to cause Hazrek to fall, succeeds in its no less important aim of limiting the territorial extension of Zakkur in favour of Atarshumki, son of Adramu, king of Arpad.<sup>7</sup> No less important is the fact that the same king of Arpad (Bar-Gushi, 'the son of Gush') comes first, after the king of Aram, Bar-Hadad, in the list of kings who attack Zakkur in the stele bearing the same name.<sup>8</sup> In the stele of Antakya, moreover, Zakkur is called the king of Hamath and no mention is made of Luhuti.

What then was the territory not only of Hamath but also, and especially, of Lu'ash is still to be determined. Likewise, it is not yet clear whether Lu'ash was annexed to Hamath or rather the land of Hamath

4. In the various interpretations there is agreement on attributing Zakkur's refusal to join the anti-Assyrian alliance as a reason for the coalition.

5. See Hawkins 1987: 160; Sader 1987: 216-21; Pitard 1987: 156-58; Ponchia 1991: 91-97; Klengel 1992: 212-13; Liverani 1992: 109-10, 115; Dion 1997: 128-29, 139-43; Ikeda 1999: 282-83.

6. Sader (1987: 216) is right to believe that 'Cet événement est probablement postérieur (et c'est peut-être le résultat) du conflit.'

7. On the basis of the Antakya stele, dating to the reign of Adad-nerari III, the king represented by his commander-in-chief Shamshi-ilu, 'divided the Orontes River between them "equally"' (Donbaz 1990; Wazana 1996).

8. As Na'aman notes (1991: 84).

annexed to that of Lu'ash (Ikeda 1979: 83). It is, however, certain that Hazrek was the capital or principal centre of Lu'ash, at least if we believe the Assyrian citations of KUR Luhuti and Hatarikka.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, at least in the ninth century at the time of the campaigns of Ashurnasirpal II, Luhuti is not unified, has no king and probably consists of a 'plurality of cities' (Liverani 1992: 110). The locations proposed are concentrated in the trans-Orontes area, both adjacent to the Orontes valley (Liverani 1992: 77) and to the north of the Ghab (Dion 1997: 143), between Halab, Ma'arrat en Nu'man, the Orontes and the Syrian desert (Hawkins 1987: 161) or in the area between Aleppo and Khan Sheykoun (Sader 1987: 226). Consequently, Luhuti would appear to correspond with the archaeological data relating to the area between the Orontes and the Quweiq (Dion) and the region of Tell Afis (Liverani).

### *The Geographical Setting*

The northern trans-Orontes region does not, however, appear to constitute a coherent geographical unit (Fig. 1). On the contrary, it seems to be split into distinct units which are peripheral and to a limited degree permeable. The western area contains the tectonic depression along which the Orontes flows (Weulersse 1940: 18-19, Figs. 5, 7; Delpech *et al.* 1997: 163-70, Fig. 113)<sup>10</sup> which, in the wide plain of the Ghab, forms marshes 60 km wide and 10 km long. At the level of Tell Qarqur there is a jump in altitude marked by steep, basalt flows as far as Jisr esh-Shughur, where the plain narrows, there to end in a canyon between Jebel Wastani and Jebel Qseiri. After a final bend at Darkush, it levels out once more into a medium size valley between Jebel Dweili and Qseiri. Downstream, that is to the north of Qarqur and Jisr, the settlements appear to decrease as the valley narrows. The only one of note is the tell below Qnayé, consisting of deposits from EB III-IV to the west and Iron II-III towards the river to the east. Further downstream, after the gorges, a few settlements on the right eastern bank are found at the foot of the hills sloping gently down from Jebel Dweili. Amongst these, the largest is Tell Bek, occupied from the

9. As Hawkins (1987: 160) has correctly remarked.

10. The survey by Courtois (1973: Fig. 1) apparently stopped at Jisr, concentrating on the Ghab and the Ruj.

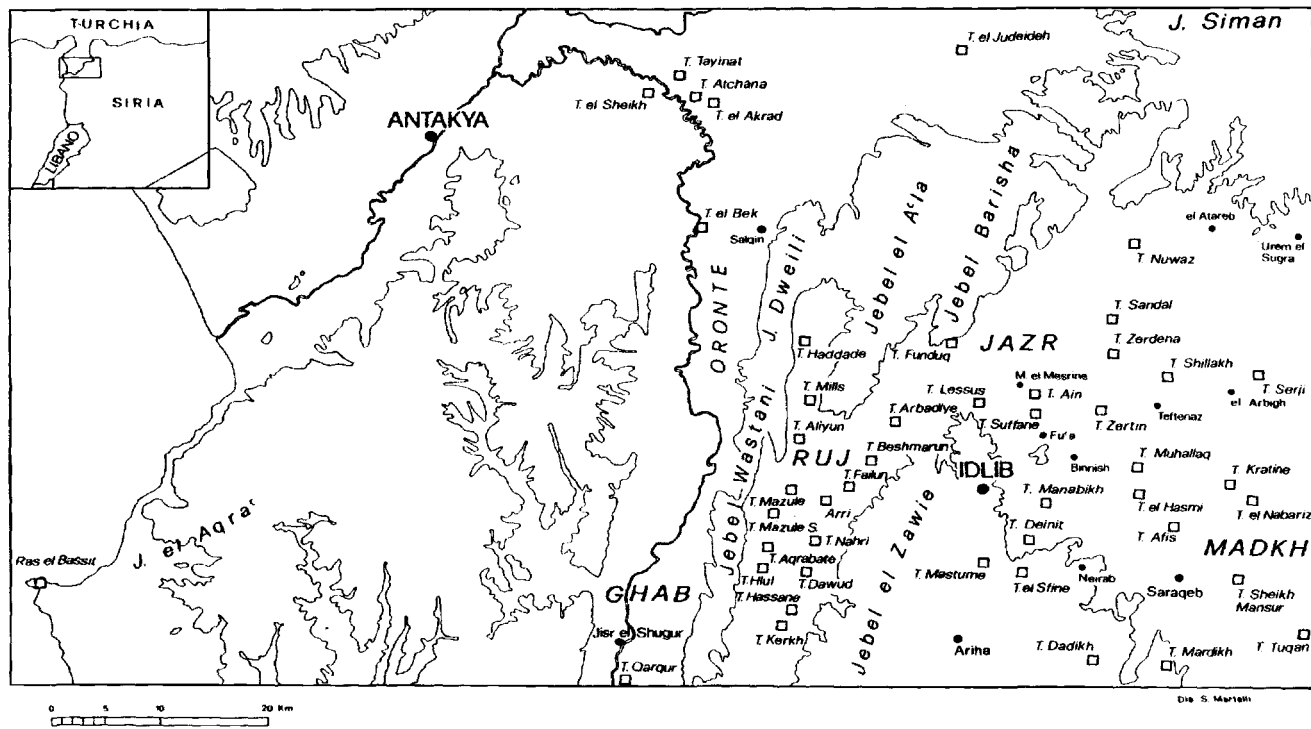


Figure 1. Northwestern Syria

Late Chalcolithic to the Byzantine era. The valley has a thick alluvial deposit which could be used to some extent for growing cereals, more for horticulture, whilst the neighbouring hills are today dense with olive groves.

The Wastani and Dweili mountains separate this area from the depression of the Ruj which, in the north, is divided by the Jebel el A'la into a north-western branch, which provides difficult access to the Orontes plain through a passage between Jebel Wastani and Dweili, and a north-eastern branch which, instead, flows towards the eastern plain of Idlib passing between Jebel Zawiyeh to the south and Jebel Barisha to the north.<sup>11</sup> The area of the Ruj and its branches is part of the Orontes depression and, consequently, is rich in springs which ensure a constant water supply. The north-eastern branch, where the railway line passes today linking Latakia with Aleppo, represented an important cross-road in ancient times uniting the mid-Orontes with the Aleppo area. This is shown by the presence of a dense cluster of settlements of different periods that largely duplicates the density found in the central section of the valley, around Lake Belu'a, which today is drained. Of the settlements along the Ruj, Tell el Kerkh is the greatest in size and chronological development, including the Iron Age.

In its eastern section, the plain of Idlib is marked by a few variations in the wide table of carbonatic sediments consisting of marly limestone with residues of Miocenic basalt outcrops that extend as far as Jebel Zawiyeh and Jebel Seman. Alluvial quaternary sediments, relating to karstic activity, cover the carbonatic sediments in a wide plain which stretches for 25 km to the north of Tell Afis. Today, as in ancient times, this was the most heavily cultivated area in the region (Falcone, Lazzarini and Galetti 1995: 89; Lazzarini and Colombo 1994: 17; Falcone and Lazzarini 1998: 482-83). This area also seems to have been densely populated between the Late Chalcolithic and Byzantine and Medieval eras, and corresponds with the *al Jazr* of Islamic sources. According to the historian Ibn Shaddad, the region of Afis, called *Jazr*, part of the *Jund of Qinnisrin/Chalcis*, was at that time densely urbanized.<sup>12</sup> The survey of this area was begun in 1985–86 and continued in

11. Courtois 1973: 88-94; for Tell el Kerkh (see 1973: 90, Figs. 23-26); the archaeological mission of the University of Tsukuba is currently concentrating on the proto- and pre-historic periods at Tell Aray and Tell 'Abd el Aziz (Iwasaki and Nishino 1991; 1992).

12. Eddé-Terrasse (1984: 31 n. 2) identifies *Jazr* with a plateau south-east of

the years 1987, 1993, 1995 and 1998, alternating with excavations at Tell Afis. At the start of this project, the main intention was to integrate data relating to the occupation of the region already obtained in 1963, in the course of the first survey of the region of Tell Mardikh, and in 1971, 1972 and 1974 during a second survey which concentrated on the eastern part of the region, including the southern limits of the Nahr el Quweiq and the marshes of the Madkh.<sup>13</sup> Occupation in the Iron Age apparently witnesses a notable increase,<sup>14</sup> with various settlements. The largest of these, apart from Afis, was without doubt the Bronze Age site of Tell Nuwaz located to the north-west, on the right bank of the Wadi el Naghi. The site overlooks the junction between eastern Ruj, Bab el Hawa and, towards the east, the region of Aleppo. It, therefore, represented a strategic point for communications in the region for some time. Other sites had certain strategic functions, such as Tell Serj, a small settlement with clear remains of fortifications, probably to be dated to the Middle and Late Bronze Ages, which could control the route towards Aleppo along the western edges of the Madkh.

The plain of Afis is bordered to the east by the alluvial depression of the Madkh, where the Nahr el Quweiq today flows underground. The Madkh reveals a dense cluster of settlements from the various phases. A limited change in the occupation of the inner eastern region, which was preferred in the Bronze Age, has been linked to strategic factors.<sup>15</sup> There is no doubt that the decline of certain centres in the Bronze Age, like Ebla and Tell Tuqan, led to a gradual abandoning of the route which, passing between Jebel el Hass and Jebel Shbeit, connected these centres with the Euphrates.

Jebel Barisha which stretches westwards as far as the Ruj and, to the south, as far as Jebel Zawiye.

13. Liverani (1965: 107-33; Maigret 1978). The present author participated in this second survey which also included a preliminary reconnaissance of the Ghab and Ruj areas (Ciafardoni 1987: 5-8).

14. Ciafardoni (1992: 47) has evaluated occupation of the region during Iron I-II as 40 per cent; this follows, with very slight variation, the 40 per cent of Middle Bronze I-II.

15. Maigret (1978: 92-93) speaks of a prevailing development in the area around Jebel Zawiye and a tendency for sites to be built on hillsides, thus excluding climatic factors as a basis for this process.

*Conclusions*

In conclusion, it is clear that the trans-Orontes region in which we wish to locate Lu'ash/Luhuti, in reality consists of four parts, the left and eastern bank of the Lower Orontes above Darkush, the Ruj, the Jazr and the Madkh. These areas are adjacent to each other and permeable by means of a series of internal routes, some of which had already been in use in pre- and proto-historic times. Of these four areas the Jazr, at least, would appear still to maintain its importance in the Medieval period. This was linked to its strategic role as a communications route but also to a vital role in the economy based on agriculture, cereal crops, horticulture and the growing of olives in particular for which the Mohafazah (Governorate) of Idlib is still today the greatest producer in Syria.

It is clearly difficult, on the basis of these still fragmentary data, to proceed to a historical-geographical and political reconstruction of the region. It would, moreover, be simplistic to conclude that this internal regional fragmentation could correspond precisely with the political entity of Nuhashe/Lu'ash/Luhuti which, with the apparent exception of the brief but undoubtedly important rise of Zakkur, does not ever appear to have constituted a centralized region.<sup>16</sup> If, however, we identify Afis with Hazrek we are then led to identify Jazr with Luhuti/Lu'ash, or at least in part. The fact that it was precisely Luhuti which furnished Ashurnasirpal II with his principal supplies of barley and straw could support this identification (Klengel 1992: 195; Liverani 1992: 77, 158). Even more problematical to us is the proposal to identify centres mentioned in the Assyrian annals with settlements in the region, be this on the basis of material from surveys and the topographical position along the edges of the routes cited and the halts made or on possible and justly 'questionable assonances' (Liverani 1992: 77), sadly often very weak, of toponomastic factors.

It is, instead, easier to sketch a picture of territorial connections and outline aggregate settlement areas on the basis of archaeological documentation and topographical considerations. These may reflect administrative and political borders, which enable us to draw comparisons with historical sources. It is clear that the area of Salkin was, in some

16. Liverani (1965: 117) includes Luhuti among the chiefdoms.

way, a single, rather marginal, catchment of the northern trans-Orontes region, closed as it was to the east by the Jebel Wastani, Dweili, el A'la and Barisha. To the south, notwithstanding the important route represented by the Orontes itself, the winding path of the river between the deep gorges at Darkush makes crossing this zone difficult if not strategically dangerous. To the north, the north-western spur extending from Jebel Dweili creates a narrow space which closes the eastern plain of the Orontes whilst the western section is delimited by Jebel Quseiri. The area was, therefore, naturally linked to the region of Antakya, or the 'Amuq. Its settlements, such as Tell el Bek, the largest, and Umm Tlul, the northernmost, share features with the area of the 'Amuq, in particular the abundant presence of Red Black Burnished pottery dating to the local EB III. Tell el Bek, being little more than 15 km upstreams from Tell Ta'yinat and even less from Tell Atchana, and on the same bank, might have been part of Pattina (Kunalua) in first millennium, and Mukish (Alalakh) in the second millennium.

The Ruj apparently formed an autonomous enclave. The cluster of settlements largely reproduces the settlement pattern of the Ghab, with two lines of settlements developing along the edges of the valley for obvious environmental reasons. The principal centres seem to be aligned along a north-eastern route, with Tell Kerkh in a position to control the pass towards the Ghab, Tell Izhane in a central position controlling the two branches and Tell Funduq on the route towards the Jazr.

The settlement structure of the Jazr seems to be fundamentally different. The spread of settlements throughout the territory is more marked compared with the development of the tableland and alluvial plain to the north, where a greater concentration of settlements is noted. For the Iron Age, together with Tell Afis, there was an extensive network of minor settlements; from south to north the most important are Tell Mardikh, Tell Sheikh Mansur, Tell Tuqan, Tell Mastume, Neirab, Tell Shillak and Tell Serj. This network would seem to indicate clusters of a certain density, apparently oriented around the major centres which included, again, from the south, Tell Surman, Tell Minnis, Tell Deint and Tell Nuwaz. The territory reveals, even in its links and communications, a homogenous settlement structure, characterized by sites distributed at more or less regular distances from one another. The renewed occupation throughout the region was certainly notable, even the major centres of the Bronze Age saw a steady re-urbanization, as



was certainly the case at Tell Mardikh and Tell Tuqan.<sup>17</sup> To summarize, the Jazr is seen as a densely populated land which, as is shown by Tell Afis, witnesses a surprising degree of continuity of occupation between Late Bronze II and the Iron Age. This is a final reason in favour of its identification with Nuhashe/Luhuti/Lu'ash.

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17. In these two centres, the growth of the urban area in the Iron Age II-III is quite extensive and perhaps, somewhat like Afis, occupation during Late Bronze II and Iron Age I was limited to the acropolis (Mazzoni 1992).

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## TELL TA'YINAT AND THE KINGDOM OF UNQI

Timothy P. Harrison

The role of archaeology in the construction and legitimation of collective cultural identities is coming to be perceived as one of the most important issues in archaeological theory and practice. Throughout the history of archaeology the material record has been attributed to particular past peoples, and the desire to trace the genealogy of present peoples back to their imagined primordial origins has played a significant role in the development of the discipline (Jones 1997: 1).

### *Introduction*

The collapse of Bronze Age civilization in the late second millennium and emergence of territorial nation states in the ensuing Iron Age have been the focus of intensified Near Eastern archaeological scrutiny in recent years. Questions regarding their ethnic origin and composition have preoccupied much of this research. While it has become increasingly evident that cultural groups cannot be viewed as monolithic, homogenous entities, and that tracing the primordial origins of distinct populations is an impossible, even misguided avenue to pursue, it is also clear that ethnicity, and more specifically ethnic identity, played a profound role in shaping the fragmented cultural and political landscape that emerged across much of the Near East at the outset of the Iron Age.

Rather than dismissing ethnicity as inaccessible to archaeological enquiry, recent theoretical discussions urge the adoption of a diachronic, historical approach that draws upon a variety of sources and classes of data to trace changing patterns of social interaction and the distribution of material and symbolic power between groups within a given region over a given period of time (Jones 1997: 125-26). Such an approach reasonably assumes that a link exists between the historically constituted perceptions that inform people's understandings

and actions, their expression through ethnicity, and its articulation in the material record.

This paper therefore will focus on the historical and archaeological record for the early centuries of the first millennium on the 'Amuq Plain. Strategically situated at the juncture between the Syro-Mesopotamian interior to the east, the Mediterranean coast to the west and the Anatolian Highlands to the north, the Amuq preserves extensive archaeological remains from this period. Moreover, historical sources attest to the existence of Luwian, Neo-Hittite and Aramaean ethnic elements in the region during this same period, creating the possibility of establishing links between changes in the material record with a shift in ethnic identity.

### *Historical Sources*

Unfortunately, indigenous documentary sources are scarce, and the few that do exist contain very little information about the political history of the Amuq during the Iron Age. We are forced to rely on abbreviated accounts, drawn primarily from the military annals of Neo-Assyrian kings, for any historical reconstruction. These records nevertheless outline the political geography of the region during the ninth and eighth centuries, and confirm the existence of a small independent Neo-Hittite kingdom confined roughly within the geographical borders of the Amuq Plain.

The earliest references to this kingdom occur in royal inscriptions recounting the ninth campaign of Ashurnasirpal II (c. 870 BCE). The account describes his efforts to subdue a series of kingdoms in north-west Syria, and includes a detailed itinerary of his passage through the region (Grayson 1991: 216-19, text A.O.101.1, col. iii, lines 55-92a; see also Hawkins 1982: 388-90; Liverani 1992: 73-80). After receiving tribute from a number of these kingdoms, including the 'Kingdom of Hatti' (at its capital Carchemish), Ashurnasirpal headed west from the Euphrates to the city of Hazazu (probably Tell 'Azaz), which we are told was ruled by 'Lubarna the Patinu'. Ashurnasirpal then crossed the Apre (modern Afrin) River, and continued on to Kunulua (Tell Ta'yinat, see below), 'the royal city' of Lubarna, where he received tribute. From Kunulua, he crossed the Arantu (modern Orontes) River and headed south through a series of mountain ranges before arriving at Aribua (probably modern Jisr esh-Shughur), 'the fortified city of

Lubarna the Patinu'. From Aribua, Ashurnasirpal proceeded to wage war on 'the cities of the land of Luhutu' (Aramaic Lu'ash), reaching south to the Lebanon Mountains and west to the Mediterranean coast. On his return to Assyria, he detoured through the Amanus Mountains, pausing long enough to obtain lumber and erect a memorial to the campaign.

Ashurnasirpal's description of his passage through Patina clearly situates the kingdom on the Amuq Plain. Moreover, the sequence of geographic features and place names leaves little doubt that Kunulua, the capital of the kingdom, was located near the southern edge of the plain, just north of the point where the Orontes River enters the valley. It therefore should be sought at the extensive mounded site of Ta'yinat (AS 126, see Fig. 1) (Hawkins 1976; 1982: 389 n. 139; Liverani 1992: 74-75), and not at 'Ain Dara, as Orthmann has proposed (1971: 198 n. 21; 1993: 251 n. 42).<sup>1</sup> In addition, we are given the name of the kingdom's ruler, Lubarna, a distinctively Hittite royal name.

Shalmaneser III, Ashurnasirpal's successor, continued the aggressive expansionist policy of his father, launching a series of campaigns against western Syria. In 858, during the first year of his reign, he attacked the Kingdom of Sam'al, encountering a coalition that included 'Sapalulme the Patinean', the apparent successor to Lubarna. After defeating the coalition, Shalmaneser turned south, crossed the Orontes River and laid siege to Alisir/Alimush (in the vicinity of modern Antakya?), 'the fortified city of Sapalulme', which he captured along with a number of other cities in the kingdom (Grayson 1996: A.0.102.2, col. i, line 41b-col. ii, line 10a; see also A.0.102.3). This campaign seems to have broken the resistance of Patina, as the following year (857) Shalmaneser received tribute from Qalparunda, who apparently had replaced Sapalulme in between the two campaigns, and again in 853 and 848 (Grayson 1996: A.0.102.1.92b-95; A.0.102.2, col. ii, line 21; Hawkins 1982: 391-92; 1995: 94-95).<sup>2</sup>

1. Other early candidates have included Tell Jindaris/Jinderez Tepe (AS 58) (Olmstead 1918: 248 n. 67; Braidwood 1937: 25 n. 3), Chatal Höyük (AS 167) (Gelb 1935: 189) and Tell Kuna'na (Elliger 1947: 71), located near the Afrin River.

2. There is significant variation between the two official accounts of the 857 BCE campaign, including the titles given to Qalparunda. In the former, he is referred to as 'the Unqite', the earliest attested occurrence of this designation, while in the latter he is labelled 'the Patinean'.

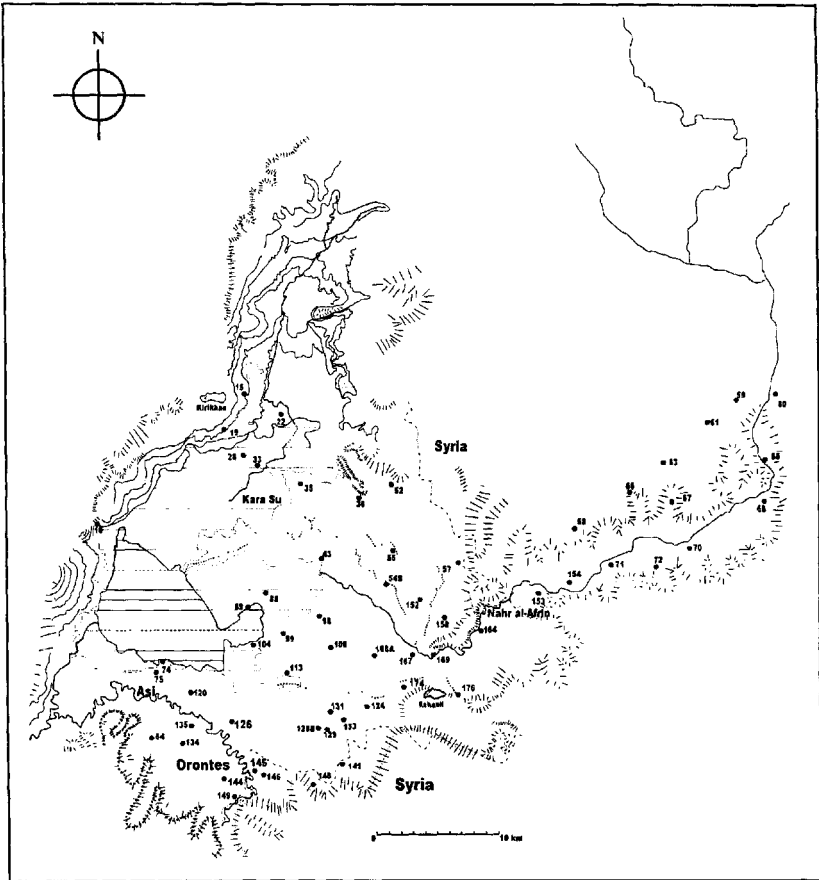


Figure 1. *Distribution of Phase O sites in the Amuq Plain*  
(created by S. Batiuk, from Yener et al. 2000: Fig. 3).

In addition to the annals, references to the Kingdom of Patina and Qalparunda appear in a number of inscriptions that date to the reign of Shalmaneser. Particularly intriguing are the alternating designations used to refer to Qalparunda and the inhabitants of his kingdom (Hawkins 1975a: 160-61). On the fifth register of the engraved bronze bands of the Balawat Gates, dated approximately to 850, ‘the people of Unqi’ (gentilic <sup>kur</sup>*un-qa-a-a*), not Patina, are depicted bearing tribute to Shalmaneser (King 1915: Pl. 13; Grayson 1996: A.0.102.69). Similarly, an epigraph on the base of Shalmaneser’s throne at Fort Shalmaneser describes a scene carved below in which ‘Qalparunda the Unqite’ is

portrayed bringing tribute to the Assyrian king (Grayson 1996: A.0.102.60), while an epigraph on the Black Obelisk refers to him as 'the Patinean' (Grayson 1996: A.0.102.91). A fragmentary hieroglyphic inscription uncovered at Tell Ta'yinat preserves an important Luwian corroboration of his name (see further below) (Gelb 1939: 39).

A possible explanation for the interchange between these two designations surfaces in the official account of a campaign conducted in 831 by the *turtan* Dayyan-Ashur against Patina. We are told that Lubarna (II?), king of Patina, was assassinated by 'the people of the land of Patinu' and a commoner (literally 'a non-royal person') named Surri assumed the throne in his place, prompting the Assyrian action. Dayyan-Ashur suppressed the revolt and replaced Surri with Sasi, 'a man of the land Kurussa' (Grayson 1996: A.0.102.14.146b-56a; Hawkins 1982: 395). While this action may have been initiated to demonstrate Shalmaneser's ability to intervene in Syro-Hittite affairs, and his willingness to avenge loyal vassals, it also verifies the emergence of a power struggle within Patina/Unqi; a power struggle that seems to have had ethnic overtones.

The later decades of the ninth century witnessed a decline in Assyrian power, and their official records fall silent regarding political developments in western Syria. The rise to power of Adad-narari III (810-783) marked a limited return, and resulted in a number of campaigns against coalitions of rebellious Syrian states. The first of these, in 805 or 804, was directed against an alliance led by Atarshumki, king of Arpad, which likely included Patina/Unqi (Hawkins 1982: 399-400; Weippert 1992: 56-57). The campaign culminated in a battle at Paqirahubuna commemorated on a boundary stele found near Maraş which had been erected to mark the border between the kingdoms of Kummuh and Gurgum (Donbaz 1990; Hawkins 1995: 93; Grayson 1996: A.0.104.3).

A boundary stele found along the Orontes River to the southwest of Antakya hints at a decisive downturn in the political fortunes of Patina/Unqi. The inscription describes the transfer of the city of Nahlasi (location unknown) along with all its lands and settlements to Atarshumki of Arpad, apparently at the expense of Zakkur of Hamath, and the realignment of the border between the two kingdoms to the Orontes River (Donbaz 1990; Grayson 1996: A.0.104.2). This action appears to have been taken during the campaign of 796, and therefore may be associated with the events recorded on the Aramaic stele of Zakkur found at



Tell Afis (Donner and Röellig 1976: no. 202). In the inscription, Zakkur accuses Bar-Hadad of Damascus of having induced a coalition of northern kingdoms, including ‘MQ’ (clearly the Aramaic equivalent to the Akkadian ‘Unqi’), to attack Lu’ash, the northern province of Hamath. He then claims to have been spared by divine intervention, and presumably also by Assyrian military support. If we accept this scenario, it seems reasonable to assume that the Assyrians mediated the conflict by ceding land to Arpad and its allies in return for the guaranteed safety of Hamath; a diplomatic solution that also may have been intended to isolate Damascus politically (Hawkins 1982: 400, 403-404; Weippert 1992: 58-59; Dion 1997: 128-29).

Whatever the specific ramifications of these developments, it is clear that the political landscape in northwest Syria had shifted by the turn of the century. Moreover, whether we assume that the Antakya stele was found near its original location (cf. Weippert 1992: 58 n. 97), or was transported down the Orontes from a point upriver such as Jisr esh-Shughur (cf. Hawkins 1995: 96), the basic result was the same. At the very least, the territorial extent of Patina/Unqi had been reduced considerably,<sup>3</sup> and the kingdom may even have lost its independence altogether. With the start of the eighth century, therefore, it seems reasonable to conclude that Aramaean Bit-Agusi had successfully extended its influence, if not outright control, over the former Neo-Hittite kingdom.

In light of this, the Aramaic ‘MQ’ used in the Zakkur stele to refer to Patina/Unqi takes on added significance. More than simply the Aramaic equivalent to the Akkadian Unqi, it clearly carries an ethnic connotation, acknowledging the Aramaic-speaking West Semitic segment of the population that apparently had now gained the upper hand in the former Luwian stronghold. The shift from Patina to Unqi in the Assyrian records may also reflect the increasing influence and visibility enjoyed by the Aramaeans (Bordreuil 1992: 253-54; Dion 1997: 124-25), in effect documenting a shift in ethnic association that unfolded over the latter half of the ninth century.

The recent publication of a second Aramaic reference to ‘MQ’ (Kyrieleis and Röellig 1988) and the translation of an earlier discovery

3. Possible indirect evidence in support of this occurs in a text dating to the reign of Tiglath-pileser III, in which the city of Hazazu, assigned to Patina during the reigns of Ashurnasirpal and Shalmaneser, appears in a list of cities attributed to Bit-Agusi (Hawkins 1975b).

with much the same text (Charbonnet 1986) further substantiate the ethnic character of the term. Preserved on bronze equestrian harness trappings evidently taken as booty 'from 'MQ', the inscriptions, which have been dated on palaeographic grounds to the ninth century, also make reference to Hazael and to 'the year that our lord [i.e. Hazael] crossed the river'.<sup>4</sup> While a number of interpretations are possible, the most plausible historical reconstruction links the events to Hazael of Damascus, and places them sometime between the later years of Shalmaneser's reign and the resurgence of Assyrian power in 805 under Adad-narari (Bron and Lemaire 1989; Eph'al and Naveh 1989; Bordreuil 1992: 254). It is even conceivable that these 'booty inscriptions' allude to events surrounding the revolt and assassination of Lubarna in 831, with Hazael playing an active role in the attempt to overthrow the Assyrian-backed Neo-Hittite regime (Dion 1995: 486; 1997: 201-202). Although tenuous, this possibility would provide a historical explanation for the rise of the Aramaeans to power, and the subsequent shift in the ethnic definition of the region's political culture.

Following the campaign of 796, Assyrian references to the region fall silent until active contact was resumed by Tiglath-pileser III. Significantly, the kingdom and region are referred to exclusively as Unqi. In 738, as part of his second western campaign, we are told that Tiglath-pileser seized a rebellious Unqi, destroyed Kunulua, and deported its king Tutammu and many of its citizens. He then rebuilt the capital, settled people displaced from elsewhere in the empire, and created the province of Kullani (a variant of the name of the former capital) (Luckenbill 1926: paras. 769, 770 and 772; Hawkins 1974: 81-83; 1982: 410-11; Weippert 1982: 395-96). Thereafter, the region remained firmly under Assyrian control until the collapse of the empire, receiving only passing mention during the reigns of Esarhaddon (the provincial governor was listed as a limu official in 684) and Ashurbanipal (Hawkins 1982: 425).

Although limited, when taken as a whole, the existing Neo-Assyrian and Aramaic sources point consistently to a decisive change in the

4. A strikingly similar bronze frontlet was actually recovered during the Oriental Institute excavations at Tell Ta'yinat in Room L of Building I in the West Central Area. The precise stratigraphic context in which the frontlet was discovered is not clear, but appears to date to the late eighth or seventh centuries BCE, although the frontlet itself may well have originated from a much earlier time. For a detailed art historical study of this piece, see Kantor (1962).

political order of late ninth century northwest Syria. Moreover, this change clearly coincided with the rise of the Aramaeans. A review of the archaeological record reveals a corresponding cultural shift, further highlighting the role ethnic identity appears to have played in the mediation of this political transfer of power.

### *The Archaeology of the Amuq Plain*

#### *Settlement Patterns*

Survey data for the Amuq Plain indicate a relative decline in settlement during the Late Bronze Age that mirrors a general decline throughout the Near East during this period (Yener *et al.* 2000; McClellan 1992). A sharp increase reversed this trend during the Iron Age, with the number of sites almost doubling. The original Braidwood survey, conducted as part of the Syrian Expedition of the Oriental Institute in the 1930s, recorded 30 Late Bronze Age (their Phase VI, or M), 47 Early Iron Age (c. 1200–1000 BCE; their Phase V, or N) and 58 Iron Age (c. 1000–500 BCE; their Phase IV or O) sites (Braidwood 1937).

When examined more closely, the original survey data reveal a number of interesting patterns. Seventeen of the 30 known LBA/Amuq M sites, or 57 per cent, also preserved evidence of Early Iron Age (Amuq N) occupation, suggesting significant continuity between the two periods. However, these 17 sites account for little more than one-third of the total number of recorded Amuq N sites. Fully 74 per cent, or 30 of the 47 known Amuq N sites, were new settlements. Moreover, of these 17 sites, 14 were occupied during all three periods, and represented multiple-period mounds with long occupational sequences. In contrast, the evidence for continuity between Phases N and O is unambiguously clear. Thirty-five of the 47 known Amuq N sites, or a remarkable 75 per cent, were also occupied in Phase O. Of the 23 sites newly occupied in Phase O, 40 per cent of the total, all except 2 (Tell Ta'yinat [AS 126] and AS 131, see Fig. 1) represented small (<3 ha) settlements.

Site-size data derived from the new Amuq Valley Regional Project Survey further clarify the apparent shift toward settlement intensification evident in the site totals (see Table 1). While aggregate settled area also increased progressively, more telling is average site size, which actually decreased from 4.76 ha in Phase M to 3.63 ha by Phase O, a trend that is repeated when median site size is calculated (note,

however, the high standard deviations in each case). What these data fail to reveal is the emergence of Tell Ta'yinat as the dominant settlement on the plain. As the distribution of site-size data in Table 2 suggests, a decisive shift to a single integrated settlement network seems to have occurred during Phase O. Site-size distributions remained relatively stable during Phases M and N, with approximately one-third of the sites falling into the medium size category (5-15 ha) and two-thirds into the small size category (<5 ha). During Phase O, however, more than 80 per cent of the sites ( $n = 26$ ) were small, while only 16 per cent ( $n = 5$ ) were medium, with Tell Ta'yinat, at 35 ha (or 30 per cent of the known settled area for this period), more than three times larger than the next settlement (Chatal Höyük, AS 167) in the site-size hierarchy.

Table 1. *Site-Size Distribution by Period\**

	Phase M	Phase N	Phase O
No. of Observed Sites	16	22	32
Aggregate Site Area (ha)	76.10	79.41	116.08
Mean Site-Size (ha)	4.76	3.61	3.63
Standard Deviation	4.32	3.53	6.30
Median Site-Size (ha)	2.85	2.89	1.69

\* The site-size data used to generate these statistics were drawn from the Amuq Valley Regional Project Survey (AVRPS) Database compiled by Jan Verstraete, and only represents those sites in the original Braidwood survey that the AVRPS has been permitted to resurvey.

Table 2. *Distribution of Site-Size Type by Period*

Period	Small (<5 ha)	Medium (5-15 ha)	Large (>15 ha)	Total
Phase M	10 (62.5%)	6 (37.5%)	0 (0%)	16
Phase N	15 (68.0%)	7 (32.0%)	0 (0%)	22
Phase O	26 (81.0%)	5 (16.0%)	1 (3%)	32

The dominance of Tell Ta'yinat is also reflected in the spatial distribution of Phase O sites, which shows a heavy concentration in the southern part of the plain around this central site (Fig. 1). A second concentration forms a band along the Afrin corridor, emphasizing the importance of the link to the east during this period. It is also worth noting that the Braidwood survey did not find any of the characteristic

wares associated with Phase O at sites along the Kara Su valley in the northern part of the plain (Braidwood 1937: 48). Although the report is not more specific, this presumably means that the distinctive Red-Slipped Burnished Ware (RSBW), the ceramic tradition that defines Phase O, was absent at these sites. In any case, the survey data indicate that during the early centuries of the first millennium the 'Amuq Plain was transformed into an integrated, urbanized landscape, with Ta'yinat at its centre.

### *Tell Ta'yinat*

Tell Ta'yinat forms a large, low-lying mound 1.5 km east of Demirkopru (the former Jisr al-Hadid) on the Orontes River. The site consists of an upper and lower mound, with the lower mound now hidden by alluvial accumulation. The upper mound sits just north of the modern Antakya-Reyhanli road, and measures approximately 400 m (E-W) by 500 m (N-S). An intensive and systematic surface survey conducted by the author in August 1999 established the parameters of the lower mound. Sherd density distributions indicate that it extended north of the upper mound approximately 200 m and west approximately 100 m, bringing the overall size of the site to 500 x 700 m (or 35 ha).<sup>5</sup>

Large-scale excavations were conducted at Ta'yinat by a team from the University of Chicago over four field seasons between 1935 and 1938 as part of the Syrian Expedition of the Oriental Institute. The excavations focused primarily on the west central part of the upper mound, although areas were also opened on the eastern and southern edges of the upper mound and in the lower city (Fig. 2). In all, the excavations achieved large horizontal exposures of five distinct architectural phases, or 'Building Periods', dating to Phase O (c. 950–550 BCE) (Haines 1971: 64–66). A series of isolated soundings below the earliest Phase O floors produced remains dating to the third millennium (primarily Phases I–J, but also H) (Braidwood and Braidwood 1960: 13–14), indicating a lengthy period of abandonment prior to the establishment of the initial Phase O settlement.

5. These measurements differ slightly from those of Haines, who estimated the size of the site at 500 x 620 m (1971: 37), but match the figures given in Braidwood and Braidwood (1960: 13). I wish to thank Stephen Batiuk, Sarah Graff, Heather Snow and Hamdi Ekiz of the Museum of Anatolian Civilization in Ankara, who ably assisted me with the survey, and the Curtiss T. and Mary G. Brennan Foundation for providing the funding that made it possible.

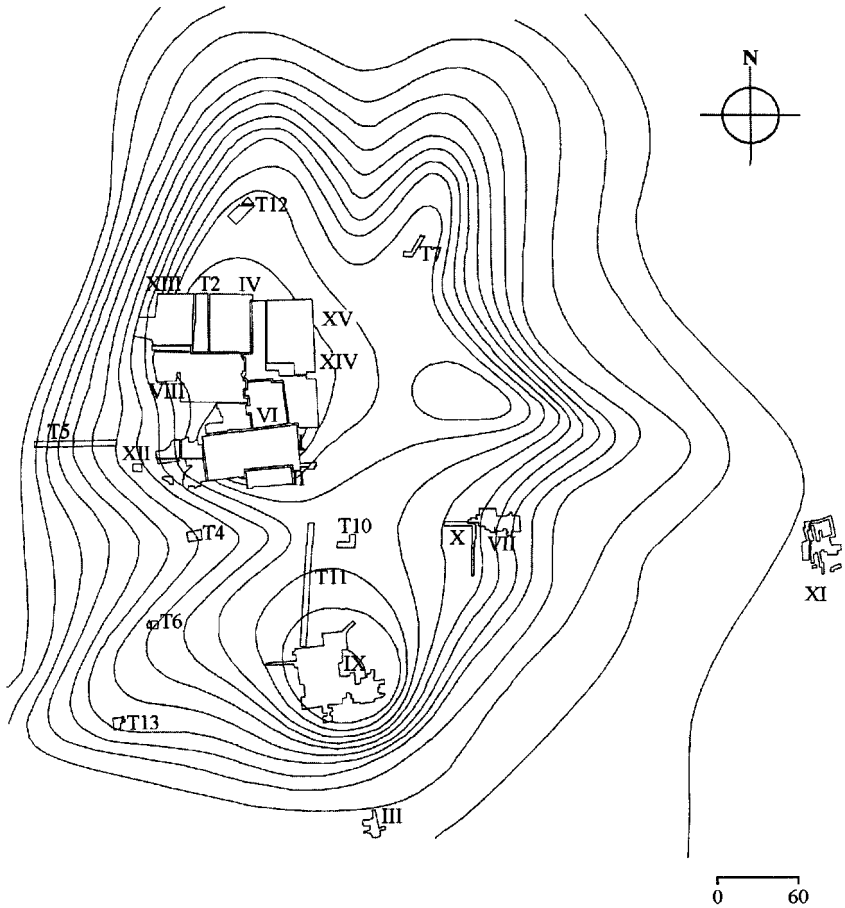


Figure 2. *Topographic map of Tell Ta'yinat (created by S. Batiuk, from Haines 1971: Pl. 93).*

### *Architecture*

Remains of the First Building Period were exposed primarily in the West Central Area, and included two large structures (Buildings XIII and XIV) apparently arranged around an open courtyard (Fig. 2). The northern of the two, Building XIII, preserved the distinctive ground plan of a North Syrian *bit hilani* (Haines 1971: 38-40, 64).

During the Second Building Period, these two structures were levelled and an entirely new complex of buildings erected in their place, including the most famous of Ta'yinat's *bit hilani* palaces, Building I, with its adjacent *megaron*-style temple (Building II).

Building I, along with a northern annex (Building VI) and a second *bit hilani* (Building IV), faced on to a paved central courtyard (Courtyard VIII) (Fig. 2). A paved street linked the courtyard to a large gate (Gateway XII) that provided access to the upper city. A second gate (Gateway VII) on the eastern edge of the upper mound, and two gates in the lower city (Gateways III and XI) were also assigned to this building phase (Haines 1971: 64-65).

Renovations to the buildings in the West Central Area accounted for most of the activity during the Third Building Period. In addition, the construction of a large structure (Building IX) resembling an Assyrian provincial palace on the knoll at the southern end of the mound was tentatively assigned by the excavators to this phase as well. The Fourth Building Period witnessed the continued occupation of the *bit hilani* in the West Central Area, but saw the abandonment of the temple. Finally, the fragmentary remains of a Fifth Building Period were preserved on the highest parts of the upper mound (Haines 1971: 65-66).

### *Ceramics*

Although a full report of the Ta'yinat excavations has yet to appear, a doctoral dissertation has produced a preliminary study of the second and first millennium pottery (Phases K through O) gathered during the Oriental Institute Expedition to the Amuq (Swift 1958). In contrast to the Late Bronze-Early Iron Age (Phases M and N) transition, the Phase N to Phase O transition was a smooth one, without any evident stratigraphic break at sites that produced material from both phases. This mirrors the pattern reflected in the survey data described above. Nevertheless, a significant new ceramic tradition was introduced with Phase O. While Common Painted and Simple Wares continued (with some modification) from Phase N, the appearance of Red-Slipped Burnished Ware (RSBW) coincided with the earliest levels of Phase O, making it the primary marker for the start of the phase (Swift 1958: 124-26).

Drawing on the architectural and artifactual evidence recovered from the Iron Age levels at Chatal Höyük, Judaidah and Ta'yinat, Swift proposed a four-stage developmental sequence for Phase O, which he labelled Stages Oa-Od, with ceramic imports and key historical events providing a chronological framework. Each stage also coincided with changes in the surface treatment of RSBW. Hand burnishing occurred exclusively in Stage Oa (c. 950-900), with wheel burnishing intro-

duced alongside it in Stage Ob (c. 900–800), and then eclipsing it as the predominant surface treatment in Stages Oc (c. 800–725) and Od (c. 725–550) (Swift 1958: 139–41, and his Table 11). Sherds of eighth century Attic Geometric pottery were recovered from Stage Oc levels, while Corinthian and Attic Black Figure Wares, along with Assyrian Palace Ware, were found exclusively in Stage Od (Swift 1958: 154–55).

### *Inscriptions, Reliefs, and Miscellaneous Artifacts*

The Ta'yinat excavations also produced an extensive corpus of Akkadian, Aramaic and Neo-Hittite (or Luwian) inscriptions. Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions accounted for the largest number, a total of 85 fragments, 32 of which have been shown to come from seven distinct monumental inscriptions (Gelb 1939: 38–40).<sup>6</sup> One of these, preserved as six basalt fragments, had been carved on a colossal statue seated on a throne. Although its precise provenience is not clear,<sup>7</sup> the inscription makes reference to *Halpa<sup>pa</sup>-runta-a-s(a)*, presumably the same Qalparunda who paid tribute to Shalmaneser III during the mid-ninth century. If this historical link is accepted, it further strengthens Ta'yinat's identification as Kunulua, capital of the kingdom of Patina/Unqi.

It also provides a secure date for the remainder of the Luwian inscriptions found at the site, and raises the possibility of isolating the Building Period, and cultural horizon, in which they were erected. With only a few exceptions, all of the fragments appear to have been found in the fill or foundation trenches of structures dating to the Second Building Period (Gelb 1939: 39–40; Haines 1971: 66); in other words, in secondary and tertiary contexts. Moreover, with only one exception (an altar in obvious secondary reuse in the temple, Building II), all of the inscriptions clearly had been smashed and destroyed before being discarded. The Qalparunda inscription therefore dates the Luwian material at Ta'yinat to the mid-ninth century or earlier, while their stratigraphic context places their original use in the First Building Period. At some point in the latter part of the ninth century, the

6. A Neo-Hittite relief carved on a basalt orthostat was found at Ta'yinat in 1896, but was published subsequently without significant contextual information (Braidwood 1937: 33; Orthmann 1971: 83).

7. Gelb locates it near the 'East Gate,' but does not specify whether he is referring to the upper or lower city (1939: 39), while Haines states that it was found 'in the debris' of Courtyard VIII in the West Central Area (1971: 41).



buildings in the West Central Area associated with this phase were levelled and, it would seem, the visible symbols and expressions of Luwian culture were destroyed intentionally with them then as well.

A number of pottery sherds and small stone artifacts inscribed in Aramaic were uncovered during the Oriental Institute excavations at Ta'yinat. While this material remains unpublished, one inscription has received some attention. Fragments of a small bowl of 'late phase O ware' were found inscribed with the word KNLH (or KNLHYH), tantalizingly similar linguistically to Kunulua, capital of the kingdom of Patina/Unqi. The paleography of the inscription suggested a seventh-century date (Swift 1958: 191-92). It is not clear whether this is the same Aramaic-inscribed sherd reported by Haines to have been found on Floor 2 of Building I in the West Central Area (Haines 1971: 66). If so, this inscription would place the Third Building Period in Swift's Od sub-phase, while further confirming the historical identification of the site.

Cuneiform inscriptions recovered during the course of the excavations included four small monument fragments, five tablets and a stone cylinder seal. The most informative Neo-Assyrian epigraphic text, however, was a dedication 'for the life of Tiglath-pileser, King of Assyria,' carved on an ornamental copper disk found in the vicinity of Building I, and assigned by the excavators to its second level (or Floor 2) (Swift 1958: 183-84; Kantor 1962: 93-94). In spite of its uncertain stratigraphic context, this votive would seem to corroborate the dating of the Third Building Period, linking its founding levels to the beginning of sub-phase Od, and placing the Second Building Period squarely within sub-phase Oc (c. 800-725). Six limestone orthostats found reused in the upper pavement of Gateway VII, carved in the Assyrian provincial style, and a bronze statuette provide further attestation of the symbolic capital invested by the Neo-Assyrians following their conquest of the site (McEwan 1937: Figs. 9-10; Haines 1971: 60; Orthmann 1971: 83).

### *Tell Ta'yinat and the Kingdom of Unqi*

As we have seen, historical sources point to a decisive shift in the political order during the latter part of the ninth century in the Amuq region. Moreover, the archaeological record for this same period portrays a corresponding transformation of the cultural landscape. Survey data reveal an urbanization process that culminated with the emergence

of Ta'yinat as the dominant settlement on the plain. Stratigraphic excavations, meanwhile, substantiate the growth of Ta'yinat, which reached 35 ha during the Second Building Period, when settlement expanded off the upper mound and into the lower city.<sup>8</sup> The epigraphic and artifactual evidence assigns this phase in the settlement history of the site to the late ninth and eighth centuries, while confirming its historical identification with Kunulua, capital of the kingdom of Patina/Unqi.

Whatever the specific historical circumstances, however, the archaeological evidence also indicates that this transformation was linked to a broader cultural conflict, one which found expression through the articulation and rejection of competing ethnic identities. As late as the ninth century, Ta'yinat still preserved the venerable manifestations of Luwian culture, and presumably the power structures that these visual symbols reinforced as well. By the end of the century, however, they were gone, violently destroyed and replaced with the physical representations of a new cultural and ethnic identity. While the basic composition of the population probably remained little changed, the city itself was completely rebuilt, taking on a physical appearance that reflected the traditions and values of a newly emerged Aramaean ruling elite. The Luwian kingdom of Patina had been transformed into the Aramaean kingdom of Unqi.

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8. For a similar reconstruction of the settlement history at Ta'yinat, see Mazzoni (1994; 1995: 188), who situates the urban development of Ta'yinat within a broader urbanization process that occurred across northwestern Syria prior to the Assyrian conquest.

