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Editorial

In February 2017, the research group *Antiquity and its Reception* of CHAM- Centre for the Humanities organized an international conference under the theme “Expressions of Antiquity in Modern and Contemporary Art and Literature”, at NOVA FCSH, Lisbon. The choice of this thematic was impelled by the profound interest about ancient civilizations that marked the so-called “western-world”, from the 15th century onwards, and which allows us to identify a prolific artistic and literary production whose referential framework lies in Antiquity.

Hence, by gathering national and international researchers, from different disciplines and specialization areas, this conference was crucial for promoting the much-needed interdisciplinary debate on Reception Studies in what concerns the national academic panorama.

The present issue of *Res Antiquitatis* thus opens with a thematic dossier that includes some of the contributions presented and discussed in this scientific encounter. Anselm Kiefer’s paintings that evoke memories of ancient Egypt (Helena Trindade Lopes), and the elaborations on the iconographic productions regarding the famous Tower of Babel (Katia Maria Paim Pozzer) are analyzed from the standpoints of an Egyptologist and an Assyriologist, respectively.

On its turn, the influence and impact of Antiquity on dramatic arts are debated in two case-studies: the cinematographic vision of David W. Griffith on Babylon depicted in his renowned film *Intolerance* (Maria de Fátima Rosa) and the (re)uses of ancient Asiatic elements on the masks and puppets of Ariane Mnouchkine in the Théâtre du Soleil (Catarina Firmo).

Two Early Modern historians furthermore analyze the importance of the Greek and Latin traditions in Portugal, during the 16th century. By focusing on the presence of works by Classical historians in the library of D. Teodósio I, duke of Bragança (Ana Isabel Buescu) and on the Classical references within the three known rutters wrote by D. João de Castro, vice-Roy of the Portuguese State of India (Rui Manuel Loureiro), these two papers illustrate the profound impact Antiquity had on Portuguese early modern political and cultural milieu.

This present issue also includes a *varia* section, which counts with two contributions solely focused on Antiquity *per se*. The first one concerns the preliminary results of the third archaeological campaign in Tell el-Far’a during 2019 (Juan-Luis Montero Fenollós et al.). It must be stressed that this project is led by an international team which includes researchers from the University of A Coruna, from NOVA FCSH and from the Department of Antiquities and Cultural Heritage of Palestine. The second one is focused on the Assyrian presence in the Euphrates valley, during the 13th century BCE, specifically in what concerns its regional organization amidst a turbulent period marked by rivalries between the Mesopotamian powers and the Hittites (Aline Tenu).

In a difficult year such as this one, one last word must be said in remembrance of António Ramos dos Santos, whose recent death saddened us all (†2020). As a dear friend and colleague, always available to embark in new collaborations and fruitful discussions on ancient Mesopotamia, his absence will be deeply felt, and his friendship will be truly missed.

Francisco Caramelo

Editor-in-chief

“Frontiers”: Anselm Kiefer and the “Architecture of Memory”

Helena Trindade Lopes*

RES Antiquitatis 2 (2020): 3-15

Abstract

Anselm Kiefer was born in 1945, in Germany, and his father was an officer of the Wehrmacht. This circumstance naturally determined his essence and motivated a course, a frontier. Kiefer, the painter who first studied law, literature and linguistics, has been orienting himself since 1990' for the study and plastic narration of antiquity and its most significant myths, namely in Egypt and Mesopotamia. Crossing borders - the essence of man, the secret of existence, history and art - Kiefer expresses, through his painting, his texts and his words, the confrontation with the collective memory.

Keywords: Anselm Kiefer, Painting, Frontiers, Antiquity, Memory.

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“Frontiers”: Anselm Kiefer and the “Architecture of Memory”

Helena Trindade Lopes
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“What does the artist do? He draws connections. He ties the invisible threads between things. He dives into history, be it the history of mankind, the geological history of the Earth or the beginning and end of the manifest cosmos”

Anselm Kiefer

Three base points:

- 1- I do believe, as the Ancient Egyptians did, that the core of each of us is recognized in one’s eyes. We can hide everything else, but it is almost impossible to hide the language of the “eye”.
- 2- I do believe that nobody knows anybody. Each of us recognizes only a part of the “other”.
- 3- I do believe, as Kiefer does, that the world tends to push us to certain topics, determined places, specific people, nothing happens by chance.