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A NEW WEIGHT FROM HAMATH AND TRADE RELATIONS  
WITH THE SOUTH IN THE NINTH–EIGHTH CENTURIES BCE

Michael Heltzer

To my good friend, Professor Paul-Eugène Dion, known for his fundamental studies in Aramaean history, I am presenting a small publication, concerning an inscribed scale weight. Under consideration is a bronze weight originally from the Teddy Kollek collection. It was made public in 1998, together with a photograph, in the Auction Collection of Mr R. Deutsch (Pl. 1).<sup>1</sup> The bronze weight measures  $11.6 \times 10.6 \times 9.6$  mm, is in the shape of a cube, and weighs 11.35 g. There is a single word inscribed on one side; this can be seen in the enlarged photograph (Pl. 2).



Plate 1. *Photograph of weight in the Auction Collection of Mr R. Deutsch.*

The inscription reads *ʾšrtn*.

Paleographically it is difficult to state whether the script is Aramaic or Phoenician (Bordreuil 1983: 340-41; 1994: 9-20; Bron and Lemaire 1983: 763-65; Heltzer 1995: 101-105; 1998: \*44-\*46) and it is very similar to the Hamataean script on weights, previously published.<sup>2</sup>

1. Deutsch (1998: 94, No. 324). My thanks to Mr R. Deutsch for providing me with the photographs.
2. Bordreuil (1994: 13-14) published two Hamataean weights.



Plate 2. Enlarged photograph of inscribed weight

*šrtn*—This grammatical form appears here in Old-Aramaic for the first time. Well known are the Old and Imperial Aramaic *šr* ‘ten’ *šrt*, *šrt* ‘ten’ or ‘a tenth’. But here we have an unusual form of this word in the dual form. So *šrtn* has to mean ‘two tens’ or ‘twenty’.

We have to remember that the weight of 11.35 g is close to the Judaeen *sheqel*, and to that of the northern kingdom Israel, which had the average weight of 11.33 g, as calculated by Kletter (1991: 134, Table 4). But in this case we have to ask, why designate the numeral as ‘two tens’ or ‘twenty’?

We know that the *sheqel* has as its smallest division, the *gērā* (Kletter 1991: 149-52). There existed *sheqels* consisting of 20 *gērā*, but most inscribed weights and other inscriptions show that the *sheqel* consisted of 24 *gērā*. There are at least 63 *gērā* weights extant, but for a better result we take here the 13 weights of 10 *gērā*. According to Kletter (1991: Table 9), we note the average weight of 24 *gērā*, that is, 1 *sheqel*, weighs 12.34 g. We have, naturally, to take into consideration that the weight of the small units is always slightly heavier than the *gērā* taken from the division of a bigger scale weight. So, the average *gērā* of the ten *gērā* piece is 0.514 g, while the theoretical weight of the *gērā* has to be  $11.35 \div 24 = 0.473$  g (Kletter 1991: 134-35). We also think that the inscription *šrtn* (20) designates 20 *gērā*, and the weight of the *sheqel* must in this case be  $11.35 \text{ g} (\div 20 = 0.567 \times 24 = 13.508$  g. So the full *sheqel* has to have the weight of 13.500 g and our weight is then five-sixths of the *sheqel*.

We would calculate and define the *sheqel* of Hamath of the eighth and possibly also of the second half of the ninth century BCE as weighing 13.64 g (Heltzer 1998: \*45). So, it is clear that the weight of 13.508 g is also a *sheqel* of Hamath. And the Aramaean language of the inscription and the archaic script suggest that the weight belongs to the ninth century or to the beginning of the eighth century BCE.

There remains another question. What was the intended use of the scale weight of five-sixths of a *sheqel*? It seems that it was used for trade with the South, and first of all with the Hebrew kingdoms of Palestine, Israel and Judah. This may well have been created for the easing of trade relations, that is, by using a common scale weight.

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TOWARD A NEW PARADIGMATIC UNDERSTANDING OF LONG-  
DISTANCE TRADE IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST: FROM  
THE MIDDLE BRONZE II TO EARLY IRON II—A SKETCH

John S. Holladay, Jr

*Introduction*

What's the Point? Ninety-nine percent of archaeology deals with the interpretation of shreds and tatters of ancient garbage and destructive episodes. Most of the original data no longer exist, and, ground-plans apart, even the physical organization of those things that do exist—their distribution in space—generally differs from their original configuration. The 'archaeological record', then, what *could* be found, is already at the 'shreds and tatters' level, but things become considerably more difficult when one must deal with the 'published record'. Of necessity, excavations seldom amount to more than a few rectangular holes of varying depth in a large site, and publication of what has been excavated is, almost exclusively, spotty and inconsistent. Under these circumstances, regularities in the archaeological record are hard to recognize and even more difficult to interpret, particularly when they are irregularly spread out over time and distance. In order to 'connect the dots', archaeologists—whether knowingly or not—must have resort to some sort of 'model' or 'paradigm'. For example, is this badly preserved building a shrine, a house, a workshop, or what? Each interpretation involves some sort of mental picture or framework, but such mental pictures or frameworks are by no means 'standard' or mutually agreed among practising archaeologists. If a child is told that connecting the dots should produce a drawing of a large grey animal, he or she probably could make out an elephant, even with widely spaced dots.<sup>1</sup> In archaeology, there are no infallible 'pointers' or numbers to guide the interpreter from one dot to the next.

1. Note that things would become difficult or impossible if the suggested paradigm was wrong or misleading.

What follows is an early attempt at using and testing a generalized mental framework for recognizing the archaeological traces of what must have been one of the great shaping forces within ancient societies: the economic and social roles of alienated (i.e. not resident in their native towns) traders and craftspersons in interareal long-distance trade. It is my conviction that the pattern has its roots at least as far back as the fourth millennium BCE, but perhaps the best beginning may be made in that long span covered by the Middle Bronze Age (MBA/MB) through the Late Bronze Age (LBA/LB) and on into the Early Iron Age, c. 1800–1000 BCE.<sup>2</sup>

### *Prolegomenon*

The study of ancient economics has a long history. To be selective: Ricardo, Marshall, Keynes and Samuelson are household names for members of economics departments. Similarly, in anthropology, sociology and archaeology: Weber, Malinowski, LeClair and Schneider, Ortiz, Childe, Wolf, Sahlins, Dalton (references in Dalton 1975: 73–77). Classical archaeology has its own pantheon: including Rostovtzeff, Finley, A.H.M. Jones, W.V. Harris and K. Hopkins, and so it goes.

Yet, even in so heavily subscribed, well-established and wonderfully documented a field as Classics, where formulating economic theory should be relatively easy, the lead heading of the introductory chapter of a recent volume focused on *Trade, Traders and the Ancient City* is entitled: ‘Crisis, what crisis?’ (Parkins 1998: 1). Parkins’s conclusion is candid: we currently cannot ‘get to grips with the ancient economy... [without] unpicking all previous theories, models, and ideologies’ (1998: 12). Moving on, the last article in the volume (‘Ancient economies: models and muddles’) sketches a new, impressively elaborate economic model for the functioning of the state (*Polis, syntelesia*, tribe, *deme*). In appraisal, however, the author notes that it cannot ‘on its own

2. This is part of a larger ongoing project originating in our continuing attempts at understanding the role of Tell el-Maskhuta and the Wadi Tumilat within the greater framework of the long-lived ‘Hyksos’ presence centred on Tell el-Dab’a, ancient Avaris, in the eastern Nile delta. For a major presentation of our findings to date, which deal in much broader compass with the underlying theory and material culture analyses of the present short and differently focused essay, see Holladay 1997c.

map [either] ...large-scale polities such as contemporary Britain... [or] the sorts of relationships between two regions' such as Chios and Phrygia, Ashur and central Anatolia, or Athens and the Black Sea which were addressed in previous essays in the same volume (Davies 1998: 251).

Surely these are issues which any economics of the ancient past must address, although it is hard to do so from the insularity of our individual specializations. And it is even harder to get a hearing for new approaches to the study of materials already conventionally, if poorly, 'understood' by established practitioners in any field. Three epigrams from George Dalton's excellent setting of 'Karl Polanyi's Analysis of Long-Distance Trade and his Wider Paradigm' (below) are apropos:

He who only knows his own subject does not know that either. —  
S.R. Steinmetz

History [of science] suggests that the road to a firm research consensus is extraordinarily arduous. —Thomas Kuhn

In a subject where there is no agreed procedure for knocking out errors, doctrines have a long life.—Joan Robinson (Dalton 1975: 63).

Paradigms or working models of systems employing complex variables, are frequently invoked in the sciences and humanities as a means of articulating complex hypotheses both for initial testing, and for general applicability to new situations/phenomena.<sup>3</sup> The broader the range of variables successfully 'explained' by the model, the greater the likelihood that the paradigm actually accounts for the workings of the system or systems under investigation (similarly, Dalton 1975: 69-70). Testing a complex model is difficult in proportion to its complexity, and the degree of 'hardness' of the science. In general, archaeology borrows most of its hypotheses and procedures for verification or disconfirmation from sister disciplines such as history, anthropology/ethnography, sociology, geography, biology, etc.

In the present sketch, I adopt a model or paradigm for long-distance trade based upon a longitudinal ethnographic and historical cross-cultural study of long-distance trade over a period of some 4000 years

3. For an outstanding introduction to the use of this term and these concepts with reference to Polanyi's model of long-distance trade see Dalton (1975). E.g. 'It is not fanciful to suggest that a paradigm is like a professional religion: it is the theoretical framework inside one's head used to make deep sense of the segment of the world one is professionally concerned with' (p. 67).

(Cohen 1971; Curtin 1984) and test its explanatory power regarding a wider series of variables than those generally invoked—chiefly pottery, metals and exotica—in studies of ancient Near Eastern trade.

Neither of the two reigning treatments ‘explaining’ ancient Near Eastern trade prior to the rise of the overseas Greeks has any significant explanatory power with respect to the phenomena reviewed in the present essay (Renfrew 1975; Polanyi 1975).

*Renfrew.* Properly speaking, Colin Renfrew’s is not a paradigm but an insightful analysis of several discrete modes of conducting trade. Thus, it may suggest various mechanisms, many of which could be combined, which might explain the movement of goods over long distances, but there is no central body of theory that gives it overall explanatory power. Renfrew’s modes of trade are: (1) direct access to desired commodities, (2) home-base reciprocity, (3) boundary reciprocity, (4) down-the-line trade, (5) central place redistribution, (6) central-place exchange, (7) middleman trading, (8) emissary trading, (9) colonial enclave and (10) port of trade. In general, the terms are self-explanatory. Renfrew notes that (a) the modes are arranged in what is arguably an evolutionary sequence, (b) that 4 and 7-9 are capable of moving goods over great distances and (c) that modes 7-10 are likely to involve a central place (1975: 43, 11-22). In general, it seems fair to note that, insofar as Renfrew’s ‘modes’ are useful in generating ‘explanations’, their potential stops at the boundary between his Early State Modules (e.g. the city states of MB and LBA Palestine) and the rise of the nation state (e.g. normative Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia and Anatolia-Syria during much of the MB and LBA), with its larger size, distributed resources and more complex social organization.

*Polanyi.* In contrast, Karl Polanyi’s analysis (1975) yields a genuine paradigm, wherein ‘analytical conclusions [are] reached...[by analyzing] a special set of real-world processes [by means of] special concepts’ (Dalton 1975: 71-75). Although often invoked for complex societies by anthropologists and Old World archaeologists (below), it was, according to Dalton, not intended as ‘a universal paradigm...[but as a replacement of market economics] in the static analysis of aboriginal economies’ (Dalton 1975: 74). Thus, Polanyi represents a ‘third way’ between the ‘formalist’ economists who emphasize ‘conventional price theory, with its market terminology of *price, capital, economizing,*

*maximizing, scarcity, choice, rationality, decision making* [etc.],’ and Marxian or ‘substantivist’ economics, which appear in anthropological guise ‘most frequently in discussing peasant economies...[as opposed to] aboriginal bands and tribes’ (Dalton 1975: 74). The application of Polanyi’s paradigm (actually, perhaps more a Marxian paradigm) to complex state-level societies in the ancient Near East was done by the masterly Assyriologist A.L. Oppenheim, in a volume edited by Polanyi (Oppenheim: 1957: 27-37).<sup>4</sup> In this, he was followed by many others, including most Russian anthropologists, and, with a few exceptions (Stager, forthcoming), it is still the reigning paradigm among most ancient Near Eastern archaeologists, as a quick look at the following terminology will suggest.

For Polanyi, the key ‘terms used are *reciprocity, redistribution, (market) exchange, special-purpose money, administered trade, port of trade, operational device,*’ and others. Polanyi’s paradigm stresses the differences between aboriginal economies and modern capitalism, and shows how economic organization in aboriginal economies is socially controlled by polity, kinship, religion and the like (Dalton 1975: 74). As the reader should see, some of these terms and controls are significant, although somewhat differently than Polanyi suggested, while others are of limited value.

*Cohen and Curtin.* In terms of the spectrum presented above, the paradigmatic model described by Cohen and Curtin (Cohen 1971; Curtin 1984) clearly falls under the ‘formalist’ heading. But, whereas an economic anthropologist of this persuasion might ask, ‘How do persons in primitive economies “maximize”? (Cancian 1966; Burling 1962),’ or ‘How do they decide between alternative economic activities? (Ortiz 1967)’ (Dalton 1975: 73, with refs.), Cohen and Curtin asked: How is/was long-distance trade conducted? Specifically, how was the sub-Saharan trade with the coast organized and conducted (Cohen 1971; Curtin 1984) and how was long-distance trade conducted in world history (Curtin 1984)?<sup>5</sup> In a word, their paradigm is socially and eco-

4. Oppenheim’s treatment (1967: 83-95, 129) is considerably more complex and nuanced, but still basically Polanyian.

5. It was Cohen who termed the displaced colonies and their networks ‘Trade Diasporas’ after the first and second millennia CE Jewish Diaspora, whose members were similarly dependent upon a variety of trade specializations, banking and specialized crafts such as gold-working, gemstone cutting and tailoring.

nomically oriented with regard to traders and craftspersons, with all that that implies in terms of the potential for recognizing wide-ranging patterned activities and social structures in the archaeological record.

The answers to Cohen and Curtin's questions are amazingly consistent through time, across space and between widely varying societies. Against the almost universal consent to the dominance of 'gift-giving', 'reciprocity', 'state-administered trade' and 'redistribution' in contemporary writing about ancient Near Eastern trade, the most perfect models for world trade in general are already found in the Old Assyrian trade colonies in Anatolia (in short compass: Kuhrt 1998, Veenhof 1995, both with refs.), the Hyksos in Egypt (Holladay 1997c), the Phoenicians (Frankenstein 1979) and the overseas Greek colonies (Boardman 1964). Among these, pride of place must be given to the Old Assyrian trade colonies in Anatolia, not only from the standpoint of their antiquity, but also because of their extensive documentation and their archaeological exposure at Karum Kanesh (Özgüç 1959; 1986). Despite being broadly known, the essentials of this trade are not well understood by biblical scholars or even the broad spectrum of Syro-Palestinian archaeologists. For these reasons, a short Excursus has been appended to the present study, documenting the main essentials of the trade as understood from the documents. We will focus upon various aspects of the archaeology in the course of the essay.

In its simplest formulation, long-distance trade depended upon groups and individuals going abroad and taking up residence in support of 'doing business'. In Curtin's terms: (It was dirty work, but...) 'in any case, long-distance trade required *someone* to go abroad and become a foreigner' (1984: 6, emphasis Curtin's).

These people took up residence in or adjacent to some particular port, capital city, colony or residential quarter. By virtue of maintaining their ethnic identity, language and religion, they were able to survive for generations, in some cases for scores and hundreds of generations. In any one port, colony or residential quarter, one group generally had the upper hand, although in smaller settings groups often worked closely together. Members of the dominant community could offer assistance to members of other diasporas as experts or 'insiders' on the local scene, thus preserving their own primacy (e.g. the Portuguese in Goa, the British in Hong Kong). Sometimes a new diaspora would arise from the intermixing of two or more ethnic groups. In the large colonies or ports, a diaspora generally was highly specialized and stratified,

from merchant princes, rich bankers and shipowners down to craftspeople and on down to rough caravaneers and market traders.

Elsewhere, there might be only one or two families at any particular node of an extended trading network such as the jewellery, dry-goods, restaurant, rug and grocery trades in small-town North America. In my boyhood in the midwest these businesses were dominated respectively by Jewish, Greek and Chinese, Armenian and Syrian families. Obviously there were specializations I never noticed. These few families, however, would know other families across a network of connections covering many states and offering many marriage, financing, distributing and partnership opportunities, and these are what gave substance to each diaspora or sub-diaspora and made it viable through time.

Differing nodes of the trading network had different relative status, though all remained committed to each other and the common cause, in no small measure reinforced by outside discrimination and pressure. Business often was conducted on a 'handshake' basis. They governed themselves through specialized councils, which helped to ensure that their presence remained acceptable to their host community and that trade and quality standards were maintained. Though they were fluent in the local language and various other languages, including pidgin languages, they always maintained their own language and specialized traders' dialect. Almost always they maintained their own defining and 'fencing' customs—'keeping kosher' being a prime example—and were all of one religious community, with their own special protective deity or saint. This deity was often regarded as a 'trickster' by the locals, who mistrusted people who made their living buying and selling, rather than through 'honest work'. This same mistrust, of course, left the field to the diaspora merchants.

From all the above, it seems clear that such groups should leave distinct traces of their presence in the archaeological record, although it might not be easy to predict those traces in advance. An obvious first step is to examine anomalies in the spatial patterning within and between towns, cities and regions in the light of the new paradigm.

### *Long-Distance Trade in Syria-Palestine*

#### *Introduction*

The present study focuses upon the distribution, variously within Anatolia and greater Syria-Palestine, of archaeologically distinctive

variables capable of being explained in the light of Cohen and Curtin's paradigm as archaeological correlates of three (or four) different long-distance trading diasporas:

- (1) A posited long-lived constantly evolving 'Hittite'<sup>6</sup> long-distance overland trade diaspora exploiting routes connecting Anatolia with the Levant, Levantine ports, trade routes leading down the Euphrates River from the 'Big Bend' region, and itself crossing over into Transjordan.
- (2) A posited Egyptian trading diaspora exploiting the highlands and further regions of the southern Levant (e.g. MB-LB Shechem, MB-LB Hazor and possibly even late Early Bronze Age [EBA] Syria, e.g. Tell Selenahiya, on the Euphrates) initially by some yet undetermined overland or maritime connection—during the EBA (?) and MBA—and later, during the period of LB-early Iron I Age Egyptian imperialism, on behalf of the centres of Egyptian military and political control located along the coastal strip and into the Esdraelon as far as Beth Shan.
- (3) A posited Arabian (whether Old South Arabian or Northern Arabian) trade diaspora connecting a strong newly arrived 'Amorite' presence in the southern-most Levantine coastline—presumably Ashkelon south—with South Arabia, the Horn of Africa and, ultimately, perhaps through Arab sailors, India, Ceylon and possibly even the Spice Islands.
- (4) A tenuous LB II diaspora or professional class—almost certainly somehow related to the 'Early Israelite' settlers of the northern hill-country—present in small numbers both in north Syrian sites in the 'Big Bend' region of the Euphrates and extending as far south as the southern Shephelah (the western Judaeian piedmont).

Before proceeding, a general caveat is in order. It will be apparent from the outset that the study must be conducted within broad chronological parameters, and with respect to robust data concerning which there can be little argument. The problems of correlating and synchronizing sites

6. Although the phenomena under analysis develop well before the rise of the Hittite Old Kingdom, and probably end after the collapse of the Hittite Empire, this serves well as a term of convenience.



scattered over a broad landscape are, in this study, complicated by the underpublication of a great many Palestinian sites and most MB–LBA Syrian and Transjordanian sites, and by the concomitant facts that detailed pottery sequences are unavailable for the Syrian LB Age and only imperfectly for much of the Palestinian LB Age. Since, in the main, however, we are dealing at a fairly high level with broadly attested architectural data and a perduring mutable social phenomenon (long-distance trade diasporas), problems of synchronization and correlation should not be what they might be if we were dealing with detailed matters of artifactual distribution or a historically more contingent topic (e.g. a rigidly fixed administrative system or the effects of the campaign of Murshili I against Babylon). In addition, much more of the pattern presumably remains to be teased out by future excavations and through the examination of more, for example, small-object, data than we have at present. In working out those new patterns, the paradigm advanced here will undergo further testing and either be modified or abandoned.

*A Long-Distance Hittite Trade Diaspora of the Middle Bronze to Iron I Age*

*'Hittite' Houses* (Maps 1–2, Figs. 1–3). Together with finds involving Hittite seals, iconography and other material culture items at sites dominated by this diaspora (best witnessed at Meskene/Emar on the Euphrates), the most obvious marker—particularly in lieu of detailed publication—for this diaspora's early periods is the peculiar 'T-Shaped' house (T-House) long-known from its presence at Tell Abu Hawam, Strata V–IV (below), and convincingly traced back to Anatolia by Margueron (1980).<sup>7</sup> Present in both the MB and LB ages, it is not yet clear whether this plan extends into the early Iron Age,<sup>8</sup> but the sorts of spatial patternings of the T-House distribution (below) characteristic of the north are continued into the Iron I period in the mid-southern Levant (the region of Megiddo southwards and eastwards) by

7. Another standard Hittite house form, the 'Hittite Four Room House' (Fig. 1.b, ignoring the large room to the right), not researched here, might also prove useful for recognizing early Hittite trade residencies in Syria-Palestine.

8. Tell Abu Hawam had probably passed into the hands of the United Monarchy by the advent of Stratum III.

the presence of 'double pithos' burials throughout Palestine and Transjordan—likewise traceable back into the Anatolian LBA (Negbi 1998).

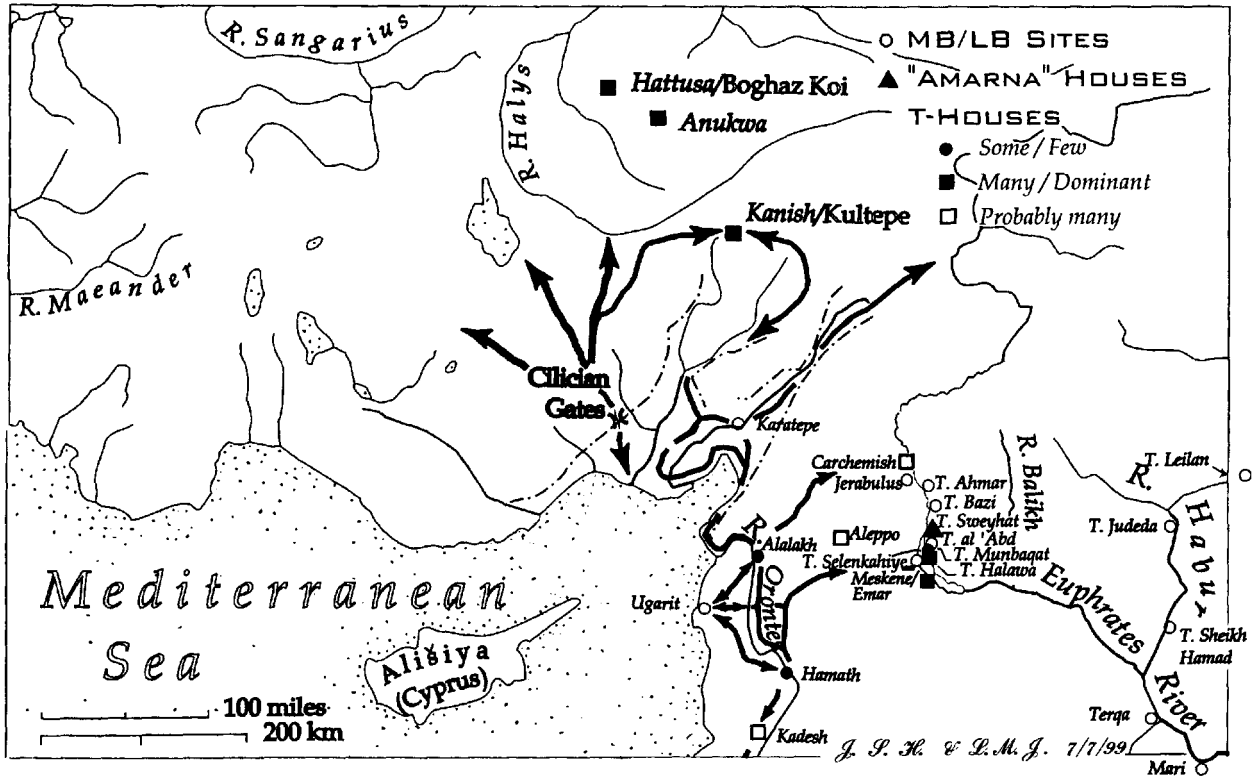
Typically, the ground floor has a large room (Margueron 1995: 134), often misconstrued as a courtyard, in front and two smaller rooms to the rear.<sup>9</sup> Terracotta model houses, including more than 30 examples from Emar, show a terrace above the large room, with a second story above the rear rooms (Margueron 1995: 134-35). In Syria, room entrances were generally characterized by doorjambs on either side, though the shorter of these is missing in some instances (often in one room only) in plans from Karum Kanesh and Tell Abu Hawam. During both the MBA and the LBA, these houses regularly were incorporated into complex insulae, the most straightforward being the late MB IIA complex from Level 2 of Halawa (Figure 2.a; 4 examples of the three-room house, with the other 11 houses clearly being a two-room variant upon the basic plan).<sup>10</sup> There is less exposure of Level 3, but it is probable that two- and three-room prototypes of the long, narrow variants on the T-House plan of Level 2<sup>11</sup> are the dominant population (Orthmann 1981: 34, Abb. 15).<sup>12</sup>

9. Plans of several T-Houses are given in Figures 1.c-g, 2.a-e (the house on the right) and 3.a-c.

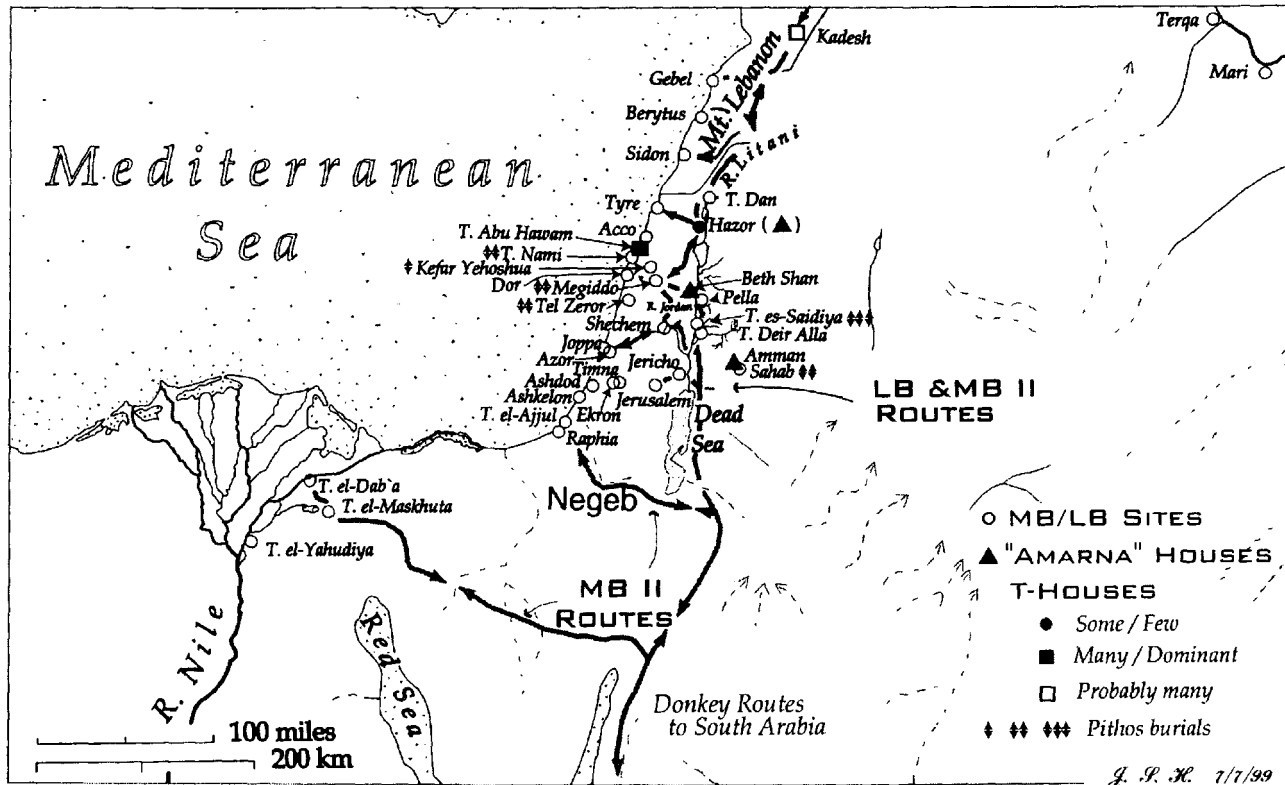
10. For the date range, roughly 1815–1761 BCE, for the MBA pottery from Level 2, see Cooper (1997: 205, 335-36). As far as can be told from the published plans of Halawa, 90 per cent of the houses in Level 2 of *Planquadrat Q* (n = 45) are T-Houses, with three or four, or 8 per cent, corresponding well to the standard Syro-Palestinian MB-LB 'Courtyard' houses (Orthmann 1989: 21, Fig. 5; Holladay 1997b: 102-106, Figs. 4-5). Meyer dates the Level 3 pottery to c. 2100–2000 BCE (Meyer 1989: 56, Figs. 23-25), which might put it sufficiently near the final Level III–II interface at Kanesh (c. 2000 BCE, Veenhof 1995: 860) to allow for a correlation of building styles between the two sites, and thus allow for the existence of an Anatolian trading outpost in this region already around the end of the third or beginning of the second millennium BCE.

11. It is possible that earlier forms, such as those in Level 3 at Halawa, have two sets of interior cross-walls with doors or a set of engaged columns plus more typical cross-walls with doors. Cf. the buildings in Orthmann 1989; Abb. 15, Squares Q2-3/AQd-e and R9/ALe (the western of the two buildings) with the somewhat irregular plans in Özgüç (1959: 7, Fig. 6; 1986: 116, Fig. 11); here, Figure 1.a.

12. The scrappy remains of Level 1, dated to MB IIB by Cooper (1997: 205), conform to those expected of T-Houses (Orthmann 1981: Pl. 75), but one cannot be sure.



Map 1. Suggested overland trade routes in the Northern Levant (schematized).



Map 2. Suggested overland trade routes in the Southern Levant and Eastern Nile Delta.

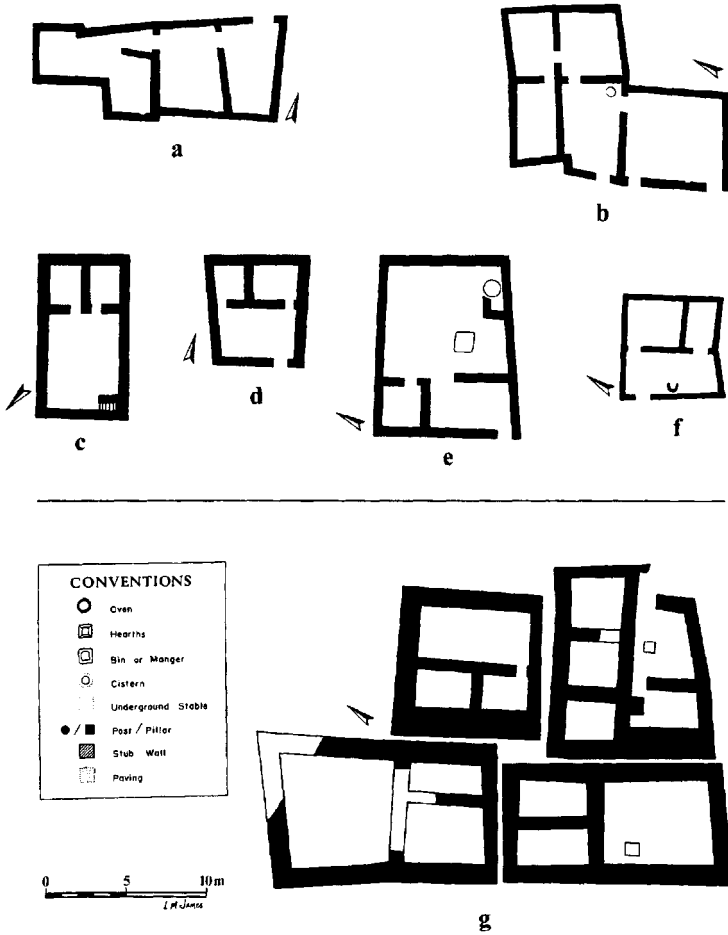


Figure 1. *Anatolian Houses*. a. Karum Kanesh Level Ib (Özgüç 1959: 73, after 1959: 7, Fig. 6). b. Karum Kanesh Level Ib: ‘the most frequent house type of Level Ib is the rectangular one with four rooms. Two of the rooms are invariably narrow, the other two wide...the builders took advantage of some available extra space [to build the room to the right]’ (Özgüç 1959: 74, after 1959: 9, Fig. 10). c-e. Karum Kanesh (after Margueron 1980: Fig. 5). f. Karum Kanesh Level II: ‘typical for the Karum and the commonest’ (Özgüç 1986: 81, after 1986: 115, Fig. 1). g. ‘Decomposed’ portion of a larger insula from Boğazköy (after Margueron 1980: Fig. 5).

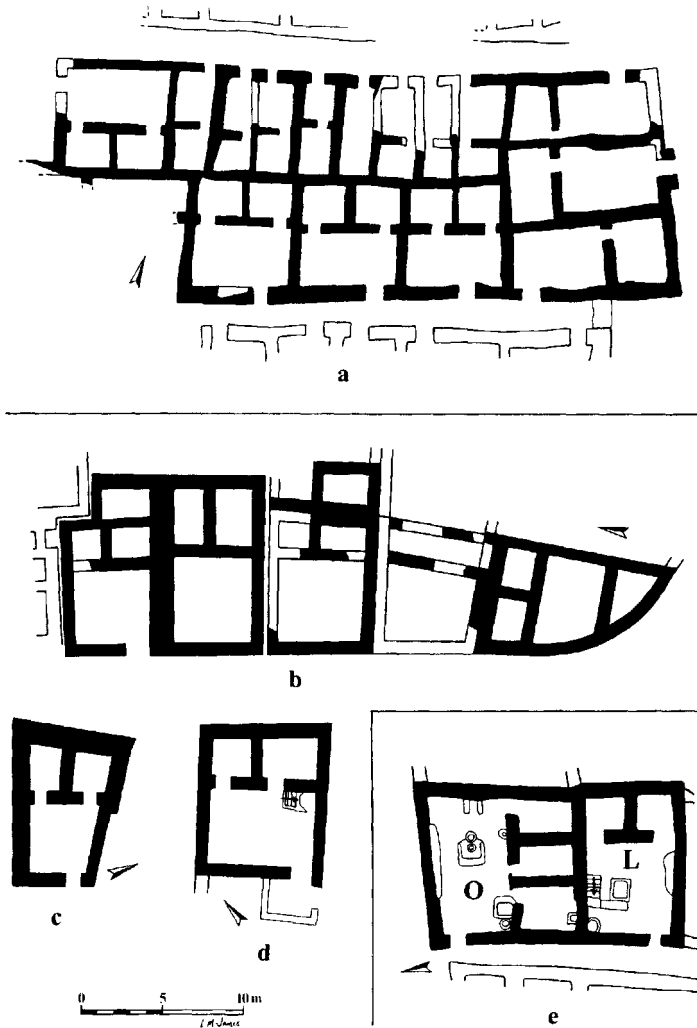


Figure 2. 'Hittite' T-Houses from Syria. a. Insula from MB IIB Halawa Level 2 (after Meyer 1989: 21, Fig. 6). b. 'Decomposed' insula from LB quartier D at Meskene-Emar (after Margueron 1980: Fig. 2.b). c. House from LB Meskene-Emar Area M (after Margueron 1980: Fig. 1.a). d. House from the Hilani complex of LB Meskene-Emar (after Margueron 1980: Fig. 1.c; cf. Margueron 1979: 158, Fig. 5). e. Tell Munbaqat, 'Ibrahims Garten' (after Machule et al. 1992: Fig. 18).

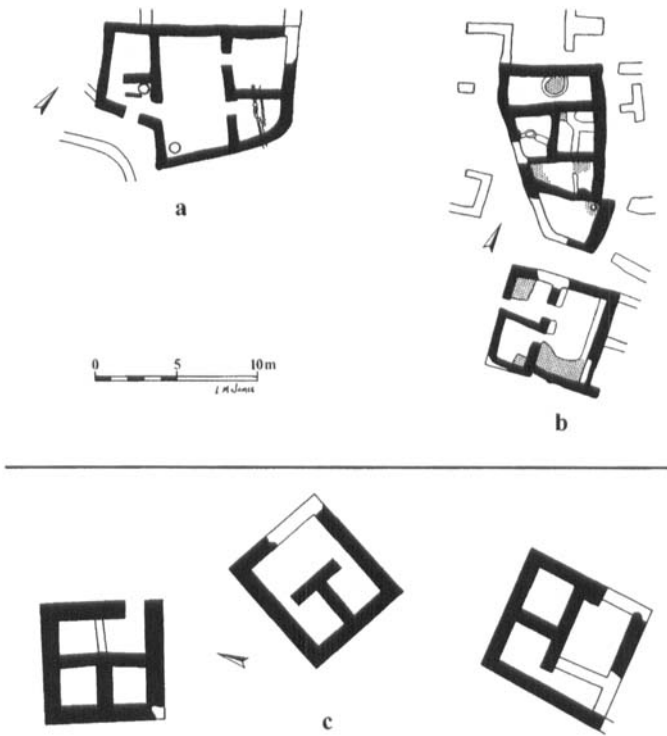


Figure 3. 'Hittite' T-Houses from the Southern Levant. a. House from MB II Hazor: Area C, Stratum 3 (after Yadin et al. 1960: Pl. 207). b. Housing complex from LB Hazor: Area C, Stratum 1b (after Yadin et al. 1960: Pl. 208). c. LB II houses from Tell Abu Hawam Stratum IV (after Margueron 1980: Fig. 8.a).

*Spatial Patterning within Syria-Palestine.* T-Houses are not uniformly distributed across the landscape, whether in northern Syria (Halawa and Meskene-Emar versus Tell Munbaqat), or in the southern Levant (Tell Abu Hawam versus Hazor). This dichotomy between 'dominance' and 'minority presence' is characteristic of the data, and furthers immensely our ability to discern and describe the presence of varying spatial aspects of a typical long-distance overland trade diaspora through the application of the Cohen-Curtin paradigm.

While most sites are known only from preliminary publication and/or highly incomplete excavation, the following points seem clear. During the MBA and LBA some sites have T-Houses to the exclusion or virtual exclusion of any others. In the MBA, most of the published houses from Level 2 of the extensively excavated (eastern bank) Euphrates site of Halawa fit the T-House pattern.<sup>13</sup> In the LBA, the west bank site of Tell Meskene/Emar is dominated by versions of the same T-plan as that found at MB Halawa. But the (broadly excavated) contemporaneous and closely proximate east bank Euphrates site of Tell Munbaqat so far exhibits only one,<sup>14</sup> or at most two, example(s)<sup>15</sup> of a modified T-House (Fig. 2.e) against a dominant background of wholly typical Syro-Palestinian 'standard' houses (Holladay 1997b: 105-107, Fig. 5).<sup>16</sup> It is my understanding that a similar pattern of this consistent, low-level presence of T-Houses at several other unpublished Syrian sites is what has led to a present—to my knowledge unwritten—consensus among Syrian archaeologists that this is simply one more native 'Syrian' house

13. As far as can be told from the published plans, 90 per cent of the houses (45 in all) in Level 2 of *Planquadrat* Q are T-Houses, with 3 or 4 more nearly fitting the standard Syro-Palestinian MB-LBA 'Courtyard House' plan (Holladay 1997b: 102-107, Figs. 4-5). Even these, however, might approximate the larger houses excavated at Karum Kanesh—or vice versa.

14. Machule *et al.* 1992: 32, Fig. 14, Squares 12, 14-15.

15. If one accepts, against the plan's interpretation, Rooms 14, 26, 27 in Squares 4-5/12-13 in '*Ibrahim's Garten*' as a complete house unit (Machule, *et al.* 1992: 32, Fig. 14).

16. It is not impossible that this particular unit could also be interpreted as a reduced version of the standard Syro-Palestinian house plan characteristic of the large expanses of private housing excavated at Munbaqat. Much depends upon one's interpretive paradigm. These 'standard' houses conform to a wide range of MB to LB Syro-Palestinian, early Philistine (at Gezer) and Iron II 'Phoenician' and 'Phoenician'-inspired houses, trading forts and elite residences having a series of rooms on one to four sides of a 'court'—the last more likely being a large roofed hall (Holladay 1997b: 105-107, Figs. 4, 5, 7). The location of this particular building, however, in close proximity to a 'Stabled' house—also arguably the home of another foreigner (below)—may serve to tip the balance in favour of its being that of a 'Hittite' trader living in an 'isolated or few houses' context within a foreigners' sector of a city controlled by either a local polity or by some larger—and different—trade diaspora. Note that British trading companies were not the only resident group within British Hong Kong, nor is it likely that ancient 'Hyksos' Avaris was exclusively occupied by the Asiatic 'Hyksos' diaspora (Holladay 1997c: 202-203).



plan among others (an excellent example of the need for some more general paradigm/perspective for interpreting/viewing our data). Further south, at the small LB port city of Tell Abu Hawam, most of the identifiable houses of Stratum VA-IVB.4 conform to the T-plan (Balensi 1980: Pls. 60-66), while they are definitely in the minority in MB and LBA Hazor (below).

In addition to the Tell Munbaqat exemplar(/s?), isolated examples of the T-House appear at Tell Atchana/Alalakh, Hama, Hazor and possibly at Megiddo (below), in the context of 'standard' MB-LBA houses, and it seems reasonable to predict that others will gradually appear throughout the Levant as excavations continue. Predictably (below), these should appear in 'foreign quarters' or peripherally at major nodal sites along lines of communication trending away from either Anatolia or the Syro-Palestinian ports of trade or 'gateway cities,' and, to a lesser extent, in town sites located further upstream along localized dendritic trading routes.

*Megiddo and the 'Wealth of Nations'*. It seems probable that the ruined Stratum VII Locus 1829, the find-spot of the only ordinary biconvex steatite Hittite seal so far found in controlled excavations in Palestine,<sup>17</sup> was also a Hittite residence. 'Two silver ring seals were found at Tell el-Farah[S]...and one of bronze at Tel Nami...[together with] a Hittite bulla...[from] Tel Aphek' (Singer 1995: n. 1).<sup>18</sup> Highly significant in terms of the present sketch is the fact that Area CC is also the excavation area in which, in Stratum VI, 'Hittite'-style double pithos burials were located (below). Tel Nami, likewise, is one of only four sites in Palestine with double pithos burials (below).

Concerning relationships between Boğazköy and Palestine, Singer writes:

Megiddo was an important station on the diplomatic route between the two royal courts [of]...Ḫatti and Egypt after the signing of the peace treaty in 1258 BCE. A fragmentary Akkadian letter from Boğazköy demonstrates this with its two-fold mention of the town Makkittā (KBo 28.86; Singer 1988). The context leaves no doubt that this is Megiddo in

17. The seal of 'Anyu-ziti, [the] charioteer' with the words 'well-being' and 'man' (Singer 1995: 91-93).

18. Respectively, Petrie 1930: Pl. 36; Macdonald, *et al.* 1932: 30; Pl. 73: 58, 65; Singer 1994 [Tel Nami] and Singer 1977 [Tel Aphek].

the Jezreel Valley, frequented by Egyptian and Hittite messengers traveling between their respective courts (1995: 92).

In terms of our operative paradigm, it makes all the sense in the world to infer that Hittite messengers would follow the normal Hittite trade routes and lodge in the Hittite part of what, on other grounds, may be considered the 'Foreigners' Quarter' of Megiddo.<sup>19</sup> Equally, it strains credulity that rare finds of two sorts of archaeological data, both at home in the Hittite world and intrusive in southern Syria-Palestine, would appear wholly accidentally in two of the only four Palestinian sites with Hittite seals and bullae, and in two of the only four sites with double pithos burials.<sup>20</sup> Put another way, the paradigm makes sense of or 'explains' the patterning in time and space of two wholly different sorts of variables in a manner that one would be hard-pressed to accomplish under any other paradigm yet advanced. It also explains why Megiddo always was such a wealthy city state or provincial capital.

Under either of the 'standard paradigms', the constant relative wealth and prestige of Megiddo is only one of the 'unexplained' aspects of the ancient world. Simply noting that a site lies on a major crossroads does not 'explain' its wealth. Within our operative paradigm, the presence of a Hittite *kārum* at Megiddo, and likely also an Egyptian commercial mission (below), to say nothing of the other specialized diasporas which surely had rights there, may possibly explain the clearly Egyptian artifacts and clearly Hittite and Syro-Hittite ivories, and possibly other prestige items in the 'Treasury' (Area AA Stratum VII Locus 3073), as the requisite traders' gifts to the palace, perhaps actually being—or purporting to be—royal gifts from the traders' home/base countries. A more plausible explanation, however, is that these are actually 'Royal Gifts' exchanged in connection with the original making of the treaty giving the traders rights to live and work in

19. Verbal communication, Timothy P. Harrison.

20. Similarly, in the light of this paradigm, expert review of personal(?) seals, weights—particularly the spindle-shaped haematite gold- and/or silver-weights—and other geographically distinctive portable objects should be fruitful in unravelling long-distance linkages now only dimly apprehended as vague questions in a scholar's mind as she or he peruses the massive amounts of data in the Megiddo—and similar—publications. Cf., for example, the introductory analysis of the probable nature of the Hittite trade below.

the city,<sup>21</sup> with the duty owing the palace on each shipment being an ongoing obligation of the diaspora itself, and constituting regular income on the part of the local ruler.

A brief overview of the economics of the Old Assyrian Trade, based on Veenhof (1972) and Larsen (1976), is given in the Excursus (below). At the Kültepe preferred rate of 3 per cent on needed metal (tin), and 5 per cent on manufactured goods (textiles), plus the Palace's right to first selection of up to 10 per cent of the manufactured goods, given an annualized gross profit of 25,600 shekels (= 427 minas or 213 kg of silver) on the Old Assyrian Trade based upon Larsen's estimate (1976: 90), it is obvious that the income accruing to the local ruler could be substantial—all the more so if many routes converged and much trade was carried out upon those routes, their peaceable passage being underwritten by the ruler's military, supported by the 10 per cent 'head tax' on all commercial travellers (cf. n. 21, above).

*Interpretation and Conclusions.* a) Given their simultaneous prominence at indisputably Hittite sites in Anatolia and also in Syro-Palestinian sites—many of which are arguably dominated by nearby Hittite power bases (e.g. Carchemish)<sup>22</sup>—in addition to such 'gateway cities/

21. For the first fragmentary copy of such an Old Assyrian treaty (c. 1770–50 BCE, excavated at Tell Leilan), see Eidem, who cites Larsen (1976: 245) to the effect that the Assyrians had to accept 'tax on imported goods; palace pre-emption on certain goods; and palace monopoly on trade in certain goods', while the local ruler 'would be obliged to guarantee: Assyrian resident rights and protection in the *kārum*; extraterritorial rights; [and] safety of roads and replacement of losses due to brigandage, etc.' (Eidem 1991: 189). Eidem writes: 'At least in the *kārum* level II period it seems to have been the local rulers who started the diplomatic overtures for the conclusion of a treaty and it was they who obligated themselves. Negotiations on a provisional level could be conducted by the prominent traders resident in the local Anatolian kingdoms, but the final decision and conclusion of a treaty rested with the 'Envoys of the City (Assur)' and the *kārum Kaniš*, which of course was the center for the Anatolian colonies. The letter CCT 3,30 e.g. (see Larsen 1976: 271) refers to the text of a proposed treaty being written down by the local traders (including a group referred to as the *ešartum*—"ten man committee") and sent to Kaniš, from where envoys would then arrive to complete the process... This evidence apparently tallies neatly with...what little remains of the clauses of...our text' (1991: 189).

22. Cf. the generalizing name of 'Ḫatti' for northern Syria following c. 1200 BCE; e.g. in the inscriptions of Tiglathpilezer I, where it is bounded on the south by

ports' as Halawa, Meskene/Emar and Tell Abu Hawam Strata V–IV, the most probable explanation for the presence of these highly distinctive houses is to see them as being the residences of ethnic Hittites, as Margueron ably argued in 1980 (the reference is missing from Margueron 1995).<sup>23</sup> My only difficulty with Margueron's original formulation is that he viewed their presence strictly in terms of the all-too-common military-political paradigm, which then tended toward disconfirmation when the same house plans were found in 'minority' situations in other sites in the same general area. Under the trade paradigm in use here, minority representation is only to be expected at sites dominated by other trading diasporas or national groups, while other key ports or gateway cities, particularly in areas where Hittite political control was strong, can reasonably be expected to be heavily dominated by this particular diaspora.<sup>24</sup>

b) The overall shape of the extended spatial distribution of these T-Houses (Maps 1, 2), dominating townsites at major transfer points in or near areas under Hittite control (Emar, Halawa, Tell Abu Hawam VI–V; Balensi 1980: III.B4.a; Margueron 1980: 296–304) with only single or very few examples in townsites along major routes of overland trade farther away from the area of Hittite control, strongly supports the

Amurru and on the east by the upper Euphrates (Nashef 1982: 123–24; I owe the reference to Douglas Frayne).

23. Against the curious and unimaginative objection that, since the Old Assyrian traders at Karum Kanesh lived in typical 'local-style' houses distinguished only by their tablets and seals it should follow that any other trading group should also confine itself to the canons of local architecture, it should suffice to note that each trade diaspora obviously had—and has—the freedom, within the cultural limits imposed by its host society, to select its own paramount social values and their form of outward expression. In the present instance, it does no violence to any social theory of which I am aware to accept that at least this one Hittite diaspora (there may have been others) preferred to live in 'Hittite' houses, exactly as Egyptian traders preferred 'Amarna' houses during the MB–LBA (below), and Phoenician traders preferred 'Phoenician' houses in the Iron II (Holladay 1997b: 109–10, Fig. 7.a, b, c).

24. One clue as to the nature of goods coming up the Euphrates valley may be seen in the numerous decorated cuboidal clay incense altars (*Räucherbecken*) from Level 2 at Halawa (Meyer 1989: 32–33, Abb.14) and at Meskene-Emar (conveniently, Margueron 1995: 137, upper right). Similar items, often in limestone, characterize the South Arabian incense routes from this time forward into the Hellenistic period (Holladay 1995: 386–87; Fig. 17, Pl. 2; 397 n. 45).

interpretation that these alienated or ‘displaced’ Hittites were members of a long-distance overland trade diaspora. The well-known Old Assyrian trade diaspora serves as a closely analogous model, not all that much removed in time from the settlement at Halawa. Incontrovertibly a trade diaspora, it operated exclusively overland from Assur to, presumably, Afghanistan at the one extreme and across the Anatolian plateau—or even further—at the other (Veenhof 1972, 1995; Larsen 1976).<sup>25</sup>

*Tentative Considerations as to the Specialized Nature  
of Hittite Trade*

We know from the Old Assyrian tablets found at Karum Kanesh that—although they occasionally used their expertise and transport facilities to relocate large quantities of copper within Anatolia—these particular Old Assyrian merchants were specialists, dealing principally in tin, textiles and unneeded donkeys. They received silver and some gold in exchange.<sup>26</sup> Apart from precious metals, however, we know little of the equivalent high-value exports of Anatolia.<sup>27</sup> Certainly, they did not come by the agency of the Old Assyrian traders network. But we may infer, from the nature of the workshops and effects at Karum Kanesh, and from the rare mention of worked copper objects returning to Ashur in the Old Assyrian tablets,<sup>28</sup> that the Hittite traders and their

25. See Holladay 1997c for a major effort at understanding the ‘Hyksos’ phenomenon in the eastern Egyptian delta as centring upon ‘port of trade’ and craft production activities involving not only a major ‘Asiatic’ trade diaspora, but also other Asiatic and Aegean trade diasporas, including the Hittite diaspora highlighted in the present essay.

It seems highly unlikely that the Hittites were a major sea-faring people. Note, e.g., the—disastrous for Ugarit—Hittite dependency upon Ugaritic ships for famine relief at the time of the Sea Peoples’ attack upon Ugarit.

26. Karum Kanesh seems to have been the dominant trading enclave. We know relatively little about the other 10-13 *kārum*s or ‘quays’, or the 10 or so smaller and subordinate *wabartums* although it may be suspected that they were all pretty much in the same business.

27. Given the costs of transportation, only high-value commodities were worth transporting long distances.

28. Among the few imports, in one case a gift to a trader’s wife, were two bronze or copper utensils (*supannum*, ‘containers’), weighing 5/6th of a mina of silver, and 1/3rd of a mina, 6 shekels respectively (Larsen 1967: 52-56 [CCT 5: 40b and BIN 4: 122]). CCT 5: 40b also records the shipment of 10 minas of wool, pre-

associated craftsmen—at least some similarly alienated—probably specialized in the export and local merchandizing of bronze and silver stock,<sup>29</sup> gold, silver and craft-worked bronze vessels, bronze belts (e.g. Bietak 1991: 34, Fig. 5) and, together with other products cast in the ubiquitous open moulds, high-quality bronze weapons (e.g. battle axes, javelin heads and fine daggers) together with gold and silver jewelry—all cast in double moulds.<sup>30</sup> Table 1 gives a listing of moulds, both

sumably exceptionally valuable. Curiously, as with copper, wool was bought, sold and moved around in great quantities by the Assyrian traders in Anatolia (Larsen 1976: 91-92; Veenhof 1972: 130-39), but was not part of their export trade, being invariably sold for silver or gold, leaving open the question of where Assyria got the not inconsiderable quantities of copper it required for its own use (cf. the inconclusive discussion in Larsen 1976: 91-92).

29. 'Rectangular matrices (Özgüç 1986: Pl. 86: 4-6; Fig. 4.a here) and moulds for bars (Pls. 91,7b; 92,4) must belong to categories in high demand in the metal trade. Among the newly found tablets are texts of much importance which refer to such plaques and bars' (Özgüç 1986: 46).

30. Copper or bronze vessels were typical at Karum Kanesh (e.g. Özgüç 1959: 109). Counting complete double moulds as single units, 24 moulds were listed from two workshop rooms of Level II at Karum Kanesh alone (Table 1, below). Other moulds came from the workshops of Level Ib and the Assyrian Merchants' houses (Özgüç 1986: 39-42, 45-48). Double moulds capable of producing high-quality duck-bill and shaft-hole axes were relatively common in the limited exposures at Karum Kanesh, but are extremely rare in Syria-Palestine. For shaft-hole axes: Özgüç 1986: 44-45, Pls. 87: a-c; 88: 7—paralleled by a mould from an Assyrian merchant's house (45: Pl. 88.8a-b); from a Level II tomb (45: Pl. 89: 3a-b); and, from a looted Level Ib tomb (74: Pl. 128.5). For other shaft-hole moulds: cf. Pls. 86.1a-b, from the Karum, with parallels from the mound of Kültepe and Level 5 at Maşathöyük; Pl. 89.1; a mould found in the last Early Bronze Age phase of the Kanesh mound, Pl. 89.2a-c; another shaft-hole mould found in a Level II house, 1986: 47; Pl. 91.2; and Pl. 134.2a-b. Fenestrated or very broad duck-bill axes and typical duck-bill axes were found at Karum Kanesh (Özgüç 1959: 57, Figs. 64, 109-10, Pl. 49: 1; 1986: 45-46, Pls. 90.2, 90.3-4, 89.5). Moulds for making fenestrated axes: 1986: 46, Pl. 89.4 with a 'casting' on Pl. 90.1, and Pl. 86.2a-b, Fig. 4.d here. Typical MB-LBA weapons moulds commonly found in both Syro-Palestinian sites and Asiatic sites in Egypt such as Tell el-Dab'a and Tell el-Maskhuta were open moulds made of limestone which produced blanks for hammer-working with annealing (e.g. axes, daggers, chisels, projectile points), a lengthy process. Similar open moulds were found at Karum Kanesh, but these included higher quality forms for casting ready-to-use rasps and well-formed chisels and axes (Özgüç 1986: 46-7, passim, cf. Pls. 79.2, 3, 4, 8, 9, 10a,b; 80.1-4; 90.5a-d; 90.6, 91.1a-b, 91.3, 91.7a-b, 91.4-6, 92.2). Closed moulds for producing figures of deities and the products of these moulds are well documented from Karum Kanesh, but only one has come

open ('single') and closed ('double') found in only two rooms of one workshop from Level 2 of Karum Kanesh. In addition to those moulds:

[Finds in Room 1 included.] on either side a small functional water channel, open at the top, with stone-lined sides and a dirt floor. In the room we found large jars, stone moulds, pottery, unfinished cylinder seals, funnels in the shape of pointed cups and stones of various shapes and sizes used by the craftsmen... [In Room 2 was] a central hearth... [with] a rim of regular stones. At the Northwest is an oven. A stone threshold lies in the door connecting rooms 1-2, and a pillar of half-mudbricks remains near the crosswall. On the floor were flat stones used in casting operations. The best finds come from this room: painted and monochrome pitchers, fruitstands, two-handled goblets, cups, bowls, all kinds of vessels with lids. Also various stone tools of the craftsman, pithoi, and, near the oven, a tuyère, stone moulds, and flat green stone celts. Scattered in the room were small lead ingots, coarse loom weights, stone weights, and crucibles. [According to Özgüç]...this part of the Karum did not yield any archives or tablets. The explanation must lie in the function of the structures. The archives of the rich merchants lie in the North, Northeast and central part of the Karum. The newly excavated part was evidently a zone more specifically set aside for workshops, industry and services. There are indications that the native residents predominantly lived in this quarter, the Southeast part of the Karum. We know that native traders, who had more frequent contact with the Assyrians, lived among the Assyrians or in nearby districts (Özgüç 1986: 42-43).<sup>31</sup>

from a workshop (cf. Özgüç 1959: 105-106, Pl. 34.1, 3-4, with 1986: 48), as are closed moulds for making jewellery (Pls. 80: 5-8, 87.4-7, 88.1-2, 91.8-10, 92.1; Pl. 92.6 is probably a negative mould for embossing gold foil disks with the familiar 'Hittite Symbol'). Exceptionally, a double mould for Philip's Type 1 Narrow-Bladed Axe comes from a disturbed context in Megiddo Stratum V (Lamon and Shipton 1939: 148, Pl. 105; Philip 1989: 1.38), and half of a crude double limestone mould, lacking registration holes, for producing miniature deity figurines comes from Str. XIII (Square O 15, street; Loud 1948: Pl. 269.4). An apparently open mould comes from Stratum XIII B, Locus 5093 (Loud 1948: Pl. 269.3). To narrow the focus, a limited number of double moulds for producing various axe types come from elsewhere in Syria-Palestine, the bulk of them from three prominent mercantile centres and ports-of-trade, all having close links with Anatolia: Tarsus (n = 1), Ras Shamra (n = 4, all unpublished), and Byblos (n = 7). Other sites located along the north-south overland trade route discussed here include Tell Mardikh (n = 2; Matthiae, Pinnock and Matthiae 1995: 439, nos. 309, 310) and Hama (n = 1, unpublished) (Philip 1989: 1.38-68). This totals to, give or take, 16 from all of Syria-Palestine against 16 from Kültepe and Karum Kanesh alone (Özgüç 1959: 42-47).

31. Moulds from the two workrooms are listed in Table 1: four examples of double moulds are shown in Fig. 4.

Table 1. *Moulds, mostly 'steatite', from a two-roomed workshop in Karum Kanesh Level 2 (Özgülç 1986: 42-44)*

<i>Number</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Product</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Plate</i>
Kt.82/K154	double	axe, shaft-hole	Rm 1	86:1a-b
Kt.82/K200	double	axe, shaft-hole	Rm 2	87:1a-b
Kt.82/K203-204	double, complete	axe, shaft-hole	Rm 2	87:3a-c
Kt.82/K155	double	axe, fenestrated	Rm 1	86:2a-b
Kt.82/K160	single, multiple	axes and daggers	Rm 1	—
Kt.82/K201-202	double, complete	dagger	Rm 2	87:2a-b
Kt.82/K206	single?	cylinders, 2 connected	Rm 2	87:5
Kt.82/K209	double	cylinder w/ mould- joining hole in middle	Rm 2	88:4
Kt.82/K210	double	cylinder, grooved	Rm 2	88:3
Kt.82/K211	double	item w/ square section	Rm 2	88:5
Kt.82/K157	single?	disk w/ centred '+'	Rm 1	86:3
Kt.82/K213	single(?)	disk: 'similar to Kt.82/K157'	Rm 2	—
Kt.82/K181	single	oval object	Rm 1	—
Kt.82/K194	double	plaque, rectangular	Rm 2	86:4
Kt.82/K195	double	plaque, rectangular	Rm 2	86:5
Kt.82/K196	double	plaque, rectangular	Rm 2	86:6
Kt.82/K197	double	plaque, rectangular	Rm 2	—
Kt.82/K198	double	plaque, rectangular	Rm 2	—
Kt.82/K199	double	plaque, rectangular	Rm 2	—
Kt.82/K205	double	jewellery: pendant, 4-pointed star in zigzag border inside circle	Rm 2	87:4
Kt.82/K212	double	jewellery: pendant, disk-shaped	Rm 2	91:11
Kt.82/K214-5	double, complete	jewellery: drop- shaped pendant w/ 2 grooves around top	Rm 2	88:6a-b
Kt.82/K207	single	jewellery: pendant, irreg. zigzags in a square frame	Rm 2	88:1
Kt.82/K208	single	jewellery: pendant, sq. frame w/ 2 animals dec. w/ vert. striations	Rm 2	88:2



Particularly with respect to silver items, it is not surprising that we have next-to-no evidence. But note the twin javelin heads from Tell Dab'a (Bietak 1991: 10)<sup>32</sup> and, in all probability, a silver bracelet from

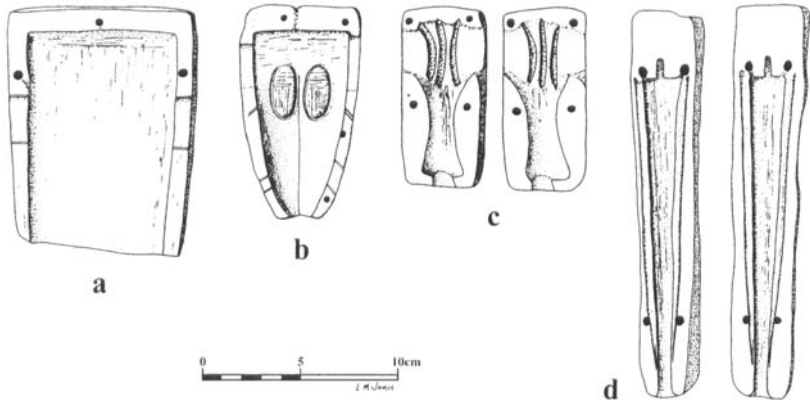


Figure 4. *Double Moulds from Workshop from Level 2 of Karum Kanesh. a. Half of a mould for a rectangular ingot or 'plaque' (Kt.82/K194). b. Half of a mould for a duck-billed axe (Kt.82/K155). c. Double mould for a shaft-hole axe (Kt.82/K203-204). d. Double mould for a short-tanged dagger (Kt.82/K201-202). (After Özgüç 1986: 42-43; Pls. 86.4, 86.2a, 87.3a-b and 87.2a-b, respectively.)*

Hazorea (Meyerhof 1989: 106; Pl. 37) and the 'Ain es-Samiyeh cup (Tadmor 1986: 100-102). Because of their small size, gold items may be more common, particularly in tombs or hoards. In addition to the jewellery moulds listed in Table 1, note that chlorite (Elliott 1991: 49-51), serpentine or 'steatite' jewellery moulds, while not common, appear regularly in small numbers at large sites which might easily have had a small Hittite enclave: Ras Shamra,<sup>33</sup> Tell Sukas, Byblos, Tell Abu Hawam,<sup>34</sup> Megiddo,<sup>35</sup> Hazor, Beth Shan, Acco, and, in Cyprus, at Enkomi, Idalion, Kition-Bamboula (Elliott 1991: 49-51),

32. Bronzes from the same tomb: 'a midrib dagger with side ribs entering into spirals, a cast segmented handle, and a pommel of ivory encased in bronze ribs and a lotus-design golden ring...[and] a chisel-shaped notched battle-axe with square section' (Bietak 1991: 36).

33. Nine examples are discussed by Elliott (1991: 49-51), including 1 mould for knives, with another 26 moulds cited as being in the Louvre Museum.

34. Hamilton 1934: 34; Fig. 206a, b ('steatite'); 58; Fig. 359 ('green steatite').

35. Loud 1948: Pl. 269.6-8 ('Steatite', 'Serpentine', 'Steatite').

and Gezer (Macalister 1912: II: 261, Fig. 407; III: Pl. 136: 21, 22). These are reasonably common at Karum Kanesh.<sup>36</sup> Fragments of bronze or copper vessels are not unknown in the Syro-Palestinian MB–LBA, but they are especially common at Karum Kanesh,<sup>37</sup> and, to judge from the clearly metallic prototypes of the red-burnished wares, must have been even commoner in daily life. With respect to special competence in bronze working, note the Hittite involvement, at Pi-Ramesses/Qantir, in the largest bronze smelting and casting operation (bronze applications for Hittite shield rims) yet known in the ancient Near East (Stratum B3 at Qantir, late eighteenth–early nineteenth dynasties), together with the stone moulds for casting these shield rims from the earlier Stratum B2. These moulds, according to the excavator, ‘prove that Hittite workmen and soldiers were present at Pi-Ramesses, living and interacting with Egyptians after the peace treaty between the Hittite king Hattusili III and Ramesses II’ (Pusch and Herold 1999: 648; cf. Pusch 1996). The presence of Mycenaeans is attested ‘by large quantities of their pottery, and a scale of a Mycenaean boar’s tusk helmet of the type carried exclusively by high-ranking Mycenaean officials’ (Pusch and Herold 1999: 648).

As with all similar traders, they probably also ‘bought low’ and ‘sold high’ on the local markets as high-value goods flowed up and down their channels of trade.<sup>38</sup> Presumably, then, their presence at a port such as Tell Abu Hawam was not simply to acquire Aegean goods for sale to the local hinterland, as Negbi (1998: 192–93, cf. below) could be understood to be saying, but also to produce some added-value goods—including, for example, gold and silver jewellery—for export, and to expedite the shipping abroad of their own specialty goods as well as those available to them from other overland branches (and their branches yet more distant) of their own and others’ diasporas. See below for the possibility of an unfortified LBA and early Iron Age Hittite karum at Zeror.

36. For Karum Kanesh, in addition to those listed in Table 1, cf. Özgüç 1986: 40–41; Pls. 80: 1, 5, 6; 81.4–5, 7 (these from a Level 1b workshop), and 91.9–10; 92.1.

37. Özgüç 1959: 55, Figs. 60–61; 109; 1986: 123; Fig. 589; Pls. 126–127.7.

38. Cf. particularly Curtin’s account of an eighteenth-century Armenian trader who eventually travelled to and took up residence in Lhasa (1984: 193–96).

*Double Pithos Burials*

*Definition.* Essentially, this is a new category of data, forwarded by a recent article of Negbi (1998). These are burials of adults which utilize ‘two [large] storage vessels of the same shape, with their necks removed...joined together shoulder to shoulder...to provide enough space for placing the deceased in an extended position... [In all southern Levantine cases where sufficient data exist to establish the type, these pithoi are] the well-known “collared-rim jar” ’ (Negbi 1998: 189; an example from Tell es-Sa‘idiyeh is illustrated in Bloch-Smith 1997: 208). Presumably related children’s burials characteristically involve single jars, or, in some instances, other sorts of pots. Distinguishing the latter from typical MBA–LBA ‘jar burials’ of children would, at first glance, appear difficult, and we will focus upon the adult double pithos burials as documented by Ora Negbi (1998).

*Spatial Distribution.* Although sparsely distributed in the southern Levant, double pithos burials clearly are at home in some parts of the Anatolian plateau.<sup>39</sup> In terms of our study, their appearance at a number of Cis- and Transjordanian sites is closely similar to the distribution of T-Houses analysed above: mostly at seaports (Tel Nami, Tel Zeror) or along obvious lines of overland transportation. Although I do not presently know of any Syrian examples, it would be strange if they were missing from the archaeological record. In Anatolia, the body was ‘laid either in a pair of *pithoi* placed mouth to mouth, as [also] in ... cremations...or simply in an earth grave; at Boğazköy the earth graves were usually in the houses themselves [see similar house-burials at Karum Kanesh, Zeror and Hazor, below]’ (Gurney 1981: 168, referenced by Negbi 1998: 191-92). In Transjordan, Negbi cites 27 double-pithos burials at thirteenth–twelfth-century Tell es-Sa‘idiyeh (Tubb 1988: 39-65; 1990: 29-37; 1995), and 4 at twelfth-century Saḥāb, with other unpublished examples from a tomb at Jabal el-Qusur (Ibrahim 1978: 122 n. 35). In Cisjordan, Gonen cites 3 from eleventh-century Stratum VI at Megiddo (Esse 1992: 88; Fig. 4). About 10 infant and

39. According to Negbi: ‘double pithos inhumations dating to the 13th century B.C. are diagnostic of highland sites in central Anatolia, such as Boğazköy and Alişar Höyük,’ as opposed to single pithos burials at Kültepe and Yanarlar (1998: 191-92, cf. n. 10, with citations).

adult burials from the Tel Zeror cemetery of the late thirteenth to early twelfth centuries BCE were dug into the unfortified ruins of

a coppersmith's quarter [apparently with supine burials much like those in Anatolia]...[lasting] throughout the Late Bronze Age, where smelting furnaces, crucibles, clay bellows' pipes and a quantity of copper slag were found. An unusual amount of Cypriot pottery...suggests a connection with Cyprus, the source of copper in the period' (Kochavi 1993: 1525).

For all its brevity, this sounds very much like a displaced version of the Karum Kanesh workshops. Similar pithos burials came from thirteenth-century Tel Nami (Artzy 1995: 25), and one adult double-pithos burial was found near Kefar Yehoshua (Druks 1966: 213-14, 218a; Fig. 1).<sup>40</sup> Negbi discounts—probably wrongly—yet one more from Azor because requisite details (age, position) are lacking.

*Shared Characteristics of Locations.* Reference to Map 2 suggests a distribution based upon small populations of people, perhaps at the household level, employing double-pithos burials at Tels Nami and Zeror, both port cities, and Megiddo, a major overland transit hub, with a disproportionately large population—but still subordinate to the general population—at the relatively small Egyptian (see below) trading colony (below) of Tell es-Sa'idiyeh (77 single- and double-pithos burials as opposed to 'several hundred graves of other types' [Negbi 1998: 188]), and 4 such burials at Tell Saḥāb, again possibly at the household level, close to the Egyptian trading post (below) at the Amman Airport. Interestingly, none was observed at the Northern Cemetery at Beth Shan (Oren 1973). In general, the time range for this distribution seems to be either subsequent to that of most of the T-Houses, or at the low end of their range.

*Interpretation and Conclusions.* In general, the testimony of the presumably Anatolian-based funerary customs (Negbi 1998: 191), replacing Anatolian pithoi with the local 'collared-rim jars', corresponds to that of the T-Houses, namely, as a testimony to a long-lived Anatolian-derived population, who, in Curtin's phrase, had 'go[ne] abroad and become...foreigner[s]' (1984: 6).

40. All citations are from Negbi 1998: 188-91; cf. Map 2.

*Supporting Data for the Interpretations of the T-House and Double Pithos Burials*

That Emar was a trade-related entity closely tied to the Hittite orbit is everywhere apparent in the preliminary reports (Laroche, Arnaud, Beyer, Margueron, all 1980; Margueron 1982, 1995; Fleming 1995 with refs.). The abundance of Mycenaean and Cypriote pottery in Tell Abu Hawam V–IV (Balensi 1980) likewise points in the direction of managed trade. Hazor provides an especially fine perspective on a broad range of pertinent data. Since common ties of a shared ethnic stock (or, in some cases, mixed ethnic stocks), language and religion—note that trade is what brought Islam to Sub-saharan Africa, Malaysia and Indonesia—distinguish most diasporas from their local settings (Curtin 1984: 1-12), the literally outlandish Stele Shrine, as opposed to the sorts of monumental ‘state temples’ common across Syria-Palestine during the Middle and Late Bronze Ages,<sup>41</sup> in Area C at Hazor finally begins to make sense. Note especially its statue, numerous unengraved stelae, including many left behind in the debris of the earlier shrine,<sup>42</sup> and its engraved stela (for external parallels see n. 42, below), found in a neighbourhood distinguished by MB II and LBA T-Houses (Fig. 3.a-b), a potter’s workshop, an Akkadian inscription on the shoulder of a large jug of a shape familiar from Karum Kanesh (Özgüç 1959: Pl. 27: 1; cf. Yadin *et al.* 1960: Pl. 180), a ‘bronze’ omphalos-based bowl and two ‘bronze’ cymbals (Yadin *et al.* 1958: Pl. 90.15, 16; cf. Özgüç 1986: Pls. 126.1a-b, 128.1-2, 3-4), an exotic silver-foil covered cult standard, and a great many sub-floor burials, including more than 15, of which only 1 was an adult (T23), under the MBA T-House (Fig. 3.a). Sub-floor burials were typical at Boğazköy (Gurney 1981: 168) and Karum Kanesh, for example, ‘In this last phase of the city the dead, adults and children were again buried under house floors in stone cists, pithoi...or pits cut in the earth’ (Özgüç 1959: 70). All this practically forces the interpretation that Hazor Area C was, in fact, part of a long-lived small Hittite *kārum* similar to the Old Assyrian examples known from Anatolia.<sup>43</sup> The small Mycenaean goddess figurine, a surface-find from Area

41. For Syria, cf. especially the volume edited by J.-C. Margueron (1980). A detailed survey by Diane Flores is in an advanced stage of preparation for publication.

42. Yadin *et al.* 1958: 83-92, Pls. 27-31; 1960: 97, Pl. 37.6.

43. While we are still relatively ignorant of the Levantine LBA, based upon present knowledge the Stele Shrine would appear to be unique within Palestine.

C (Yadin 1960: Pl. 179.7), together with the odd horizontal bowl-, krater- or cooking-pot handle (e.g. Yadin 1958: Pls. 85.13 (?), 87.7; 1960: Pls. 110.22, 116.22-23, 119.1) and exotic cooking pots (Yadin 1960: Pls. 110.20-21; possibly also 110.16-19), all extremely similar to LB II/Early Iron Age Helladic cooking pots; Pl. 110.22 (Helladic); Pls. 116.21-23, 119.18-18 (Helladic), also may point in the direction of a close connection between this quarter and nearby Tell Abu Hawam and Tel Nami.

Negbi cites a broad range of trade-related data, including Late Helladic wares and excellent local imitations at Tell es-Sa'idiyeh, possibly, but improbably, implying locally resident Mycenaean potters, as well as a few Late Helladic IIIC vessels from Beth Shan, which Negbi, Finkelstein and Mazar hold—in the absence of physical testing (but cf. mention of an oral communication regarding petrographic analysis from A. Mazar [Negbi 1998: 193 n. 12])—must represent imports (citations in Negbi 1998: 192-93). Alternatively, unless petrographic analysis indeed discounts the possibility, it seems equally possible that some or most of the latter could be local imports stemming from the early LH IIIC-using Sea-Peoples' settlements in either Acco or Philistia.<sup>44</sup>

Given the validity, however, of the hypothesis forwarded in the present study, similar shrines should eventually appear either in 'Syro-Hittite' sites or in the traders' quarter/s of other sites. Thus, it is of considerable interest that a similar shrine seems recently to have been discovered at the Syrian site of Tell Kazel (personal communication Amelie Beyhum); an article in *Berytus* 44 (1999), 'The LBA Temple at Tell Kazel—Syria' is not yet available to me). Cf. with the pottery mask from Hazor Area F (Yadin *et al.* 1960: Pls. 182-83) the two or three stone masks (Yon 1991: 349, 352; Fig. 3) and the large number (19) of stelae from Ras Shamra-Ugarit (Yon 1991: 272-344), with several rows of empty bases for yet undiscovered stelae to the southeast of the Temple of Dagan. Note that the large Stele 19 with the running spiral border, therefore apparently 'Aegean' in tradition, came from the vicinity of the *Temple aux Rhytons* in the *Centre de la Ville*, while the generically very similar (small stelae, two blank, the others featuring striding god with weapon/s) Stele 11-17 all came from residential quarters of the site. Stele 17 was discovered before excavations commenced, and cannot be localized. Stele 4 (Yon 1991: 326; Fig. 6.4; 330; Fig. 10a), with a four-spoked 'sun-wheel' above a three-story tower (? or representation of a cult-stand), the nearest parallel to the 'praying hands' stele from Hazor Area C (also illustrated by Yon 1991: 330; Fig. 10b), was found to the west side of the south-facing *Temple de Dagan*, permitting the inference that this was a secondary or 'outsiders' approach to the state cult centre.

44. Note the presence of spool-shaped loom weights, to my knowledge not previously so identified, of Aegean type at Beth Shan in both Str. VIII and VII

Bronzes from Tell es-Sa'idiyeh include Egyptian and 'Canaanite' forms, as well as a local [?] cauldron and a tripod stand 'likely...of Levanto-Cypriot workmanship' as well as a sword similar to '13th century counterparts from Ugarit, Alalakh, Miletos and Boğazköy... classified by Niemeir as...diagnostic [of] Hittite Workmanship...[whether] originating...from the heartland of central Anatolia or from one of the Hittite vassal city-states in north Syria' (Negbi 1998: 194-95, citing Niemeir 1998: 39-40; previously Tubb 1995: 137; and Negbi 1991: 226; 236-37; all cited in Negbi 1998: 194-95).<sup>45</sup>

*Hypothesis-based Prediction.* Given more exposure, more such houses, double pithos burials and other indications of Hittite presence will be found, not only in regions already attested, and at sites further up various dendritic branches, but presumably also some in a 'foreign quarter' at Ugarit (LB) and other coastal sites, and at Tell el-Dab'a (MB II), in the eastern Egyptian delta.

### *An Egyptian Diaspora*

'Amarna' Houses in Syria-Palestine (Maps 1, 2; Fig. 5.1-2).<sup>46</sup> The essence of middle-range Egyptian villas of the Middle Kingdom, for

(James and McGovern 1993: II, Figs. 115.4a-c, 5-7; 118.2a-b). This type of 'spool weight' is taken by Stager to be a hallmark of Aegean immigrants at Ashkelon, Ekron and Ashdod (Stager 1995: 346-47, Pl. 6). If this holds in the Pentapolis and the Aegean, it would be a strong indication of some sort of Aegean presence at Beth Shan at the very end of the Late Bronze II or, if the items are misplaced stratigraphically, early Iron I. James and McGovern date Level VIII from the beginning of the nineteenth dynasty through the early years of Ramesses III, 'the corresponding absolute dates being approximately the first and second halves of the thirteenth century B.C.'. Thus, there is a disjunction between the loom weights and the LH IIIC materials from Building 1500 (see 'Amarna' houses, below, Fig. 5.2.d), the 'Egyptian Governor's Residency of Lower Level VI' (Negbi 1998: 193, with references). Given the early date of the excavations, it is not at all improbable that these items are somewhat misplaced. At any rate, in view of the oft-repeated disclaimer of any Aegean presence at Beth Shan, their presence, and their geographical coincidence with later LH IIIC materials, is noteworthy.

45. Further, see 'Amarna' Houses... Supporting Data', below.

46. The initial comparative analysis derives from a sophisticated unpublished University of Toronto undergraduate study by Hany Assaad (1979) for A.J. Mills and the present writer. For an extensive listing of the literature on the 'Amarna' house, together with new observations on the Malqata houses (dated to the reign of Amenhotep III), see Endo 1995: 23-37.

example, the 'administrative building' at Uronarti,<sup>47</sup> through the Amarna Period (Fig. 5.1.b-d), and presumably later, lay in the presence of a squarish central hall with supporting pillar or pillars, surrounded by a series of rooms with limited access from the central hall, access to which was gained from a guard-chamber regularly with a ramped or stepped indirect access entry-way running up one of the sides of the building.

The foregoing characteristics in general correspond to the 1500 House at Beth Shan and, probably, the 1700 House as well (James 1966: 8-13; Fig. 5.2.d here), as well as to the Tananir buildings (Boling 1969; Campbell and Wright 1969: Fig. 5.2.c),<sup>48</sup> the Amman Airport Building (Herr 1983: Fig. 5.2.a), possibly the Stratum 2 'Square Temple' in Area F at Hazor (Yadin, *et al.* 1989: 150-53, Plan XXIX, Fig. 5.2.b) and an EBA stratum at Tell Selenkahiya (van Loon 1979: 108-10, Fig. 20; Meijer 1980: 120-22, Fig. 2; Fig. 5.1.a).

47. Dunham 1967: Map 3, Fig. 5.1.b here. A small-scale plan is given in Badawy 1966: 224, Fig. 105. See also the very similar, though more elaborately columned, 'commandant's quarters' at Askut: Badawy 1966: 220, Figs. 102, 222.

48. Campbell and Wright's tentative acceptance (1969) of G.R.H. Wright's (1966) suggestion of a parallel with the direct-access Eshnunna temple of Gimil-Sin is, in the light of current knowledge and understandings, less than compelling. In all cases but that of the reconstructed—surely wrong—entrance of the Str. VI 1500 House at Beth Shan (James 1966: 9), the Amarna houses and their Palestinian analogues have indirect access through what can only be called 'guard rooms'. Note that this anomalous entrance is not shown in A. Mazar's plans of Building 1500, which he reinvestigated during his renewed excavations at the site (1997: 72, plans on pp. 70, 73). Direct access, in contrast, is a typical architectural feature of monumental state temples. Cf. the formulation of an explicit hypothesis dealing with direct and indirect access to varying types/levels of religious structures in Holladay 1987: 268 n. 98, and its subsequent empirical testing against data from the Syro-Palestinian Iron II Age (1987: 272, Table 1). Similarly, for periods prior to the Iron Age, the direct-axis approach to the cella of the Gimil-Sin Temple is absolutely typical of the *state-level temples*—the so-called 'Anten' or 'Migdol' temples—as well as of the—by the same token—apparently state-level triple temples of EB III Palestine and Transjordan (Megiddo, Khirbet ez-Zeraqun: Ibrahim and Mittmann 1997, with refs.). Indirect access, however, is typical of some (but not all) 'secondary' sanctuaries as the Fosse Temple Series at Lachish and the Area D Iron II Philistine sanctuary at Ashdod. Similarly, the placement of the stairway beside the entry-way in the Gimil-Sin temple is also typical for the 'Anten/Migdol' series, but atypical for either the Amarna house or its Syro-Palestinian analogues.



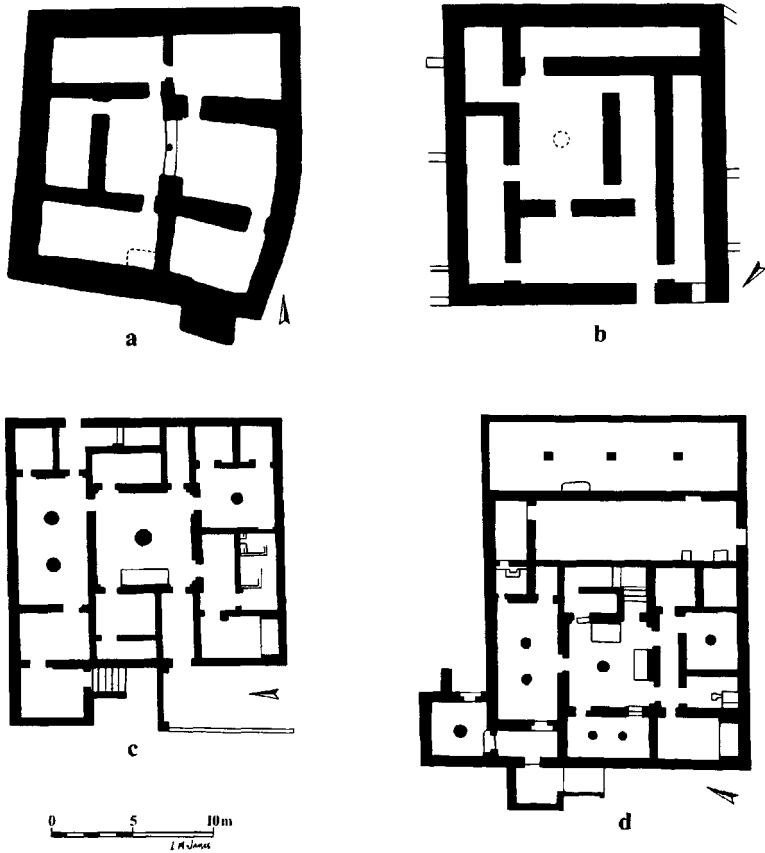


Figure 5.1. *Amarna Villas and Syro-Palestinian Exemplars*. a. *Southern Building from EB Tell Selenkahiye* (after Meijer 1980: 120-22, Fig. 2). b. *Middle Kingdom 'administrative building' from Uronarti* (Dunham 1967: Map 3, rooms 63-81). c. *House from the Tax Collector's Complex* (after Badawy 1968: 109, Fig. 65). d. *House v.37.1* (after Badawy 1968: 102, Fig. 59).

*Spatial Distribution.* The Beth Shan structures were found in the context of an important Egyptian garrison post and 'gateway city' lying on the main route between the coast via the Esdraelon Plain and the Transjordan and Jordan Valley. Down this route lay the major MB-LBA trade centre of Pella, as well as the LBA Egyptian trade colony (below) at Tell es-Sa'idiyeh. Further away lay the Tananir and Amman Airport structures outside whatever town (e.g. Shechem—possibly

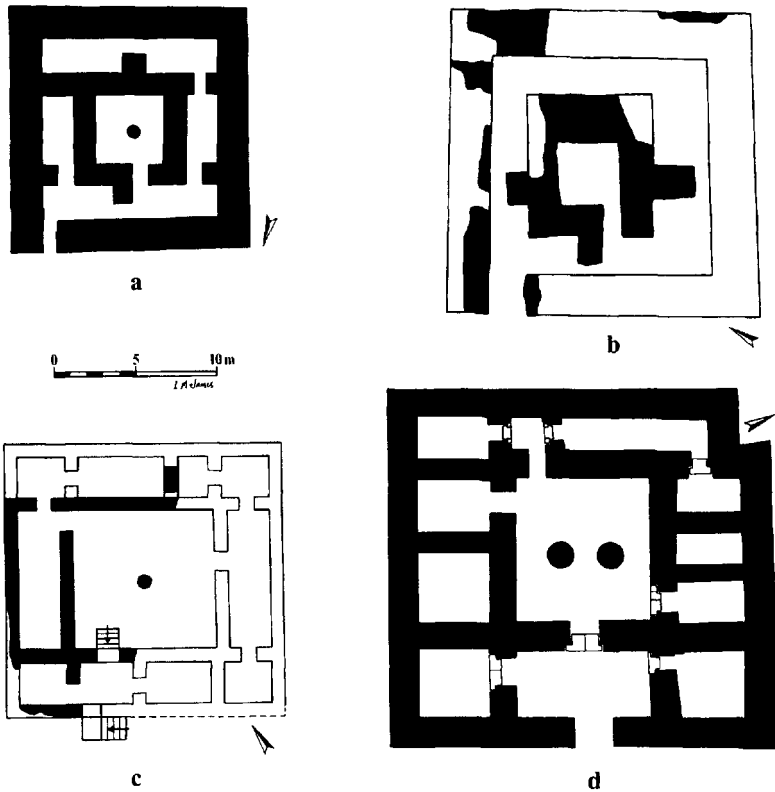


Figure 5.2. *Amarna Villas and Syro-Palestinian Exemplars. a. Amman Airport Building (Herr 1983: Fig. 9). b. Area F, Stratum 2 'Square Temple'/'Temple Building' from Hazor (Yadin, Y., et al., 1989: 150-53, Plan 29). c. The LB II phase of the Tananir building, near Shechem (after Boling 1975: Fig. 2). d. The Iron I Level VI 1500 House from Beth Shan (after James 1966: 8-11).*

approached via the Wadi Far'ah) or even village or tribal territory (in the case of the Amman structure), in the high hill-country of Cis- and Transjordan, respectively. If the Hazor Area F, Stratum VII 'Square Temple' is also one of these buildings, it likewise fits the pattern (Yadin *et al.* 1989: 150-53, Plan XXIX; Fig. 5.2.b here), even to lying outside the tell proper. The overall similarity with the distributional patterning of the Hittite diaspora's T-Houses is strong: although these obviously upper-class structures were characteristically located either in a strong Egyptian garrison or gateway city (some should be expected

in the settlement at Tell es-Sa'idiyeh), with isolated examples along the dendritic routes leading away from the gateway city. If the Tell Selenkahiya (Map 1) late EBA 'Mansion' (Fig. 5.1.a) is also of this plan, it would appear reasonable to assume that the presence of an Egyptian trading presence in Syria might have special relevance for the large number of Egyptian Old Kingdom materials excavated in the EBA levels at Tell Mardikh. In the present context, Meijer's observations are interesting and significant:

The plan of the building is regular. A curious feature is the column base, a large cylindrically shaped and polished white stone; it supported a cedar wood column. To judge by the find of a number of clay jar-sealings and uncut haematite cylinders (to be used either for seals or as weights) one of the jobs performed in the building was administering articles of trade. We may think of an important trader living upstairs, conducting his business on the ground floor; that there were two storeys is evident from the thickness of the outer walls (ca. 1.80 m) as well as from a layer of burnt debris ca. 70 cm thick, containing pots fallen from above (1980: 120).

*Interpretation.* The Amman Airport building (Fig. 5.2.a), the Hazor 'Square Temple' (Fig. 5.2.b) and the later Tananir structure (Fig. 5.2.c) existed during the height of the Egyptian Empire. During this period, as is well demonstrated by the archaeological evidence, there were strong Egyptian garrisons with 'Governors' Residencies' along the southern coastal strip, presumably at Megiddo as well, and on to Beth Shan. These are well known (Oren 1985, 1992; Tubb 1995: 140; Bunimovitz 1995: 325; Kelm and Mazar 1997: 69-73). Yet these 'Residencies' are unknown in the hill-country, where, during at least the Amarna Age the entire region, including Jerusalem, lay in fear of hard-eyed petty kings like Labayu and sons, who preyed upon fearful local rulers such as Biridiya of Megiddo, 'Abdi-Ḥeba of Jerusalem, or Milkilu of Gezer (Moran 1987). As despots throughout time have learned to their hurt, highland peoples are hard to subjugate. In such a context, how were the imperial Egyptians to extract the desired surpluses of the hill-country production of oil, wine, honey, dried fruit, etc., to say nothing of the much more valuable resins and spices to be found in the Transjordan and South Arabia, perhaps already mediated by the northern Arabs? Working from the emerging patterns exhibited by ancient Asiatic cities [and *kārums*] 'where they should not be' (Holladay 1997c: 211-12 n. 24; 202-209 and notes), the simplest and most straightforward

answer would seem to be that these isolated buildings were the 'trading posts' of a perhaps slender, but strongly supported Egyptian diaspora, more people who had 'go[ne] abroad and become...foreigner[s]' (Curtin 1984: 6).<sup>49</sup> Given the very centralized nature of Egyptian society

49. Note that the present argument deals only with the extraction of surpluses and transit goods from the Shechem and, possibly, Hazor regions of Cisjordan, concerning which there should be no argument. The problem of economic surpluses does, however, arise with respect to the territory of Manasseh, now somewhat unilaterally entitled 'southern Samaria' (cf. Finkelstein 1988a with Finkelstein, Lederman and Bunimovitz 1997). It probably is not sufficient to argue, on the basis of purposive surveys of present-day settlements and obvious ruins and tells, that the northern hill country was virtually empty, although it unquestionably was at one of its lowest ebbs of settled population. According to table 5.1 in Lev-Yadun's discussion of the flora and climate of 'southern Samaria' past and present, in Finkelstein, Lederman and Bunimovitz (1997: 91), there were only about 700 individuals resident, all told, in this restricted territory during the Late Bronze Age. While this appears to the present writer to be incredibly low for a landscape occupied by the clearly urbanized inhabitants of Beitin and Shiloh (to judge by their artifacts, which in no way resemble the sorts of goods produced by or associated with a pastoralist economy, and, in the case of Beitin, to judge by their architecture: Finkelstein, Lederman and Bunimovitz (1993; Kelso 1968) and of the little-understood and ill-documented Khirbets el-Marjama and Samiyeh (Finkelstein, Lederman and Bunimovitz (1997: 732-35), it neatly evades the challenge posed by the relatively high levels of LB occupation at Shechem/Tell Balatah and 13 (17?) other sites in its vicinity surveyed by E.F. Campbell, Jr (1991: 9). Campbell estimates this population as more than 3000 individuals (oral communication). Finkelstein's wholly gratuitous supposition that the Shechem excavators, who had years of experience excavating well-stratified LBA remains (currently in preparation for publication) mistook 'decorated medieval [for Late Bronze] pottery' (Finkelstein, Lederman and Bunimovitz 1997: 5-6) is simply unacceptable. Thus, given the above (plus indications of occupation at Beit 'Ur et-Tahta, Tell Abu Zarad, Kh. el-Marjama, Kh. er-Rahaya and Kh. el-'Urma: Finkelstein, Lederman and Bunimovitz (1997: 893), and considering that it would be remarkable if other fertile valleys, passes and horticultural regions were without 'dressers of vines and plowmen' (2 Kgs 25.11, cf. Jer. 39.10, for a similarly depopulated period), to say nothing of pastoralists and small orchard-keepers, 700 individuals seems far short of any practical reality. In this connection, and with particular respect to the hill-country, I would agree wholeheartedly with Finkelstein's earlier comments that 'lack of remains does not indicate a human void' (1992: 87), particularly in a *purposively surveyed* region with significant hillside erosion and valley alluviation. In this connection note that Finkelstein's 'combed' (Finkelstein, Lederman and Bunimovitz 1997: 11-15) does not describe a survey *methodology*, but simply claims a certain unspecified level of

and its economy, it seems reasonable to suggest that such an Egyptian presence would be more 'state-controlled' than would, say, a 'Hittite,'

relative intensity. This substantially detracts from his broader claims for the scientific under-pinnings of the Survey of Manasseh. Note especially the section dealing with Rosen's objections (1987; 1992): 'Since it was impossible to scrutinize every inch of the survey grid, we laid special emphasis...on those topographic areas most likely to show evidence of human activity, namely ridges, spurs, valley margins, areas near springs, etc. ... It can be confidently stated that large sites, such as mounds, ruins (*khirbeh*), areas of wide pottery dispersal, etc. did not escape detection. However, it is by no means unlikely that sites with only one structure (e.g. farm-houses) or with a limited area of pottery dispersal were missed *since they are difficult to spot even from a distance of several tens of metres* (Finkelstein, Lederman and Bunimovitz 1997: 13, emphasis added). The difference between 'purposively combed' and 'scientifically surveyed' (for want of a better term) is not inconsequential: given the lack of either genuine quadrant or transect surveys (whether randomly selected or regularly spaced) or some combination of the two together with documenting in either case the number of pedestrian surveyors and the specified distances between surveyors, *we are left without any means of confidently extrapolating from survey findings to probable numbers of various site types or ranks in less rigorously surveyed areas* (Flannery 1976: 131-36, 159-60; Plog 1976: 136-58). Thus Rosen's point (1992: 81b, para. 2) stands: under such survey conditions there was little opportunity—or incentive—to observe 'mere campsites' or temporary shelters anywhere in the hill-country, now including the Galilee and the southern hill-country (Finkelstein 1992: 87). That (and what follows) having been said, the surveys of the hill-country and their publication rank high among the most significant contributions to the archaeology of Israel during the past 60 years, and we are immeasurably richer having their results than we were before publication. Collectively, we all stand in the surveyors', editors', and writers' debt. With Finkelstein (1992) and Rosen (1992), I strongly support any attempts at improving survey methods and results [see above]. The chief problem seems, however, to be that such methods *were* available and widely discussed in the broader archaeological community prior to the initiation of the surveys under discussion, which were conducted from October 1980–December 1987 (Finkelstein, Lederman and Bunimovitz 1997: 1; cf., among others, a wide variety of extensively documented articles in Mueller 1975; Flannery 1976; Plog 1976; Plog, Plog and Wait 1978; Nance 1983 [and, more recently, Cowgill 1990]), but the surveys were conducted either in disregard for, or in ignorance of, those discussions. With regard to the validity of making socio-economic/historical inferences based upon negative results of surveys in the Negev, it must be pointed out that until we have unassailable evidence for mass-wasted and alluviated sites in the Negev Highlands—seemingly contraindicated by the rich evidence for earlier pastoralist settlements in the EB I–II and MB I/EB IV periods—Rosen's position seems unassailable,

'Syrian' or 'Assyrian' diaspora. This would have definite implications for what the Egyptians would see as treaty-enforcement.

To draw a parallel from an early North American perspective, where free-spirited and potentially hostile forces (aboriginal peoples, Metis, Mountain Men and others) ruled the fur- and buffalo-robe producing regions, the answer was simple: establish a series of entrepreneurial trading posts in the manner of the fur trade in Canada (a diaspora under the Hudson's Bay Company's banner) or the western trading posts of the United States, and send in the mounties or troops if Louis Riel or the locals become restive and, especially, if they loot and burn out trading posts. From this perspective, the Egyptian forays against Shechem become more intelligible: not 'military-political' raids for whatever reasons, but mass 'law and order' punishment for rebelliousness against the licensed or chartered traders. Other trade-driven parallels would include the Opium Wars and suppression of the Indian Mutiny.

*Supporting Data for Egyptian Diasporas in Syria-Palestine (above).* Mumford's recent intensive quantified examination of Egyptian/Egyptianizing materials from LB and Iron Age Sinai and Palestine shows an exceptionally high percentage of Egyptian and Egyptianizing artifacts from Tell es-Sa'idiyeh and the Amman Airport Building, even greater than similar proportions from Beth Shan and Megiddo (Table 2, below) (cf. Mumford 1998: 2914, 2801, 3498).<sup>50</sup>

i.e. that in 'the Negev Highlands...the weight of the evidence...clearly shows that even such "sites" as hearths and small ceramic scatters are findable. That, in turn, indicates that long periods (the MB II-Late Bronze Age covers some 800 years) *when such evidence is lacking genuinely reflect periods of significant population decline*' (Rosen 1992: 82, emphasis added; cf. also Banning 1986 and Banning and Köhler-Rollefson 1986, 1993). Oddly enough, at least at an intuitive level, we seem to have proportionately more cemeteries per settled unit in the hill-country than in other parts of the land (Gonen 1992).