In this paper, I begin from these three points, apparently contradictory in nature.

1. The Man

Who is Anselm Kiefer?

Anselm Kiefer¹ is a contemporary plastic artist, born in March 8th, 1945 – a few months before the end of the Second World War – in Donaueschingen, a German city in the Black Forest. Since his father was an official of *Wehrmacht* - the unified armed forces of Nazi Germany - his infant years would be spent here, with his grandparents. In 1951 he finally reunites with his parents in Ottersdorf, where he begins his studies. From early times Kiefer shows a particular inclination to writing and drawing², two talents that share the same targets – to see, to comprehend, to register – and that express themselves in solitude and isolation!

The surrounding environment of destruction, extreme misery and trauma that fell over a post-war Germany naturally marks his infancy and adolescence.

¹ For a better understanding of the man and his work, vd. Arasse 2001, Matthew 2013, Bouhours 2016.

² Bouhours 2016, 234.

However, in 1963, the young Kiefer starts to publicly demonstrate his own merit, winning the Jean-Walter Prize, a scholarship that will allow him to freely pursue the travels of Van Gogh³, from Paris to Lyon, before his establishment in Arles. Van Gogh is the hero of the childhood of Kiefer.



Fig. 1. Anselm Kiefer in his studio in Paris.
Copyright © 2013–2017 LAURA STEVENS | the drawing room.

Returning to Kiefer. In the year of 1965 he begins his university academic formation in the areas of law, literature and linguistic at the University of Freiburg, Germany.

During the next year he spends three weeks at the Dominican Convent of Sante-Marie-de-la-Tourette in Éveux⁴, a building projected by Corbusier and because of this stay he initiates his artistic studies at the Fine Arts Academy, with Peter Dreher, a German painter that would exert tremendous influence over an entire generation of painters⁵. In 1968 he installs his first atelier in Karlsruhe, where he comes to study, a year later, with Horst Antes at the Fine Arts Academy.

³ Van Gogh is a reference for Kiefer. McNay 2014.
<http://www.studiointernational.com/index.php/anselm-kiefer-retrospective-royal-academy-of-arts-london>. (accessed February 20, 2018)

⁴ Bouhours 2016:234 and Auping 2005, 29.

⁵ The personal history of Dreher is even darker than the personal history of Kiefer. Both are sons of Nazi officials, but Dreher lost his father during the war and saw his house being bombarded. The tragedy of Nazism marked their personal histories and had, naturally, influence over the two men and their respective works.

In that same year, Kiefer makes himself noticed in the international artistic world, just by letting himself be photographed, in the major European cities, dressed in his father's military uniform, performing the Nazi salute. According to him, the motivation for this *act provocateur* was the so necessary and urgent need to raise awareness for the Nazi phenomenon that had become a taboo theme that nobody dared to mention.

Human actions always have multiple foundations and cannot be reduced to one, but I believe that what mostly motivated Kiefer in his defying act of the "Nazi Salutation" was the ambition to make him noticed and to call upon him the attention he craved. And naturally, he achieved that.

In February of 1970 Kiefer realizes his first individual exhibition in Karlsruhe and a year later, at the end of his studies, he sets himself up in an old school in Hornbach.

That same year he travels to Düsseldorf, to meet Joseph Beuys and present him some of his work. Joseph Heinrich Beuys⁶, a Professor and plastic artist, is considered one of the highest artistic references of the second half of the 20th century, and Kiefer ends up participating in several performances carried out by Beuys and his students.

It is after this point that his work starts being recognized⁷, leading him to participate in important collective and individual expositions, first in Europe and, from 1982 onward, throughout America as well.

In 1991, Kiefer abandons Germany, leaving behind his first wife and sons, and starts a new phase of work and study travels, passing Mexico, Guatemala, Korea and Japan.

After 1992, he settles in France, where he lives and works, in a space with twenty-five Hectares [61 Acres], called "La Ribaute", in Barjac, on the South, what some consider to be "the Total Work of Art" of Anselm Kiefer⁸.