50. Mumford's detailed reappraisal of the Amman Airport building is in the final stages of preparation for publication.

Table 2. *Cypriote, Mycenaean and Egyptian or Egyptianizing pottery and artifacts at Megiddo, Beth Shan, Tell es-Sa'idiyeh and the Amman Airport Building as percentages of the total pottery and small-find assemblages*

<i>Site</i>	<i>Cypriote Pottery</i>	<i>Mycenaean Pottery</i>	<i>Egyptianizing Pottery</i>	<i>Egyptian Artifacts</i>
Beth Shan VIII	—	—	—	11.7%
Beth Shan VII	—	—	63 pots	16.9%
Sa'idiyeh XIIIa Graves	1.9%	3.9%	44.6%	34.7%
Amman Airport Building	2.8%	24.1%	—	44.8%
Megiddo LB 1A	3.2%	—	0.5%	19.0%
Megiddo LB 1B	2.5%	—	0.5%	17.8%
Megiddo LB 2A	7.4%	0.7%	7.4%	4.4%
Megiddo LB 2A-B	6.7%	1.6%	9.6%	7.1%
Megiddo LB 2B	4.5%	5.3%	21.1%	18.1%

*A Late Middle Bronze II 'Amorite Dynasty'  
Trade-Related Expansion into the Negev*

*Late MB II and LB Settlement Patterns* (Map 3). Whether the major settlements shown in Map 3 (including at least Tell el-Far'ah[S], Tel Haror, Tell Jemmeh, Tel Gaza[?], Tel Sera' and Tel Nagila, to say nothing of the piedmont and Judaeen hill-country) are eventually to be regarded as 'city states' or 'city state-like trade colonies and ports',<sup>51</sup> it seems inescapable that their concentrated presence was initiated by some outside event: that is, the lucrative opportunities occasioned by an interruption of 'normal' trade corridors (Holladay 1997c: 204, esp. points 4-6), and that their demise at the end of the MBA coincided with the resumption of normal Nile traffic following the defeat of the Hyksos at the hands of Kamose and Ahmose I and the Egyptian campaigning in this region (Stager 1995: 340-44), which might well have had an economic basis.<sup>52</sup> In this connection it is noteworthy that,

51. The expansive 'Syrian'-styled temple complex at Haror (presented in detail in a public lecture by Eliezer Oren at the University of Toronto, 20 April 1999) argues in the direction of (at least) Haror being a city state.

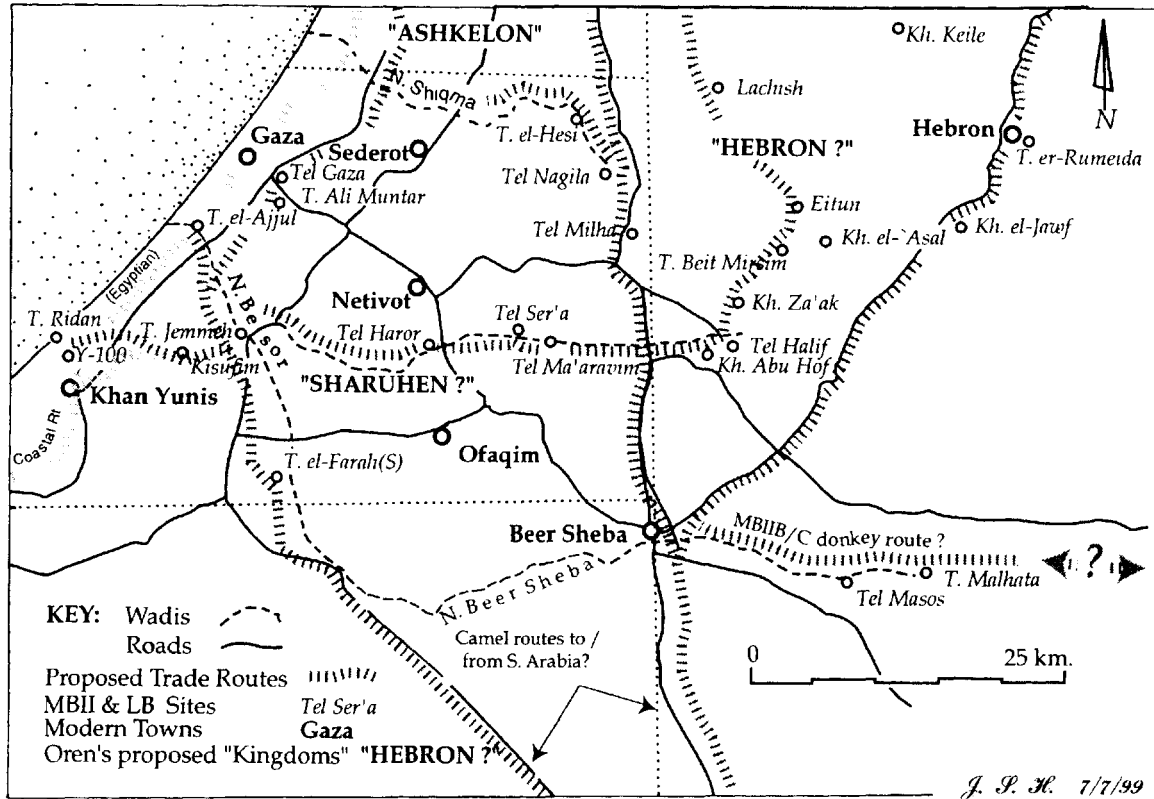
52. It is surely too much to argue that shifting climatic conditions encouraged, then prohibited, this extraordinarily dense occupational pattern—far in excess of the carrying capacity of the land, even under good conditions. Alternatively, it does seem that much of the sizeable population of the northern and southern hill-country and piedmont may have been involved in the production of wine and oil for shipment, e.g., to Tell el-Dab'a. This pattern, however, would not apply to the east-west Negevite axis of sites stretching from Tell el-Malhata to the coast.

despite the fact that the succeeding period was the greatest age of international commerce presently known before the later Iron II, many of the inland Negev sites were not occupied during either the LBA or, except for the minor site of Tel Malḥata (Kochavi 1977), the Iron I. Indeed, it was not until the early Iron II that such sites as Tel 'Ira, Tel Arad, Tel Masos and Tel Sheva were occupied. In contrast, LBA occupation resumed along the coast and as far inland as Haror and Tell Jemmeh, where the LB II was, in Van Beek's term, 'extraordinarily active...with debris accumulated to a depth of 6 m' (Van Beek 1997: 214). According to Van Beek, 'camel bones first appear in this period' (1997: 214; Wapnish 1997: 407-408), an observation of great importance for our understanding of long-distance trade with Arabia.<sup>53</sup> Other sites would appear to link up with Egyptian imperial administration and the Egyptian overland route along the northern Sinai (Oren 1973, 1985; Stager 1995: 340-44); for example, compare the remains of a large Egyptian 'Residency' of the Ramesside period at Tell el-Far'ah(S) (Weinstein 1997: 305) and the large Egyptian 'Residency', granary, and cult installations in Tell esh-Shari'a Strata XI-IX. Tell el-'Ajjul is problematic.<sup>54</sup>

53. Presently known reliable data on presumably domesticated—and still rare—camels come from Tell Jemmeh and Hesban in Transjordan. Camels become increasingly more common in the Iron Age (tenth-century Har-Sa'ad, Qadesh-Barnea, and seventh-century Tell Jemmeh [Wapnish 1997]). This early use of the camel in long-distance trade with South Arabia may possibly 'explain' the site distribution under investigation here, in that camels leaving Qurayya could probably reach, e.g., Tell Jemmeh—possibly reprovisioning at Timna' if reports of thirteenth-twelfth-century camel bones there are substantiated (Wapnish 1997: 408)—without recourse to intermediate watering and feeding stations. In contrast, camels were indisputably in use in Iron II, when sites were well-distributed along the east-west axis of the Negev. It would appear that in the Iron II the caravans were progressively larger and could make greater use of more proximate facilities. It seems likely, however, that security may also have been a consideration: under a centralized Israelite or Judaeen government, military establishments at outlying settlements (Beer Sheva [fortified], Tel Masos, Arad [fortified] and Tel 'Ira [fortified]) ensured the safety of these sites which undoubtedly stood to profit from protecting, servicing and taxing the caravan trade.

54. According to the latest summary, 'the city declined steadily in the Late Bronze Age...the palace [being]...converted into an Egyptian fortress that controlled the coastal road to Gaza. Palace III dates to LB IB, Palace IV to LB IIA, and Palace V to LB IIB' (Dessel 1997: 40; cf. also Sass 1997: 241-43, with ref. to Ziffer 1990, unavailable to me).





Map 3. MB/LB settlement patterns (after Oren 1997: 254, Fig. 8.1)

In general, the evidence suggests an MB IIB-C donkey caravan route, similar to, and probably outlasting, that servicing Tell el-Dab'a via Tell el-Maskhuta (Holladay 1997c: 194-209). Presumably, this followed the coastal mountain range during the winter months, entering southern Palestine via the Negev sites, and had the option of terminating in one of several entrepôts (Map 3). Later, possibly with the first use of camels, and probably utilizing more direct desert trade routes involving, for example LB II (Dynasties 19-20) Qurayya, 'ly[ing] on the main pilgrim and trade route through the peninsula connecting Yemen with the Levant' (Parr 1992: 594-96; 1997: 396-97), there was a resumption of trade bypassing a deserted Negev and entering the coastal strip via Tell el-Far'ah(S) and Tell Jemmeh, and terminating at the port of Tell el-Ajjul, with Tell Jemmeh being a major player in the game. Note also the route (presumably mostly used by donkeys) involving the southern hill-country and the piedmont. As suggested above, most of this development probably went hand-in-hand with Egypt's imperial domination of Palestine.

#### *A Late Bronze II Diaspora (?)*

##### *The 'Stabled' House (Fig. 6.1)*

*Definition.* During the LBA in Syria and Palestine a widely distributed but consistent house form emerged. Based upon the typical MB-LB centre-hall house plan, it had rooms on the two opposing long sides. It was distinguished from all other MB-LB houses, however, by the presence of a paved, pillared hall along one side, with mangers occupying the intra-columnar spaces, facing out into the centre hall. Except for the absence of the characteristic narrow rear storeroom/s of the typical Israelite three- and four-room houses (Figs. 6.2-3), the resemblance is unmistakable, and it seems inescapable that the former are ancestral to the latter.

*Changing Patterns of Spatial Distribution during the LBA and the Early Iron Age.* To date, the writer knows of only seven examples of this building style dated to the LBA, although unquestionably others will appear. Two, built next to each other, come from Tell Hadidi (Fig. 6.1.c), two (quite peripherally located) from Tell Munbaqat (Fig. 6.1.a, b) and one, with the remains of the staircase well preserved, from Tel Batash-Timna (Fig. 6.1.d; Kelm and Mazar 1995: 53-67). Mazar cites two other LBA buildings of this general type: one from Tel Halif, the other from Tel Harasim, both Shephelah sites to the south of Timna

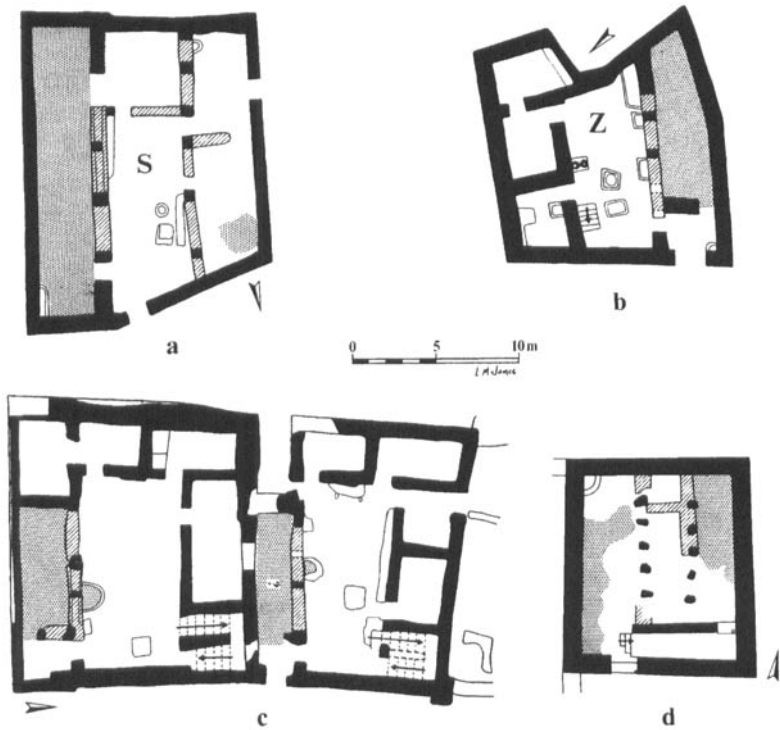


Figure 6.1. LB Stabled Houses. *a-b*: Tell Munbaqat, 'Ibrahims Garten' and der 'Aussenstadt', respectively (after Machule et al. 1992: Figs. 14, 12). *c*: Tell Hadidi (after Dornemann 1981: Fig. 2). *d*: Tell Batash-Timnah (after Kelm and Mazar 1982: Figs. 8-10; and 1995: Figs. 4.18, 4.36).

(1995: 55-67). Similar house-forms appear in 'late Iron I' (Tell Abu-Hawam III, Tell Hadar [see Kelm and Mazar 1995: 61]), or, more probably, early Iron II (!) contexts (Holladay 1990), but by this time the essential 'Israelite' house plan has already emerged at Khirbet Raddana (Stager 1985: 19, Fig. 19; Fig. 6.2.a).<sup>55</sup>

55. It must be admitted that, in terms of published evidence, we know too little about Khirbet Raddana to be certain about its date relative to other data sets. Cf. early claims for the antiquity of some strata, which now seem much later, at, e.g., Tell Qasile (Mazar 1985), Tel Masos (Fritz and Kempinski 1983), Khirbet ed-Dawwar (Finkelstein 1988c) and 'Izbet Şarṭah (Finkelstein 1986), all of which now appear much later (Holladay 1990). Cf., e.g., Finkelstein 1988b, where the Iron Age settlement of the Negev is claimed to be of the 'Twelfth-Eleventh Centuries B.C.E.'

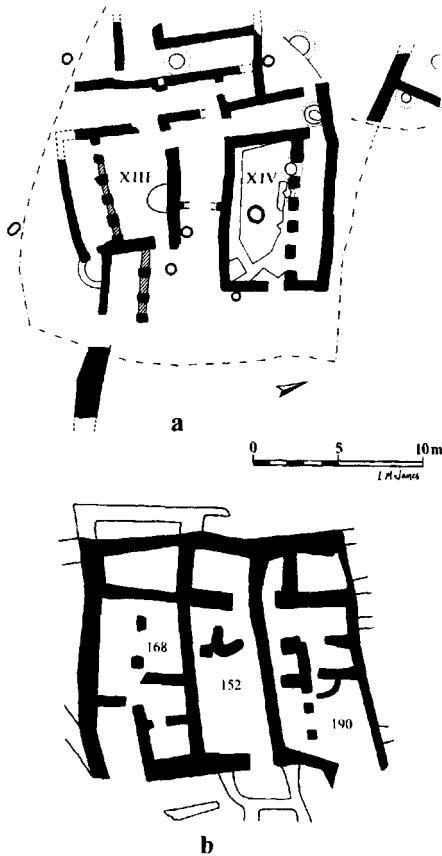


Figure 6.2. *Iron I Israelite Highland Houses. a. Housing complex from Khirbet Raddana (after Stager 1985: 19, Fig. 9.B [courtesy J.A. Callaway]). b. Housing complex from 'Ai (after Stager 1985: 19, Fig. 9.C [after J. Marquet-Krause 1949: Pl. 97]).*

*Shared Characteristics of Locations of the LBA Houses.* While too few of these buildings have been found to give a firm sense of commonality of location within their respective urban settings, they do fit the 'upstream' pattern already noted for the T-Houses in that they occur in small numbers in urbanized settings across a wide expanse of territory. At Hadidi the two houses share a common wall, at Munbaqat they are widely separated (in one case in the *der* 'Aussenstadt', in the other case



Figure 6.3. *Iron II Israelite Highland Houses. a. Housing complex from Tell el-Far'ah (North) (after de Vaux 1952: Pl. 6). b. Four-room House with added side-hall or shed from Shechem (after Wright 1965: Fig. 76). c. Insula from Tell en-Nasbeh (McCown 1947: survey map).*

but one house removed from the possible T-House in the 'Ibrahims Garten' sector (Machule *et al.* 1993: 90, Fig. 12; 1992: 32, Fig. 14; Figs. 6.1.b and 6.1.a, respectively). At Tel Batash-Timna, the house was located in the northeast corner of the tell, 40-50 yards from the location of the later Iron II gateway, which may or may not mean anything with regard to either the location of the 'foreign' community, or the elite quarter, or even the entrance to the LBA city.

*Interpretation and Conclusions.* Given the above, it seems evident that this newly emergent house form<sup>56</sup> is restricted to a specialized group with common ties across long distances, making it extremely probable that these people are either traders or some form of specialist with a need for in-house stabling (*maryannu* or professional charioteers?), as opposed to all other Syro-Palestinian homeowners of the MBA through the LBA (Daviau 1993: 455-56). That they are also in some respects ancestral to the Late LBA/Early Iron I people newly settled in the Israelite hill-country seems a reasonable inference, given what evidence we presently possess concerning that settlement (Fig. 6.2).<sup>57</sup> To date, we have little evidence for what house plans or cultural patterns characterized inland Iron Age Syria. For Phoenicia, we are not much better informed, but it does seem evident from reasonably inferred Palestinian exemplars that their Bronze Age housing customs lasted well into Iron II (Holladay 1997b: 109-10, Fig. 7.a-e).

### *Conclusions*

While political-military history has its merits, it has consistently proven dangerous to attempt the reconstruction of ancient social and economic history on the basis of court documents. Despite the self-serving correspondence and inscriptions of ancient kings and their courtiers, it is clear that there were other players on the scene. In that context, it has never made sense to isolate the paradigmatic exemplars of the Old Assyrian Trade and the later Phoenician and Greek Traders from the overall matrix of ancient Near Eastern economic and social history.

On the one hand, the Old Assyrian Traders' correspondence is poles apart from all but the smallest fraction of the royal and court-centred

56. The term 'newly emergent' should be taken advisedly. As with other variables dealt with in this sketch, this house form may eventually prove to be more in context elsewhere, e.g., some part of Mitanni.

57. To posit their movement from settled regions of Syria can hardly be more extreme than to suppose that the 'early Israelite' settlers in the hill-country either came from Egypt via the Sinai and Transjordan without retaining any of their Egyptian cultural traits, or supposing that they represent migrants from the 'Canaanite' coastal plains who similarly 'forgot' their building and other craft skills in the transition. Given sufficient publication of sites like Khirbet Raddana (cf. n. 55 above) and a reasonable cross-section of Syrian LBA and Iron I sites, the hypothesis that such settlers brought more cultural traits with them than just a highly specialized (and sophisticated) house plan becomes testable.

correspondence. Certainly, such theoretically derived notions as 'marketless trade', 'gift-giving', and 'redistribution' cannot account for the universal distribution across entire landscapes of such commonplace nonlocal commodities as copper, tin, coniferous woods and low value pottery from Cyprus and Mycenae. On the other hand, the developed model of the Old Assyrian Trade, which operated in conjunction with other traders, including local groups, accounts *explicitly* for the distribution of tin, copper (and luxury textiles, were these to have been preserved) across central Anatolia, and of silver into Assyria, Babylonia and north Syria. Since these are not the only 'distributed' non-local resources, it must be assumed that parallel groups specialized in other things. In retrospect it seems obvious that, by now (as suggested for classical archaeology in both Parkins and Kuhrt, both 1998), we should have thought of extending the paradigm for specialist long-distance trade through the medium of alienated traders throughout both time and space (and data exist calling for, for example, its extension into the Afghan-Indian axis during the time of the Indus Valley Civilization and the Sumerian 'expansion' into northern Syria (cf. Holladay 1997c: 198-203, esp. 203). At any rate, the model seems not to have been crushingly visible enough to force our attention until Philip Curtin's landmark *Cross-cultural Trade in World History: Studies in Comparative World History* (1984), and even that has taken a long time to make an impression upon our field.

By now, however, Cohen and Curtin have forced a reassessment of models. For the classical world, this happened without direct influence from either Cohen or Curtin (lack of references in Parkins 1998, or in any references throughout Parkins and Smith 1998) because of the failure of all current models. This should also have happened in ancient Near Eastern archaeology, although, to my knowledge (except for Holladay 1997c and, in a somewhat different configuration, Stager forthcoming), this has not been the case.

Paradigmatic application of the alternative models of ancient Near Eastern trade developed by Renfrew and Polanyi has yielded little of significance for either the archaeological reconstruction of inter-regional relationships, or the differential inter- and intra-site distribution of archaeological materials, let alone our understandings of the contents of Bronze Age shipwrecks or 'treasury' contents. At the same time, even this present brief paradigmatic application of the empirically observable model of trade diasporas developed by Cohen and Curtin

has yielded a significant body of new information unattainable by other techniques, along with leads to an ever-widening series of other insights into cultural and economic interchange and development in the Middle Bronze II-Iron I Ages in Syria-Palestine, and, by extension, right across much of the Old World and through a much deeper time line than presently considered feasible. Indeed, it is hardly too much to hope that, coupled with better stratigraphic, quantitative, scientifically analysed and locationally accurate databased materials permitting computerized model building and testing, this new paradigm may prove to be the key to opening doors long considered forever blocked.

#### EXCURSUS

##### *The Workings of the Old Assyrian Trade: A Text-based Model for Long-Distance Caravan Trade in the Ancient Near East*

There are many striking parallels between the Old Assyrian commercial and social patterns and other, later, systems which were based on a similar type of long-distance trade (Larsen 1976: 16).

Old Assyrian trade with Anatolia is largely known through specialist research on some 3000 cuneiform tablets, mostly published as hand-copies. All told, some 20,000 texts have been excavated, but, except as noted above, are unavailable for study (Veenhof 1995: 861). These difficult texts, which use—and misuse—specialized merchants' jargon, primarily derive from illicit diggings at the modern site of Kültepe, to which the fortified merchant's mound of ancient Kanesh was attached. The tablets, in fact, come from this smaller site, east of the city mound: the *kārum Kaneš*, 'the Kanesh harbour', occupied by, among other traders and craftsmen, a large trading colony of Old Assyrian merchants. Almost all of our presently available texts relate to the operations of Level 2 of this settlement, dated to the period of the Old Assyrian dynasty in Assur (Larsen 1976: 50-52). Nine or 10 other 'harbours,' *kārum*s, and a dozen or so 'stations,' *wabartum*s, subordinate to the 'harbours', existed at other Anatolian capitals and smaller towns, all apparently being subordinate to the Karum Kanesh (Larsen 1976: 371; Veenhof [1995: 864] estimates 'more than thirty trading stations'), but little is known of the other colonies. The net result is fractional and imperfect, knowledge of only one set of trading relationships in what was originally a widespread network of trade



relations. Nonetheless, owing to an important series of in-depth specialist research efforts, we do know a great deal. Most of this has been summarized and intensively reworked by Veenhof (1972, with bibliography and citations) and Larsen (1967, 1976, both with bibliography and citations).

Donkey caravans between Assur and the capital cities of Anatolia typically were small (mode = 1, median = 2, mean = 3.7, maximum = 18 animals: Veenhof 1972: 69-71, 121), but 'it seems that several separate consignments, each led by its own personnel, very often travelled in a kind of convoy' (Larsen 1976: 102). The trip took about six weeks to two months and involved a variety of travelling expenses (Veenhof 1972: 247-57; 1995: 864). The main goods carried north were tin, transshipped, in all probability, from northern Iran, and textiles, most originating in Assur itself, some few from Babylonia (Larsen 1976: 89), in a ratio of three ass-loads of textiles to one ass-load of tin, one load of tin being five times as valuable as a load of textiles (Larsen 1976: 90). Over a period of about 50 years, Larsen estimates that about 100,000 textiles—'mostly standard pieces of about 4 meters, or 4.5 yards square, [and] weighing 5 pounds or 2.25 kilograms ... the majority [being] ... imported from Babylonia, which had an old tradition of a highly developed textile industry' (Veenhof 1995: 863)—were shipped from Assur.<sup>58</sup> The available texts add up to about 13,500 kg of tin, about 200 donkey-loads, being sent to Anatolia; Larsen suggests, 'as a conservative estimate...an export over a period of fifty years of about eighty [metric] tons' (1976: 90). Anatolian payment for these goods was primarily in silver, together with a little gold, which was much more easily transported southwards, with the result that many, perhaps most, of the Assyrian donkeys were sold at the end of the caravan trek, at the same price they had commanded in Assur (20 shekels of silver).<sup>59</sup>

58. Larsen's printed text cites Veenhof 1972: 79-80 as listing direct references to 'some 17,500 textiles sent from Assur' (1976: 89). Veenhof in fact lists 'some 14,500 textiles, to which would be added some 750 pieces used for wrapping the tin (only c. 250 of which are mentioned as such)' (1972: 79). Obviously '17,500' is a transcriptional error for Larsen's handwritten '14,500'. This should not have affected the internal mathematics behind Larsen's text, and thus his estimate of the total textile exports over 50 years (above) should be correct.

59. Within Anatolia itself, the Assyrians also dealt with the transport of large quantities of copper, the largest shipment consisting of 30,000 minas (about 15

What was the profit on this trade? At an average cost, in Assur, of 5.5 shekels of silver per textile,<sup>60</sup> reckoning a gross 200 per cent profit on the textiles, this trade would have grossed, on an annual basis, 22,000 shekels, or 367 minas of silver (5.5 shekels\*2 [100,000 textiles/50 years]) (Veenhof 1972: 79, 85; Larsen 1976: 89), or about 183 kg of silver.<sup>61</sup>

At 100 per cent profit on the tin (Garelli 1963), a 15:1 tin to silver ratio in Assur, and accepting Larsen's estimate of 80 metric tons over a span of 50 years (1976: 90), we can calculate that the Assyrian merchants paid about 640,000 shekels of silver (4 shekels of silver for each mina [= 60 shekels] of tin \* 2 minas per kg \* 80,000 kg) for their transhipped tin, and received about 1,280,000 shekels of silver for it in Anatolia over the course of 50 years, for an annualized gross profit of

metric tons, or 167 ass-loads), the second largest being about 5 metric tons. Based on the tin imports, the total amount of Anatolian bronze production over this period would seem to have called for something like the production of 720 metric tons of copper (Larsen 1976: 90-92), based on a 10 per cent tin content. Higher tin content, apparent from some preliminary analyses, would have called for less copper extraction (Larsen 1976: 90 n. 15). Copper imports into Assur appear to have been through agents or agencies not involving Kanesh, accounting for the want of documentation of this obviously significant portion of the reverse trade (Larsen 1976: 91-92).

60. On the basis of important new studies in metrology of the biblical period (Powell 1992 and Ben-David 1966-79, cited in Powell 1992; for the internal system in use in late eighth- to early sixth-century Judah, see Kletter 1991), it presently appears that the Mesopotamian shekel standard in use at Assur weighed about 5/6ths of the 9-10 g shekel in use in the west, e.g. at Alalakh and Ugarit. In terms of the marked weights of the late Judaeen monarchy, this 'western' shekel would now appear to be the *nyp* of 10 grams. Yet another 'shekel' seems to have been in use in Ashdod during the LB Age. This 'seems to have weighed about 80 percent of the Ugaritic shekel, i.e., 5 shekels of Ashdod = 4 shekels of Ugarit' and seems likely to be the 7.2-8 g range standard lying behind the Judaeen *pym* (Powell 1992: 906b). During the Neo-assyrian period, the authorities developed the conversion equivalence of 100 western shekels (called 'strong shekels') to 2 so-called 'strong' mina, creating a 'mina' that, from the western perspective, appeared to contain 50 'shekels' (Powell 1992: 906a).

61. In accordance with conventions in computer applications, based on the availability of keyboard characters, \* replaces the older x for multiplication, and / for ÷. For the better-understood field of Mesopotamian metrology, see Marvin A. Powell's 'Masse und Gewichte' in *RIA* 7: 457-517 (Powell 1989-90). For a complete reinvestigation of biblical metrology, and late Judaeen weights, see n. 60, above.

25,600 shekels of silver, which equals 427 minas (or 213 kg) of silver.<sup>62</sup>

Thus, at an average estimated rate of only 22.52 ass-loads of tin and 66.67 ass-loads of textiles per year, the merchants of Assur and their caravaneers (below) grossed something like 396 kg of silver from the Karum Kanesh trade alone.

What were the expenses? The caravaneers themselves apparently worked for the profits they could make from goods they were permitted to carry in the top packs. These were bought on interest-free loans from their long-term contractor.<sup>63</sup> Road tolls from Assur to Kültepe-Kaniš amounted to approximately 10 per cent of the value of the goods transported (Veenhof 1972: 244), and, together with travelling expenses, were generally paid out of the 'loose tin' carried in the top pack (Veenhof 1972: 30-32, 237-46, 257-64). In one instance, the travelling expenses came to 2 minas of tin and  $x$  minas of sickles (TC 1: 24, 21ff., cited in Veenhof 1972: 247-48). Unfortunately, we do not know the value of the cargo or the size of the caravan. These expenses included such items as food and fodder, grazing rights (?), lodging, additional personnel, including porters, additional donkeys, payments to messengers, guides, the costs of military protection and gifts to local dignitaries, both en route to Anatolia, and within Anatolia (Veenhof 1972: 247-53). Except for losses en route, donkeys were sold for the same amount at Kanesh as they cost in Assur (above).<sup>64</sup> A municipal

62. For the tentative character of these projections, cf. Larsen 1976: 89 n. 14; and Veenhof 1972: 79-82.

63. Veenhof 1972: 10. These were not large quantities. In the case of TC 1, 16, 4ff., one out of 19 top packs belonged to the caravaneer (Veenhof 1972: 2-3 n. 7). In TC 3/1, 77, 3ff., two textiles of the freighter travelled together with 2 textiles of another merchant and one textile of the contracting merchant, together with 10 minas of loose tin for tolls and traveling expenses (Veenhof 1972: 26). The caravaneer, Veenhof's 'harnesser, freighter' (1972: 10-11) or *kaššārum*, was a member of the caravan personnel who had 'a long term service contract...with a merchant or a firm. The donkey-driver and transporter was called a *sāridum*. 'He normally was hired for a certain period of time or for a certain lap of the journey.' There are, however, cases where a *sāridum* had a 'five year contract', and another where a *sāridum* received '25 shekels of silver [as] working-capital...*be-ù-la-[at]*' (Veenhof 1972: 10). These individuals probably were 'harnesser, freighters', my 'caravaneers', illustrating the relatively loose manner in which technical terms may be applied in some of the texts.

64. Donkeys used in the trade were more highly valued, probably because of

tax of 1/120th of the value (in silver) of the sealed goods was paid to the House of the Eponym/City Hall in Assur (Veenhof 1972: 231 n. 362; Larsen 1976: 103 n. 69; on the eponymy cf. also 193-217). An import tax (in tin) amounting to 2/65 of the value of the tin of the sealed load or 1/20th of the value (in tin) of the textiles was levied at the palace of the destination city, when the packs were unsealed (Larsen 1976: 245). The palaces retained the right to purchase up to 10 per cent of all shipments consisting of quality textiles (1976: 245). A head-tax was levied upon the members of the caravan, fluctuating between 10 and 15 shekels of tin per person. Together with the road tolls, this could be evaded by taking the 'smuggling road' (Veenhof 1972: 305-42), but this was hazardous. All together, it is possible that the costs may have been as high as 20-25 per cent of the value of the shipment.

A number of instances suggest lower costs. In one case (CCT 2, 21b [= CCT 4,46b]), a caravan led by one Usur-ša-Aššur paid a road-toll of 3 minas of tin (10 per cent) on a cargo presumably worth 1 talent of tin. Reckoning together the head-tax and road expenses, he finds himself stripped of his 4 minas of 'loose tin' about halfway to Kanesh, and writes for a 'supplementary consignment of 15 shekels, the equivalent of c. 3.5 minas of tin, to be able to continue his journey'. From this, Veenhof argues that the road toll plus the head-tax amounts to roughly '80% of the available "loose tin", which shows...that the former was by far the most important of the expenses to be paid *en route*' (Veenhof 1972: 261-62). If typical, this would argue that the major expenses en route constituted only about 12.5 per cent of the value of the cargo, to which must be added the municipal and palace taxes of about 4.8 per cent (0.8 per cent and 3.93 per cent, on average, respectively), giving us a total of a little more than 17 per cent for direct costs. In partial support of this lower figure are the averaged figures for 'loose tin' accompanying shipments: 11 minas of tin per donkey for shipments containing (mostly) tin, and 4.37 minas of tin per donkey for caravans shipping only textiles; in the case of tin-shipments, the 'loose tin' averages 8.46 per cent of the total value (130 minas) of the sealed shipment; in the case of textiles, at 24 textiles for the two half-packs

their superior weight-carrying capabilities, than were typically more lightly loaded donkeys in pre-industrial Nigeria, where a donkey could be bought for 15 shillings in the late nineteenth century and for 25-30 shillings in the early twentieth century (Ogunremi 1982: 113).

plus 6 textiles for the top-pack, the net worth of the cargo was 5.5 shekels of silver (Veenhof 1972: 79) \* 30 textiles, or 165 silver shekels at point of departure. The 'loose tin' in these shipments came to 4.37 minas \* 60 shekels per mina = 262.2 shekels / 15 shekels of tin per shekel of silver = 17.48 shekels of silver, or 9.44 per cent of the total value of a 30-textile shipment. These figures approximate the averaged 10 per cent road tolls, but not completely in either case, the difference apparently being made up in the later reckoning at the Karum Kanesh (Veenhof 1972: 257-64).<sup>65</sup>

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65. In the case of 570 ass-loads of textiles and 190 ass-loads of tin witnessed in 189 documents studied by Veenhof, the purchase price for the textiles was about 24 talents of silver, versus 30 talents for the tin, of which 2 talents went for the 'loose tin' (1972: 79). On this evidence the textiles were worth 151.58 shekels an ass-load (24 talents \* 60 minas/talent \* 60 shekels/mina = 86,400 shekels of silver). At 30 textiles per ass-load, this comes out to 5.05 shekels per garment, somewhat less than the 5-6 shekels reckoned by Veenhof (1972: 79, 80-87). The tin was worth 530.53 shekels per ass-load (28\*60\*60 = 100,800 shekels of silver). Thus, the 'loose tin' for the tin shipments came to 2/28 or 7.14 per cent of the value of the tin shipments (as opposed to an approximation for the road toll to Karum Kanesh of about 10 per cent, Veenhof 1972: 244), again indicating a need for adjustment with the caravaner after his arrival at his destination.

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FAMILY RELIGION: EVIDENCE FOR THE PARAPHERNALIA  
OF THE DOMESTIC CULT

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*Introduction*

An assemblage of ceramic figurines, fenestrated stands, chalices, rattles and four-horned altars, found in association with a temple or small shrine, provides immediate evidence of Iron Age religious activities. Such assemblages, excavated in western Palestine prior to 1986, have been studied intensively by Holladay (1987: 268-69), who attempted to classify them in terms of their degree of similarity to official centres of public worship. Since that time, new discoveries in Israel and Jordan have added significantly to our understanding of the great diversity among shrine sites.<sup>1</sup> When a comparable assemblage is located in a residential or industrial area, there is considerable scholarly debate concerning its function and deposition history (Negbi 1993: 222) because the customs and cultic artifacts subsumed under the heading of 'domestic cult' are less well known. By this term, we mean to designate those artifacts and ceramic vessels which are present in uncontested shrine sites, but may also appear in a domestic setting as evidence of religious activities practised by family members in the home.<sup>2</sup>

In his study of Israelite and Judaeon assemblages, Holladay (1987: 276) included chalices, fenestrated stands, model furniture, small altars, animal and bird figurines and anthropomorphic figures among

1. The discovery of the shrine sites of Horvat Qitmit (Beit-Arieh 1988) and 'En Haseva (Cohen and Yisrael 1995) in the Negev, and of Wadi ath-Thamad Site 13 in central Jordan (Daviau 1997a) are examples of recent excavations that provide evidence for new types of cultic centres.

2. On the basis of his textual study of religious practices in ancient Israel and Babylonia, van der Toorn (1994: 15) emphasized how little change there was over time in the religious experience of the average woman in the Semitic world.



'cultic' furnishings. A review of the evidence from Jordan indicates that there is a somewhat different repertoire of ceramic vessels and objects that probably were used for cultic activities. Some of these items appear also in tombs as well as in the domestic context but do not seem to be part of a typical utilitarian assemblage.<sup>3</sup>

In order to investigate the correlates of Iron Age domestic religion among peoples in Palestine, Transjordan and south Syria, this archaeological study will make use of a small corpus, recovered largely amidst collapsed roof material, at the site of Tall Jawa in central Jordan. On the basis of these finds from domestic buildings, this paper will attempt to design a model of a typical Ammonite assemblage of religious paraphernalia, including exotic artifacts and specialized ceramic vessels that could be indicative of the domestic cult. The application of this model as a test for identifying comparable evidence for family religion in assemblages from other sites in the region is based on the hypothesis that 1) the pattern of official and domestic cult practices recognized by Holladay in Iron Age Israel and Judah was not unique, and 2) similar practices were widespread among contemporary peoples during Iron Age II.<sup>4</sup> The identification of the domestic cult among associated cultural groups could contribute an important component to our knowledge of their 'official' religious practices, which are still poorly understood, for example, in the case of Ammonites, Moabites<sup>5</sup> and Aramaeans.

### *State of the Question*

Reference to cultic and ritual activity in the home or palace appears in several ancient texts, especially in the Hebrew Bible, Mesopotamian texts and Ugaritic literature, where such activity is assigned to the roof or to an inner room, possibly on an upper storey. In the oracles against Moab, the prophets of Judah refer to a time of national crisis when

3. In view of the association of chalices with shrine sites, they were classed as 'other' in the tool kits designed to study artifact distribution in Middle and Late Bronze Age houses (Daviau 1993: Tables 2.2, 2.3).

4. Similarity is seen not so much in the formal typology of figurines, cultic objects and unusual ceramic vessels as in the fact that all sites yield such finds even though they differ slightly from site to site (Holladay 1987: 265-66).

5. In the case of cultic sites in Moab, see Daviau 1997a and Dion and Daviau 2000.

ritual wailing will occur in the open areas of the town and on the rooftops (Jer. 48.38). Other rituals which took place on the roof were the offering of incense to the host of heaven (Jer. 19.13) and pouring libations to Ba'al (Jer. 32.29). Similar acts of worship enacted on the rooftops are mentioned in 2 Kgs 23.12 and Zeph. 1.5, although it is not clear whether these texts refer to the roof of the temple or of an ordinary house. At Emar, daily offerings of incense were the responsibility of the head of each family (van der Toorn 1994: 45). Although the roof is the ideal place for burning incense, this ritual could also have been performed in a shrine room within the house.

For Late Bronze Age Syria, Ugarit remains the primary witness to religious belief and practice, especially to the veneration of the family gods and of ancestors (van der Toorn 1996: 153). In the legend of Keret, it is clearly the roof of the palace where the king goes to offer sacrifice (*KTU* 1.14 II 74-80). So too, epigraphical material remains the principal resource for understanding the religion of the Aramaeans during the Iron Age. Greenfield's study (1987) showed that the religious practices mentioned in Aramaean inscriptions related principally to royal cultic practice and not to the religious activity of ordinary people frequenting local shrines or expressing their beliefs in a domestic setting. The same dearth of information is the case for ancient religion in southern Syria and northern Jordan where major sites, such as Damascus itself and Tall Husn near Irbid, remain unexcavated.

Nevertheless, these literary references from neighbouring cultures are of great value in assessing the archaeological evidence from Tall Jawa because there are no comparable textual materials available for the kingdom of 'Ammon (Israel 1991). As a result, material culture remains are of special value because these finds constitute the only primary resource for understanding religious practice during the Iron Age. At the same time, the biblical references to religious activities on the roof provides a clue to one probable location of cultic activity in the domestic setting. During recent years, archaeological evidence for cultic activities on upper storey levels has been increasing and is noted by several excavators. For example, Stager (1996: 68\*) reported an 'incense altar' above collapsed ceiling debris at Ashkelon. At the Ammonite site of Jalul, east of Madaba, the discovery of figurines in topsoil layers (Younker *et al.* 1996: 72) seems to suggest their original position on the roof.

*Archaeological Evidence from Tall Jawa*

Tall Jawa, a small site located 10.9 km south of 'Amman (Daviau 1992: 145), shared iconographic and ceramic traditions with the Iron Age settlements at 'Amman, Tall al-Kursi, Tall al-'Umayri and Jalul. All of these sites are considered to be representative of 'Ammonite' culture which included iconographic elements derived from both Egypt and Syria (Daviau and Dion 1994: 160-61; Yon 1990: 16). Excavations at Tall Jawa during six seasons exposed nine structures with uncontested domestic and craft related assemblages. Walls were well preserved, often reaching to the second storey level. In each room, the collapsed debris yielded clear evidence of activity areas on the upper storey or roof area in each building (Daviau 1999: 129). This pattern of deposition is especially relevant at Tall Jawa because much of the figurative material and associated ceramic vessels appear to have been in use on the upper floor. Evidence for the location of religious activities on an upper storey or roof consists of discrete debris layers, up to 1.00 m thick, which separated groups of cultic objects from the pottery smashed on the lower floor surfaces. Figurines fallen into open doorways in Building 300 (Daviau 1996: Fig. 4) also suggested their use on an upper storey. Additional evidence for cultic activities on the upper storey or roof area can be extrapolated from the presence of high-status ceramics and items related to women's activities found scattered around the outside of a building, suggesting that these items had also fallen from the roof (Geus 1995: 80-81).<sup>6</sup>

Although the corpus under consideration consists of only 159 items, the clearest evidence that Tall Jawa is a good test case for the identification of domestic cult activity is the number and distribution of figurines (male, female and animal) and of zoomorphic vessels. Building 102 had 5 figures, 2 sherds with relief (vessels?) and a figurine mould; Building 113 had 3 zoomorphic figures; Building 300 had 4 figures; three structures (B700, B800, B910) each had 2 figures; while one group of rooms (B900) and Building 200 each had 1 figurine

6. This understanding of the depositional history of artifacts associated with religious activity may help to explain the position of a group of four-horned altars and model shrines which were located in Square Q13 near a pillared house at Megiddo (May 1935: 4-5). For a recent discussion of the issues involved, see Negbi (1993: 225).

(Table 1). These numbers are in excess of Holladay's statistics (1987: 276) for Tell Beit Mirsim, Beer-sheba, Tell en-Nabeh and Hazor which had on average 1 figurine per house. In spite of the small number at these sites, it was clear from the presence of lamps, miniature vessels, model furniture and exotic or unusual artifacts that these 'mobilia' are in fact the archaeological evidence for the religious practices that took place within the home.<sup>7</sup> The same pattern can be seen at Tall as-Sa'idiyah where female figurines, tripod cups and a small cuboid altar were found in the midst of household debris (Pritchard 1985: 66). On the basis of even higher numbers of religious figures from Tall Jawa, there is sufficient evidence to warrant an investigation of the associated vessels and artifacts, and to suggest that this does constitute, along with Holladay's data, a model for identifying cultic activities in the domestic sphere.

At the same time, it is reasonable to expect the repertoire from Transjordan to reflect local cultural characteristics that were not shared with neighbouring peoples. This can be seen most clearly in the apparent absence at sites on the Jordanian plateau of cup-and-saucer vessels, four horned altars, kernos rings, ceramic chariot wheels<sup>8</sup> and Judaeen style pillar figurines. More common in Jordan are tripod cups, both perforated and unperforated, female figurines holding a disc or drum, and male figurines. What appears common to all cultural groups in the region is the pendant leaf decoration on stands, cups and sceptre heads, as well as zoomorphic figurines and vessels, especially horse and rider figures<sup>9</sup> and other quadrupeds. Given these preliminary observations, the focus for this study is to identify the ceramic vessels found in association with figurines in the Iron Age II buildings at Tall

7. Holladay (1987: 291 n. 109) has argued strenuously, and with good reason, that the figurines found at Israelite and Judaeen town sites were not toys, nor were they merely talismans for ease in childbirth. The female and animal figurines were intentionally designed and utilized in specific behaviour patterns that can be called cultic since they are the same objects that were the 'characteristic furnishings of unquestionable shrines and sanctuaries'.

8. Hübner (1992: 99) cites examples of model chariots which, in his judgment, were even more common in Syria than in Palestine; see also Dion (1997: 311-13), and May (1935: Pl. XXI) who illustrated a number of chariot wheels recovered at Megiddo in the Chicago excavations.

9. Although horse and rider figurines appear in tomb collections, these figures are not included in this study because they were absent from the repertoire at Tall Jawa.

Jawa (Strata VIII and VII) and to determine their association with domestic cultic practices.

### *Vessel Types*

The corpus of ceramic vessels from Tall Jawa includes one-handled cups, tripod cups (both perforated and unperforated), chalices, black juglets, lamps, 'small' vessels and miniature vessels. In addition, there are certain unusual or unique vessel forms, as well as a number of high status imported vessels and imitations of imported wares that appear to have had a special function. Included also is a small number of artifacts, consisting of high-status cosmetic dishes, finely worked basalt trays, a limestone libation table and a possible *baetyl*. The figurines, zoomorphic vessels and fragments of model shrines associated with this corpus are not described here but are included in our tabulation of artifacts related to the domestic cult (Table 1).

#### *Simple Cups/Mugs (Figure 1.1-2)*

The most common single vessel type is the one-handled cup with 15 examples. These cups are undecorated, with an upright rim, globular body and flat base. Complete cups measure less than 9.00 cm in height and 10.00 cm in diameter. These simple cups appear in all loci at Tall Jawa where clearly cultic items were found. Other examples were common in tombs at such sites as Tell en-Naşbeh (McCown 1947: Table 2), Madaba (Thompson 1986: Fig. 3.35, 36), Mount Nebo (Saller 1966: Figs. 15.10, 12-14; 31.4-7, 8), Sahab (Harding 1948: 101.66, 71), and in the 'Amman region at Um Uđaina (Hadidi 1987: Fig. 2.21 = 13.6).<sup>10</sup> One vessel from 'Amman, Tomb A, appears to be a 'small' version of this type (Harding 1945: 70.17 = Dornemann 1983: Fig. 33.38).<sup>11</sup> That it is reasonable to include these cups in an assemblage of

10. The parallels cited in this study are not intended as a complete listing (see Daviau, in prep. b), but as a sample that best represents the position of such vessels in the archaeological record.

11. Dornemann (1983: 52) compared a miniature cup to a full-size jug from his Sequence 1. This can hardly be the case, since the ratio of the rim diameter to the body appears to be 1.2.5 in the jugs, whereas it is more like 1.1.5 in the cups, both miniature and full size (cf. Dornemann 1983: Fig. 26.26-18 versus Fig. 33.38-41). Because 'no consistent scale is used' for the illustrations of previously published vessels in Dornemann's study (1983: 1), original publications are cited where possible.

cultic artifacts can be seen from their presence at uncontested cultic sites, such as Ḥorvat Qitmit (Freud and Beit-Arieh 1995: Fig. 4.11.11-12)<sup>12</sup> and in the Stratum 5 fortress at 'En Ḥaṣeva (Cohen 1994: 212).

### *Tripod Cups (Figure 1.3-5)*

Common throughout Palestine and Transjordan were two types of tripod cups, perforated and unperforated. Both types appear with various attributes, including variations in body shape, style of rim and decoration. The earliest cups were tall and somewhat closed with a distinct neck. A variation of this form may be the unperforated cups with slightly flaring rims and tripod feet found in Area A at Hazor in the Stratum VIII casemate rooms (Yadin *et al.* 1960: Pl. LIV: 20-22). In a study collection of 95 tripod cups, 59 cups were perforated.<sup>13</sup> These cups appear at several sites in Israel and Judah, as well as at Ḥorvat Qitmit (Freud and Beit-Arieh 1995: Fig. 4.3: 26-28), at sites in the Jordan Valley, at Tall Jawa, in the Mount Nebo tombs (Saller 1966: Figs. 32.1-10; 37.1-5) and in the tombs at Dhībān (Tushingham 1972: Figs. 16.15, 16, 18; 23.11). Cups from Late Iron II contexts are squat, either in the form of an open bowl or carinated with a variety of upright or inverted rim forms. Unperforated cups with carinated body shape also appear to be more common at the end of the Iron II period. A cultic assemblage including tripod cups, a small (or miniature) Cypriot amphora, figurines and a model shrine from the Madaba region is a good example of the various styles of tripod cups (Weinberg 1978: 30, 35: 6a-c). So too, several styles appear among the 8 tripod cups from Tall Jawa; of these, 6 were perforated. Such cups, with upright or inverted rims, appear also in the 'Amman region, in the tomb at Um Uḏaina (Hadidi 1987: Figs. 2.23 = 13.7; 2.26 = 13.5) and in the tombs at Mount Nebo (Saller 1966: Fig. 16.1-22).

12. Examples from Edom range from cup-shaped (deeper than they are broad) to bowl shape (broader than they are deep). Here the cups from Ghrareh (Hart 1989: Pl. 8.1-13) and Umm al-Biyara (Hart 1989: Pl. 56.11-13) are described as bowls. Cups similar in shape were also reported at Tawilan (Hart 1995: Fig. 6.9.3-7). This vessel form was also present at Tall al-'Umayri (Lawlor 1997: Fig. 3.24.3) and is now appearing in northern Moab at Khirbat al-Mudayna (MT/S3.1; Daviau, personal observation).