The years of 1993 and 1996 are especially marked with new inspiring travels: to India, Japan, China, Pakistan, Nepal, Egypt and finally Morocco.

Since 2008 he resides in Marais, Paris, with his second wife, the Austrian Photographer Renate Graf and her two children and, in that same year, he acquires an old warehouse, where he starts to work, in Croissy-Beaubourg⁹, near Paris.

In 2009, he buys a Homestead in Portugal, in Carvalhal, where he usually comes on vacations and where he intended to install a new *atelier*, a school, an artistic residence and Museum. As is a common place, political and bureaucratic difficulties stopped the process.

In 2010 Kiefer is invited to be a professor in the Chair of "Artistic Creation" in the College of France¹⁰.

This is how life works. It writes itself in time, it throws roots and crosses histories...

⁶ Cooke 1988, 557 and Biro 2003, 113–146.

⁷ Bouhours 2016, 238 ss.

⁸ Biro 2015, 68 – 75.

⁹ Cohn 2012.

¹⁰ Vd. the inaugural lesson proffered by Kiefer 2011, 7-27.

2. The Life Work

What does Anselm Kiefer do?

The work of Anselm Kiefer has a *corpus* of: Painting, Sculpture and Environment Creation to which Kiefer calls “houses”¹¹– Monumental sculptures with the form of towers with areas dedicated to the presentation of paintings and sculptures.

Still, what distinguishes his creation and what is going to transform him into an iconic figure are his works, namely his painting, over so many diverse matters and substances (*Materialbilder*). These productions, almost always of gigantic proportions, “in the Ramesside Fashion”, impregnated with matter... sand, earth, leaves, soot, saliva, chalk, hair, ashes, trash, scrap and so on... while denoting an extraordinary sensibility to colour¹², seize the spectator and seem to intimidate his own discernment¹³.

Yet, to me, what differentiates Kiefer in the whole of his work is, above all else, I concord, the painting itself. It is there that we can reach his art in a deeper way! “Kiefer makes painting an art of word and signs, a deposit of myths, a repertoire of icons”¹⁴, affirms Leroux. I would go further and state: Kiefer makes History a privileged material of his own plastic language.

It is not by chance that his muses, the sources of inspiration, are the Catastrophe of History, the Trauma of the Holocaust, the Judaic Culture and Traditions¹⁵, particularly the Kabbalah¹⁶, the Mystic Philosophy of Robert Fludd¹⁷, the Ancient Cosmogonies – Egyptian and Sumerian – and the Great Epics¹⁸. But poetry is another one of his great sources of inspiration; one that he uses has a reference material in his plastic creations, often writing fragments of text on the surface of the canvas or on the sculpture itself.

¹¹The “Houses”, that usually have the form of sober formal pavilions, with an exterior covered with wavy iron and an interior with white walls, are built around a series of Works of art and the collectors can acquire the set. Besides this option of “production”, in 2009, by the occasion of the commemorations of the twenty years of the Bastille Opera and departure of Gerard Mortier of its direction, the institution commissioned Kiefer the Conception of a musical spectacle with a recital, entitled *Am Anfang*, where he combined several arts: Scenography, scenarios and figurines of texts from biblical texts of the Old Testament and an Apocalyptic Vision of the end of World. Cf. Kiefer 2012.

¹² Apparently, the paintings of Kiefer are grey in colour. However, the Materia with which Kiefer works adds colour to the painting.

¹³ According to Kiefer they intent to evoke the disaster and destruction of the Second World War, mainly the Holocaust phenomenon.

¹⁴ Leroux 2006, 33 (Authors’ translation).

¹⁵ Saltzman 2016, 50 – 59.

¹⁶ Strasser 2000, Idel 2003. In 2000, Kiefer presents an exposition entitled “Chevirat Ha-Kelim”, at the chapel of the Hospital of Salpêtrière, in accord with the principles of the basic concepts of the Lurianic Kabbalah. It is about five frames, which one referring to a phase of the creation of the world, according to Isaac Luria. In this regard, cf. Bouhours 2016, 29 ss.