13. Out of 66 tripod cups from Jordanian sites, 33 (50 per cent) were perforated whereas from sites west of the Jordan, 26 of 29 (89.6 per cent) were perforated (unpublished study by C. Held, 1999).

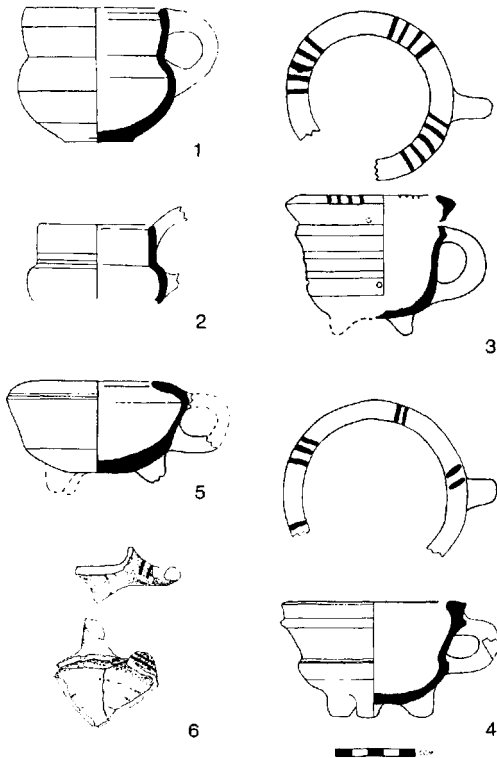


Figure 1. *Single handled cups (1-2); tripod cups (3-5); tripod cup with painted petals (6)*

Petals are present on one of the tripod cups (Fig. 1.6; V358). These appendages are painted with black lines crossed on an angle by white wash (TJE54.84.1014). At Gezer, Macalister (1912: Fig. 460) identified comparable pendant knobs decorated with red chevrons as 'lotus leaves'. This decorative pattern, seen on chalices from Megiddo (Lamon and Shipton 1939: Pl. 33.15, 17), also appears on the six chalices at Tel Miqne-Ekron (Gitin 1993: Fig. 5.b) in the temple complex. Petals are present on tall cultic stands and their bowls, especially those from Megiddo (May 1935: Pl. XX: P 6056). Also from Megiddo was a more elaborate stand with petals depicted by Schumacher (May

1935: Fig. 6).<sup>14</sup> This same motif is seen on Phoenician stone and faience 'pyxides' (Barag 1996), as well as on a stone sceptre from Hama (Fugmann 1958: Fig. 325.8A264) and a bronze one from Tel Dan (Biran 1989: 29). This style may have had its origin in Egyptian architectural design which would account for its wide distribution. A variation of this design seems to be present in the 'denticulate' pattern on various vessel types at Horvat Qitmit (Freud and Beit-Arieh 1995: Figs. 4.12.32; 15.3-5; 17.33-37).

Although tripod cups are usually identified as censers, the exact function of these small vessels remains a matter of discussion because the interior of the base is not usually stained with soot or with the residue of incense.<sup>15</sup> In almost all cases at Tall Jawa, the cups were clean on their interior surfaces. In cases where certain sherds show evidence of soot, the stain appears to be the result of those sherds falling into a fire. In her study of 95 cups, C. Held undertook experiments (February 1999) using heated charcoal and frankincense (acquired in Jordan). She noticed that not only was there soot in the base of her ceramic vessel but there was also an oily residue. Attempts to remove the residue with a variety of tools, failed to clean the vessel. This experiment is supported by the evidence from Tall Jawa and from Shrine Site WT-13 in northern Moab (Daviau, in press b), where not one cup showed any evidence of residue which could be the result of burning incense or resin.

The fact that tripod cups were in use with other religious objects and were common in tomb assemblages suggests that there was some special function for the cups and for the holes in the body of the vessel. Analysis of the fabric is needed to determine if there is any residue that would suggest which ingredient was used in these cups, whether scented oils, aromatic herbs, salt or spices. Although textual evidence from Babylonia can be interpreted to suggest that incense was used in the domestic cult (van der Toorn 1994: 45), it is not clear whether this refers to aromatic woods, to frankincense or to a combination of these ingredients. One can hardly imagine poor villagers having access to such a rare commodity as frankincense in view of its great value. The

14. An early study by Engberg (1935) considered this motif in relationship to Near Eastern iconography, especially the design of the tree on Late Bronze Age Bichrome ware, and to the origin of the proto-aeolic capital.

15. For a list of examples with burn marks, see Zwickel's discussion (1990: 4 n. 7) and his catalogue (1990: 54-61); for example, his reference to 57 cups with soot stains out of 59 from Tell el-Ghassil in Lebanon (1990: 15).



incense trade, which is well documented for the Iron Age (Finkelstein 1988, 1992), has yet to be directly related to the archaeological evidence found in domestic structures. It is interesting to note that late Iron Age II cups without perforations were shallower and more open at the mouth than perforated cups. This supports the hypothesis that these vessels were used for scented materials, but not necessarily for burning resins.

*Chalices (Figure 2.1-4)*

At least one chalice appeared in each of the four principal buildings where figurines were found (B102, 300, 800 and 900).<sup>16</sup> The largest number in a single building was two, both from Building 800 which dates to the late Iron Age II period. No two chalices were alike in body shape or in rim form, although four out of five were red slipped. Three of the red slipped chalices (V362, 858 and 801) had multiple black bands, usually painted on a wide band of white wash. One red slipped chalice (V920; Fig. 2.4) was unpainted; however, it had finger depressions in imitation of metal vessels.<sup>17</sup> Only one chalice (V162) was unslipped (not illustrated).

In every case where the base was preserved, the chalice had a low foot, closer in style to those from the Late Bronze Age shrine at Dayr 'Alla (Franken 1992: Figs. 4-20, 3-4, 6-11) than to the tall-footed chalice shape commonly seen in Iron I and early Iron II (McGovern 1986: Fig. 5019-21; Rast 1978: Figs. 89.3-5; 27.2; Lamon and Shipton 1939: Pl. 33.18, 20; Tufnell 1953: Pl. 83.157-162; Yassine 1984: Fig. 3.4, 5). The chalice most unusual in its forming techniques was V801 (Fig. 2.3), which consisted of a small carinated cup, with red burnished slip, black paint and white wash.<sup>18</sup> The bottom of the cup was

16. The ceramic and artifactual repertoire from Building 700 is incomplete, due to its reuse in the Umayyad period (Building 600; Daviau 1996: 94). The remains of undisturbed Iron Age debris were recovered in 1995 in several ground floor rooms that were not emptied by the Umayyad inhabitants who remodelled the house and built rooms on the upper storey.

17. The closest ceramic parallel consists of vessels from Fort Shalmaneser which were classified as Assyrian Palace ware beakers (Oates 1959: Pl. XXXVII. 60-62, 64-67). In these vessels, the finger depressions are present in the lower body, below the neck. One such beaker appeared at Megiddo in Stratum III (Lamon and Shipton 1939: Pl. 9.12). Bowls from Tawilan with the same type of finger depressions were locally made (Hart 1995: 54), suggesting that the fine Assyrian palace wares were widely imitated.

18. Chalices painted with red and black bands and with slightly taller pedestal

unfinished on the exterior while the stem of the pedestal base appeared to form its own shallow bowl with a rim that sealed up around the lower edge of the cup (Daviau 1994: Fig. 11.6). The join of these two elements was then covered with slip. This pedestal base was itself truncated so that the actual foot must have been a third element. A similar forming process appears on a chalice at Dayr 'Alla (Franken 1992: Fig. 4-14.13), where many chalices appear to be similar in size and shape, if not in surface treatment. Chalices from Megiddo with the same range of shapes (Lamon and Shipton 1939: Pl. 33.13; Loud 1948: Pl. 47.12) were frequently painted.

The careful surface treatment of chalices at Tall Jawa, including both slip and painted bands, is similar to but more elaborate than the pattern that was common on large painted bowls, especially those from Building 300 (Daviau 1994: Fig. 7.1). Similar care in surface treatment can be seen on the chalices from Ḥorvat Qitmit where red, black and white painted decoration was also the norm (Freud and Beit-Arieh 1995: Fig. 4.2.17, 19, 22). On the chalices which she studied from this site, Beck (1995: 159; Fig. 3.108.191) noted the same treatment, consisting of red slip with black and white paint.

#### *Black Juglets (Figure 2.5-6)*

Small black juglets typically have black fabric and black slip with vertical hand burnishing (Megiddo; Lamon and Shipton 1939: Pl. 2.49-52). Only two appear in the ceramic corpus, both from Building 300 (V381, V316). Similar juglets appear frequently in tombs, as was shown by Herr (1986: 278, 280) in his study of the tomb at Tekoa. Appropriately, all of Herr's parallels are from sites in Cisjordan. In Caves I and II at Jerusalem, the regular size for these juglets is in the range of 5.00–7.00 cm (Eshel 1995: Figs. 7.15; 24.1, 3). At Tell en-Naşbeh, 30 such juglets were present in tombs and various loci, but none was found in the excavations of the town (McCown 1947: 90; Pls. 42: 842-853; 43: 854-872). However, at Tell Beit Mirsim, these juglets were present in the rooms of various houses (Albright 1943: Pl. 18: 1-9). This same distribution pattern was seen at Beer-sheba, for example, in Room 48 (Aharoni 1973: Pls. 72.21, 22; 62.126-128; 69.16, 17) and at Tell el-Far'ah (N), where 24 such juglets appeared in various loci,

bases appear at Megiddo although none of these examples are red slipped (Lamon and Shipton 1939: Pl. 33.12, 15).

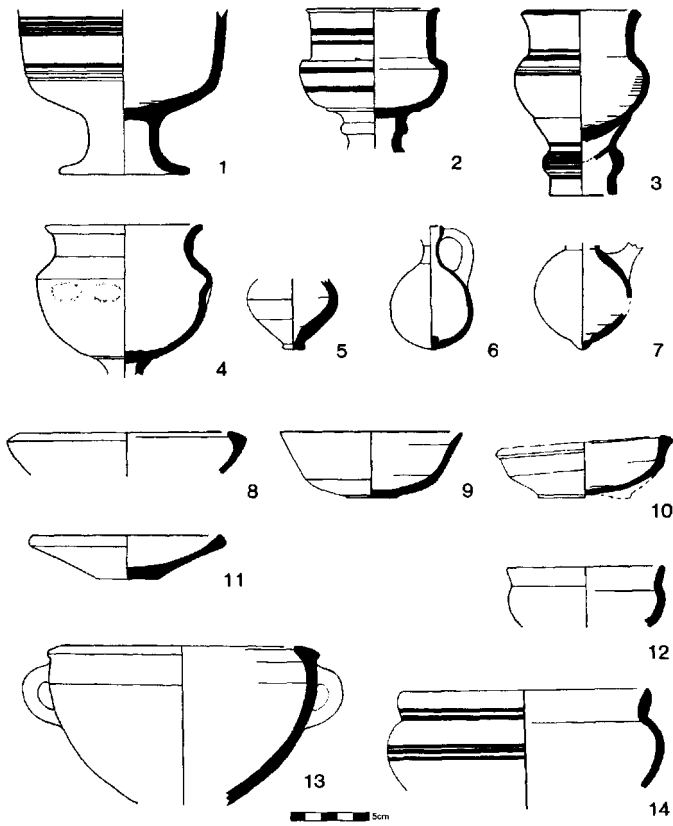


Figure 2. *Chalices (1-4); black juglets (5-6); small juglet (7); small bowls (8-12); small kraters (13-14)*

most notably from houses. Other juglets, presented in a secondary context, had been discarded in a fosse along with a model shrine (Chambon 1984: Pl. 50, 51 *passim*). Since no temple has been uncovered at Tell el-Far'ah (N), it is possible that these finds originally came from a house. Another example appeared in a sixth-century tomb (Tomb 14) at Beth Shemesh (Grant and Wright 1938: Pl. XLVIII.11), while at Ḥorvat Qitmit, a black juglet was adjacent to the 'altar' (Freud and Beit-Arieh 1995: Fig. 4.3.29). However, for our purposes, it is more valuable to note the occurrence of black juglets in Tomb C at 'Amman (Harding 1951: Fig. 1.24) and at Mount Nebo, where there were 4

juglets in Tomb 20 (Saller 1966: Figs. 20.15-16, 19 = 22.12-15) and another in Tomb 84 (Saller 1966: Fig. 34.16).<sup>19</sup>

### *Lamps*

It is not surprising that 112 lamps were present in Caves I and II at Jerusalem. According to Eshel (Eshel 1995: Figs. 8.9-16; 32.1-12; 33.10), these were part of the domestic assemblages.<sup>20</sup> At the same time, certain vessels usually associated with religious activities were also present in the caves, such as 3 rattles (Eshel 1995: Figs. 31.7, 8; 33.9), 4 chalices (Figs. 31.9-11; 33.1), a fenestrated stand (Fig. 31.12) and a miniature chariot wheel (Fig. 8.21). Other evidence for cultic activity in Cave I comprises the 84 animal and human figurines studied by Holland (1977), two small stone altars and a model chair (Holland 1977: Fig. 9.19-21). The use of lamps, especially to maintain the fire throughout the night, was a ritual act in both ancient Israel and Mesopotamia (van der Toorn 1994: 41).

Lamps were reported for most tomb groups in the 'Amman area (Dornemann 1983: Fig. 42.1-38; Hadidi 1987: Fig. 2.2, 5-6, 9) where their function could have been both utilitarian and symbolic. In the domestic context, lamps serve as primary evidence for roofed space and only secondarily as evidence of specialized activities. This duality was seen at Tall Jawa where 13 lamps, not including isolated sherds, were recorded, often in association with figurines, cups, tripod cups and miniature vessels. A prime example is Building 800, where lamps were found with cultic vessels and exotic objects. The most unusual example in this house was a double lamp which is classified with specialized vessels (see below, Fig. 3.12).

### *Small Vessels*

At least 24 vessels each falls into the category of 'small vessel' for its type. This means that the vessel is not a true miniature but is significantly smaller than the standard for its class and form. The most important variables in establishing this class are size and proportion; for example, included here is a saucer that measures only 12.00 cm in diameter when the standard is 17.00-18.00 cm, or a krater with a rim

19. At the time of writing, Saller (1966: 281) noted that these juglets were well known in Cisjordan but still rare at Transjordanian sites.

20. Eshel illustrated only a sample of the various morphological types.

diameter of 17.00 cm instead of 30.00–40.00 cm, and a pithos that is only 22.00 cm tall instead of 110.00 cm. At least 1, and sometimes as many as 6, of each vessel type was recorded among the bowls, kraters, cooking pots, jugs, juglets, decanters and pithoi.

The class which is best represented consists of small juglets (V863; Fig. 2.7). This is in fact a difficult category to isolate because juglets come in a variety of shapes and sizes and were clearly ‘multi-purpose’ vessels (Daviau 1993: 54), which were used principally as containers in a variety of food preparation activities, as well as for cosmetics and medicines. Another well-represented class includes small bowls (V155, 340, 382, 504, 525), all from Stratum VIII buildings. Only one bowl (V155; Fig. 2.8), from Building 102, was unslipped, whereas the four small bowls from Building 300 were completely red slipped and three were burnished (Fig. 2.9-12).<sup>21</sup> Small bowls in several styles were well represented at Hazor (Yadin *et al.* 1961: Pl. CCLXIX.11-13, 16-17), at Tell Qasile (Mazar 1985: Figs. 11.15-18; 19.4-36) and in Caves I and II in Jerusalem (Eshel 1995: Figs. 10.2-4; 11.1-6; 16-20).<sup>22</sup>

It is more difficult to assign deep bowls, kraters and cooking pots to this class of small vessels, since examples of various sizes regularly appear in purely domestic contexts. Nevertheless, krater V383 is the smallest of its type (Fig. 2.13), as is a painted bowl with an upright rim (V777; Fig. 2.14). In assigning cooking pots to our class of small vessels, it is noteworthy that a ‘miniature cooking pot’ was among the vessels in Tomb B at ‘Amman (Harding 1945: 74.49). In fact, this vessel is slightly smaller than the ‘small’ cooking pots from Tall Jawa (V772, V135; Fig. 3.1, 2) and somewhat larger than a cooking pot (V380; Fig. 3.7) assigned to the category of miniature vessels.

Unique examples for their classes are a small cup (V854; Fig. 3.3) and a small pithos (V502; Fig. 3.4). Small or miniature jars with two handles are very distinct and are ‘Cyprite-looking’ although they do not appear on Cyprus (Dornemann 1983: 54). They are common in tombs at ‘Amman, Sahab (Dornemann 1983: 35-50) and at Dhībān in Tombs J5, J6, and J7, where they are so small that they are called

21. Sherds from several other small bowls, especially A3.58.4, suggest that there were in fact additional bowls in this size range (10.00–12.00 cm).

22. These references present a sample of sites where vessels of comparable size have been identified, often in an explicitly cultic context. In certain cases, miniature vessels from various contexts were identified as such (Loud 1948: Pl. 256), although this is not always the case.

'juglets' (Tushingham 1972: Figs. 16.1-13; 21.1-15; 24.1-8).

Of special interest are the small red-slipped decanters with a strainer spout located at a 90° angle from the handle. Four such vessels (V849, 879, 889; 835 = Fig. 3.5) were in Building 800 (Stratum VII), and a fifth decanter (V866) without a spout is close in size to these small vessels. In Building 700, there was an even smaller example (V717; Fig. 3.6), with no spout and no decoration. Probably in the same class are the fragmentary remains of a red slipped vessel with two strainers, one in the spout and the second at the base of the neck. Although not an exact parallel, a small decanter was part of the corpus from Cave I in Jerusalem (Eshel 1995: Fig. 26.2).

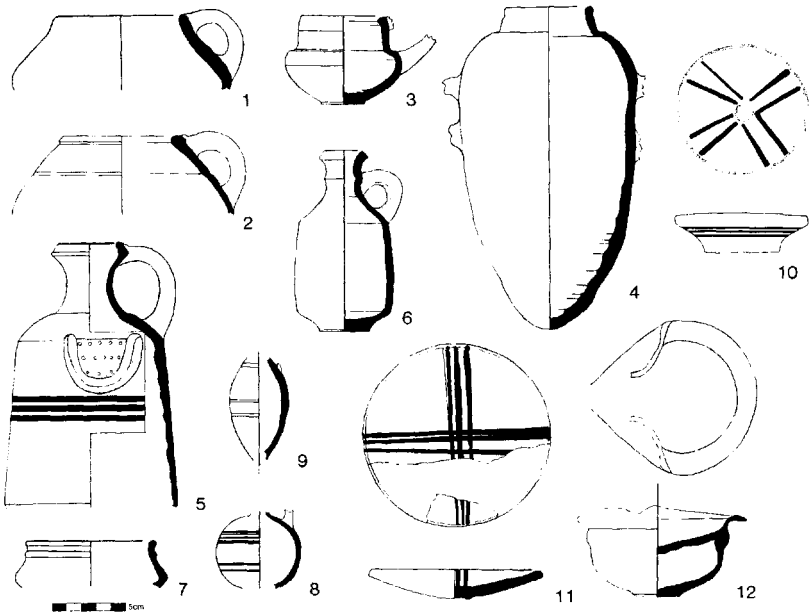


Figure 3. *Small cooking pots (1-2); small cup (3); small pithos (4); small decanters (5-6); miniature cooking pot (7); miniature jug (8); miniature jar (9); decorated stopper (10); decorated saucer (11); double lamp (12)*

### *Miniature Vessels*

Miniature vessels fall into a class of their own due to their exceptionally small size and questionable use. Such vessels are not unique to Transjordan since they have had a long history at cultic sites through-

out the Levant. Of note is the collection of bowls from the Orthostat Temple at Hazor (Yadin *et al.* 1961: Pl. CCLXIX.1-8, 15, 18-19); while most of these bowls are miniature in size, others in the same assemblage could be classified as 'small' vessels (see above). Nevertheless, the location of these bowls in the temple complex leaves no doubt as to their association with religious practices. Additional examples from Cave I in Jerusalem include bowls, juglets and 'pots' (Eshel 1995: Fig. 11.15; 24.6; 8.5-6; 31.1-3). Among the miniatures at Tall Jawa, there were several recognizable bowl fragments, although few vessels could be completely restored.<sup>23</sup> In addition, there was a miniature cooking pot, stained with soot (V380; Fig. 3.7), a white slipped jug (V526; Fig. 3.8), a jar (V104; Fig. 3.9) and a lamp (V212).<sup>24</sup>

### *Various Specialized Items*

#### *Painted Stopper and Saucer (Figure 3.10, 11)*

Two ceramic artifacts were finished with a special decoration consisting of red slip with crossed stripes of white wash and black lines that intersect in the middle. One artifact is a mushroom-shaped stopper (TJ 1589; Fig. 3.10) and the second is a small, shallow saucer (V524; Fig. 3.11). The saucer has parallels at 'Amman among the finds in Tombs A and C (Harding 1945: 69.4; 1951: Fig. 1.5 = Dornemann 1983: Fig. 32.1),<sup>25</sup> but the stopper appears to be unique.

#### *Double Lamp (Figure 3.12)*

At Tall Jawa, there were no cup-and-saucer vessels or lamps. However, there was one 'double' lamp (V793), which consists of a lamp supported on the rim of a comparable lamp or bowl. Because it is

23. Due to the fragmentary nature of miniature bowl sherds, only two are counted (Daviau 1996: Fig. 4.1, 2). It appears likely that this number is representative of a larger group.

24. These are minimum numbers due to the small size of the vessels in this class. Numerous sherds suggesting additional miniature vessels were too small to be properly identified.

25. The same illustration of a half bowl with a painted cross on the interior surface appears among the finds from Tomb A (Harding 1945: 69.4). However, in the original publication, a complete bowl is shown in a photograph (Harding 1945: Pl. XVII). Dornemann (1983: 75) cites both of these tombs in his list of painted decorative motifs under design number 252.

broken, the interpretation of the lower bowl portion as a lamp remains somewhat tentative.<sup>26</sup> To date, no exact parallel is known although the closest form appears to be the saucer lamps from Fort Shalmaneser (Oates 1959: Pl. XXXIX: 104-106). In these lamps, the centre of the saucer rises like a trumpet or pedestal base to meet the base of the lamp, with the outer rim forming a true saucer comparable to cup-and-saucer vessels. However, the upper lamp has the full form of a lamp, not just that of a cup, as seen in certain examples from Israel (Lamon and Shipton 1939: Pl. 38.2-6).

#### *Assyrian Style Carinated Bowls (Figure 4.1-2)*

A small number of very thin, red-slipped bowls (V215, V773), carinated in the style of Assyrian palace ware, were recovered from the final phase of Building 102 and from Stratum VII Buildings 800 and 900 (Daviau 1997b: Fig. 4). The most striking of these was V215 (Fig. 4.1) which was red-slipped, hand-burnished, painted with black bands on the interior, and had finger depressions on the body immediately below the carination. The discovery of this bowl in association with a stone figurine of a standing male suggests its specialized usage. The closest parallels are a bowl from Mount Nebo Tomb 84 (Saller 1966: Fig. 33.7) and three bowls with a more upright rim from Tawilan (Hart 1995: Figs. 6.8.9-10; 6.11.2).<sup>27</sup>

#### *Pointed Bottle (Figure 4.3)*

Small pointed bottles were very common among ceramic repertoires in late Iron Age II tombs in 'Ammon; nine were found at Sahab, all under 15.00 cm tall (Harding 1948: 98.31-37; 99.42-43), and nine from Tomb C at 'Amman (Harding 1951: Fig. 1.12-14).<sup>28</sup> At Tall Jawa, one nearly complete bottle (V902), painted with black lines, was recovered in Building 900. Sherds of similar vessels appeared in debris from other buildings.

26. The remains of excess clay on the bottom of the upper lamp makes it clear that the rim of the lower bowl did seal against it all the way around. At the same time, the fact that the interior of the lower vessel and the base of the upper lamp were almost completely oxidized suggests that heat entered this area during the firing process. This could be the result of either a very porous clay fabric or of a spout in the lower vessel.

27. An example of an Assyrian palace ware bowl with finger depressions was present in the seventh-century corpus at Tel Miqne-Ekron (Gitin 1998: Fig. 3.10).

28. Harding illustrated three of the nine bottles.



*Imported Vessels and their Imitations*

Three vessels, each with a unique clay fabric, are considered to be imports to Tall Jawa (Daviau 1997: 27). Only one of these, a greyish green goblet (V852; Daviau 1997b: Fig. 6.9), may have been used in cultic activities. The other imported vessels were transport or storage vessels. Several bowls in imitation of Assyrian palace ware probably served utilitarian purposes. Only a limited number of small, fine ware bowls are included in the tabulation of probable cultic vessels (Table 1, see p. 222).

A small white-slipped amphora (V309; Fig. 4.4), shaped like a decanter and painted with dark brown bands, was found along with a female figurine (TJ 1119) in the upper storey collapse of Room 303. This vessel appears to be an imitation of a biconical amphora (V307), somewhat larger than V309, that was also white slipped with black painted bands. This vessel was located in a small storeroom (R306) on the ground floor of Building 300 (Daviau 1996: Fig. 6.3). Along with the female figurine and the small white amphora that were in the upper storey collapse, the assemblage from Room 303 included several unusual vessels, one strainer bowl (V491) with an incised X on its bottom,<sup>29</sup> a small red-slipped jug/decanter (V377) with a strainer in its neck and in its spout, an animal figurine (TJ 1249), a chalice (V362; Daviau 1996: Fig. 4) and a tripod cup with pendant petals (V358; described above). Other imitations include a small Cypriot amphora with a white slip and black paint (V140) and a metallic ware vessel (V142), both in Building 102, as well as two white-slipped juglets (V207, 208) from the upper storey of Building 200.

*Carinated Strainer Bowls*

Two examples of bowls with fine strainers in the base (V214, V491 = Fig. 4.5) were associated with cultic items. Bowl V214 could have been used with a crystalline *baetyl* in Building 102, whereas bowl V491 was part of the upper storey assemblage in Room 303 (see above). Such strainer bowls were also found at Hama (Riis and Buhl 1990: Fig. 74.515), Megiddo (Loud 1948: Pl. 61.26; 78.16; 85.8-9), Tell Qasile (Mazar 1985: Fig. 31.11) and Beth Shemesh (Grant and Wright 1938: Pl. LXIV.39). Van der Toorn (1994: 44) notes that Babylonian religious practice prescribed the cleaning and sprinkling of the

29. An example of a bowl with a strainer in its base was present in Tomb 84 at Mount Nebo (Saller 1966: Fig. 34.9).

roof area in preparation for daily prayer. Strainer bowls with holes in the base would be quite suitable for such a ritual.

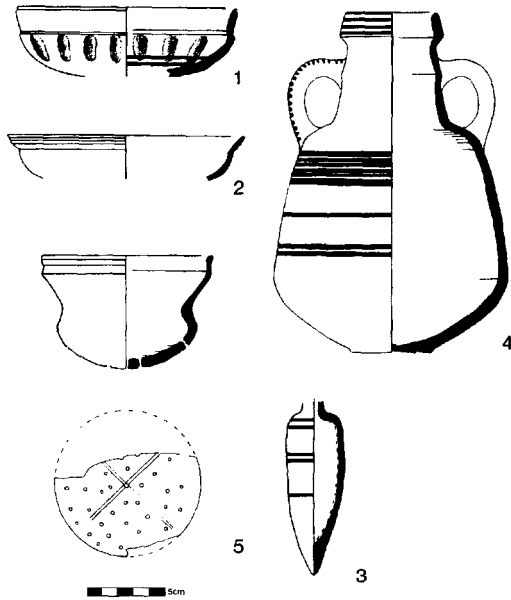


Figure 4. Carinated bowls (1-2); pointed bottle (3); small amphora (4); strainer bowl (5)

#### *Gaming Vessels (Figure 5.1, 2)*

In temple contexts it is not surprising to find evidence of gaming pieces or gaming boards (Yadin *et al.* 1961: Pl. CCLX.28) that may have been used in divination (Daviau 1994: 76 n. 7). In Building 300, possibly fallen from the upper storey along with figurines and other cultic artifacts, was a saucer (V443) with a heavy reddish-yellow slip, incised with a checkerboard pattern on its interior surface.<sup>30</sup> Although not from the same locus, an astragalus (TJ 2181) with a hole through its side was found in an adjacent room in Building 300. A second vessel, also from Building 300, was a juglet (V366; Fig. 5.2) with a checkerboard incised on one side.<sup>31</sup> The saucer and juglet are the only examples of gaming

30. The saucer form appears in the latest phase of Stratum VIII and becomes more popular in Stratum VII, replacing the hemispherical bowls (Daviau 1997: 26).

31. Although it is unlikely that the checkerboard pattern on the jug could be used as a gaming or divination board, the jug itself may have been reserved for cultic

boards incised on vessels, although a similar pattern was incised on a perforated sherd (E54.3/13.4) and on a limestone disc (TJ 2184), which may have served as a stopper. The only other example of a gaming board (TJ 854) at Tall Jawa consisted of a limestone fragment incised with 3 rows of 10 squares. This board was recovered from the drain at the southwest corner of the casemate wall system (Daviau, in prep. a) but may have fallen, along with the small white-slipped juglets, from the upper storey of Building 200, which was adjacent to the wall.

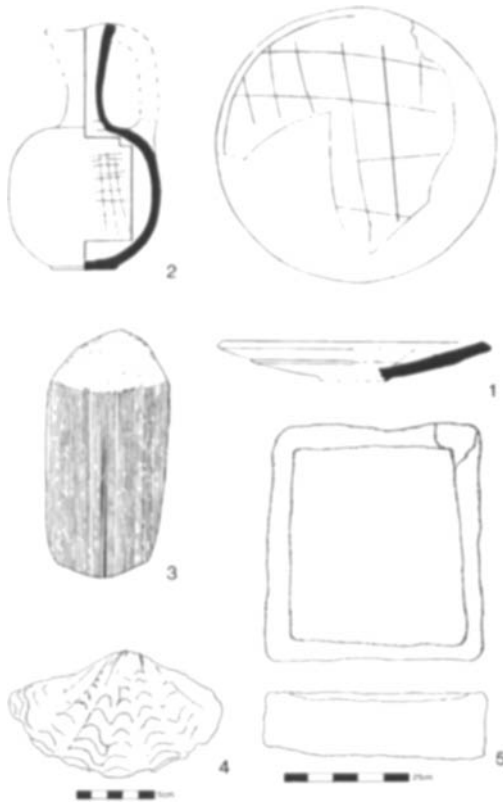


Figure 5. *Gaming designs (1-2); baetyl (3); tridacna (4); limestone table (5)*

Several sherds incised with a checkerboard pattern were recovered from Ḥorvat Qitmit (Freud and Beit-Arieh 1995: Fig. 4.10.10; 12.36;

purposes. This suggestion is given some support by a residue still remaining on the interior surface, which is not present on any other Stratum VIII vessel.

17.43). The best example (No. 512/1), with three rows of six squares, was scratched on the reverse of a sherd that was incised with lettering on its obverse face (Beit-Arieh 1995: Fig. 5.6). The excavator suggests that this pattern was either a checkerboard or a 'mathematical exercise' (Beit-Arieh 1995: 264), although these may not be the only options.

### *Cultic or High Status Artifacts*

Along with figurines and this corpus of ceramic vessels, there were also a small number of high status artifacts that may have been used as part of the domestic cult. These finds were closely associated with figurines and 'cultic' vessels in the archaeological record.

#### *Baetyl (Figure 5.3)*

A crystalline stone, 15.00 cm in height, with a rectangular section (7.50 × 8.00 cm), a slightly pyramidal top, and a flat base is the most unusual of these artifacts. The stone itself is unusual not only in its material and shape, but also in its weight (1,854.5 g); for its size, it is extremely heavy. In view of these characteristics, it is most unlikely that this stone was an everyday tool. The uniqueness of this material at Tall Jawa, where limestone and chert were dominant,<sup>32</sup> suggests that this object was a symbolic stone, possibly a *baetyl* used as an object of worship.<sup>33</sup> This stone was located in the collapse of Building 102 along with a carinated strainer bowl (V214), a red-slipped bowl with finger depressions (V215) and a red-slipped juglet (V213). Although at a somewhat lower level in the collapse than the silt stone figurine of a male (TJ 1877), these items were all in the same room.

#### *Tridacna Dish (Figure 5.4)*

Decorating *Tridacna* dishes was a specialized craft that prepared large shells for use as high-status containers. Certain of these dishes were

32. One feature that Stockton used to distinguish a votive stone from a *baetyl* was its shape; the votive stone would have one broad face while the *baetyl* may be a 'quadrangular, cylindrical, conical or spherical' stone (1970: 79).

33. The history of scholarship on the importance of standing votive stones and of sacred stones has been reviewed by Stockton (1970) for the biblical period and later Phoenician and Nabataean religion, by Avner (1984) for the fourth millennium sites in the Negev and Sinai. Van der Toorn (1997) demonstrates the process by which these stones, initially symbols of the presence of the deity, become themselves objects of worship.

decorated with elaborate designs, often representing a man in a flowing garment with a detailed woven pattern. The shells that were engraved were first polished to remove the ridges on the outer surface.<sup>34</sup> This was not the case with the *Tridacna* (TJ 1471) from Building 800, although a few of its outer ridges are chipped. At the same time, the dish appears to have been used since there is evidence of wear on the interior surface. A hoard of 15 undecorated examples from Tawilan in Edom are described by Reese (1995a: 93) as ‘containers for ornaments or food-stuffs, or may have been the raw material for the engraved *Tridacna* shells’. The association of these shells with cultic behaviour is not direct although shells and fossils as votive offerings have been identified at the shrine at Timna’ (Reese 1988) and in Kenyon’s excavations at Jerusalem (Reese 1995b).

#### *Basalt Trays and Mortars*

In a temple context, rectangular trays and round mortars of extremely fine quality basalt might be classified as small libation trays. At Tall Jawa, this identification was not made although the distinction between such trays and various types of utilitarian mortars was noted and mortars were classified as a separate type (Daviau, in press a). A very fine example of a rectangular tray with a handle at one end (TJ 786) had clearly been in use on the upper storey of Room 303.

The most unusual mortar (TJ 1185), also from Building 300, was formed of extremely vesicular basalt and consisted of a small bowl on a tall, tripod base. This object had been present on the roof of Room 315. The closest parallels are mortars found at Megiddo in Temple 2048 (Loud 1948: Pl. 262.15), at Mount Ebal (Zertal 1986-87: Fig. 21.7) and at Tall as-Sa‘idiyah (Pritchard 1985: Fig. 170.4), although each of these had a solid, trumpet base.

#### *Libation Table (Figure 5.5)*

A limestone ‘table’ (TJ 1543), measuring 42 × 47 cm in size and 13 cm thick, was part of a collection of high status or cultic objects in the upper storey room above Room 807 in Building 800.<sup>35</sup> Such a table could easily be classified as a libation table if it were found in a temple

34. Such shells have been studied extensively by Stucky (1974), Reese (1995a) and Reese and Sease (1993).

35. Although the pottery in Building 800 showed clear signs of Assyrian influence (Daviau 1997b), it is not clear to what degree this influence extended to cultic objects.

context (Yadin 1961: Pl. CCLXXXIV.5-8), such as the Orthostat Temple at Hazor. Van der Toorn (1994: 33) cites texts from the Old Babylonian period that mention such a table in the home, used for presenting the daily food offerings to the family deities.<sup>36</sup> Support for such an identification in the case of Table 1543 is provided by its size,<sup>37</sup> and by the presence of a one-handed cup (V853), a miniature cup (V854), a painted stopper (TJ 1589), a *Glycymeris* shell pendant (TJ 1314), a *Tridacna* shell dish (TJ 1471), two lamps and three juglets (V861, V892, V898). Such an assemblage is comparable to the finds from an early Iron II cultic structure at Ta'anach where bowls, kraters, cooking pots, jugs and storejars were associated with a lamp, pyxides and juglets, a perforated tripod cup and a fenestrated stand (Rast 1978: 27-36).

#### *Profile of a Domestic Cult Assemblage*

Within the Iron Age II buildings at Tall Jawa, artifacts and ceramic vessels that can be associated with cultic activities include male and female figurines, zoomorphic figurines or vessels, one-handed cups, chalices, tripod cups, lamps, strainer bowls, small vessels, miniature vessels and basalt trays. Other items which may occur consist of exotic artifacts or unique vessels, such as sacred stones, *Tridacna* cosmetic dishes, imported vessels and their imitations, and libation tables. Gaming boards or gaming pieces<sup>38</sup> may also have been used in religious rituals. The range of activities that can be deduced from such a corpus comprises the setting up of a figurine or symbolic stone in a particular area on the roof or upper storey, food and drink offerings, use of scented materials, lighting of lamps, sprinkling the figurine, the baetyl, or the sacred area itself, offerings in small or miniature vessels, casting of lots or divination, and libations. Not surprisingly, there is no

36. Van der Toorn (1994: 34-36) also reviews the biblical evidence for the presence of figurines of the household gods in the home and the offerings made to them.

37. Libation table H138 from Hazor measures 38 x 52 cm, and 15 cm thick, and Table H137 measures 45 x 54 cm and 12 cm thick (Yadin *et al.* 1961: Pl. CCLXXXIV.5, 6). These sizes are comparable to Table TJ 1543, although the tables at Hazor were made of basalt, whereas limestone was more commonly used at Tall Jawa.

38. Although not included in this study, several hundred reworked sherds, some probably used as gaming pieces, were recovered from practically every excavated locus. Such discs could have been used as stoppers or were blanks for spindle whorls (Daviau, in press a).

Table 1. *Quantification of Artifacts and Ceramic Vessels by Type*

	B102	B113	B200	B204	B300	B700	B800	B900	B910	Total
Figurines										-13
female	2				3		1		2	8
male	3		1							4
zoomorphic					1					1
Moulds	1									-1
Vessels										-12
anthropomorphic	1									1
zoomorphic			5			2	1			8
relief on sherd	2									2
rhyton/stand								1		1
Shrine model sherds	3	1	1							-5
Columns/capitals	3									-3
Chalices	1				1		2	1		-5
One-handed cups	1	1	2		7	1	2	1		-15
Tripod cups										-10
perforated	1	1	1		3		1			7
unperforated					1		2			3
Lamps	1		1		3		6	2		-13
Small vessels										-33
saucer				2			1			3
bowl	1	1			5					7
krater					1		1			2
cooking pot			1				1			2
one-handed cup							1			1
jug				2						2
juglet	3		1		1		1			6
jar	1	1			1					3
decanter					1		4			5
pointed bottle								2		2
Miniature vessels										-9
bowl					1					1
cooking pot			1		1					2
jug			1		1					2
jar								1		1
decanter						1				1
pithos			1							1
lamp	1									1
Black juglets					2					-2
Strainer bowls	1				1					-2
Stone <i>baetyl</i>	1									-1
High status vessels										-3
stopper					1					1
Assyrian bowl	1									1
double lamp							1			1
Imported vessels							1			-1
Imitation imports			2		1		1			-4

	B102	B113	B200	B204	B300	B700	B800	B900	B910	Total
Gaming objects										-4
vessels							2			2
boards			1							1
pieces							1			1
<i>Tridacna</i> dish							1			-1
Libation table							1			-1
basalt bowls/trays	2			2	7		4	2		-17
Cosmetic dishes	1		1							-2
miniature mortars	1		1							-2
Totals	32	14	14	4	43	4	36	10	2	159

evidence for animal offerings or extensive burning, although the small and miniature cooking pots both showed evidence of use. Alternatively there is no evidence of votive figurines with musical instruments, although female figurines holding a drum were common in Moab (Daviau, in press b), and a male figurine blowing on a pipe is reported from Jalul (Younker *et al.* 1996: Pl. 12), a site that was apparently part of the kingdom of 'Ammon.<sup>39</sup> Evidence for a communal festive/religious meal would be difficult to distinguish from the evidence for daily household food preparation. Since both had religious connotations, size may have been the principal distinguishing characteristic. Communal meals were definitely part of the ceremonies at public shrines and temples, such as at Tell Qasile where cooking was practised in the temple courtyard (e.g. Locus 110; Mazar 1985: Fig. 14.9-26).

The relationship of the domestic cult to the official or national cult cannot be determined for the Iron Age kingdom of 'Ammon, since excavation has not yet revealed a temple where public worship was celebrated. The presence in the 'Amman region of stone statues of a male wearing the *atef* crown (Abou-Assaf 1980; 'Amr 1991)<sup>40</sup> suggests a correlation in religious iconography with the small ceramic head of a male wearing an *atef* crown (TJ 100; Daviau and Dion 1994) found in Building 102. So too, the 'Amman stone heads of a female wearing large earrings can also be associated with one of the Tall Jawa figurines (TJ 1709). While this correlation indicates a common belief system, it does not provide evidence in and of itself for public religious practices.

39. At this stage in the research concerning the location of the frontier between 'Ammon and Moab, it is not clear whether the political border was the same as the cultural border, especially the boundary for ceramic traditions (Daviau 1997).

40. Barnett (1951: 34) considered one of these statues to be that of a mortal although he recognized that the *atef* crown was also worn by deities.



What is clear is that the figurines at Tall Jawa were religious objects that served as important markers of religious activity areas. Secondly, the ceramic vessels associated with the figurines reflect a complex pattern of religious observance that took place in the home. This pattern, with certain specific variations, can serve as a guide for identifying the paraphernalia or material correlates of the domestic cult in neighbouring cultures, such as the Aramaeans of southern Syria.

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## LES PLUS ANCIENS TÉMOIGNAGES SUR LE DIEU ESHMOUN: UNE MISE AU POINT

Paolo Xella

This paper aims to reassess the 'pre-Phoenician' documentation concerning the god Eshmun. The texts from Tell Mardikh-Ebla mention the term *i-giš* (vegetable oil) as a theophoric element in the personal names (but without the divine determinative, as in the cases of Damu or Malik). The element perhaps represents a third millennium forefather of Eshmun, whose etymology must be retraced back to the Semitic root ...MN. As for Ugarit, the presence of the element \*mn- in the Ras Shamra onomasticon may suggest his theophoric function, eventually confirmed by the mention of a god (?) \*mn as addressee of offerings in a ritual text from Ras Ibn Hani (*KTU* 1.164). The discovery of the mention of Eshmun in an Egyptian magical papyrus of Dynasty XIV definitively confirms that the god was already known during the Late Bronze Age in the Egypto-Canaanite milieu. In the light of this evidence, the history of the god and his cult achieves a substantial continuity in Syria-Palestine from the Bronze Age until Phoenician-Punic times.

### *Introduction*

Dans le cadre du remarquable essor qui a caractérisé les études phéniciennes et puniques ces dernières années,<sup>1</sup> les recherches sur la religion ont sans aucun doute joué un rôle de premier plan, comme en témoignent entre autres une longue série d'articles,<sup>2</sup> ainsi que plusieurs monographies consacrées à des figures divines comme Adonis (Ribichini 1981), Tinnit (Hvidberg-Hansen 1979), Melqart (Bonnet 1988),

1. Cf. en général *I Fenici: ieri oggi domani. Ricerche, scoperte, progetti* (Roma 3-5 marzo 1994) (Rome, 1995).

2. Cf. le bilan dressé par Xella (1991b). Ajouter Marín Ceballos (1994) et Ribichini et Xella (1994).

Baal Hammon (Xella 1991b), Resheph et Baal,<sup>3</sup> Ashtart (Bonnet 1996) et Asherah (Merlo 1998).

Tous ces travaux doivent être considérés comme préparatoires à une future synthèse sur la religion phénico-punique—sans doute encore prématurée<sup>4</sup>—qui devrait de toute façon être conçue et rédigée d'après les méthodes spécifiques d'une discipline ouverte à l'utilisation de toutes les sources disponibles, selon une approche historique au sens le plus large du terme (Bonnet 1995). Il s'agit, à mon avis, d'un pré-supposé incontournable à toute approche de la problématique historico-religieuse qui ne pourra jamais être remplacé ni par une érudition finalisée à elle-même, ni par une prétendue 'philologie' rarement capable de lever les yeux des textes.

Il nous semble au demeurant plus sage de poursuivre le patient travail de rassemblement et d'étude des sources (écrites, archéologiques, iconographiques) afin de constituer des dossiers documentaires concernant aussi bien les divinités que les différents aspects de la vie religieuse. Seulement après avoir mis au point ces matériaux l'on pourra songer à approfondir l'analyse des différentes figures divines, de leurs caractéristiques morphologiques et fonctionnelles, de leurs transformations et adaptations au cours de l'histoire. Il s'agit d'un chemin qui est loin d'être accompli et qui nous ouvrira certainement de nouveaux horizons de recherche, grâce aussi bien aux nouvelles trouvailles épigraphiques et archéologiques de l'aire proprement phénicienne (la côte syro-libano-palestinienne) qu'aux documents provenant de sites plus anciens ou 'périphériques' comme Ebla, Mari, Ugarit ou Emar, susceptibles parfois d'éclaircir l'histoire (et donc les origines) des dieux et des cultes concernés.

En insistant dans cette direction, j'aborderai ici la question des plus anciens témoignages sur le dieu phénicien Eshmoun, une divinité dont la popularité explosa au beau milieu du Ier millénaire dans le bassin de la Méditerranée,<sup>5</sup> mais dont on soupçonne depuis longtemps qu'il a une

3. Cornelius (1994), une étude de caractère surtout iconographique qui apporte une contribution remarquable à la connaissance des divinités concernées.

4. Cf. les ouvrages, différents, mais aussi peu réussis, de Garbini (1994) et de Lipiński (1995).

5. Les attestations extra-phéniciennes les plus anciennes du dieu sont sa mention, au VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, dans le traité entre Ashournerari V d'Assyrie et Mati-ilu d'Arpad (Parpola and Watanabe 1988: n. 2 vi 22) et, au VII<sup>e</sup> siècle, dans le traité entre Esarhaddon d'Assyrie et Baal de Tyr (1988: n. 5 iv 14'). En domaine



histoire bien antérieure à l'Âge du Fer. La découverte récente de sa probable attestation dans un papyrus magico-médical égyptien du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle rédigé dans une *Mischsprache* ouest-sémitique, où Eshmoun semble être appelé 'notre père' et mentionné à côté d'Ashtart,<sup>6</sup> nous confirme que sa figure était connue et populaire au II<sup>e</sup> millénaire dans l'aire égypto-cananéenne.

C'est un vrai plaisir de dédier les pages qui suivent à Paul-Eugène Dion, un ami et un savant qui a remarquablement contribué aux études sur le Proche-Orient ancien et dont l'attention envers les phénomènes religieux n'a certes pas été secondaire dans la sphère de ses nombreux intérêts scientifiques.

### *La figure d'Eshmoun*

Même si une étude monographique exhaustive de la figure d'Eshmoun doit encore être écrite (l'ouvrage pourtant précieux de Baudissin [1911] est largement dépassé), le dieu de Sidon n'a jamais cessé d'attirer l'attention des spécialistes, historiens des religions, épigraphistes ou archéologues.<sup>7</sup>

L'on a affaire en effet à une divinité particulièrement significative et aux facettes multiples, acteur d'évolutions et de syncrétismes, dont l'histoire révèle des aspects remarquablement intéressants. En dépit des recherches menées jusqu'à présent, parmi lesquelles l'étude des matériaux provenant de son sanctuaire sidonien de Boustan ech-Cheikh (Ganzmann *et al.* 1987; Stucky 1993), plusieurs questions concernant

phénicien, avant les inscriptions royales sidoniennes, le dieu est peut-être mentionné comme élément théophore dans un anthroponyme fragmentaire sur un tesson de Shiqmona (Delavault et Lemaire 1979: 17 n. 33a) datant du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle; l'inscription tyrienne TT 91.S10 (Sader 1992: 59-60; cf. Amadasi Guzzo 1993 pour la datation) qui mentionne le NP *'mšmn* est à peu près contemporaine (VIII<sup>e</sup>/VII<sup>e</sup> siècle).

6. Steiner (1992: 194, en particulier n. 28; 199). Sur une possible attestation du mot *šmn* dans un toponyme égyptien cf. Hoch (1994: 260-61 n. 369). Il n'y a aucune preuve ni ici, ni dans le cas du toponyme palestinien *k-b- 'š-m-n* mentionné dans une liste de Thoutmès III (voir Lipiński 1995: 155) qu'il s'agisse vraiment de notre théonyme. Il n'est peut-être pas superflu de rappeler enfin la mention des 'dieux de Sidon maritime' dans un NP attesté dans un texte ouest-sémitique transcrit en hiéroglyphes égyptien (Shisha-Halevy 1978) qui remonte au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.C.

7. Voir dernièrement Bordreuil (1985); Puech (1986); Xella (1989); Stucky (1991); Xella (1993); Stucky (1993); Lipiński (1995); Ribichini (1995); Stucky (1998).

son histoire et sa personnalité demeurent ouvertes, souvent à cause du caractère fragmentaire et de la dispersion des documents. L'on pourrait rappeler ici, entre autres, le problème des rapports entre son culte et les cultes des dieux guérisseurs classiques Asklépios/Esculape (dans des termes de chronologie de diffusion et d'influences mutuelles) sans oublier, encore, la question de son statut dans la ville de Sidon, puisqu'il n'est pas tout à fait assuré qu'Eshmoun et le Baal de Sidon soient la même divinité (poliade).<sup>8</sup>

Une donnée qui en revanche semble désormais suffisamment bien établie dans les recherches sur le dieu phénicien est l'étymologie du théonyme. La proposition de relier le terme *'šmn*, avec aleph pros-thétique, à la racine sémitique \*ŠMN avec le sens d' 'être gras > beau, sain' (d'ou les termes pour 'huile' et 'graisse'; Fronzaroli 1971: 621; Sanmartín 1991: 207), avancée par quelques savants parmi lesquels moi-même,<sup>9</sup> ne semble pas se heurter à de grandes difficultés et a été généralement acceptée par les spécialistes. C'est surtout en suivant cette piste étymologique qu'il faut logiquement rechercher les antécédents éventuels d'Eshmoun dans des documentations plus anciennes, sémitiques et non. Il est néanmoins nécessaire d'ajouter que, dans le cas d'une grande divinité polythéiste, si la signification étymologique de son nom représente une voie d'accès à sa personnalité, elle ne couvre sûrement pas toutes les nuances fonctionnelles du personnage dans son développement historique.

Précisément dans le cas d'Eshmoun, une question ouverte demeure celle de savoir dans quelle mesure les aspects de guérisseur, partagés avec d'autres divinités phénico-puniques, caractérisent d'une façon univoque sa personnalité qui montre par ailleurs des traits complexes et variés.

Quoi qu'il en soit, il faut reconsidérer sur ces bases la possibilité de trouver des traces éventuelles d'un soi-disant dieu-huile dans des documentations pré-phéniciennes, en particulier dans les textes d'Ebla et

8. Il s'agit d'une question qui mériterait une analyse approfondie qui ne peut pas être menée ici (cf. la mention de *b'l šdn* dans les inscriptions sidoniennes de Bodashtart et, éventuellement, dans *KAI* 60); je me limite donc à rappeler que l'onomastique sidonienne de l'Âge du Bronze Récent attestée par les textes ougaritiques et amarniens suggère que le dieu poliade était un 'dieu de l'orage' dont on voit mal les rapports avec l'Eshmoun du Ier millénaire.

9. Le sens du théonyme pourrait être précisément actif/factitif, 'celui qui huile > guérit'. Voir entre autres Lipiński (1973); Xella (1985; 1988).

d'Ugarit-Ras Ibn Hani. Il s'agit d'une recherche qui n'est pas tout à fait nouvelle, mais qui n'a jamais été, à ma connaissance, abordée de façon systématique et approfondie comme elle le mérite.

### *Le dieu et l'huile à Ebla*

En ce qui concerne la présence à Ebla d'une figure liée étymologiquement à l'huile et qui pourrait être théoriquement mise en rapport avec Eshmoun, j'avais signalé il y a quelques années (Xella 1985; 1993) que les textes de Tell Mardikh font état de deux candidats possibles, c'est-à-dire les éléments *zi-mi-nu/na* (en graphie syllabique) et *i-giš* (logographique) attestés tous les deux uniquement dans l'onomastique personnelle. Cette proposition qui n'a pas rencontré d'opposition particulière doit être aujourd'hui approfondie et corrigée partiellement puisque la coïncidence des deux éléments est loin d'être sûre et ni l'un ni l'autre ne sont par ailleurs attestés avec le déterminatif divin.<sup>10</sup>

En ce qui concerne l'élément *zi-mi-nu/na*, il est attesté en fonction de théophore dans plusieurs noms de personne.<sup>11</sup> En particulier, il figure parfois en deuxième position dans une phrase verbale, comme dans le cas de *i-ba-zi-mi-nu* (PET: 198-99) et de *i-PÉŠ-zi-mi-nu* (MEE 7: n<sup>o</sup>. 47 r. III 10); avec des suffixations hypocoristiques, comme dans les cas de *zi-mi-mi-nu* (ARES 1: 255) et de *zi-mi-na-i* (PET: 307); plus fréquemment on le trouve dans une phrase nominale en rapport avec les termes 'frère' (*zi-mi-na-a-ḥu*, cf. PET: 307; ajouter peut-être le TP *aḥ-za-mi-na*<sup>ki</sup>: ARES 2: 148), 'seigneur' (*zi-mi-na-be*: PET: 307), Damu, c'est-à-dire 'clan', '(lien de) sang' (*zi-mi-na-da-mu*: PET: 307), Ar, douteux<sup>12</sup> (*zi-mi-na-ar*: Tell Mardikh 75.G.232 v. III 9), Malik, une fonction politique divinisée (*zi-mi-na-ma-lik*: PET: 307), 'argent' (*zi-mi(-ni)-kù-bar<sub>6</sub>*: PET: 307: NP fém., reine de Burman, cf. ARES 2: 182).

En effet, à Ebla les signes de la série ZA/ZI/ZU ne semblent pas rendre un \*š étymologique (Fronzaroli 1979; Krebernik 1982), d'autant plus que le terme 'huile' est attesté dans les listes lexicales précisément sous la forme *sa-ma-nu*.<sup>13</sup> Pour expliquer l'élément *zi-mi-nu/na*, on a

10. Pace Lipiński (1995: 155) qui écrit que 'les archives d'Ebla comportent des anthroponymes dont l'un des éléments se présente sous la forme <sup>d</sup>i-giš, 'dieu-huile', en sumérien, et *Sí-mi-nu/na* en éblaïte'.

11. Pour un examen détaillé des données, cf. Pomponio et Xella 1997: 523-24.

12. Pomponio et Xella (1997: 353-55).

13. VE 883: i-du<sub>10</sub> = *sa-ma-nu da-bù*, cf. Krebernik (1983: 34; Fronzaroli 1984: 181).

songé par conséquent à un nom avec /s/ étymologique en première position, en proposant une comparaison avec les NP ugaritiques *zmn* et *zi-me-nu* (Mangiarotti 1997: 166-67). Il s'agit toutefois, à Ras Shamra, d'un anthroponyme rare et énigmatique, de sorte que cette solution n'est guère convaincante. Il faut ajouter encore que, malgré les tentatives récentes d'établir les règles de la phonétique éblaïte, on ne peut pas exclure des irrégularités ou des phénomènes 'hétérodoxes'.<sup>14</sup>

De toute façon, il vaut mieux pour l'instant ne pas prendre en considération la prétendue équivalence *zi-mi-nu/na* = (')šmn, sans pouvoir exclure définitivement un rapport entre les deux termes, à vérifier ultérieurement.

Plus prometteuse s'avère en revanche l'analyse de l'élément *i-giš*, 'huile (végétale)', également attesté en fonction de théophore dans les NNPP éblaïtes avec des attributions parfois claires, comme dans le cas de *i-giš-a-ḥu* (ARES 2: 359), de *na-am<sub>6</sub>-i-giš*<sup>15</sup> (PET: 255) et de *bù-i-giš* (PET: 153); l'interprétation de *i-giš-nu-du* (ARET 9, 43, 1) semble plus difficile.

Il est donc tout à fait sûr qu'à Ebla l'huile—comme chacun sait, élément très précieux au Proche-Orient ancien<sup>16</sup>—jouissait d'un certain succès dans l'onomastique personnelle et était virtuellement considéré comme possédant une 'qualité' divine sans atteindre par ailleurs une véritable divinisation. Même en laissant de côté le cas problématique de *ziminu/a*,<sup>17</sup> on peut conclure qu'à cette époque, dans un panthéon qui n'était pas encore complètement réalisé dans le sens polythéiste,<sup>18</sup> l'on rencontre un élément dont le nom se liait à l'huile et à ses qualités thérapeutiques qui pourrait bien représenter un antécédent pré-polythéiste du dieu phénicien, dont la figure avait acquis au Ier millénaire une complexité qui dépassait largement la portée étymologique de son nom.

14. Des exceptions ou des changements dans la série des sibilantes sont attestés, cf. p. ex. Krebernik (1982: 212-13); Archi (1986: 245).

15. *i-giš* n'a jamais le déterminatif divin: la lecture du NP *na-d<sub>1</sub>-i-giš* (*na-AN-i-giš*) par P. Mander dans MEE 10, 10 verso X,15 e 44 (= ARET IV 25) recto I 5 et acceptée par Lipiński 1994 est fautive, s'agissant en réalité de *na-am<sub>6</sub>-i-giš*, c'est-à-dire, '*i-giš* est agréable/bon'.

16. Cf. Liverani (1982) et bibliographie citée.

17. Il n'y a malheureusement aucune preuve de caractère prosopographique qui démontre que *i-giš* et *ziminu/na* sont deux formes du même terme, même si tous les deux se retrouvent avec le terme 'frère'.

18. L'on renvoie ici à la mise au point toujours valable de Brelich (1960).

## Eshmoun à Ugarit

Si l'on passe maintenant au II<sup>e</sup> millénaire, et plus précisément à Ugarit à la fin du Bronze Récent, la situation se présente dans les termes suivants.

La présence d'Eshmoun ou, de toute façon, d'un prédécesseur ugaritique du même nom avait été suggérée il y a quelques années par l'attestation du terme *šmn* dans un rituel alphabétique provenant des archives de Ras Ibn Hani.<sup>19</sup> Sur la base de cette attestation l'on avait par conséquent reconsidéré deux autres textes rituels connus depuis longtemps, c'est-à-dire *KTU* 1.41: [45] e *KTU* 1.87: 50 où, au lieu du terme homographe *šmn* 'huile', on aurait pu théoriquement lire le théonyme *šmn* (ici aussi sans aleph prosthétique) comme destinataire d'offrandes. Cette hypothèse, considérée favorablement par divers auteurs parmi lesquels moi-même, doit elle aussi être réévaluée et approfondie. Il convient de réexaminer les passages concernés.

Dans *KTU* 1.164, le roi accomplit entre autres une série d'offrandes à différentes divinités sur le seuil (*db*) d'une chapelle particulière appelée *hmn* (Xella 1991a *passim*), parmi les offrandes on trouve 'deux oiseaux' consacrés, à la fin de la série, à l'énigmatique *šmn*:

*KTU* 1.164.3-9

3 [i]d* . ydbh . mlk . l ilib	3 Lorsque le roi sacrifie à <i>Ilib</i>
4 b db . ap . w npš . ksp .	4 sur le seuil: <i>ap</i> et <i>npš</i> , de l'argent
5 wḥrš . kmm . alp . w š	5 et de l'or, idem, un bœuf et un mouton
6 šrp . l ilib . w šlm*m*	6 en holocauste- <i>šrp</i> pour <i>Ilib</i> ; et en offrande- <i>šlmm</i>
7 kmm . š . l il . šrp .	7 idem; un mouton pour <i>Ilu</i> en holocauste- <i>šrp</i>
8 w šlmm . kmm . 'šr*m*	8 et en offrande- <i>šlmm</i> , idem. Deux oiseaux
9 l šmn	9 pour <i>Šmn</i>

Ici, au moins du point de vue paléographique, la lecture *šmn* est tout à fait sûre. En plus, s'agissant probablement d'une divinité liée à l'huile et, par conséquent, aux rites d'onction, sa mention à la fin des cérémonies qui ont lieu sur le seuil du sanctuaire semble parfaitement plausible. Malgré ces éléments favorables, le cadre d'ensemble n'est pas complètement exempt de doutes. Del Olmo Lete (1992: 213-16) a

19. Il s'agit de RIH 77/2B correspondant à *KTU* 1.164: 9 dans l'édition la plus récente des textes ugaritiques (Dietrich, Loretz, Sanmartín 1995); données et bibliographie dans Xella (1981: 347-49).

remarqué qu'il pourrait s'agir d'une faute scribale pour *inš ilm*, à savoir la 'collectivité divine' (anonyme) à laquelle d'habitude on offre précisément 'deux oiseaux' à la fin d'une séance de sacrifices.<sup>20</sup> Même si cette hypothèse paraît difficile à accepter (il s'agirait d'une faute presque incroyablement longue), il n'en reste pas moins que l'on a affaire à la seule mention de *šmn* comme théonyme à Ugarit, puisque les deux autres prétendues attestations du dieu dans *KTU* 1.41 et 1.87 ne résistent pas à un examen plus approfondi.

En effet, si l'on examine attentivement les deux textes en question l'on est obligé de conclure que *šmn* désigne ici tout simplement 'l'huile' employée et/ou offerte au cours des rites.

*KTU* 1.41 et *KTU* 1.87 sont, comme on sait depuis longtemps, deux quasi-*duplicata* l'un de l'autre (Xella 1981; del Olmo Lete 1992). Le terme *šmn* dans *KTU* 1.41.44 signifie certainement 'huile', tandis qu'à la ligne 45 il est restitué d'après le passage parallèle de *KTU* 1.87,<sup>21</sup> qui reste donc le seul texte à prendre en considération. Après avoir collationné encore une fois les documents et confronté mes conclusions avec celles de del Olmo Lete, je propose cette lecture synoptique du passage concerné en tenant compte des deux textes:

- 1\* [t]tb . mdbh . b'l .  
 2\* g\*d\*[lt . l b'l]  
 3\* dqt . l . špn .  
 4\* w . dqt\*[ . l b'l . ugrt]  
 5\* tn . l . 'šrm . pamt . [š ]  
 6\* š . dd . šmn . gdlt . w . [mlk .] b\*r\*r\*]  
 7\* rgm . yttb .  
 8\* b . tdt . tn . [d]d\* šmn  
 9\* 'lyh . gdlt . rgm . ytt\*[b . mlk .] b\*r\*r\*]

Il n'y a aucune raison de lire *l* au lieu de *d* au début de la ligne 50 de *KTU* 1.87 (deuxième mot de notre ligne 6\*; Dietrich, Loretz,

20. Voir en particulier (1992: 214, note 86). Del Olmo Lete et Sanmartín (1996: 41). Toujours à propos de *inš ilm*, voir aussi Loretz (1992: 164 s.); les morts de la famille royale, 'Götter der Sippe, Sippengötter' (cf. akk. *nišūtu* 'Blutverwandtschaft, Sippe'); une autre interprétation moins convaincante est fournie par Pardee (1994: 283-84: 'a collective term denoting some part or the entirety of the human race that has joined the realm of divinity ['the humanity of the gods']').

21. *KTU* 1.47.41-46: (41) [t]tbh . mdb . b'l . g\*d\*[lt . l b'l] (42) dqt . l . špn . w . dqt\*[ . l b'l . ugrt] (43) tn . l . 'šrm . pamt . š\*[ ] (44) š . dd . šmn . gdlt . w . [mlk . brr] (45) rgm . yttb . b . tdt . tn . [d?d? . šmn] (46) 'lyh . gdlt . rgm . ytt\*[b . mlk . brr].

Sanmartín 1995), même si la séquence *dd šmn* est quelque peu surprenante, puisque *dd* est une mesure/un récipient pour matières sèches (*akl, drt, ḥtm, kšmn/m, n'r, qmh, š'rm*) et non pas pour des liquides comme l'huile (del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996: 129), pour lesquels on utilise *kd* (del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996: 210).

Une dernière donnée doit être ajoutée au matériel documentaire qui concerne probablement *šmn*, c'est-à-dire l'existence des noms propres *šmn* et *šmny* interprétés par Gröndahl (1967: 27, 195, 414) comme des ethniques (d'après le TP <sup>uru</sup>*šām-na-a*), mais qui pourraient théoriquement être en rapport, comme dans les cas éblaïtes, avec l'huile comme élément théophore.

### *Sommaire*

La situation documentaire qui concerne d'éventuels antécédents d'Eshmoun au III<sup>e</sup> et au II<sup>e</sup> millénaires peut être synthétisée de la manière suivante.

À Ebla les textes attestent indubitablement 'l'huile (végétale)', *i-giš*, en fonction d'élément théophore quoique dépourvu du déterminatif divin, exactement comme dans les cas (entre autres) de Damu ou de Malik, termes qui seront explicitement divinisés aux époques successives. Il peut donc s'agir d'un processus théologique semblable, susceptible d'élever formellement au rang divin des éléments ou des concepts abstraits qui ont acquis progressivement une personnalité et, probablement, une mythologie spécifiques. Quant au terme *ziminu/a*, il peut difficilement être mis en rapport avec *\*šmn* pour des raisons phonétiques qui ne permettent néanmoins pas de considérer la question close une fois pour toutes, d'autant plus qu'on n'envisage aucune autre explication convaincante.

En domaine ugaritique, la seule attestation sûre de *šmn* comme destinataire d'offrandes—la faute du scribe étant vraiment difficile à admettre—se trouve dans le texte d'Ibn Hani *KTU* 1.164 qu'on vient d'examiner. La présence d'un NP comme *šmny* pourrait témoigner de l'emploi de *šmn* dans l'anthroponymie comme théonyme avec un suffixe hypocoristique classique.

Si l'on considère que quelques sources égyptiennes confirment l'Âge du Bronze Récent comme l'époque à laquelle un dieu (guérisseur?) *Šmn* sort de l'anonymat, le hiatus avec les attestations les plus anciennes d'Eshmoun en domaine phénicien se réduit considérablement.

Même si les doutes et les incertitudes surtout liées à l'état de la documentation invitent toujours à la prudence, l'on est en droit d'affirmer que l'histoire du dieu Eshmoun peut être aujourd'hui entrevue dans ses grandes lignes, dans l'attente d'y voir plus clair avec l'apport de sources nouvelles et l'étude plus approfondie encore de celles qui sont déjà connues.

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## UN NOUVEL AUTEL À ENCENS DE PALMYRE

Emile Puech

The author publishes a limestone incense altar of simple style, 44.5 cm high, from the antiquities market in Jerusalem, decorated on one side with a pair of hands raised in adoration. The short, seven-line inscription is written on another, slightly smaller side of the artefact. The Palmyrene text reads 'Blessed be his name forever, the Kind and Merciful One. The altar which made Shalman (son of) 'Aweid (son of) Amiya, for his own life and for the life of his sons'. The commentary elaborates on the date and meaning of the formulaic expressions *bryk šmh l'lm'* and *tb' wrhmn'*. It weighs the possibility of reading 'wyd' qy' ('Aweida son of Gaius?) instead of 'wyd' 'my', which suggests a matronym. The palaeographical discussion concludes that the script, as well as the material type of the altar and the phraseology, points to a date in the third century AD, and more specifically to the second quarter or the middle of that century.

Est parvenu dernièrement sur le marché des antiquités de Jérusalem<sup>1</sup> un autel à encens ou pyrée dont l'origine palmyrénienne ne fait aucun doute, même si le lieu précis de sa découverte reste inconnu.

### *Description générale (Pl. 1a, 1b)*

Le pyrée en calcaire blanc assez dur, légèrement veiné, mesure 44.5 cm de hauteur à décomposer ainsi: socle 8 cm, biseau 2.5 cm, pilier central 17.5 cm, biseau sous entablement 2.5 cm, entablement 5 cm, biseau supérieur 4.5 cm et cupule 4.5 cm. La largeur des faces varie quelque peu: côté inscrit: socle 16.5 cm, base du pilier central 12.5 cm, haut du pilier 11.5 cm, entablement 16 cm, cupule 10 cm; côté gauche sculpté: socle 18.5 cm, bas et haut du pilier 13.5 cm, entablement 19 cm; côté droit: socle 19.5 cm, bas du pilier 14 cm, haut 13.5 cm et entablement

1. Je remercie M.L. Wolfe de m'en avoir confié la publication.

19.5 cm. Ces indications montrent que la face inscrite de forme trapézoïdale est légèrement plus étroite que la face rectangulaire portant la gravure des deux mains en relief; la différence indique tout le relief de cette sculpture. Le diamètre extérieur de la cupule est de 10 cm et le diamètre intérieur de 6 cm, le rebord, régulier, mesure 2 cm d'épaisseur, et la profondeur maximale au centre est de 1.75 cm. Le pyrée est assez bien conservé, il ne manque que l'angle inférieur droit du socle de la face inscrite.



Planche 1a. *Autel à encens de Palmyre*

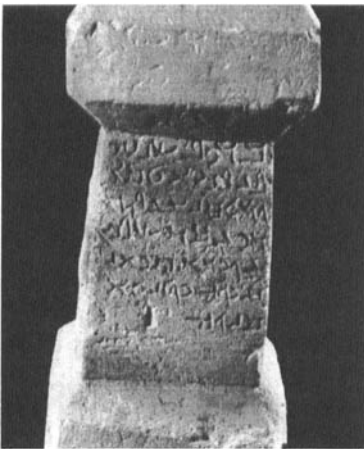


Planche 1b. *Autel à encens de Palmyre; inscription*

### *Type*

Cet autel, sans moulure à la base du pilier ou à l'entablement, ne porte aucune trace d'usage ou de combustion à l'intérieur de la cupule mais, comme il a déjà été noté, la plupart des pyrées ayant séjourné longtemps dans l'eau, il n'y a pas de traces de combustion dans les cupules (Al-Hassani et Starcky 1957: 99 no. 1; 115-21). Le pyrée est même de forme assez fruste, du type CIS II no. 4025 daté de 227 AD, no. 4040 daté de 240 AD, no. 4042 daté de 247 AD, no. 4100, no. 4446 daté de 253 AD, A 1204 daté de 239/40 AD (Al-Hassani et Starcky 1953: 154-56), A 1175 daté de 240 AD (Al-Hassani et Starcky 1953: 156-58), A 549 daté de 239 AD (Teixidor 1965: no. 15), A 289 daté de 246/7 AD (Teixidor 1965, no. 17), A 504 daté de 222(?) AD (Teixidor 1965: no. 34), A 248, A 417 et A 530 (Teixidor 1965: nos. 9, 29, 38), A 1422/8423 daté de 213 AD (Al-As'ad et Teixidor 1985: 39) ou A 1474/8842 (Al-As'ad et Teixidor 1985: 40). Il a déjà été noté que le type en biseau sans mouluration finit par dominer en Palmyrène du Nord-Ouest (Al-Hassani et Starcky 1957: 100).<sup>2</sup>

### *Sculpture*

Toutefois malgré ce caractère assez fruste, l'autel porte une gravure en relief, une paire de mains, poignets et partie des avant-bras vus de face, pouces à l'intérieur, avec une légère esquisse de la paume de la main droite, dans la position de l'orant en l'absence du buste de la personne, les mains occupant toute la hauteur et la largeur du pilier central. On peut lui comparer les exemplaires suivants: CIS II no. 4008: une paire de mains et poignets, paumes marquées, daté de 191 AD; nos. 4089 et 4088, no. 4093: mains gravées en relief dans un panneau, lignes des paumes marquées; no. 4025 daté de 227 AD: mains et poignets, paumes marquées et une paire d'yeux au-dessus; no. 3981 daté de 188 AD: deux paires de mains et leurs poignets, l'une au-dessus de l'autre dans un panneau; A 504: deux mains levées (seule une partie de la droite est préservée) datée de 222(?) AD (Teixidor 1965: no. 34); A 433: deux

2. Un autel à encens avec inscription syriaque assez proche de la cursive palmyrénienne, trouvé à Tell Matin et daté par les éditeurs du début du III<sup>e</sup> siècle, est du type de taille en biseau sans mouluration (Abou-Assaf et Briquel-Chatonnet 1993).

mains en relief dans un panneau supérieur au-dessus de l'inscription (Teixidor 1965: no. 31); A 1155: deux mains levées en relief (Teixidor 1965: no. 44); CIS II no. 4074 représente deux orants, une mère et son enfant élevant les mains; et le no. 4037 daté de 240 AD: personnage debout, mains levées et bas très écartés;<sup>3</sup> A 1175 daté de 240 AD (Al-Hassani et Starcky 1953: 156): deux orants, père et fils, de face les deux mains levées; A 1176 (Al-Hassani et Starcky 1953: 157) daté de 243/4 AD: deux orants de face, les deux mains levées mais assez rapprochées sur la poitrine ou les épaules; Ingholt (1936: 92s; Pl. XVIII 2-3): orant aux mains élevées et écartées; A 914: un orant aux mains élevées (Teixidor 1965: no. 41); A 241: un orant aux mains écartées (Teixidor 1965: no. 21);<sup>4</sup> A 270: main ouverte sculptée à l'horizontale au milieu du pilier et sous l'inscription (Teixidor 1965: no. 24); A 1417/8425 (Al-As'ad et Teixidor 1985: 38): orant aux mains levées; Briquel-Chatonnet (1991: Fig. 1): un orant aux mains levées, ou encore la plaque votive bilingue d'Aqamathé: 'Au béni-soit-son-nom-à-jamais' (Ingholt 1936: 98-104; Pl. XIX.2) portant deux mains gravées en relief dans un panneau, paumes marquées et avant-bras non parallèles donnant l'impression de leur élévation assez haut au-dessus de la tête de l'orant.

Au terme de cette énumération, il est clair que les deux mains et avant-bras strictement parallèles de notre autel représentent en raccourci le geste essentiel de la figuration d'un orant sur ces objets votifs: les mains de Shalman, le dédicant. Cette simplification figurative est en parfait accord avec la chronologie relative de la taille et de l'exécution générale de l'autel.

#### *Inscription (Figure 1; Pl. 2)*

La surface à droite de la sculpture porte une inscription gravée assez profondément jusqu'à 2 à 3 mm, conservant même par endroits quelques traces de peinture rouge au fond de traits d'incision. L'inscription

3. Pour la reproduction de la face sculptée, voir Seyrig (1933: Pl. XXVI): l'inscription palmyrénienne en caractères brisés porte des points sur le  $\Gamma$ .

4. Mais lire sur la face opposée: 1)  $\text{ל}[\text{עלמא שמה ל}]\text{בריד שמה}$ ; 2) comme on doute de la lecture  $\text{ב}[\text{בתבא}]$ , il semble préférable d'après les reproductions de lire encore  $\text{מ}[\text{עלמא שמה ל}]\text{בריד שמה}$ , plus difficilement l'anthroponyme  $\text{ל}[\text{בלבו}]$  (voir Schlumberger, Ingholt et Starcky 1951: 163 no. 53); et 3)  $\text{טבאן}[\text{רומנא}]$ , qui donnent un sens et le début de la dédicace de l'autel au dieu anonyme.

est complète et l'écriture assez régulière bien que le graveur ait mélangé des formes cursives aux formes brisées.



Planche 2. *Inscription de l'autel à encens*

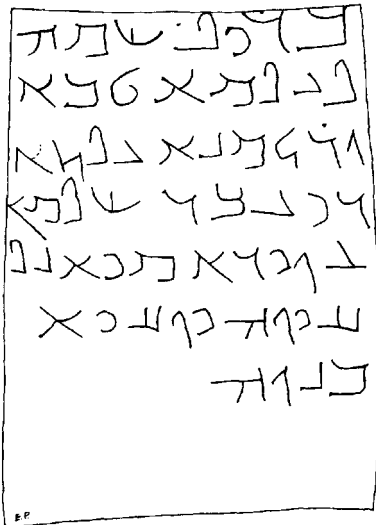


Figure 1. *Dessin de l'inscription de l'autel à encens*



*Texte*

1 בריך שמה  
 2 לעלמא טבא  
 3 ורחמנא עלתא  
 4 די עבד שלמן  
 5 עויד אמיא על  
 6 חיוהי וחיא  
 7 בנוה

*Traduction*

1 Béni-soit-son-nom-  
 2 à-jamais, le Bon  
 3 et le Miséricordieux. L'autel  
 4 qu'a fait Shalman,  
 5 (fils d') 'Aweid/ 'Aweida (fils d') Amyia (?), pour  
 6 sa vie et la vie de  
 7 ses fils.

*Commentaire*

Ll. 1–3: Le texte commence par la formule habituelle de la dédicace au dieu non nommé avec la mention d'épithètes divines, sans le *lamed* parfois présent dans la désignation du destinataire de l'épiclese. A la formule de base שמה לעלמא טבא, 'Béni-soit-son-nom-à-jamais', sont jointes deux épithètes parmi les plus fréquentes, dans l'ordre le plus courant ורחמנא עלתא selon le type de formulation A-b de la classification de J.-B. Chabot (CIS II no. 176): par exemple CIS II no. 4007 (de 190 AD); no. 4026 (de 229 AD); no. 4028 (de 231 AD); etc., ou encore l'autel de la 'Porte de Damas' (Starcky 1949–50: 51-55) daté de 175 AD; ou A 1172 daté de 217/8 AD (Al-Hassani et Starcky 1953: 149); A 1209 daté de 218 AD (1953: 151); A 1207 daté de 219 AD (1953: 152); A 1174 daté de 241 AD (1953: 158); A 1176 daté de 243/4 AD (1953: 159); A 1206 daté de 243/4 AD (1953: 160); Briquel-Chatonnet (1991: 84), etc.

Il en résulte donc que la formule laudative courte שמה לעלמא טבא n'apparaît que vers la fin du deuxième siècle avec l'autel de la 'Porte de Damas' de 175 AD et CIS II no. 4007 d'avril 190 AD pour se prolonger dans l'usage au troisième siècle. Sans doute, sur ce type

d'objet, elle dénote une forme de piété plus personnelle car la proposition est à comprendre comme un appellatif, comme le laisse entendre la formule plus longue 'Au Béni-soit-son-nom-à-jamais', לבריך שמה לעלמא, peut-être à la suite d'influences juives d'après la formule קודשא בריך הוא (Al-Hassani et Starcky 1953: 149; Milik 1972: 180-231). Le couple d'épithètes טבא ורחמנא qui définit habituellement le 'dieu non nommé'—avec l'exception du dieu Azizu טבא אלהא—est réservé à Ba'alshamîn dont le dieu-nom-nommé en est comme la forme sublimée. Chronologiquement, le culte du dieu anonyme succède à celui de Ba'alshamîn, et les attestations ne commencent que sous Trajan (CIS II, no. 3993, daté de 111 AD, avec Cantineau 1933: 192-93) et encore est-ce dans la formule inhabituelle ולעדנא טבא לעלמא שמה לבריך שמה, 'Au Béni-soit-son-nom-à-jamais et à La-Bonne-Epoque'.<sup>5</sup> Mais les pyrées au dieu anonyme ne deviennent abondants qu'à partir du règne de Marc-Aurèle (161–180) et jusque dans le milieu du troisième siècle. A leur manière, ils témoignent d'une certaine évolution de la notion du divin, le dieu anonyme s'étant plutôt substitué à Ba'alshamîn qu'identifié à lui.

Si, en 161 AD, un pyrée associe encore 'le Béni' aux 'deux frères saints', expression édulcorée qui désigne les dieux 'Aglibôl et Malakbêl (CIS II, no. 4001, 1-3): דכרן טב לבריך שמה לעלמא טבא, ורחמנא ולתרון א[חין]א קדישא, en revanche, un autel provenant des fouilles du temple de Bêl porte en grec une dédicace qui ne laisse pas de surprendre dans ce milieu palmyrénien: εὐχαριστεῖ Μάλχος βερέα τοῦ Μαλίχου ἐνὶ μόνῳ ἐλεήμον[ι] θεῶ, 'Action de grâces de Malkos, fils de Baréas, fils de Maliku, au dieu un, seul, miséricordieux' (Seyrig 1933: 269-75; Starcky 1960: col. 1097-98). Ce Malkos était un

5. CIS II no. 3992 serait à dater plutôt de 203 que de 103 AD. Cantineau (1933) compare טבא לעדנא aux formules latines: *Felicitas Temporum* et *Felicitas Saeculi*, qui apparaissent sur des monnaies romaines respectivement sous Marc-Aurèle (à partir de 161) et sous Antonin (à partir de 148).

6. Un pyrée dédié au dieu non nommé, daté de 240 AD, porte sur une face un orant—prêtre palmyrénien en attitude de prière, les mains grandes ouvertes à hauteur de poitrine, coudes collés au corps, au-dessous de trois figures-bustes divins dont au centre un Jupiter barbu que les dédicaces grecques appellent Zeus Très-Haut et ses deux parèdres imberbes, au nimbe radié, à identifier aux 'deux frères saints'—'Aglibôl et Malakbêl, Lune et Soleil, que mentionnent certaines dédicaces au dieu anonyme (Seyrig 1933: 281-82, voir aussi pp. 279-81). Une autre dédicace datée de 188 AD donne au dieu anonyme la compagnie de 'Aglibôl et de Malakbêl (CIS II, no. 3981).

personnage important, le président du sénat de Palmyre vers 200 et c'est donc un Palmyrénien païen, non un juif ou un chrétien, qui est l'auteur de cette dédicace à la portée monothéiste indéniable.

Faut-il expliquer cette formule par des influences juives ou chrétiennes? Si les influences chrétiennes sont difficiles à prouver à cette haute époque, bien que non impossibles, les influences juives sont possibles. L'inscription datée de 250 ou 251 AD d'un pyrée trouvé à la source Efqa dédié au dieu anonyme par un 'No'rai, fils de Moqîmû et sa femme 'Adah, ses fils et toute sa maison, parce qu'ils l'ont invoqué dans la détresse et qu'il nous a exaucé (en nous mettant) au large', A 1177 (Al-Hassani et Starcky 1953: 161-63) reprend la formulation du Psaume 118.5: *יה ענני במרחב יה* (RES I, nos. 408 et 745) etc. En outre, si le nom du mari est palmyrénien, celui de son épouse est juif (nom des femmes d'Esau et de Lamech). On retrouve des inscriptions en écriture palmyrénienne sur des ossuaires à Jérusalem (Puech 1983: 507-508, no. 12) et plus tard dans les nécropoles de Beth Shéarim (Mazar 1973: 198-207).<sup>7</sup> Quoi qu'il en soit, les épithètes 'le Bon et le Miséricordieux,' *טבא ורחמנא* et *ἐνὶ μόνῳ ἐλεῆμονι θεῶ*, font du dieu anonyme le dieu unique, témoignage explicite d'une foi certainement monothéiste dans le cas de Malkos, authentique Palmyrénien (Starcky 1949: 55).

Ll. 3-4: *עלתא* à l'état emphatique et sans démonstratif ne peut viser que l'autel inscrit lui-même qu'a fait Shalman *שלמן עבד*. Sans doute, le mot *עלתא* est-il rarement présent dans ce type de dédicace: CIS II nos. 3975,3; 3980; 3988; 4008; 4050,9; 4053; A 1175 (Al-Hassani et Starcky 1953: 156); A 1173 (Al-Hassani et Starcky 1957: 96) ou au pluriel, CIS II nos. 4002,2; 4011; 4065; 4075; 4079; 4101; 4102; 4103. Mais encore, le verbe *עבד* y est le plus souvent employé avec *ומודא* au participe '*aph'el* dans une formulation typiquement araméenne après le parfait (voir par exemple CIS II no. 4025). Même en l'absence de cette précision, il est clair que la dédicace de l'autel est un témoignage d'action de grâces pour des secours reçus et attribués au dieu invoqué.

7. Inscriptions no. 12 (Mazar 1973: 198), nos. 17-18 (1973: 199), no. 83 (1973: 202), no. 86 (1973: 203), no. 94 (1973: 204), no. 126 (1973: 206), nos. 130, 132, 133 (1973: 207), datées du IIIe siècle.

Ll. 4-5: Le nom du dédicant שַלְמָן Shalman est déjà attesté sur des pyrées. En CIS II no. 3999 de 136 AD, un Shalman est fils de Nesha, un autre Shalman, fils d'Ogîlu, a rendu grâce par un autre autel en CIS II no. 4097. Un Shalman est connu sur un autel dédié par son fils Yarhai au dieu anonyme en 239/40, A 1204 (Al-Hassani et Starcky 1953: 154, lu שַלְמָן; mais voir Gawlikowski 1975: 316), voir une généalogie semblable sur une dalle tombale (Gawlikowski 1975: 294-95, no. 66), un Shalman, fils de Marya, a dédié un autel au dieu anonyme, A 530 (Teixidor 1965, no. 38), ou ce même patronyme attesté par d'autres exemples (Gawlikowski 1975: 294, no. 65; voir encore nos. 201 et 204, 1975: 363), un autre patronyme Shalman connu en 92/3 AD (Gawlikowski 1975: 163), un Shalman père de Limalka est connu par une inscription de 241 AD (Ingholt 1935: 100-101), voir encore deux autres Shalman sur des inscriptions de Palmyrène (Schlumberger, Ingholt et Starcky 1951: 152 no. 24; 165 no. 56) et probablement encore 'Shalma[n]' à lire en A 1473/8842 (Al-As'ad et Teixidor 1985: 40).<sup>8</sup> Un Salamanès, fils de Julianus, a rendu grâce par un pyrée au dieu Très-Haut et Secourable qui n'est autre que le dieu anonyme: [Διὸ ὑψίστω καὶ ἐπιτηκ]ῶ Σαλαμά[νης] Ἰουλιανοῦ εὐχὴν (Seyrig 1933: 264). Mais hors des dédicaces des pyrées, le nom est fréquent dans les inscriptions palmyréniennes (Stark 1971: 51-52).<sup>9</sup>

Le patronyme est-il à lire שַלְמָן connu par un autre patronyme sur un pyrée (CIS II no. 4006,6) daté de 178 AD ou la dédicace d'une 'table' (CIS II no. 4199,2) datée de 193 AD, et par un anthroponyme (un prêtre) sur une tessère de Palmyre (Ingholt *et al.* 1955: 83 no. 628a), de préférence au plus connu שַלְמָן (Stark 1971: 44), étant donné l'anthroponyme suivant qui peut être lu שַלְמָן, apparemment un nom féminin (voir CIS II no. 4594 A,4, que les auteurs comparent à l'hébreu שַלְמָן en Esd 2.57, au judéen יהוֹמָן de RES no. II 715 et au grec 'Αμμια)? Comme la lecture שַלְמָן introduit un matronyme, ce qui peut paraître surprenant dans une généalogie,<sup>10</sup> se pose alors la question d'une coupure différente, étant donné la gravure du שַ plus proche de ce qui précède: שַלְמָן שַלְמָן avec la confusion phonétique de שַלְמָן pour un

8. Mais lire Pl. 14,8 au lieu de Pl. 14,9.

9. Shalman est aussi un nom divin à Palmyre (Schlumberger, Ingholt et Starcky 1951: 148 no. 14; 156 no. 38; 110).

10. Dans la filiation de 'Shalman, fils de Marya' en A 530 (Teixidor 1965, no. 38), Marya est un patronyme hypocoristique; voir à ce sujet Schlumberger, Ingholt et Starcky (1951: 174).

patronyme גאי Gaius, comparer le latin Gaius/Caius, puisqu'on sait que le ק palmyrénien correspond au C latin et que la finale *-us* peut être rendue par וס-/ס-/א- ou rien. La difficulté vient de ce que jusqu'à présent Gaius a toujours été rendu par גאי/גאיס ou גי et que, à ma connaissance, nul exemple de קאי n'a encore été relevé. Mais l'assimilation d'un romain au milieu palmyrénien est un phénomène bien connu par ailleurs. Quoi qu'il en soit de cet anthroponyme, une généalogie sur trois générations se retrouve fréquemment dans ces dédicaces.

Ll. 5-7: Le motif de l'action de grâces de la dédicace de l'autel concerne la vie du dédicant lui-même gratifié de faveurs de la part du dieu Bon et Miséricordieux et la vie de sa descendance על חייה וחיא בננה, en notant l'orthographe phonétique assez fréquente de la dernière formulation וחיא בננה (voir CIS II no. 4035,3-4, daté de 238 AD), comparer à CIS II no. 4044,4-6 daté de 249 AD par exemple où le *yod* final du suffixe est très souvent absent, et l'état construit חיא (phonétique) assez fréquent (CIS II no. 3974,3 daté de 113 AD; no. 3981,5, etc.) comparé à sa forme habituelle חיי (CIS II no. 3986,4 daté de 114 AD etc.; Caquot 1985: 57, daté de 142 AD). Mais la forme חיא a tendance à être la plus fréquente et même habituelle à partir au moins de la première moitié du troisième siècle (CIS II no. 4012,4 daté de 203 AD; no. 4013,5 daté de 205 AD, etc.),<sup>11</sup> mais avec des exceptions (CIS II no. 4019,5-6 חיי [en cursive] daté de 220 AD; n 4029,5, daté de 231 AD וחיי אחיה, A 1169 (Al-Hassani et Starcky 1957: 111) וחיי, daté de 205 AD.

### *Datation*

Après la mention des bénéficiaires, il y avait largement la place pour graver la date selon la formulation habituelle: Y שנת X בירח X, comme il est assez usuel dans ces dédicaces. En l'absence d'indications précises, on en est réduit à des considérations plus générales que, pour la plupart, nous avons déjà relevées au passage.

Dans l'évolution générale des formes, le type d'autel en biseau sans mouluration finit par dominer en Palmyrène du Nord-Ouest, a-t-il été signalé plus haut. Les exemples datés relevés ci-dessus vont de 227 (CIS II no. 4025) à 253 AD (CIS II no. 4446). Le motif de la sculpture

11. Ceci est confirmé par les autels datés publiés par Al-Hassani et Starcky (1953).

de paire(s) de mains ou d'un ou deux orants se retrouve sur des autels datés de 188 AD (CIS II no. 3981); de 191 AD (CIS II nos. 4089-4088); de 227 AD (CIS II no. 4025); de 240 AD (CIS II no. 4037 et A 1175, Al-Hassani et Starcky 1953); et de 243/4 AD (A 1176, Al-Hassani et Starcky 1953). La gravure du motif s'accorde pleinement avec la forme générale de pyrées au dieu anonyme dont la multiplication à Palmyre commence à la fin du règne de Marc-Aurèle (Al-Hassani et Starcky 1953: 147).

La formule laudative sans *lamed* d'attribution dans les inscriptions de pyrée au dieu non nommé n'apparaît que vers la fin du deuxième siècle (autel de la 'Porte de Damas' en 175 AD [Starcky 1949-50, CIS II no. 4007, de 190 AD], ce qui correspond aux conclusions précédentes. Sans être exclusives, les remarques sur l'orthographe phonétique vont dans le même sens et s'accommodent fort bien de cette fourchette chronologique.

Restent les données paléographiques, difficiles à manier avec quelque précision d'autant que les auteurs ne s'accordent pas pleinement sur les grandes lignes de l'évolution de l'écriture palmyrénienne (Cantineau, 1933: 195-202; Al-Hassani et Starcky 1953: 146). En outre, tout comme dans l'exécution assez peu soignée du pyrée, on a affaire dans ce cas à une écriture mixte de cursive et de monumentale quelque peu négligée. L'écriture plus ou moins posée sur la ligne peut varier dans son module et dans son ductus. Que l'on compare le ductus des  $\Gamma$  cursifs de la l. 6 et la forme bizarre de la l. 3: jambage gauche prolongé par le haut et non par le bas d'une forme d'écriture monumentale. Pour le  $\beth$ , le graveur use de la forme légèrement brisée, l. 4, de la forme au coude arrondi, ll. 2 et 7, mais au coude anguleux, l. 1. La forme brisée se retrouve à nouveau pour le  $\beth$  de la l. 3, mais non ll. 1, 2, 4 et 5. On peut retrouver des esquisses de formes brisées dans le  $\beth$ , ll. 1 et 7, ou dans le premier  $\beth$ , l. 6, ou le premier  $\beth$ , l. 5, ou le deuxième  $\beth$ , l. 2. Mais tous les  $\beth$  de cette inscription sont de type cursif ayant perdu la hampe originelle alors que le pied de la lettre s'est beaucoup agrandi au point de former un coude anguleux. Curieusement, le seul  $\beth$  (final) a un ductus comparable à celui du  $\beth$ , forme assez unique, et même en CIS II no. 4085 où l'écriture est par bien des aspects assez proche, la tête et le coude du  $\beth$  restent très arrondis et à la haste brisée; serait plus proche le  $\beth$  de A 1157,6 (Teixidor 1965, no. 11) daté de 222 AD<sup>12</sup> bien que la

12. Teixidor (1965: 16) a lu: 'DXXIV' pour 213 AD. Il semble bien que le

crosse soit à peine marquée. Le 𐤏 garde sa forme araméenne commune et non sa forme en K inversé, de même le ductus du 𐤎 qui peut avoir la forme proche du X ou un jambage gauche partant du sommet de l'axe, descendant toujours jusqu'à la ligne fictive d'écriture, mais sans être jamais bouclé à droite. Le 𐤐 est toujours dans la forme du premier quartier de lune vertical, forme non archaïque, le 𐤑 est généralement un crochet anguleux (avec quelques variantes, l. 6, pour une tête plus arrondie). Le 𐤒 médial est anguleux. Mais le 𐤓 très étalé se retrouve dans les deux écritures sur une assez longue période. Le 𐤔 est en forme de '6' et le 𐤕 ne se distingue du 𐤖 que par le point au-dessus de la tête, habituel dans le troisième siècle, même s'il est attesté sporadiquement auparavant. Les 𐤗 et 𐤘 relèvent clairement de l'écriture cursive.

La plupart de ces caractéristiques se retrouvent en CIS II no. 4028, daté de 231 AD et en CIS II no. 4046, daté de 253 AD. Sans doute est-il difficile de dater une écriture aussi mixte où se retrouvent différents tracés pour une même lettre, mais il semble que les données paléographiques des seize lettres répertoriées convergent pour une datation dans le troisième siècle, plutôt même dans le deuxième quart ou le milieu du siècle, ce qui est pleinement conforme aux conclusions précédentes. En effet, une écriture mixte avec des éléments de hastes brisées des 𐤁, 𐤂, 𐤃 et 𐤄 et le 𐤅 pointé se retrouve sur la dédicace au dieu Abgal datée du 12 adar 574, soit mars 263 AD. Seuls les 𐤁 y sont anguleux et de dimension variable, le 𐤂 un peu moins cursif et le tracé du 𐤃 non encore rectiligne (Teixidor 1997: 68-71).<sup>13</sup>

En l'absence d'indication de date, une datation du pyrée et de son inscription dans le troisième siècle et plus précisément dans le deuxième quart ou le milieu du siècle paraît devoir être proposée comme la plus obvie dans l'état présent de la documentation.

Des quelques centaines d'autels dédiés au dieu anonyme, il a été montré que la plupart d'entre eux proviennent du sanctuaire de la source Efqa et de ses environs à Palmyre, avant leur réemploi comme stèle funéraire dans le cimetière de l'ancien village assez proche (Al-Hassani et Starcky 1957: 117-22; Al-As'ad et Teixidor 1985: 37).

graveur ait incisé le trait horizontal de la dizaine après le signe 20 suivi de trois traits obliques d'unités et de la feuille de lierre; lire donc 533 (5-100-20-10-3) pour 222 AD.

13. Mais rectifier les lectures: עלורה, l. 9 et 'יִרְם' 12', l. 12, l'éditeur prenant le premier jambage du 𐤓 comme 𐤐 ou pour une unité; les 𐤓 en forme d'ω sont bien connus à Palmyre.

Comme cet autel, de type privé d'après sa dédicace, n'est pas, vu sa dimension, difficile à transporter, il devrait vraisemblablement avoir lui aussi même origine.<sup>14</sup> Mais la préservation de quelques traces de couleur rouge dans les lettres ne plaide pas spécialement pour un (long?) séjour dans l'eau, tout comme l'absence de trace de brûlé ne saurait surprendre sur un pyrée de type privé.

Il nous est agréable d'offrir cette modeste contribution à un volume de Mélanges en l'honneur du Professeur P.-E. Dion qui a tant fait pour les études araméennes en particulier. Qu'il trouve dans ces lignes l'expression de notre gratitude et de notre admiration.

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14. Des autels de plus grande dimension, des autels publics, prenaient place dans les temples, voir par exemple l'autel du temple des banquets à l'Agora de Palmyre (Seyrig 1940: 143) ou dans le temple de Bêl.



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## IRON AGE SETTLEMENT IN EDMOM: A REVISED FRAMEWORK

Piotr Bienkowski

### *Introduction*

The purpose of this paper<sup>1</sup> is to provide a revised framework for Iron Age settlement in Edom, evaluating the implications of fieldwork carried out since the last synthesis (Bienkowski 1992b; especially 7-8). That paper, stemming from the Liverpool Colloquium on the beginning of the Iron Age in southern Jordan,<sup>2</sup> summarized the archaeological and historical evidence for Iron Age settlement in Edom (and Moab), and recommended fieldwork at selected sites to test whether survey data was correct in implying Late Bronze–Iron I settlement in the Wadi Hasa in northern Edom.

The framework which seemed to be the ‘best fit’ for the evidence at the time can be summarized as follows. During the Middle and Late Bronze Ages, Edom did not have settled occupation, but was occupied by pastoralist groups who are mentioned in Egyptian sources (Kitchen 1992). Towards the end of the Late Bronze Age and in Iron I these people, and perhaps others, began to settle in the best agricultural land in northern Edom, in the western part of the Wadi Hasa. Settlement expanded considerably in late Iron II, in the eighth and seventh centuries BCE, coinciding with the development of the kingdom of Edom known from Assyrian and Old Testament references, and this was explained by the political stability of Assyrian control, the resumption of copper mining at Faynan and the economic benefits of the Arabian trade in luxury goods.

1. This paper is offered in honor of Paul Dion, with thanks for his friendship and hospitality. I am grateful to Russell Adams and Eveline van der Steen for comments on an earlier draft.

2. The Colloquium was held at Merseyside Maritime Museum, Liverpool, England 9–12 May 1991. The proceedings were published in Bienkowski (ed.) (1992).

The major problem with this synthesis was that the evidence for Late Bronze–Iron I settlement in the Wadi Hasa came entirely from surface surveys (MacDonald 1988, 1992; Miller 1991) and there was no firm stratigraphic evidence for dating the pottery. In recent years fieldwork testing these alleged Late Bronze–Iron I settlements has been completed and published. In addition, independent fieldwork bearing on the question of early Iron Age occupation and settlement has been carried out, so there is a need for a revised synthesis to take into account these developments. The results of the recent fieldwork are summarized below.

### *Recent Fieldwork*

In 1995 the writer carried out soundings at Ash-Shorabat and Khirbat Dubab on the south and north banks respectively of the Wadi Hasa to establish whether or not they had a Late Bronze–Iron I–Iron II sequence, or at least part of that sequence, as implied by previous surface surveys. Of the six sites reported by the Wadi Hasa Survey as having Late Bronze sherds (i.e. Late Bronze or Late Bronze–Iron Age), only Ash-Shorabat appeared to have potential for a stratigraphic sequence (Bienkowski 1995b; MacDonald 1988; 1992). From the Kerak Plateau Survey, the only site close to the north bank of the Wadi Hasa identified as having Late Bronze and Iron I pottery within a longer sequence was Khirbat Dubab (Miller 1991: 148–49). No other known sites in the Wadi Hasa area or south of it appeared likely to yield the necessary stratigraphic sequence.

MacDonald's Wadi Hasa Survey reported surface sherds from Ash-Shorabat dating to the Late Bronze–Iron Age, Iron IA, Byzantine and Late Islamic periods (MacDonald 1988: 169–70, 173, 244). The 1995 soundings found only Iron II pottery *in situ* with associated architecture. Early Bronze I pottery was found out of context. Neither Early Bronze I nor Iron II pottery was specifically identified by the Wadi Hasa Survey (Bienkowski *et al.* 1997; Bienkowski and Adams 1999). Miller's Kerak Plateau Survey reported surface sherds from Khirbat Dubab dating to the Middle Bronze Age, Late Bronze Age, Iron Age, Iron I, Iron II, Iron IIC/Persian, Hellenistic, Nabataean, Early Roman, Late Roman and Late Islamic periods (Miller 1991: 148–49). The 1995 soundings found only Nabataean/Early Roman (first-second centuries CE) and Late Roman (third century CE) pottery *in situ*, associated with

structures within a perimeter wall enclosing an area at least 150 × 38 m. Iron II pottery was found out-of-context, mostly in unstratified accumulations on the terraces below the summit (Bienkowski *et al.* 1997; Bienkowski and Adams 1999).

The Late Bronze and Iron I pottery identified by surface surveys at both sites was not found on excavation. Since there was a possibility that any Late Bronze–Iron I deposits may have been missed by the restricted soundings, the original survey pottery from Khirbat Dubab was re-studied. In the writer's opinion, the pottery from the survey of Khirbat Dubab dated to periods unrepresented in the soundings was misidentified and misdated. There was nothing from the survey which did not date to the Iron II, Nabataean, Early Roman or Late Roman periods (Bienkowski and Adams 1999: 166-70). The pottery from the survey of Ash-Shorabat was not re-examined, since it seemed fairly clear that the misdating to Iron I was due to misidentification of Iron II fabrics.

It is accepted that the 1995 soundings were restricted to two sites, and within those to very small areas, but it is significant that the original survey pottery is not Late Bronze or Iron I and was misdated. The conclusion is that Ash-Shorabat and Khirbat Dubab, at least, had no Late Bronze or Iron I settlement; it is arguable whether this is sufficient evidence to conclude that there was no Late Bronze or Iron I settlement elsewhere in the Wadi Hasa. There is certainly now no evidence for such settlement: the only evidence was the survey pottery, and since in all the sites in question from the Wadi Hasa Survey it was similar to that at Ash-Shorabat we should perhaps conclude that all the 'Late Bronze–Iron I' sites from the Wadi Hasa Survey date to Iron II.

Recent fieldwork by several projects has hinted at Iron I or possibly early Iron II deposits elsewhere in Edom, specifically in the Faynan region, the largest copper mining area in the southern Levant. The small site of Barqa el-Hetiye, south-west of Faynan, had two phases, one an Early Bronze Age house, the second, 150 m away, a house dated by the excavator (Fritz 1994) to Iron I. This dating may well be correct, but it is not beyond dispute. Fritz published four plates of pottery from this house, and divided the pottery into three types: standard Iron Age ware, Midianite pottery and handmade ware. For most of the standard Iron Age pottery, Fritz (1994: 142) simply stated that this is Iron I without providing any supporting parallels, while admitting that many of the types are not particularly diagnostic and are also found in Iron

II—for example, the storage jars (Fritz 1994: Fig. 11.1-6) could easily fit anywhere within the Iron Age, and it would be unwise to base a chronological argument on them.

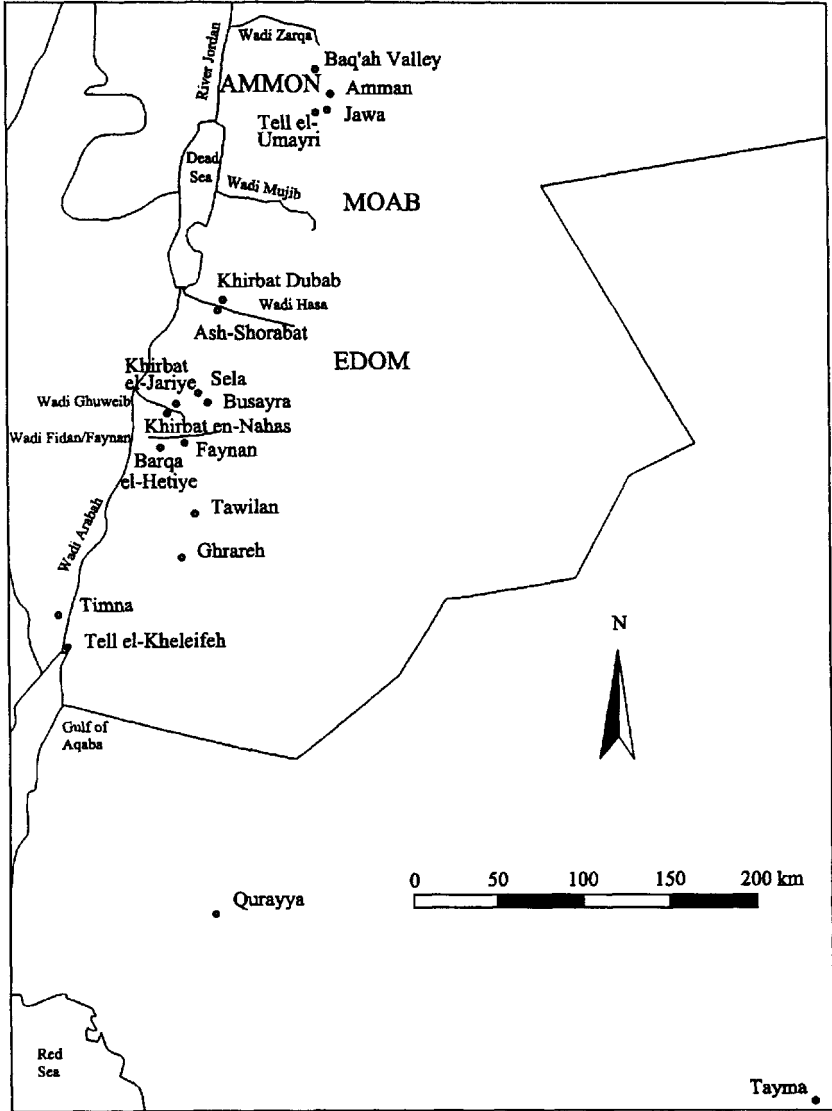


Figure 1. Map, with modern political boundaries, showing sites mentioned in the text.

Fritz provided supporting evidence for an Iron I date in just two instances: the collared-rim jars and the Midianite pottery. He illustrated two collared-rim jars which he claimed are characteristic of Iron I (Fritz 1994: Fig. 11.8, 9). The question of whether collared-rim jars in Transjordan date only to Iron I or continue later has been hotly debated (e.g. Finkelstein 1992a, 1992b; Bienkowski 1992a, 1992c), but well-stratified evidence especially from Tall al-Umayri (Herr in press) and Tall Jawa (Daviau 1992: 151) has shown conclusively that the type had a long history of development in Transjordan, changing quite diagnostically from the Iron I to early Iron II to late Iron II/Persian periods. Iron I collared-rim jars in Transjordan have long necks with everted rims, while throughout Iron II the necks become progressively shorter and inward-sloping (Herr in press). The two examples from Barqa el-Hetiye are totally unlike Iron I types, but comfortably fit into Herr's Iron II groups, with parallels to both an early Iron II type (Herr in press: Fig. 5.1, compare Fritz 1994: Fig. 11.8) and to a late Iron II/Persian type (Herr in press: Fig. 5.6, compare Fritz 1994: Fig. 11.9).

Midianite pottery<sup>3</sup> certainly has Iron I parallels elsewhere; that is not in dispute. It is found at Timna in the Wadi Arabah, for example, where it is securely dated by Egyptian inscribed objects of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties (e.g. Rothenberg and Glass 1983). Nevertheless, Midianite pottery was found at two of the excavated sites in Edom, Tell el-Kheleifeh (Pratico 1993: 49-50) and Tawilan (Bennett and Bienkowski 1995: 60)—otherwise, both these sites date securely from late Iron II, the late eighth century BCE, at the earliest. The six Midianite sherds from Kheleifeh do not have a reliable field provenance, and Rothenberg and Glass (1983: 75-76) simply disassociated them from the Kheleifeh settlement, arguing that 'It is hard to accept such a longevity of such a homogeneous pottery, from the thirteenth to the sixth century BCE, that is, some seven hundred years.' They preferred to associate the Midianite sherds with an otherwise undiscovered Iron I settlement at Kheleifeh. This is of course a dangerous argument, especially since the third type of pottery found at Barqa el-Hetiye, the hand-made or Negev ware, had precisely this long time span. Negev ware too was originally dated to Iron I and regarded as diagnostic for that

3. Parr prefers to call this type 'Qurayya painted ware', after the site of Qurayya in north-west Arabia where this pottery is found in quantity, though only on the surface and not from controlled excavations; indeed much, if not all, of this pottery known was probably manufactured at Qurayya itself (Parr 1988: 74).

period. Nelson Glueck found it at Kheleifeh and dated it to the tenth century BCE because of his identification of Kheleifeh as biblical Ezion-Geber of the time of Solomon. Negev ware is now attested throughout the whole of the Iron Age and is not regarded as chronologically diagnostic (Pratico 1993: 35-38). Glueck also found one Midianite sherd on the surface of Tawilan (cf. Rothenberg and Glass 1983: 84), but another stratified Midianite sherd came from Bennett's later excavations at the site, from a pit (F.40) in Area I Phase i, associated with late Iron II pottery (Bennett and Bienkowski 1995: 19-20, 60).

Of course this stratified Midianite sherd from Tawilan may have been residual, but there is no indication of any settlement earlier than late Iron II at Tawilan.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, the dating of Midianite pottery is not yet settled conclusively. It is just one of three related north-west Arabian painted wares in use in the first millennium BCE, the others being Tayma painted ware and Khuraybah ware; the chronology and typology of these is still in dispute (cf. Bawden and Edens 1988; Bawden 1992; Parr 1988, 1993). To summarize this dispute: Parr argues for a ceramic 'hiatus' between about the eleventh century BCE—the latest date to which he feels Midianite pottery can be safely assigned—and the sixth century BCE, when the other Arabian pottery may have been in production; Bawden believes that there was no break in the ceramic tradition in north-west Arabia after the first appearance of Midianite pottery, and no break in the urban tradition at such sites as Tayma, where Midianite pottery has been found. The chronology of Midianite pottery will not be known for certain until the site of Qurayya itself is excavated, and it cannot be excluded that Midianite pottery might have reached Transjordan as late as Iron II, which would explain its presence in a stratified late Iron II deposit at Tawilan.

Fritz's Iron I date for Barqa el-Hetiye is certainly possible, based on acceptance of the traditional restricted date of Midianite pottery; but the collared-rim jars have Iron II parallels, and it cannot be discounted that Midianite pottery might eventually turn out to have a longer time span—indeed, its presence in a stratified deposit at Tawilan urges us to

4. The only other sherd from Tawilan which appears to date earlier than Iron II is from what seems to be a Late Bronze Age cooking pot (Bennett and Bienkowski 1995: Fig. 6.19:11), pointed out to me by Larry Herr; this too was stratified with late Iron II pottery, in Area III West phase iii (Bennett and Bienkowski 1995: 49 Table 4.1).

consider this as a strong possibility.<sup>5</sup> There is sufficient evidence to suggest that Barqa el-Hetiye might date to Iron II. Indeed, a radiocarbon date taken from a sample collected in the Iron Age house, but not available in time for Fritz's publication (1994), has been calibrated to 905–835 BCE (now published in Levy, Adams and Shafiq 1999: Table 2); a ninth-century BCE date for Barqa el-Hetiye would fit the date of the collared-rim jars and the other pottery, and would make it contemporary with the house at Khirbat en-Nahas (see below).

About 10 km to the north of Barqa el-Hetiye, in the Wadi Fidan 40 cemetery, Levy and Adams excavated 62 graves, containing 87 human skeletons, and estimated a minimum of 3500 graves in the cemetery (Levy, Adams and Shafiq 1999). Intriguingly, the burials contained no pottery; the contents were beads (as pendants, necklaces or bracelets), the remains of textile and leather shrouds, copper and iron rings and bracelets, preserved wooden bowls and pomegranates. A radiocarbon date taken from one of the pomegranates in a sealed grave gave a date calibrated to 1015–845 BCE, indicating a date for the burials probably within the tenth/ninth centuries BCE, that is, early Iron II. These are in fact the first Iron Age burials ever found in Edom, with no pottery, and dating earlier than any excavated Edomite settlements. It is possible that the burials should be associated with pastoral nomadic groups such as those which occupied the area of Edom during the second millennium BCE, and which are mentioned in Egyptian inscriptions (Kitchen 1992).

Just to the north of the Wadi Fidan lies Khirbat en-Nahas, on the edge of the Wadi Ghuweib. This was one of the largest copper production sites in the Near East, used extensively in the Roman and Byzantine periods, but probably first exploited in the Iron Age. Volkmar Fritz excavated a house at Khirbat en-Nahas, which contained Iron II pottery, including 'Edomite' painted ware, but lacked the imitations of Assyrian palace ware well known from Busayra (Fritz 1996). A radiocarbon date from the house is calibrated to 900–805 BCE, suggesting a ninth-century BCE date for the house, a similar date to that now available for Barqa el-Hetiye. Six radiocarbon dates taken by Hauptmann and his team from archaeometallurgical debris and slag piles at Khirbat

5. Rothenberg (1998: 203) clings to a twelfth-century BCE date for the Midianite pottery from Barqa el-Hetiye, arguing that it came from an unexcavated earlier building on the site—essentially the same argument he used for the Midianite sherds from Kheleifeh.



en-Nahas, not directly associated with the house, date between 1199 and 844 BCE (calibrated), and samples collected by them from smelting slag piles at Khirbat el-Jariye, in the adjacent Wadi Jariye, have produced three radiocarbon dates between 1150 and 925 BCE (calibrated) (all these radiocarbon dates have been conveniently collected and tabulated by Levy, Adams and Shafiq 1999: Table 2). The dates collected from charcoal in slag piles are difficult to evaluate and interpret, since they are not associated with any archaeological, as opposed to metallurgical, deposits. However, they seem to indicate mining activity in the Faynan region from the twelfth century BCE on, following a gap since the end of the Early Bronze Age.

A recent surface survey in the Wadi Faynan, close to Khirbat Faynan, probably the major settlement site certainly in the Roman and Byzantine periods and probably earlier, suggests the existence of remnant field terraces of Iron Age date (Barker *et al.* 1998). In particular, some of the occupation close to the *khirbah* has been identified as industrial installations related to copper smelting, with Adams (in Barker *et al.* 1999) tentatively proposing a date earlier than the seventh century BCE. This earlier date is based on the presence of pottery of the type recorded by Hart and Knauf (1986) as non-Edomite Iron Age pottery, which they found in association with 'standard Edomite' (i.e. seventh-sixth century BCE) pottery during their survey in the Wadi Faynan. Barker's recent survey apparently suggests that the two types—'non-Edomite' and 'standard Edomite'—can be found in isolation and that there may be a chronological distinction between them. This has led Adams to suggest that this 'non-Edomite' pottery at Faynan might date earlier within Iron II, although he recognises that it is premature to come to definite conclusions based solely on surface survey. However, the existence of ninth-century BCE deposits at nearby Barqa el-Hetiye and Khirbat en-Nahas shows that a pre-seventh-century BCE date for the survey pottery from central Faynan should not be discounted.

#### *A Revised Framework*

Fieldwork carried out in recent years has shown that the caution expressed in the previous synthesis concerning the Late Bronze/Iron I date of some of the Wadi Hasa Survey sites was justified (Bienkowski 1992b). There is now no evidence at all for Late Bronze/Iron I settlement in the Wadi Hasa, and this element may be removed from the equation.

There is no evidence for settled occupation south of the Wadi Hasa in the Middle and Late Bronze Ages, although it is clear from Egyptian texts that this area was inhabited by pastoralists who lived in tents. Radiocarbon evidence collected from slag piles at Khirbat en-Nahas and Khirbat el-Jariye on the outskirts of the Faynan region hints at some copper mining in the twelfth to tenth centuries BCE, although none of this is associated with any known settlement sites of that date. The graves without pottery in the Wadi Fidan are radiocarbon dated to the tenth and ninth centuries BCE, and one possible interpretation is that these are the graves of pastoralist groups. Radiocarbon evidence is also producing evidence for the earliest known settlements in Edom, in the Faynan area, at Barqa el-Hetiye and Khirbat en-Nahas, at both of which houses were excavated that dated to the ninth century BCE.

Current evidence may therefore be suggesting that early Iron Age mining at Faynan, that is, between the twelfth and tenth centuries BCE, was associated with non-sedentary pastoralist groups, although there is no evidence specifically linking the Wadi Fidan 40 graves to copper mining. Some of these groups—or perhaps others—may have settled in the area, at Barqa el-Hetiye and Khirbat en-Nahas, by the ninth century BCE, and Levy, Adams and Shafiq (1999) speculate that a mixed population of pastoralists, semi-sedentary agriculturalists and miners were involved in copper production at that time. It is not surprising that the earliest evidence for Iron Age settlement is coming from the Faynan area, since its economic importance to the later kingdom of Edom has long been recognized (cf. Knauf and Lenzen 1987), although the dates of the earliest Iron Age exploitation of the copper mines are earlier than previously thought. Indeed, if the twelfth-century BCE radiocarbon dates from slag piles at Khirbat en-Nahas and Khirbat el-Jariye are to be relied on, copper mining here was contemporary with Egyptian exploitation of the copper mines of Timna, about 100 km to the south in the Wadi Arabah.<sup>6</sup> Native Jordanian metalworking may well have been a factor in state formation: contemporary with these developments at Faynan, the earliest steel in the Near East was being deposited as jewellery in Iron I burials in the Baq'ah Valley north of Amman, and McGovern (1986; in press) thinks that the development of an iron/steel industry in central Jordan in the thirteenth-twelfth centuries BCE could

6. Rothenberg (1998: 203) implies Egyptian involvement in early Iron Age copper mining in the Faynan area, for which there is not a shred of evidence.

have been significant for the rise of the Ammonite state. The Faynan mines may have had a similar importance to Edom, and it may be significant that Edom's probable capital, Busayra, was later located in close proximity to Faynan.

By the early eighth century BCE (796 BCE), Edom is mentioned as a tributary of the Assyrian king Adad-nirari III and from 734 BCE appears regularly in Assyrian inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III and his successors (Millard 1992). The main excavated sites—Busayra, Tawilan, Umm el-Biyara, Ghrareh, Tell el-Kheleifeh and others (cf. Bienkowski 1995a)—can all be dated at least from that time (late eighth century BCE), and further work on their chronology might close the gap between them and the ninth-century BCE settlements at Barqa el-Hetiye and Khirbat en-Nahas. The great expansion of settlement in Edom still appears to date to the late eighth and especially the seventh century BCE, perhaps stimulated by the beneficial political and economic effects of the *pax Assyriaca* (Bienkowski 1992b; Millard 1992).

How late these Edomite sites survived is still a problem, although it is increasingly likely that some at least (Busayra, Tawilan, Tell el-Kheleifeh) continued some way into the Persian period (Bienkowski 1995a: 47-49; in press). Just as at Tall al-'Umayri, it seems that much of the local pottery assemblage continued into the Persian period without diagnostic change (Herr 1995). The fate of the kingdom of Edom—as distinct from its settlements—is equally uncertain. Nevertheless, the identification of the standing king on the rock-cut relief at Sela, near Busayra, as Nabonidus (Dalley and Goguel 1997) perhaps lends support to the interpretation of the broken text of the Nabonidus Chronicle for his third year (553 BCE) (Beaulieu 1989: 166, 169) as implying a campaign against Edom or even its annexation.

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## ARAMAIC FUNERARY PRACTICES IN EGYPT

Bezalel Porten and John Gee

Egyptian Aramaic funerary inscriptions have been studied for their language and palaeography and not their iconography. Only perfunctory reference has been made to the artwork accompanying the inscriptions and the interplay between artwork and inscription has not been discussed. While the inscriptions have served as a fertile source for the funerary beliefs of Aramaeans settled in Egypt, additional information may be culled from the associated geographic, iconographic and archaeological background of these inscriptions. While this background is well known to Egyptologists they ignore the Aramaic inscriptions because the language is not Egyptian.<sup>1</sup> A union of Aramaic studies and Egyptology is a clear desideratum for a full understanding of these unique texts.<sup>2</sup>

### *The Saqqara Coffins*

Sometime in the Persian or Ptolemaic period, part of an Eighteenth Dynasty cemetery in Saqqara at a necropolis southeast of Mastabet el-Fara'un was haphazardly reused. Among the burials uncovered by the French excavator Gustave Jéquier in 1928–30 were 14 coffins with Aramaic inscriptions (Jéquier 1933: 49; *TAD* D18.1-14 [Figs. 1-4]) and some five mummy labels (*TAD* D19.1-5). These individuals had been poorly mummified and interred in plain rectangular terracotta coffins

1. Two conspicuous exceptions are Spiegelberg 1906a; Lévy 1927. Unfortunately, these studies too were concerned principally with the inscriptions and not the iconography.

2. All but two of the texts discussed here (Vatican and Salt stelae) have been collated at source, with improved readings supplied by Ada Yardeni. Full bibliography is to be found in *TAD* D: xxxii-xxxiii.

(Jéquier 1933: 49). Terracotta is a less expensive material than either wood or stone—both of which were popular for coffins in the Persian and Greco-Roman periods (Spencer 1982: 188-92). Of low economic status, these persons were still a notch above those laid in the ground without any coffin whatsoever.<sup>3</sup> Terracotta does not survive very well, and the coffins are severely cracked. Although some of the coffins were decorated (Jéquier 1933: 49), most have not been published. The published ones show the depiction of the ☉ *hr* sign over the face on the mummy (Jéquier 1933: Pl. xi [Fig. 2]), paralleling a similar coffin in Warsaw dating to Saite times (Niwinski 1983: 456). The inscriptions were written twice or thrice, either inscribed and painted or just painted, above the head or on the chest of the lid and on the side, usually at the shoulders or the feet on the outside, but twice on the inside (*TAD* D18.8-9), allowing the deceased to ‘look at’ his name. The mummy labels (*TAD* D19.1-5) were placed on the chest of the deceased. Onomastically, we find a mixed Aramaean-Egyptian ambience with a touch of Persian. Burial proximity and prosopographical considerations on six sarcophagi permit the reconstruction of three family groups—(1) †Agri(ya) son of †Bethelzabad son of Eshemram (*TAD* D18.7-8; 19.2-3); (2) †Heremnathan son of †Besa son of Zabdi (*TAD* D18.10; 19.4); (3) the child †Heremnathan son of †Pet(e)ese son of †Sharah son of Pasi (*TAD* D18: 4-6 [Fig. 2]). At least three of the dead were temple officials, one far from home—the priest Heremshezib son of Ashah (*TAD* D18: 2); Sharah the servitor (*TAD* D21.2), who may be the same as the above Sharah; and Sheil, a priest of Nabu at Syene (*TAD* D18.1). The names of two brothers appear on either side of a ceramic mummy label (*TAD* D19.1); the father and one of the sons bore a Persian name, the other son an Egyptian name—Paḥe son of Bagadata and Bagafarnah son of Bagadata. Perhaps they died young and belong to the twin heads from a fragmentary unpublished coffin lid (Cairo J. 55246). Four or five of the buried parties were women. Otherwise unaffiliated are Egyptian-named Besa son of Aramaean-named Zabdi and Persian Buxsha (*TAD* D18.9, 12). The coffins rest today in the Cairo Egyptian Museum.

3. For an example of such burials from a later time, see Griggs *et al.* 1993: 221-23.



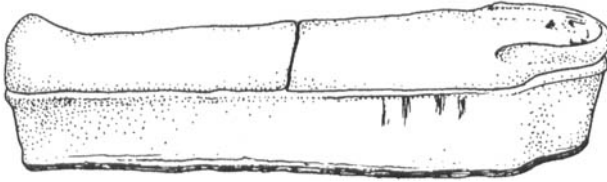


Figure 1. *Clay coffin from Saqqara.*



Figure 2. *Clay coffin from Saqqara with Aramaic inscription. The face of the coffin is depicted as the hieroglyphic sign for face.*

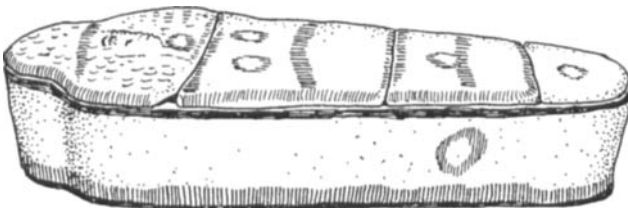


Figure 3. *Another style of clay coffin from Saqqara.*

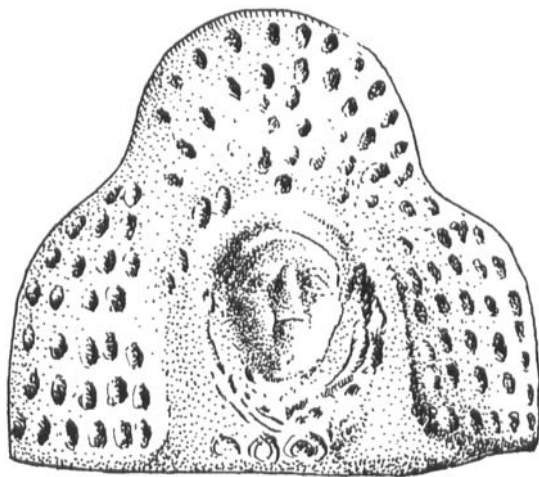


Figure 4. Close-up of Figure 3.

#### *The Aswan Sarcophagi*

Three sandstone sarcophagi with Aramaic inscriptions were found at Aswan, 200 meters from the Isis Temple (Kornfeld 1967: 9). Though all bear Aramaic inscriptions, each of the coffins is different. Except for the Aramaic inscriptions, there is nothing in the iconography of these coffins that betrays anything other than Egyptian culture. The coffins are anthropoid, with funerary wig and, in two cases, false beards, of a style that is typical of those assigned to the Thirtieth Dynasty and the early Ptolemaic period (Taylor 1989: 61-62). Kornfeld published descriptions and photographs of the coffins in 1967, and the description here follows his with some differences based on the photographs.

Aswan 2605 (*TAD* D18.18 [Fig. 5]) has two painted scenes. The first, on the front side of the foot case, is the Apis bull, labelled as 'Apis', facing a jackal atop a shrine. The second scene is a wounded serpent (Ritner 1993: 163-67) stretched along the side of the coffin. The Aramaic inscription  $\text{ܫܒܬܝ}$  (*šbtj*) is placed upside down on the left side of the foot of the coffin.<sup>4</sup> Though originally Hebrew, this name was also borne by non-Jews at Syene (*TAD* A2.1:10; B3.9:10, 4.4:21) (Porten 1969).

4. Kornfeld (1967: 10) neglects to note the orientation of the inscription.

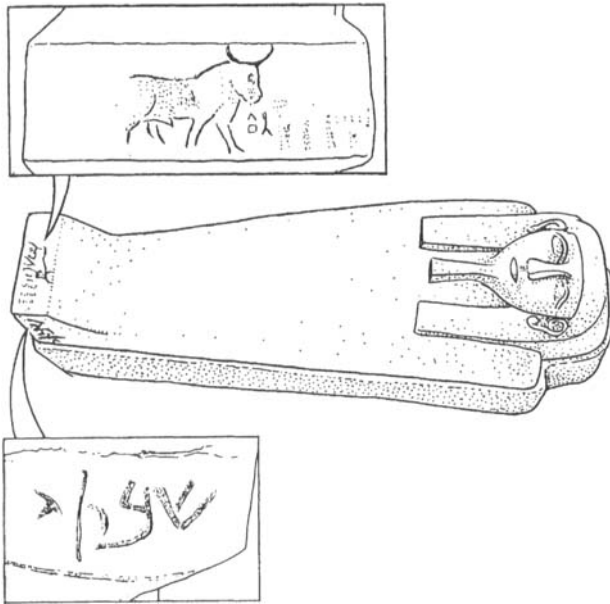


Figure 5. *Aswan 2605 with close up of Apis bull and inverted Aramaic inscription.*

The features of decoration on this coffin, or variations thereof, are typical for those of the period. Jackals at the foot of the coffin are a common feature.<sup>5</sup> The typical Apis bull on a coffin, if labelled, is labelled as Osiris-Apis (Wiedemann 1917: 298), object of veneration of the offering table. Though snakes stretching the length of the coffin side are typical for this period, normally they are protective snakes.<sup>6</sup> The snake stuck through with knives is a symbol of Apep, a personification of evil, whose cursing was a daily ritual practice in Egypt as shown by a ritual roll dating to the twelfth year of Alexander II.<sup>7</sup> 'The

5. Cairo 29301 in Maspero 1914: Pl. iii; Cairo 29302 in Maspero 1914: Pl. vii; Cairo 29303 in Maspero 1914: Pls. ix, xi; Cairo 29305 in Maspero 1914: Pl. xvi; Cairo 29307 in Maspero and Gauthier 1939: Pl. ii; Cairo 29309 in Maspero and Gauthier 1939: Pl. ix; Cairo 29312 in Maspero and Gauthier 1939: Pl. xviii; Cairo 29313 in Maspero and Gauthier 1939: Pl. xxi; Cairo 29314 in Maspero and Gauthier 1939: Pl. xxii; Cairo 29319 in Maspero and Gauthier 1939: Pl. xxxvii.

6. Cairo 29301 in Maspero 1914: Pl. ii; Cairo 29302 in Maspero 1914: Pl. vi; Cairo 29303 in Maspero 1914: Pl. ix; Cairo 29307 in Maspero and Gauthier 1939: Pl. iii; Cairo 29309 in Maspero and Gauthier 1939: 2: Pl. x; Niwinski 1983: 455-56.

7. For the text, see P. Bremner-Rhind 22/1-32/12 in Faulkner 1933: 42-88. For the date, P. Bremner-Rhind colophon 1 in Faulkner 1933: 32-33.

subjugation of the enemies' is a common element in 'the body decoration' of mummies (Corcoran 1995: 64).

Aswan 2606 (*TAD* D18.17 [Fig. 6]) has three scenes painted on the body of the coffin. Covering the breast is a pectoral, below which, on the right, is a figure of Isis kneeling above a winged figure, either a scarab, a sun disk or a *ba*-bird, of which only the edges of the left wing remain. On the opposite side of the coffin are the remains of a corresponding figure of Nephthys (Kornfeld 1967: 10). Below the winged figure is the remains of an *atef*-crown (Kornfeld 1967: 11; *Tafel* iv).

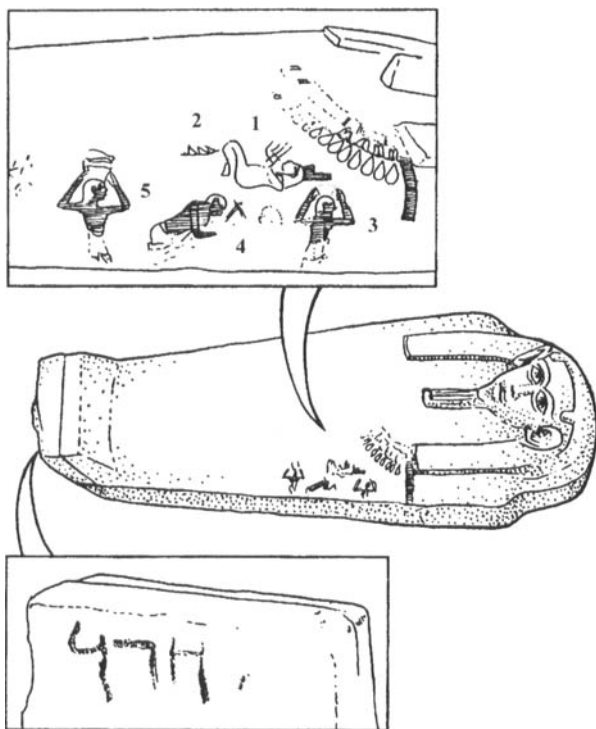


Figure 6. Aswan 2606. 1) Isis kneeling depicted laterally; 2) winged figures; 3) man bearing container; 4) man hacking earth; 5) man bearing container.

Painted on the right side of the coffin are a series of figures (Kornfeld 1967: *Tafel* iv): the first is an offering bearer carrying a traditional container ( $\nabla$ ) on his head. The second is an individual hacking the earth with a traditional Egyptian pickaxe ( $\searrow$ ). The third is another bearer carrying a traditional container on his head.

The pectoral covering the breast represents freedom from evil.<sup>8</sup> Both the offering bearers and the agricultural work have parallels in the late Persian-early Ptolemaic tomb of Petosiris at Hermopolis,<sup>9</sup> although the Aswan sarcophagus uses traditional forms for these traditional scenes as opposed to the contemporary forms for traditional scenes used in the Petosiris tomb. The name of the owner of Aswan 2606, חור, is clearly a transcription of the Egyptian name *hr* (Greek transcription Ωρος). It was popular at Elephantine among native Egyptians (*TAD* B3.10:10, 3.11:6; C3.9:19, 3.10:3; 4.8:7) as well as Aramaeans (*TAD* C3.14:16) and is found on the Saqqara stela below as patronym (Ḥor father of Abah [*TAD* D20.3:1]). There is even a Ḥor son of someone bearing the Jewish name Neriah or Pedaiah (*TAD* C4.6:3).

Aswan 2607 (*TAD* D18:16 [Fig. 7]) has one scene in four registers. Both the absence of a false beard and the inscription אבותי ברת שמשנורי (*'bwty brt šmšnwry*) show this to be a woman's coffin. On the top of the head is a scarab pushing a winged sun-disk. Below the pectoral on the breast of the coffin, there are four registers. The upper register shows Isis on the left, Nephthys on the right with a *ba*-bird hovering in the middle. The second register shows a lion couch facing to the left. A mummy rests on the couch with its head toward the lion's head. Three jars lie under the lion couch (Kornfeld 1967: 11). Selkis is at the head of the couch, and Maat is at the foot (Kornfeld 1967: 11-12). In the third register are (from the coffin's right) a baboon-headed figure, a human-headed figure, a jackal-headed figure and a falcon-headed figure (Kornfeld 1967: 12). These four figures, the sons of Horus, face the centre of the coffin, and all bear *was*-sceptres (Kornfeld 1967: Tafel vii). In the fourth register a scarab pushed a winged solar disk toward the centre of the coffin. *Wedjat*-eyes are found on the side toward the foot of the coffin (Kornfeld 1967: 12). The Aramaic inscription is located on the sole of the foot of the coffin (Kornfeld 1967: Tafel viii).

8. According to Book of the Dead 158 which is 'to be said over a broad collar of gold' and 'put at the throat' of the deceased; Allen, 1974: 156; Lepsius 1842: Taf. lxxvi; Lepsius 1867: 3.

9. Lefebvre 1923b: Pls. xii (offering bearers) and xiii (working in the fields).



Figure 7. Aswan 2607. 1) winged solar disk; 2) four sons of Horus (because two figures have jackal's head and two falcon's heads, rather than the expected human, baboon, jackal and falcon heads, no specific identifications can be made); 3) Maat; 4) mummy; 5) lion couch; 6) three jars (probably canopic jars); 7) Isis; 8) ba-bird; 9) Nephthys.

The decorative elements of this coffin too are typical of Egyptian coffins of the period: (1) the *ba*-bird hovering over the chest of the mummy,<sup>10</sup> (2) the winged scarab beetle pushing a solar disk both on the top of the coffin<sup>11</sup> and at the head,<sup>12</sup> (3) the four sons of Horus paired

10. Cairo 29302 in Maspero 1914: Pl. viii; Cairo 29304 in Maspero 1914: Pl. xiv; Cairo 29309 in Maspero and Gauthier 1939: Pl. ix; Cairo 29313 in Maspero and Gauthier 1939: Pl. xx.

11. Cairo 29310 in Maspero and Gauthier 1939: Pls. xiii-xiv.

12. Cairo 29301 in Maspero 1914: Pl. iii; Cairo 29313 in Maspero and Gauthier 1939: Pl. xxi.

facing the centre of the coffin,<sup>13</sup> and (4) the *wedjat*-eyes placed toward the foot of the coffin.<sup>14</sup>

The lion couch or bier was a regular part of funerary equipment (Janssen 1975: 239-40), and six examples have survived archaeologically.<sup>15</sup> The ritual for its use is preserved in Book of the Dead 169 (Allen 1974: 175-77), with Book of the Dead 170 serving as a variant (Allen 1974: 177-78). In Book of the Dead 169, the deceased is placed on his left side on the double lion (BD 169 a S 1 in Allen 1974: 75-76), and most preserved lion couches actually have two lion heads (Needler 1963). The deceased's eyes are opened, his feet are straightened, and his heart returned to him by Geb (BD 169 b S 1 in Allen 1974: 176). While mourners wail, his soul goes heavenward, and his body goes underground (BD 169 b S 1-c S in Allen 1974: 176). Because he is pure, he is given bread from the offering table of the gods, provided by the people of the city (BD 169 c S-d S 1 in Allen 1974: 176). The deceased is provided with clothing, sandals, staff and weapons (BD 169 e S in Allen 1974: 176)—all common burial offerings found in Egyptian tombs (Smith 1992: 209-10, 219)<sup>16</sup>—so that he may pass the guardians of the gates (BD 145 in Allen 1974: 125-33; Assmann 1989: 147-52) and enter into heaven with the gods (BD 169 i S 4 in Allen 1974: 177).

The placement of the figures of Isis and Nephthys associates them properly with the head and foot of the individual as specified in a number of Egyptian inscriptions<sup>17</sup> and on other Egyptian coffins.<sup>18</sup> These

13. Cairo 29310 in Maspero and Gauthier 1939: Pls. xiii-xiv; Cairo 29313 in Maspero and Gauthier 1939: Pl. xx. They may also be found on the sides of the coffins; Cairo 29314 in Maspero and Gauthier 1939: Pls. xxiv-xxv; Cairo 29323 in Maspero and Gauthier 1939: Pl. xliii.

14. Cairo 29307 in Maspero and Gauthier, 1939: Pl. ii; Cairo 29309 in Maspero and Gauthier 1939: Pl. IX; Cairo 29314 in Maspero and Gauthier 1939: Pl. xxii.

15. Needler 1963: 4, 7; Reeves 1990: 126-27; Kitchen 1990: I: 242-43.

16. The correspondence between the mention of these items in the Book of the Dead and their presence in the tombs suggests (contra Smith 1992: 209-10) that these items fulfilled a ritual purpose rather than served as an indication of status.

17. P. BM 10507 6/15 in Smith 1987: 42 Pl. 6; P. Harkness 2/23 in Logan 1976: 152-53; Smith 1987: 42 Pl. 10; P. Berlin 8351 4/15 in Smith 1993: 28 Pl. 3; Smith 1987: 93-95.

18. Cairo 29307 in Maspero and Gauthier 1939: Pl. vi; Cairo 29310 in Maspero and Gauthier 1939: Pls. xiii-xiv; Cairo 29313, in Maspero and Gauthier 1939:

two goddesses chant the hymns mourning Osiris, both at the burial<sup>19</sup> and during the Khoiak festival.<sup>20</sup> This chanting causes Osiris (or the Osiris of an individual) to exist and overcome.<sup>21</sup>

Kornfeld argues that the coffins show evidence of assimilation. The gender of the names in all cases matches the gender depicted on the coffins, with the males having false beards. Yet the location of the inscriptions in two instances display definite incongruities: (1) On Aswan 2605 it is merely added on the side of the footcase in a manner in which the inscription would be upside-down were the coffin set on end, a common position for Ptolemaic coffins. Given that being upside-down was a sign of cursing (Ritner 1993: 168-71), Aramaic speakers who had fully assimilated to the Egyptian religion would not have placed the inscription in such a position. (2) On Aswan 2607 it is placed on the sole of the foot of the coffin, a position often reserved for enemies (Ritner 1993: 119-26; Corcoran 1995: 50-55). Thus the inscriptions are inscribed in a way that shows inadequate attention to Egyptian symbolism.

None of these coffins shows anything other than traditional Egyptian iconography. The only Aramaic elements are the inscriptions and it is clear from their placement that they were not an integral part of the artwork. This suggests that the coffins were decorated by Egyptians and then purchased by Aramaic speakers who added the inscriptions later.

*The Serapeum Offering Table (Louvre AO 4824; Fig. 8)*<sup>22</sup>

Among the 'offering tables' of the Serapeum of Memphis (actually located at Saqqara) is one with an Aramaic inscription. The inscription was the only thing about this particular offering table that its excavator

Pl. xx; Cairo 29314 in Maspero and Gauthier 1939: Pl. xxiii; Cairo 29315 in Maspero and Gauthier 1939: Pl. xxvii; Cairo 29323 in Maspero and Gauthier 1939: Pl. xliii.

19. P. Berlin 8351 1/11 in Smith 1993: 23 Pl. 1.

20. From Khoiak 22-26, P. Bremner Rhind 1/1-5 in Faulkner 1933: 1.

21. P. BM 10507 10/11 in Smith 1987: 48 Pl. 8; P. Harkness 2/36 in Logan 1976: 152-53; Smith 1987: 48 Pl. 10.

22. *TAD* 20.1 = *KAI* 268.



found noteworthy (Mariette 1882: 28). It was found in front of a pylon built by Nectanebo among a group of Thirtieth Dynasty offering tables ([380–343 BCE] Mariette 1882: 28; Lévy 1927: 284). Thus the archaeological context suggests that the date of the offering table is mid-fourth century BCE. Palaeographical considerations, however, particularly the archaic form of aleph, beth, dalet, waw, ṭeth, yod, mem, pe, resh, and taw, argue for an early fifth century date. In form, the table is similar to those dating from the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty (sixth century BCE) to the Roman period,<sup>23</sup> with the closest comparable offering table being undated (Cairo 23136 in Kamal 1906: Pl. xxxiv; 1909: 106). If the archaeological context is not original, it must be close to original as the dedication to Serapis closely associates the offering table with the Serapeum. If the archaeological context is secondary, it seems best to hypothesize that the offering table was in place before the pylon was built by Nectanebo II and that it was reinstalled after the renovations of the Serapeum.

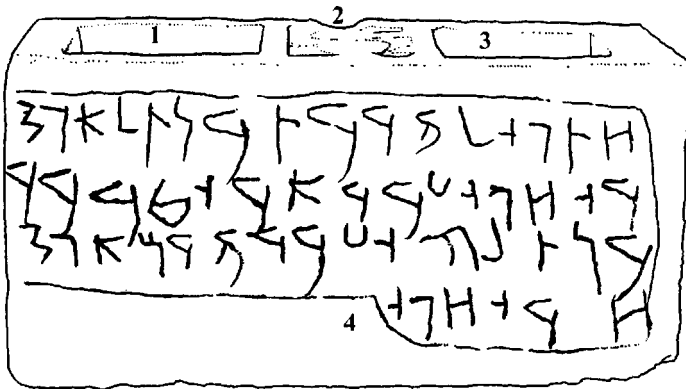


Figure 8. *Serapeum offering table*. 1) *receptacle for offerings*; 2) *offerings*; 3) *receptacle for offerings*; 4) *inscription*.

23. Twenty-sixth Dynasty: Cairo 23105 (JE 40498) in Kamal 1906: Pl. xxiii; Kamal 1909: 88. Ptolemaic: Cairo 23179 (JE 40541) in Kamal 1906: Pl. xlvi; Kamal 1909: 132; Cairo 23186 (JE 34123) in Kamal 1906: Pl. xlvii; Kamal 1909: 135. Roman: Cairo 23183 (JE 40566) in Spiegelberg 1904: 71, Tafel xxiv; Cairo 23184 (JE 40566) in Kamal 1906: Pl. xlvii; 1909:134; Spiegelberg 1904: 71-72.

The inscription reads as follows:

- |                     |    |   |
|---------------------|----|---|
| חתפי לקרבת בנת לאוס | 1. | Offering table as an offering for Banit to Osi                                |
| רי חפי עבד אביטב בר | 2. | ris-Ḥapi (Serapis) (which) Abitab son of                                      |
| בנת לה יעבד קדם אוס | 3. | Banit <sup>2</sup> made <sup>3</sup> for him (so that) he might be before Osi |
| ח<רי חפי            | 4. | >Ḥ<ris-Ḥapi.  |

Lacking any distinct word division, this was one of the hardest inscriptions of its kind to interpret. The difficulty was compounded by the reading in line 3 of *khy*, rendered ‘thus(?)’ but with no satisfactory etymology. In fact it is a ghost word. As recognized by the palaeographer Ada Yardeni, in the process of collation, the kaph is a lamed whose horizontal bar is mistakenly curved to the left rather than to the right. Read, therefore, *lh*, ‘for him’ (i.e. for Banit) and attach the yod to the following word (*y’bd*), especially since there is noticeable space between *lh* and *y’bd*. This solution, however, leaves that verb without a specific subject and of ambiguous meaning. Moreover, comparison of the first half of the text with comparable dedicatory inscriptions in Phoenician (cf. *KAI* 2.1, 4-7, 25) and Aramaic (*KAI* 2.201-202, 215, 229, 239, 242-243, 258; *TAD* D17.1) reveals a syntactically elliptical formulation. To be sure, comparison indicates that the first word in all these inscriptions refers to the object dedicated, hence *htpy* = Egyptian *htp.t* means here ‘offering table’ (Erichsen 1954: 338; cf. Grelot 1972: 341; Lipiński 1978: 111) and not ‘offering’ (so *KAI*). But the text regularly proceeded either with the relative (‘which’), followed by verb-subject-indirect object (*KAI* 2.1, 4-7, 25, 201-202, 229), or with the demonstrative (‘this’), likewise followed by verb-subject-indirect object (*KAI* 2.215, 258; *TAD* D17.1:1). In the first pattern the word order occasionally changed to subject-verb-indirect object (*KAI* 2.242-243); in our text the word order is verb (*’bd*)-subject (Abitab)-indirect object (*lh*). There is neither a relative nor a demonstrative pronoun. Conceivably, one may take the opening expression as a title and render: ‘Offering table for the offering of Banit to Osiris-Ḥapi. Abitab son of Banit made it for him.’ But if we adhere to the traditional formulae cited above, the awkwardness is eliminated if we assume the grammar imitates an Egyptian pattern wherein the relative marker *nty* (= Aramaic *zy*) is omitted in the past tense, replaced by a special relative form of the verb, *r-sdm.f* (Johnson 1976: 182).

A second conundrum is the precise nuance of the word *qrbt*. Official Aramaic knows the use of the stem *qrb* both in the sense of approaching a person (*TAD* C1.1:50, 54, 57, 193-194) and presenting an offering to a deity (*KAI* 2.229 [Teima]; *TAD* D15.2-4; cf. *TAD* A4.7:25, 28 || 4.8:25, 27; *Ezra* 7.17). This is the only occurrence of the nominal form. Those who prefer the former sense point to the appearance of the defunct before Osiris for judgment (Book of the Dead, Chap. 125). But the terminology there is not 'approach deity' but simply *iw r*, 'come to (the hall)' (Lexa 1910: 5) or *spr r*, 'arrive at (the hall)' (Neville 1886: I, Pl. cxxxiii, line 1). So we best take it in the sense of 'offering' and even this meaning remains elliptical since an object in the Aramaic inscriptions is ordinarily dedicated (to a deity) for 'the life' or 'honour' of the deceased (references in *DNWSI* 2.812-813).

A major problem is the link between the first half of the inscription and the second and the precise nuance in the second half of the verb *y'bd*. The meaning of *'bd* in the first half is clear. It is the customary word used to describe the fashioning of a ritual object (cf. *TAD* D20.1:2; *DNWSI* 2.810-813) and it was not uncommon for a child to fashion a funerary object for the parent (cf. *TAD* D20.3 [Berlin stela]; *KAI* 2.1, 215; cf. *KAI* 2.239, 248 [husband]; references in *DNWSI* 2.812-813 *passim*). Proper ritual, including offerings, would enable Banit to be an attendant in the presence of Serapis (cf. *TAD* D20.5 [Carpentras stela below]). This would be the sense of *y'bd* if we took it conjecturally to mean 'act'. The verb also has the meaning of offering up a sacrifice, but with an object complement (*TAD* A4.7:21-22 || A4.8:21), here to be understood—'make (offerings)'. The clause would then express the determination of the son to attend to the funerary rites of his father. On the other hand, *y'bd* may be a calque of Egyptian *iri* which besides its regular meaning of 'do, make' may also mean 'be, become.' See the expression *ir=t w' m-b3h p3 nb ntr.w*, 'may you be one before the lord of the gods' in parallel to *rpy=k m-b3h ntr.w*, 'may you be rejuvenated before the lord of the gods' (P. Louvre E 10607, lines 7-8 in Smith 1993: 23, Pl. 7; see also Erichsen 1954: 36-37). This is the meaning reflected in our translation. As for the syntax, Aramaic would normally employ the particle *kzy* to introduce a purpose (final) clause (Muraoka and Porten 1998: §52-53). Therefore, the verb form may be a jussive—'Let him be' ('two asyndetic clauses loosely hanging together' [T. Muraoka, written communication]). On the other hand, absence of the particle *kzy* here is consonant with Egyptian

syntax which omits such a particle in the subjunctive *sdm = f* in purpose clauses; see the hieroglyphic text in the Berlin stela below (*dif qrst nfrt*, 'so that he may give a good burial') and discussion in Johnson 1976: 279-80, esp. E492B-D. (Reading *y'br* and translating 'Let it pass before Osiris-Ḥapi' does not seem to be an improvement.)

A final word on the persons and deity. Upon death the Apis bull (*hpy*) became known as Osiris-Apis, Greek Serapis, and was buried in the Serapeum. Popular in Ptolemaic times, the term *Wsir Hpy* is found already in Serapeum stelae 22-23 dating to year 2 of Pimay (772 BCE); Malinine-Posener-Vercoutter 1968: I, 21-23; II, Pl. viii. *Hpy* was a popular element in the personal names in the funerary texts below—Taḥapi (*TAD D20.5:1* [Carpentras stela]) and Ankhohapi (*TAD D20.6* [Vatican stela]). The careless scribe, perhaps unskilled, anticipated the *heth* of the second word in the line (*hpy*) already at the beginning of the line. Banit was a Mesopotamian female deity, embraced by the Aramaeans and having a temple at Syene (*TAD A2.2:1*, 12, 2.3:7, 2.4:1). She appeared there and at Elephantine, at the same time as our text, in such personal masculine names as Banitsar (*TAD A2.2:5*, 2.6:8), Banitsarel (*TAD 2.3:2*), Baniteresh (*TAD B2.1:19*), and the dominant Makki-banit (*TAD A2.1:8*, etc.). In a Neo-Assyrian text from Nineveh involving Egyptians, a name that may be read Banitu appears as witness (Postgate 1976: No. 13:34 and n. on p. 103). If that reading is correct, it would be the only other example of that deity's name appearing as a personal name. That would not be unlike the Egyptian deity Ḥor, which was a popular personal name. In the Neo-Babylonian onomasticon, on the other hand, Banitu was found almost exclusively in female names (Tallqvist 1905: 21-22). The name Abitab is a good West Semitic name ('[My divine] father is good'), occurring also in a graffito at the Seti Temple at Abydos—Abitab son of Shumtab (*TAD D22.9*).

### *Aramaic Stelae*

Five stelae with Aramaic inscriptions have survived. None was found in a controlled excavation. Therefore, not only is the provenance unknown, but our knowledge of archaeological context is dependent entirely on parallel cases. From these parallel cases, it can be determined that the stela might have been (1) laid over the burial, (2) placed at the grave as a head stone, (3) placed in the tomb, or (4) included as part of an offering chapel. The first two alternatives are more common

at the time period of the stela. As concerns origin, the presence of *Hpy* in two of the personal names has suggested that those stelae, the Carpentras and the Vatican ones (*TAD* D20.5-6), came from Memphis (Lévy 1927: 285-86).

*The Brussels Stela* (E. 4716; Fig. 9)<sup>24</sup>

This limestone stela, originally purchased by Jean Capart at Giza, is thought to come from Saqqara (Lipiński 1975: 94). It was probably originally divided into three registers, but the top register has been almost completely gouged out. All that remains is a winged solar disk whose globe is flanked by large uraei (Lipiński 1975: 94-95) which do not dip below the level of the wings. The wings are tripartite with the feathers detailed. This style is known in Dynasty 26 (Bologna KS 1939 in Bresciani 1985: 172 [Dynasty 26]; Pushkin I.1.a.5645 [4125] in Hodjash and Berlev 1982: 170 #114 [Apries]), but is rarer in Ptolemaic times (Cairo 22180 [Ptolemy I] and Bologna KS 1943 in Bresciani 1985: 107-109, 187 [Ptolemy V?]). The artistic style of this figure is consistent with a date sometime between the seventh and third centuries BCE. Lipiński speculated that the destroyed portion of the register contained some scene depicting Egyptian funerary rites, most likely a scene depicting the worship of Osiris (Lipiński 1975: 94-96). The middle register contains a supine nude woman with the head to the left facing upward (Lipiński 1975: 95-96). The depiction of the deceased as a woman matches well with the Aramaic inscription, indicating some coordination between the artisans responsible for the artwork and the inscription. The lower register contains an Aramaic inscription, to be dated probably to the early fifth century BCE (Lipiński 1975: 101-103):

ברכה תמא ברת בכרנף לוֹסִרִי

Blessed be Tuma daughter of Bokrinf to Osiris.

In the formula  $\sqrt{brk} + l/qdm$ -DN, the deity has been considered not the agent but the indirect object of the preposition, thus 'I bless you to/ before DN, i.e., I pray to/before DN that he bless you' (Muraoka and Porten 1998: §54d). Lipiński 1975: 96-98 rendered it here 'Be recommended to Osiris'. The word *brk* in the passive voice occurs in four of the five stelae (also *TAD* D20.3-5), once with the preposition *qdm* (*TAD* D20.3:2 [Berlin stela]), in inscriptions from Hatra (*KAI* 2.244, 246 [*dkyr wbyrk* PN *qdm* DN]), and especially in graffiti

24. *TAD* D20.2 = *RES* 1788.

(‘before’: *TAD* D22:10-11, 16, 24, 26, 47, 49-52; ‘to’: D22.13, 17-18, 29-32, 40-44; already in an eighth-century BCE Hebrew inscription from Khirbet el-Kom near Hebron [Ahituv 1992: 111-13]). The blessing formula occurs frequently in the Bible (Gen. 14.19; Judg. 17.2; 1 Sam. 15.13; Ps. 115.15; Ruth 3.10).

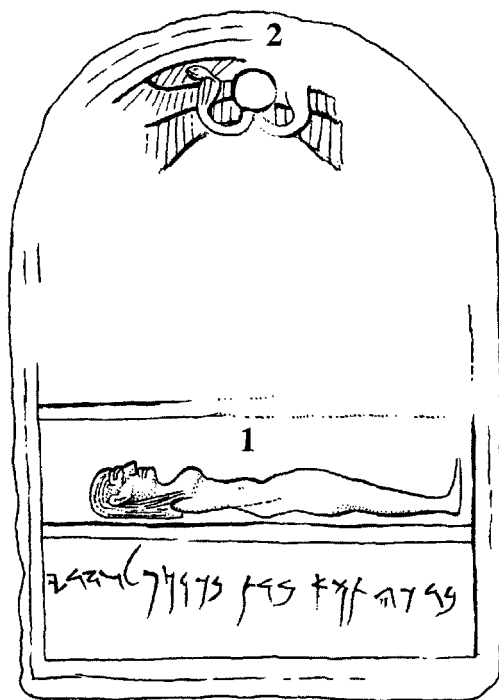
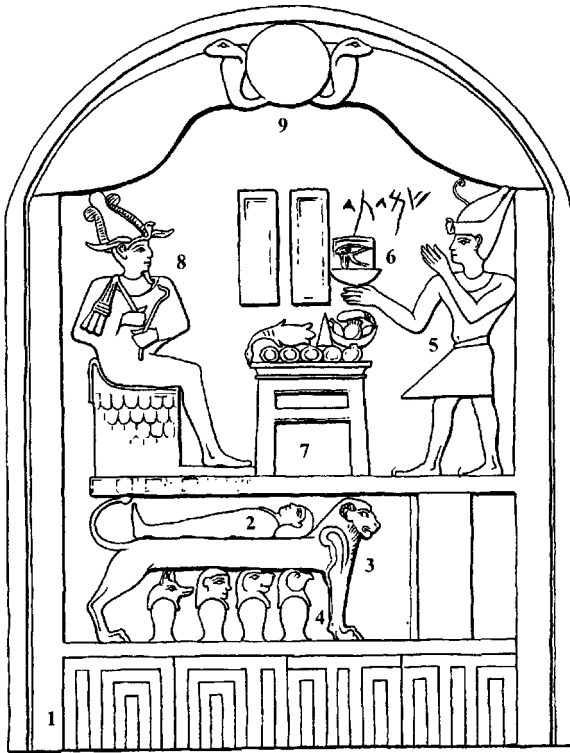


Figure 9. *The Brussels stela E. 4716. 1) recumbent female figure; 2) winged solar disk.*



The daughter bears an Aramaic name and the father an Egyptian one. Tuma is found frequently in Palmyra (Lipiński 1975: 98) and a third-century BCE Aramaic ostrakon mentions a ‘Tam wife of Malchiah son of Azgad’ (*TAD* D7.57:4-5). Bokrinf = *b3k-rrn.f*, ‘Servant of his Name’, known through Greek transcription as Bocchoris, was borne by a well-known king of the Twenty-fourth Dynasty (Lipiński 1975: 99-101). The name Osiris is here spelled *wsry*; in the other texts it is written with an initial aleph. The graffiti know three different spellings—*’wsry* (*TAD* D22.10, 24), *’sry* (*TAD* D22.13, 16) and *wsry* (*TAD* D22.11, 18).

*The Salt Stela (TAD D22.54; Fig. 10)*

This stela (*CIS II/1 143*) has two registers. At the bottom of the scene is a niched palace façade. The lower register shows a mummy on a lion couch facing right. Under the couch are four theromorphic jars facing right. The heads on the jars are, from the right, falcon, baboon, human



*Figure 10. The Salt stela (registers are read from bottom up and from right to left). 1) niched palace façade; 2) mummy lying on a bier; 3) lion couch or bier of the deceased; 4) four canopic jars (Scheinkanopen) decorated with the four sons of Horus; from R to L: Qebensenuf (falcon), Hapy (baboon), Imsety (human), and Duamutef (jackal). These sons of Horus are associated with the cardinal points. Although at one time the canopic jars contained the mummified internal organs of the deceased, by the Persian period they were mainly symbolic and attested examples were not hollowed out, as is shown here; 5) Pharaoh wearing the double crown and a shendjyt-kilt; 6) the wedjat-eye as an offering; 7) offering table with four legs holding five round loaves, a goose, a triangular loaf and a bowl containing fruits and vegetables; 8) Osiris holding crook and flail, wearing an atef-crown, seated on a throne as Pharaoh of the Underworld; 9) winged solar disk with two uraei.*

and jackal. The upper register shows a large mummiform figure of Osiris with *atef* crown () and uraeus on his head, crook and flail in his hands, sitting on a throne facing right. In front of the deity is a block altar upon which are five round loaves of bread, a trussed bird, a triangular bread loaf and a round offering. Facing the Osiris figure is a king wearing a double crown () and a pointed kilt, offering a *wedjat*-eye on a basket. In front of the king are two uninscribed blocks that should contain the cartouches. Above the figure of the king is an Aramaic graffito reading ʾšmīṭī ʾšmīṭī 'Shmiti' (the goddess Smithis as personal name; cf. the divine names Ḥor and Banit cited above). Arching over the scene is a winged solar disk with two uraei.

This stela is of mixed subject matter, the lower register coming from a funerary context, the upper register coming from a temple context. While the other Aramaic stelae show evidence of being custom made, depicting Semites integrated into the Egyptian scene, this stela seems to have been made for another purpose and had the Aramaic inscription added later. It could have been used in connection with the cult of the dead but not connected with any particular funeral.

*The Vatican Stela* (1<sup>o</sup> sala 22787; Fig. 11)<sup>25</sup>

This stela has three registers. The lowest register contains seven figures facing right. The first three (from the left) are women with both hands above the head in a mourning gesture (Wilkinson 1992: 34-35). In front of them are two priests bearing *Wepwawet* standards. In front of them is a man bearing the shoulder of an ox. Leading the procession is a man bearing a basket of offerings on his head. The procession continues from the first to the second register.

The second register contains two storage jars similar to those found at Elephantine (Porten 1968: Pl. 5b), two offering tables on the left (the first containing meat and bread and the second containing three jars, the narrow ones flanking the wide jar) and a priest holding a long implement with a round object over a horned altar.

On the top register is a lion couch resting on pediments, facing right, with a mummy on top, over the bier. Facing right is a jackal-headed Anubis figure holding an ointment jar in his left hand while his right hand is stretched over the mummy, anointing him. Flanking the bier are two Syrian figures dressed only in knee-length kilts, with both hands

25. *TAD* D20.6 = *CIS* II/1 142.



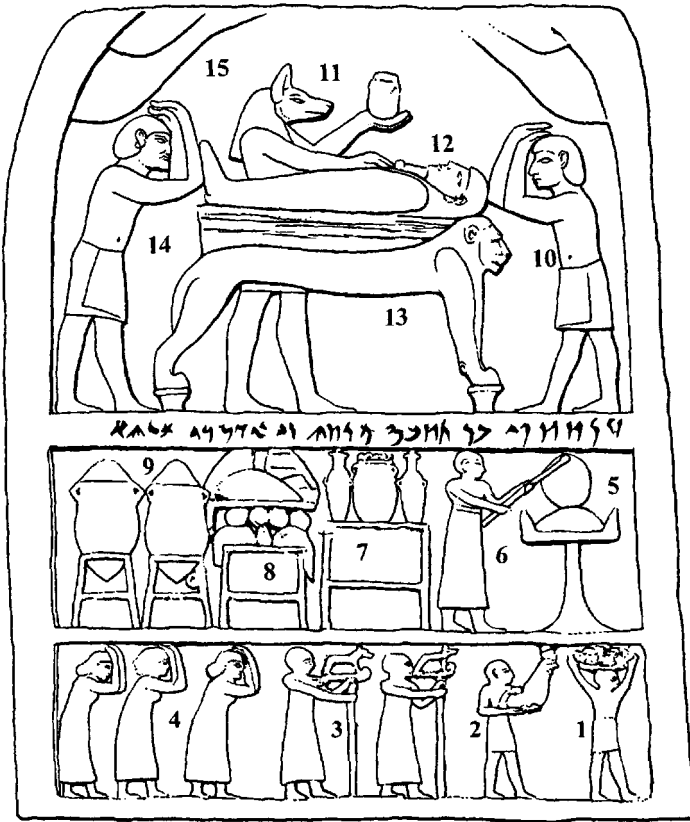


Figure 11. The Vatican stela 1° sala 22787 (registers are read from bottom up and from R to L). 1) bald priest in short kilt bearing basket of offerings (perhaps figs); 2) bald priest in short kilt bearing foreleg of ox for offering; 3) bald priests wearing ankle length robes bearing Wepwawat-staffs; 4) women with Syrian hairdo in mid-calf length dresses, with hands raised in mourning gesture; 5) horned offering stand with round object on top; 6) bald priest holding long stick; 7) tall table with four legs bearing two tall jars and tall basket of fruit or bread; 8) table with four legs holding variety of offerings: two birds, conical loaf, four round loaves, three unidentified objects; 9) two large-mouthed jars in jar stands; 10) bearded man with Syrian hairdo wearing short kilt with hands in a mourning gesture; 11) priest wearing Anubis mask holding a jar of ointment anointing mummy; 12) mummy laying on lion couch or bier; 13) lion couch or bier of the deceased; 14) bearded man with Syrian hairdo wearing short kilt with hands in a mourning gesture; 15) ends of tripartite winged solar disk.

above their heads in a mourning gesture (Wilkinson 1992: 34-35). Above the scene is a winged solar disk.

This stela bears a close resemblance to another Egyptian stela from Saqqara whose inscriptions are in Egyptian and Demotic (Mathieson, Bettles, Davies and Smith 1995). The legs on the couch parallel those in the Rio de Janeiro museum (Kitchen 1990: I, 242-43).

Between the second and third register is an Aramaic inscription:

ענחחפי בר תחבס מנחה יי אוסרי אלהא

Ankhoḥapi, son of Tahabes, the excellent (one) of Osiris the god.

Absent in this inscription is the traditional opening blessing. Both praenomen and matronym are Egyptian (Ankhoḥapi = *nḥ-Hp*, 'May Apis Live'; Takhabes = *ta-h3b.s*, 'She of the Stars'), as in the Carpentras stela below (*TAD* D20.5:1). Filiating a deceased (fe)male to mother rather than father was common in late Egyptian funerary texts. The standard late period Book of the Dead was owned by Efonkh son of the woman Tsemminis (Lepsius 1842). The term *mnhh* (< e.g. *mnḥ*) is a term with special reference to the deceased. Though usually used as an adjective, it does occur as an epithet on a late gravestone—*mnḥ.t ḥr Ptḥ Skr Wsir*, 'excellent (one) before Ptah-Sokar-Osiris' (P. Cairo 31153:1 in Spiegelberg 1904: I 62; Lipiński 1978: 112 n. 148). It was applied to female as well as male; see Carpentras stela below.

*The Berlin Stela* (ÄM 7707 = Gipsformerei 939; Fig. 12)<sup>26</sup>

This stela comes from Saqqara (Lepsius 1877: 127) and was housed in Berlin, where it was destroyed during World War II. Fortunately, a squeeze was made and the present collation was taken from that squeeze. The stela is divided into four registers.

The lowest register is the Aramaic inscription (see below).

The second register from the bottom shows a symmetrical scene with six figures facing the centre (the three on the left face right, the three on the right face left). From left to right they are: (1) a standing male with close-fitting Egyptian cap, short kilt and both hands lifted up in a mourning gesture (Wilkinson 1992: 34-35); (2) a standing woman wearing a long skirt with bared breasts, hair that curls back, and both hands raised in a mourning gesture; (3) a kneeling woman with hair that curls back, the left hand raised in a mourning gesture and right hand sagging at her side; (4) a kneeling woman with hair that curls back, the right hand raised in a mourning gesture and left hand sagging at her side; (5) a standing woman wearing a long skirt and bared

26. *TAD* D20.3 = *CIS* II/1 122.

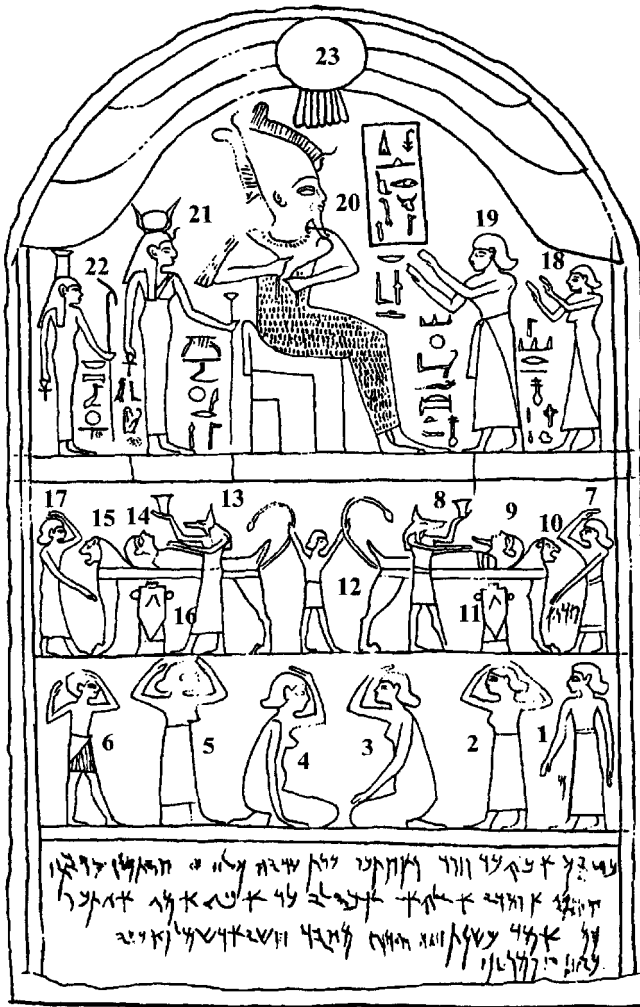


Figure 12. The Berlin stela *AM* 7707 (registers are read from bottom up and from R to L). 1) man with long Syrian hairdo wearing ankle length kilt; 2) woman wearing ankle length skirt raising hands in mourning gesture; 3) seated woman raising hand in mourning gesture; 4) seated woman raising hand in mourning gesture; 5) woman wearing ankle length skirt raising hands in mourning gesture; 6) man wearing short kilt raising hands in mourning gesture; 7) man with long Syrian hairdo wearing ankle length kilt raising hand in mourning gesture; 8) priest wearing Anubis mask holding container anointing male mummy; 9) mummy lying on lion couch or bier; 10) lion couch or bier of the deceased; 11) Syrian amphora on jar stand; 12) man with long Syrian hairdo wearing short kilt grasping the two tails of the lion couches; 13) priest wearing Anubis mask holding container anointing female

*mummy; 14) mummy lying on lion couch or on bier; 15) lion couch or bier of the deceased; 16) Syrian amphora on jar stand; 17) man with long hair wearing ankle length kilt raising hand in mourning gesture; 18) woman in ankle length dress worshipping Osiris; 19) man with long Syrian hairdo wearing ankle length kilt worshipping Osiris; 20) Osiris holding crook and flail, wearing an atef-crown, seated on a throne as Pharaoh of the Underworld; 21) goddess crowned with horns and solar disk (probably Isis, possibly Hathor) wearing an ankle length dress, holding an ankh-sign in her right hand and a wadj-sceptre (representing prosperity) in her left; 22) Nephthys wearing an ankle length dress, holding an ankh-sign in her right hand and a was-scepter (representing dominion) in her left; 23) tripartite winged solar disk with tail feathers and without uraei.*

breasts, hair that curls back, and both hands raised in a mourning gesture; (6) a standing male with hair that curls back, a long kilt, and both hands at his side. In front of the last figure is a  $\text{𐤎}$ , as though the carver were going to add a name and then decided not to. It seems likely that the carver intended to write the inscription in the third register in front of this figure and caught his mistake.

The third register from the bottom contains a symmetrical scene. On the outside stands a male with hair that curls back, one hand raised (the right hand of the right figure and the left of the left) in a mourning gesture, and one hand lowered. The figure on the right side has detailing on his long wrap and the word  $\text{𐤎𐤊𐤏𐤍}$  written in front of him. Both figures face the face of a lion couch on which lies a recumbent mummy attended by a jackal-headed Anubis figure carrying an ointment jar ( $\text{𐤏}$ ) in one hand with the other hand (the right for the one on the right and the left for the one on the left) stretched over the mummy anointing it. The mummy on the right is male while the one on the left is female. Beneath each bier is an un-Egyptian amphora on a stand. In the centre is a male figure in a short kilt with hair that curls back, facing right and grasping the upturned tails of the lion couches. This figure is unusual.

On the upper register, a large mummiform figure of Osiris with *atef* crown ( $\text{𐤀}$ ) and uraeus on his head, crook and flail in his hands, sits on a throne facing right. Behind him stands a female goddess with horned sun-disk on her head typical either of Hathor or Isis. She holds an *ankh*-sign in the right hand and a *wadj*-sceptre in her left hand. Behind her stands Nephthys wearing her sign on her head ( $\text{𐤎}$ ), holding an *ankh*-sign in her right hand and a *was*-sceptre in her left hand. Before these figures, to the right, stand a man and a woman dressed in long kilts with their hair curling back and hands raised in a gesture of adoration ( $\text{𐤎}$ ; Wilkinson 1992: 28-29). The figures form a symmetrical group

with the goddesses behind the Osiris figure matching the heights of the worshippers before him. Atop the scene is a winged solar disk whose wings are divided into three sections.

In between the figures on the upper register is a hieroglyphic inscription that reads:

1. *ḥtp-dī-nswt Wsir ḥnty-īmntyw ntr 's nb sbḏw di.f qrst nfrt n*
2. *ḥrt-ntr rn nfr hr-tp*
3. *ṯ n imḥy hr ntr 's*
4. *nb pt šḥt*
5. *bw*

<sup>1</sup>An offering which the king gives (to) Osiris, foremost of the westerners, great god, lord of Abydos, so that he may give a good burial in <sup>2</sup>the necropolis and a good reputation upon <sup>3</sup>earth to the one revered before the great god, <sup>4</sup>lord of heaven, Akhta<sup>5</sup>bu.

The long hair that curls back from the head is the major element thought to be Syrian rather than Egyptian (Lepsius 1877: 127). The form of the amphorae under the lion couches is also not traditional Egyptian, but may be found in other Egyptian monuments of the late Persian period (Lefebvre 1923b: Pls. viii, xii, xlvi, xlix).

The stela represents the mourners on the second register from the bottom, the embalming of the deceased in the third register, and the deceased appearing before Osiris in the top register. The symmetrical placement of figures shows careful composition, The sentiment of both inscriptions is typically Egyptian, but the Egyptian inscription omits the husband's name.

The Aramaic inscription reads:

1. בריך אבה בר חור ואחתבו ברת עדיה כל V יי חסתמח קריתא
2. קדם אוסרי אלהא אבסלי בר אבה אמה אחתבו
3. כן אמר בשנת IVI ירח מחיר חשיארש מלכא בזי...
4. בי. פמן...

<sup>1</sup>Blessed be Abah, son of Ḥor and Aḥatabu, daughter of Adiyah, all (told) 2, of Khastemehi, the city, <sup>2</sup>before Osiris the god.

Absali son of Abah, his mother (being) Aḥatabu, <sup>3</sup>thus said in year 4, month of Mehir, of Xerxes the king...<sup>4</sup>...

This is the only dated stela. The word order of the date formula (year, month, king) follows the Egyptian pattern (see, e.g., Porten 1996: C28-31, 33-35) rather than the Aramaic one, which was month, year, king, on both monument (*TAD D17.1*) and in contracts (*TAD B2-6*). In 4 Xerxes = 482 BCE, the month of Mehir = 21 May–19 June. By

13 Xerxes = 473 BCE it became de rigueur to employ a synchronous Babylonian and Egyptian month (*TAD* C3.8); see Porten (1990: 16, 28). The Persian royal name Xerxes was spelled in Aramaic and Hebrew in a variety of ways—*hšyrš* (*TAD* B4.4:1 [483 BCE]), *hšy'rš* (here [482 BCE] and *TAD* D1.33b:1 [473 BCE]; B2.1:1 [471 BCE]) and *'hšwrwš* (Est. passim; Dan. 9.1; Ezra 4.5).

As Abitab had prepared an offering table for his father Banit (see above), so Absali prepared a funerary stela for his father and mother. All four bore names compounded with 'b, 'father'. In the Jewish onomasticon at Elephantine this element survived only in the female names Abihi (*TAD* A3.7:2; B6.3:10; C3.15:93, 103), Abiosher (*TAD* C3.15:107), and in the apparently related Abioresh, of unknown gender, though possibly feminine (*TAD* D9.14:3). But this was generally popular among the Aramaeans—Abah father of the Syenian scribe Itu (*TAD* B2.2:16), Abitab son of Shumṭab on an Abydos graffito (*TAD* D22.9), the witness Abihu father of Rochel ('Merchant' in Aramaic [*TAD* B4.4:20]), feminine Abut(a)i on an Aswan sarcophagus (No. 2606 above [*TAD* D18.16]), and the frequently attested Abieti in the Ptolemaic period (*TAD* D7.57:1-2; 8.9:13, 8.10:1; 9.15:1). Of the four names, only Aḥatabu is profane—abbreviation of the Ersatzname *'ht 'bwh*, 'Sister of her father' (*KAI*), comparable to Ahab, 'Brother of father'; Tallqvist 1905: 3 compares Neo-Babylonian *Āḥ-at-bu-ū*. In the hieroglyphic text it is written *ḥtḥbw*. Abah is a hypocoristicon and Absali is otherwise unattested. The element *sly* appears in the abbreviated biblical names, mostly exilic, Salli/Sallu (Neh. 11.7, 12.7, 20) and in female Sallua (*TAD* B6.4:7) and Salluah (*TAD* B4.6:10, 5.1:1, 6.4:3; C3.15:105) among the Elephantine Jews. Our name would mean '(Divine) Father Rejected (Sinners)' (cf. Ps. 119.118; Lam. 1.15; conversation with Franz Rosenthal). For dubious derivation from Arabic *sala'a*, taken to mean 'replace, substitute', cf. Grelot (1972: 462). The addition of a mother in Absali's filiation in line 2 was common practice in demotic documents but in Aramaic contracts appeared to be limited to a situation where the father may have had more than one wife (*TAD* B2.9:3, 2.10:3). Here it would serve to link Absali to the otherwise unrelated Aḥatabu in line 1. The enumeration following their names there ('all [told] 2') was common practice in Aramaic contracts (*TAD* B2.9:2-3, 2.11:2; 3.12:3, 11) and letters (*TAD* A6.3:5, 6.7:5).

That Absali's paternal grandfather and Abah's father bore the Egyptian name Ḥor (*hr*, 'Horus') is not surprising. This name was popular at

Elephantine (*TAD* B3.10:10 || 11:6, C3.4:16, 3.9:19, 3.10:3, 4.6:3, 4.8:7, etc.) and the intermingling of Aramaic and Egyptian names was well attested in the filiations of the Makkibanit letters sent to Syene and Luxor, probably from Memphis (*TAD* A2.1-7); cf. Nabushezib son of Peṭekhnum (*TAD* A2.1:15) and Makkibanit son of Psami (*TAD* A2.2:18). The name of Absali's maternal grandfather, the father of his mother Aḥatabu, is more problematic. On the one hand, it appears to be identical with Hebrew Adaiah, well attested in fifth century BCE Judah (Ezek. 10.29, 39; Neh. 11.12), but it is totally absent from the well-documented onomasticon of Elephantine. Moreover, the stem is found in Moabite/Edomite 'd'l (Avigad and Sass 1997: No. 1062), Nabataean 'dyw (*CIS* 2.195:1; Cantineau 1932: 127), Safaitic and Thamudic 'dy (Harding 1971: 410-11), and in the Jewish names in Arabic 'Adī, 'Adiyā' (*Encyclopaedia of Islam* 1960: I, 195-96 [reference from Franz Rosenthal]). The name Adaios in the Greek inscriptions (adduced by Lipiński 1978: 105-106) may reflect 'Adi and not 'Adi (Wuthnow 1930: 12; Franz Rosenthal orally); likewise with similar spellings such as Addaios, Adeios, Adeou. 'dyh may thus be an otherwise unknown Aramaic homonym of the biblical name. If it is Hebrew/Jewish, it would mean that the Jew Adaiah had given his daughter an Aramaic name, married her off to the son of an Egyptian(-named Aramaean) and his grandson, if not already he, himself, had assimilated to the pagan Aramaean-Egyptian society (Lévy 1927: 287).

The biggest discovery, brought about by new collation of the squeeze of this inscription in the Berlin Gipsformerei by Ada Yardeni, was that the word formerly read as *qrbt*' should be read *qryt*', 'the city.' This meant that the preceding *hstmḥ* had to be a place name. When the reading was presented independently to Karl-Th. Zauzich and Jean Yoyotte, they both identified it as Khastemeḥi (Zauzich in written communiqué; Yoyotte 1995). The site is adjacent to or identical with Marea at Egypt's western border where Herodotus (2.30) cited the location of an outpost, just as at Elephantine. The newly retrieved formula is familiar from the Elephantine contracts where an ethnicon is added, 'PN son of PN, Jew/Aramaean of Elephantine/Syene'; see discussion with references in Porten (1996: 153 n. 4).

For the opening blessing formula, see comment on the Brussels stela above. In that terse formula, Osiris is given no epithet. Here he is called 'lh', 'the god' and in the accompanying hieroglyphic inscription, 'the great god' (*ntr* '3). The concluding formula ('PN thus [*kn*] said') was

quite common in Imperial Aramaic documents of all sorts—letters (*TAD* A4.7:4; 6.2:2, 6.3:6; etc.), court record (*TAD* B8.7:3) and the Bisitun inscription (*TAD* C2.1:8, etc.). Unfortunately, the end of line 3 and the beginning of line 4 are not adequately legible so we cannot fill out the formula.

*The Carpentras Stela* (*TAD* D20.5; Fig. 13)

This stela (*CIS* II/1 141), of unknown provenance, is said to have come from Memphis on the basis of the names used (Lévy 1927: 285). It is decorated in three registers. The uppermost and largest is broken at the top but shows a seated mummiform figure on the left, facing right, bearing a crook and a flail. Behind him stands a female figure with her arm around the seated figure. Both figures are missing their heads. In front of the seated figure, on the right, stands a woman dressed in a 'Persian wrap' (Russmann 1989: 191), facing left with arms raised in a gesture of adoration (𐤀); Wilkinson 1992: 28-29). Between the seated figure and the woman is a large offering table loaded with offerings in four tiers. On the top tier are five altars (the bottoms of all of which are broken), the last of which (on the right) is a horned altar. The second tier contains five bread loaves, three round alternating with taller loaves. The third tier contains two trussed birds flanking a dish. The fourth tier contains two jars, two amphoras and a round loaf.

The second register shows a mummy on a lion-shaped bier attended by a jackal-masked figure and a falcon-masked figure. At either end of the bier sit two women in traditional mourning posture (Wilkinson 1992: 34-35): the one at the head of the bier having a solar disk on her head (probably Isis) and the one at the foot wearing the symbol of Nephthys (𐤀). Beneath the bier are four jars bearing theromorphic heads.

The third register contains the inscription, which is as follows:

1. בריכה תבא ברת תחפי תמנחא זי אוסרי אלהא
2. מנדעם באיש לא עבדת וכרצי איש לא אמרת תמה
3. קדם אוסרי בריכה הוי מן קדם אוסרי מין קחי
4. הוי פלחה נמעתי ובין חסיה [ הוי ]

<sup>1</sup>Blessed be Tabi daughter of Tahāpi

the excellent (one) of Osiris the god.

<sup>2</sup>Anything evil she did not do

and the slander of a man she did not say at all.

<sup>3</sup>Before Osiris blessed be;

from before Osiris water take.

<sup>4</sup>Do serve the Lord of the Two Truths

and among the praiseworthy [be].



Unlike the Serapeum offering table, the grammar here is impeccable Aramaic, not lacking in rhythm and rhyme. Yet the sentiments are still typically Egyptian, finding parallels in traditional autobiographies, the Book of the Dead and later Roman funerary texts.



Figure 13. *The Carpentras Stela* (registers are read from bottom up and from R to L). 1) kneeling woman with solar disk on head (probably Isis) and hand raised in mourning gesture; 2) figure with falcon head (probably Horus); 3) mummy lying on lion couch or bier; 4) lion couch or bier; 5) four canopic jars; 6) figure with jackal head (probably Anubis or priest with Anubis mask); 7) Nephthys kneeling with hand raised in mourning gesture; 8) female figure with Syrian hairdo in ankle length dress with hands raised worshiping figures behind offering table; 9) multi-legged offering table with two jars, a bird, an ewer and a round loaf on it; 10) trussed ox, container and bird; 11) round bread loaves alternating with standard bread loaves; 12) four ointment jars and a horned altar with a round object on it; 13) figure seated on throne (probably Osiris) holding crook and flail; 14) female figure in ankle length dress, probably a goddess, possibly Isis, perhaps Hathor.

Here, as in the Vatican stela, the deceased, a woman, is filiated to her mother and not father. The name *tb'* is Egyptian *Ta-b3* 'She of the *ba*,' although Spiegelberg (1906a: 1107 #47) suggested *Ta-b3.t* 'She of the Character'. The name *thpy* is likewise Egyptian, *Ta-Hp* 'She of Apis' (Spiegelberg 1906: 1107 #49).

The term *tmnh'* has long been seen as a borrowing from Egyptian *mnh* (Spiegelberg 1901: 1111; Lévy 1927: 282). This term was used both as an epithet of Osiris and as the Egyptian translation of the epithet of Ptolemy III, 'Euergetes' (Erichsen 1954: 163). Lipiński and Quaegebeur have found parallels to this epithet from three stelae, but there are problems with the context of two of them. The only real parallel is Cairo 31153: the phrase here is *mnh.t hr Pth Skr Wsir* 'excellent (one) before Ptaḥ-Sokar-Osiris' (Spiegelberg 1904:62). In Cairo 31086 the word *mnh* does not occur anywhere (Spiegelberg 1904: I: 12 and Tafel I), while in Cairo 31095 the phrase is *hsī mnh m ntr.w rmt-rh rmt 3*, 'an excellent praiseworthy (one) of the gods, a wise and wealthy man'.<sup>27</sup> Thus, in this last example, *mnh* seems to be an adjective modifying *hsī* rather than an independent epithet.

Line 2 paraphrases two of the most attested clauses in the tomb autobiographies that contain negative confessions. Thirty-four per cent of the autobiographies contain the 'no evil' clause while 27 per cent contain the 'no slander' clause (Gee 1998: 173-78 [evil], 190-94 [calumny]). The deceased was pure in deed and word. The phrase *mnd'm b'yš l' bdt* parallels both traditional Egyptian autobiographies (*nn ir.n=i isf.t*, 'I do no iniquity'; Petosiris 91.3-9, in Lefebvre 1923a: 70)<sup>28</sup> and phrases from Book of the Dead 125 (A1: *n ir=i isf.t*, 'I have not done iniquity' and B1 *n ir=i isf.t r rmtt*, 'I have not done iniquity against men' [Maystre 1937: 23-24, 66]). Yet the use of *mnd'm* follows Aramaic (and Hebrew) idiom. The indefinite pronoun functions here as a noun modified by an adjective (Muraoka and Porten 1998: §44a), while the comparable Hebrew expression (*db'r r'*) occurs in the Deuteronomist in a cultic sense (Deut. 17.1; 23.10).

Likewise, the clause *wkršy 'yš l' 'mrt tmh* has parallels in the autobiographies: *bw sdw=i hr nb*, 'I never slandered anyone to the captain

27. Spiegelberg 1904: 25-26 and Tafel V, correcting Spiegelberg's reading.

28. This sentiment is traditional in both autobiographies and funerary texts, stretching from the Old Kingdom to the Thirtieth Dynasty; these have been gathered in Gee 1998: 173-85.

of the land'<sup>29</sup> and in the Book of the Dead 125: A 11: *n sđw ḥm n ḥry-tp=f*, 'I have not slandered a slave to his supervisor'.<sup>30</sup> Here, too, the terminology is Semitic—*kršn 'mr* is a variant of the idiomatic Akkadian loan *qršn 'kl* (Dan. 3.8; 6.25) < *karsī akālu* (Kaufman 1974: 63; DNWSI 537). Slander itself was condemned in the Bible (Lev. 19.16; Jer. 6.28; Ps. 34.4) and the sage Aḥiqar advised extreme caution in speech (TAD C1.1:80-83, 93, 141). Unfortunately, the concluding word *tmh* is a crux. Metrically, it overweighs the line. It is usually taken to mean 'there' on earth as distinct from the world of the dead (KAI, DNWSI 2.1219-1220; Grelot 1972: No. 86), but no Egyptian parallel in funerary context supports this interpretation. The suggestion of Shea 1981 to restore metrical balance by reading it as the beginning of line 3 ('There before Osiris' in parallel to 'from before Osiris') fails to explain why the scribe of this poem put it at the end of line 2. Lipiński (1978: 112) took it as adjective 'perfect' while Torrey (1926: 247) proposed *tummā*, 'completeness', as adverbial accusative '(not) at all'. The Egyptian autobiographies did not have a standard categorical denial of slander but only specific limited denials, as cited above. As translated herein, the Aramaic would have affirmed an absolute denial in parallel to the absolute denial in the first half of the line.

The next part of the inscription parallels demotic funerary formulae that date to the Roman period,<sup>31</sup> but have their roots in earlier Egyptian practice. The longer 'Mummy Label' Formula R parallels many of the shorter formulae found on mummy labels and gravestones,<sup>32</sup> but since the full formula appears in only eight copies (Spiegelberg 1901: 9-11; Brunsch 1984; Quaegebeur 1990) it can hardly be, as Lévy (1927: 291) terms it, 'la plus banale de l'épigraphie funéraire démotique'. Note the parallel Aramaic (*c a b*) and demotic (*a b c*) phrases:

29. Cairo JE 36697, line 20 in Jansen-Winkel 1985: I: 49; II: 456. Parallels may be found throughout Egyptian history, culminating in the present inscription (although the wording is not standard); these have been gathered in Gee 1998: 190-96.

30. Maystre 1937: 35; Allen 1974: 97. Compare Book of the Dead 125 B 29: *n šnt=ī*, 'I have not cursed' (Maystre 1937: 90; Allen 1974: 98).

31. Our analysis was independent of that of Lévy (1927: 291-93).

32. The formula is common on grave markers (Spiegelberg 1904: 3; Abdalla 1992: 121) and even mummy tags (Spiegelberg 1904: 1:2-3); comparable formula may be seen in Spiegelberg 1912a: 40-42, with Tafel iii.

*Carpentras Stela*'Mummy Label' Formula R<sup>33</sup>

1. Blessed be Tabi daughter of Tahapi  
the pious (one) of Osiris the god.
2. Anything evil she did not do  
and the slander of a man she did not  
say at all.
3. Before Osiris blessed be;  
from before Osiris water take. c May his soul live forever.
4. Do serve the Lord of the Two Truths a and may PN be rejuvenated forever  
and among the praiseworthy [be]. b and may his soul serve Osiris a  
b and may he become among those  
praised of Osiris b  
and may he take water upon the  
offering table after Osiris<sup>34</sup> c  
and may his soul go to heaven  
and may he fraternize upon  
the earth forever  
and may he praise those who bury  
him before Osiris, foremost of the  
westerners, the great god, lord of  
Abydos  
and may his children be established  
after him  
upon the earth forever.  
The years that he spent upon this  
earth were x.  
May he be rejuvenated again  
forever  
May his soul be rejuvenated forever  
and ever  
(Spiegelberg 1901: 9-11).

The first half of line 3 is an Aramaic idiom but the word order is inverted to put the preposition up front—*qdm* and *mn qdm*—and provide an internal rhyme—*hwy* and *qhy*. With customary word order, verb first, this blessing appears regularly among the graffiti on the walls of the temple at Abydos—'Blessed be PN before Osiris' (*TAD* D22.10-11, 13, 16, 24). The second half of the line finds its explanation

33. This text is classified among those that occur on mummy labels even though it does not.

34. Mummy label formula R in Spiegelberg 1901: 9-11. For the deceased receiving water, see BD 62 in Allen 1974: 55; BD 152 b §§ 3 in Allen 1974: 151. For earlier versions of the deceased receiving the offerings of the altar see BD 130 §T 7 in Allen 1974: 107; BD 155 §T 3 in Allen 1974: 155.

in the Egyptian parallel (c). The libation offering is made to Osiris and then the deceased takes the water 'after' him to quench her thirst.

While Aramaic *plh*, 'serve' in line 4 finds its direct parallel in Egyptian *šms* (a), the sequence 'blessed-serve' is found in juxtaposition in reverse order in an Aramaic statue inscription from Hatra where the king is designated *plh 'lh' bryk 'lh'*, 'servant of the god, blessed of the god' (KAI 2.243). Moreover, the verbal form is good idiomatic Aramaic—periphrastic imperative, indicating a 'sense of urgency and insistence' (Muraoka and Porten 1998: §55g), though others have erroneously rendered it, 'Be a servant/worshipper' (KAI). The term *nm'ty* is based upon Egyptian *nb-m3'ty*, 'Lord of the Two Truths,' an epithet of Osiris (Book of the Dead 136 b S, in Allen 1974: 111; Lepsius 1842: Tafel lvi), not of the judges of the dead.<sup>35</sup> The Egyptian epithet occurs in Book of the Dead chapters 14, 71, 72, 85, 99, 125<sup>36</sup> and 136.<sup>37</sup> Its frequent occurrence in that text accords well with its subject of entering the *wšh m3'ty*, 'Hall of the Two Truths'. The term *hsyh* is a direct borrowing of the Egyptian term *hst*, 'blessed, praiseworthy' especially of the dead (Erichsen 1954: 329-30), though in this case it probably does not carry the more technical sense of 'drowned' (Erichsen 1954: 330; Griffith 1909; Spiegelberg 1917; Hermann 1966; 1977). In light of the Egyptian parallel it would have been fitting to restore the end of the line *l'lm hwy*, 'forever be', opening and closing the bicolon with the same verb and creating an internal rhyme (cf. Lévy 1927: 290), but the unfractured part of the stone does not allow for *l'lm*. Therefore we simply restore *hwy*.

The whole process described by the Carpentras Stela can be compared to Book of the Dead 125, which tells what should be done in the Hall of the Two Truths. The deceased greets the 'Lord of the Two

35. In general, the judges of the dead are called in the Demotic Book of the Dead *n3 nb.w n md.t-m3't*, 'the lords of truth' (P. Bibl. Nat. Eg. 140 1/25, 29 in Lexa 1910: 8-9, Tafel i). This translates the Ptolemaic Book of the Dead 125 *nb.w m3'ty*, 'lords of truth' (Lepsius 1842: Tafel xlvi), which in turn is adapted from the older *nb m3'ty*, 'lord of truth' (BD 125 a §S1 in Maystre 1937: 13; Allen 1974: 97). Contra Lévy (1927: 289) the Aramaic epithet is not to be derived from Egyptian *n3 m3'ty*, 'the two truths'.

36. This is true of both the New Kingdom Book of the Dead (Maystre 1937: 76-77) and the Demotic Book of the Dead (2/12, in Lexa 1910: 6, Tafel ii).

37. Allen 1974: 12, 81; Lepsius 1842: Taf. xxvi, xxvii, xxxii, xxxvi.

Truths' (BD 125 a §S 1 in Allen 1974: 97) and declares that he has not committed any of the abominations of the gods. He is declared pure and allowed to enter the Hall. He repeats the confession before the gods (BD 125 a §S 2-c §S 4 in Allen 1974: 97-99), is purified, and passes the gate into the hall of the Two Truths (BD 125 c §§S 6-8 in Allen 1974: 99-100). This allows the deceased to be a follower of Osiris, part of the king's court, and receive offerings 'from the altar of the great god' (BD 125 c §T 4 in Allen 1974: 101).

### *Religious Context*

The Aramaic funerary inscriptions show different aspects of the same process through which the Egyptian dead were thought to go. The lower registers depict scenes on earth while the next life is shown in the upper register. As is typical for Egyptian temples and funerary scenes, the iconography accompanying the inscriptions is read from the bottom up (Corcoran 1995: 50). A priest masked as Anubis mummifies the deceased on a lion couch under which may be canopic jars (Aswan 2607, Salt stela; Vatican stela; Carpentras stela). The body travels with a great procession of mourners, priests with *Wepwawet* standards, and offering bearers to the tomb (Aswan 2606; Berlin ÄM 7707; Vatican stela). At the interment, Egyptian priests present to the deceased a multitude of offerings (Berlin ÄM 7707; Vatican stela). Meanwhile the 'souls' of the deceased are ushered into the judgment hall to give an account of their life (Carpentras stela), and if they pass the judgment they are inducted into the presence of Osiris (Berlin ÄM 7707; Carpentras stela, Aswan 2606), where they serve him and can partake of the offerings of Osiris after Osiris has taken his fill (Carpentras stela, 'Mummy Label' Formula R). To this end, the family of the deceased erect stelae and offering tables for them, dedicated to Osiris or Serapis (Serapeum Offering Table; Strassburg Universitätssammlung 1906 in Spiegelberg 1912: 43-44). But it was the responsibility of Egyptian priests and priestesses to make periodic offerings,<sup>38</sup> and they would be judged by Osiris according to whether or not they fulfilled these obligations (BD 125 A19 in Maystre 1937: 39; Sweeney 1994).

38. Moscow I.1.b.270 [4199], lines 10-12 in Hodjash and Berlev 1982: 191-92.

*Conclusions*

The Aramaic funerary material taken as a whole shows an adoption of Egyptian burial practices and religious beliefs. Though the language of the inscriptions is Aramaic, the content of the inscriptions, the iconography and the artwork, along with the archaeological and religious context of the objects, show them to be Egyptian. The motifs are not local but part of the common culture in ancient Egypt. Aramaic speakers participate in the Egyptian afterlife according to Egyptian practices, described in Egyptian terms. The material also shows a connection between the Aramaic-speaking communities at Elephantine and Saqqara.

This material from the fourth and fifth century BCE comes at a time when native Egyptian material appears to be sparse if not entirely lacking: hieroglyphic inscriptions are rare,<sup>39</sup> and funerary inscriptions are even rarer (Forman and Quirke 1996: 158-59). Only eight demotic papyri date to Persian rulers after Darius I.<sup>40</sup> Thus, the Aramaic funerary material fills a gap in the Egyptian evidence, and should be considered part of the Egyptian corpus.

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39. Posener (1936) lists the following types of inscriptions: two naophorous statues (pp. 1-29), 5 Apis stelae (pp. 30-47), 3 canal stelae (pp. 48-87), 25 Wadi Hammamat graffiti (pp. 88-130), 1 quadrilingual inscription (pp. 131-36), 63 vases (pp. 137-51) and 18 other inscriptions (pp. 152-60); cf. Bothmer 1960: 76.

40. P. Wien 10150, 10152, 10153 (Darius II), 10151, P. Lille 27, P. Inv. Sorbonne 1276, 1277 (Artaxerxes III), P. Louvre E 2430 (Darius III) in Thissen 1980: 117, 120-21.

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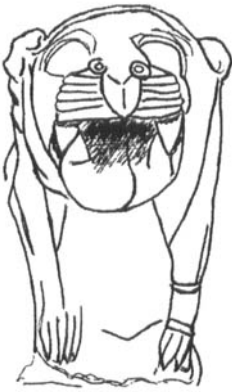
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Wabelle

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- 1971 'The *'asher/she* Compound Conjunctions in the Book of Qoheleth', Canadian Society of Biblical Studies Annual Meeting, St John's (Newfoundland, May).
- 1975 'Lung and Liver Models from Ras Shamra in Religio-Historical Perspective', The American Oriental Society Annual Meeting (Columbus, OH, April); a shorter version of the same was read at the CSBS Annual Meeting (Edmonton, May).
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