¹⁷ Bouhours 2016, 196.

¹⁸ Cf. Ziolkowski 2011, 217, note 3.

From the 1980's on, Kiefer dedicates several series of works to poets as Paul Celan¹⁹, Ingeborg Bachmann²⁰, Velimir Khlebnikov²¹ among others.

In 2007, the exuberant and monstrous program *Monumenta* is inaugurated at the *Grand Palais*, à Paris²², with a work that pays homage to the poets Paul Celan and Ingeborg Bachmann, and to Céline²³ the "Dammed writer".

His work is kept in collections on the greatest museums on Earth: The Museum of Modern Art in New York, The Detroit Institute of Arts, in Michigan (both in the United States of America), and in Europe, The Albertina, in Vienna of Austria, The Guggenheim in Bilbao, Spain, The Centre Georges Pompidou, in Paris and he was the second contemporary artist²⁴ to permanently integrate The Louvre Museum Collection, also in the French Capital.

At 24th October 2007, three of his works (Athanor²⁵, a painting 11 meters high, *Danae* and *Hortus conclusus*, two sculptures) were included in Perennial Collection of this same Museum²⁶.

At that occasion, The Louvre Museum took advantage of the inauguration to perform a series of cultural activities that lasted for a full month, conceived in close collaboration with Kiefer. The theme chosen by Kiefer – "Frontiers" – brought together several disciplines such as literature, contemporary music, dance, sciences, philosophy and art history²⁷.

¹⁹ One of his most famous paintings "Margarethe", where he uses on canvas oils and straw, is inspired in the poem "Todesfuge" (Escape from Death) by Paul Celan. Cf. Lauterwein 2005. Important to note that Celan and Bachmann were extremely good friends.

²⁰ Stiassny 2015. Bachmann as Kiefer lived the war experience as a child.

²¹ Furstenow-Khositashvili 2011, 90 ss.

²² Vd. Dagen 2007.

²³ Furstenow-Khositashvili 2001, 88-89.

²⁴ The first was Georges Braque in 1953.

²⁵ The work was placed in a staircase of the Department of Egyptian Antiquities of The Louvre Museum.

²⁶ Bernadac 2007, 9.

²⁷ And it allowed expositions, for example, *Exposition dessins/frontières/dessins*; A solo dance - *Walking The Line* – designed, on purpose, for the event, by the American choreographer Bill T. Jones, accompanied by the Tibetan singer Jungchen Lhamo and the French percussionist Florent Jodelet; three concerts - Schönberg : *Ein Stelldichein*, pour clarinette, hautbois, violoncelle et piano; Webern : deux pièces pour violoncelle et piano; Pattar : *Outlyer* création mondiale, commande du musée du Louvre et du Festival d'Automne à Paris; Andre : *Zum Staub sollst du zurückkehren*, création française (Vendredi 9 Novembre à 20h); Bartók : *Contrastes* pour violon, clarinette et piano; Widmann : *Sphinxensprüche und Rätselkanons* pour soprano, clarinette et piano, création française; Sciarrino : *Capricci* pour violon solo; Pintscher : *Study III for treatise on the veil* pour violon solo, création française, commande du musée du Louvre, du Festival d'Automne à Paris et du Alte Oper de Francfort avec le soutien des amis du Alte Oper (Vendredi 16 Novembre à 20h) et Widmann: *Troisième quatuor à cordes, La Chasse*. Fantaisie pour clarinette seule; Mozart : *Quintette pour clarinette et cordes en la majeur K 581* (Vendredi 23 Novembre à 20h); a documentary of 26 minutes written and realized by Jean-Luc Perréard establishing a parallel between the life of the artist in Barjac and its relation with The Louvre and his paintings; spectacles of cinema/ music - « Duos éphémères »; Readings: *Soirée consacrée à Fernando Pessoa*; Conferences and Debates – Cycle of Conferences "Frontiers" with the presence

Throughout his life, Anselm Kiefer has won several prizes and distinctions: in 1983, The Hans-Thoma; in 1990, The Wolf; in 1997, The International Prize by The Jury of the 47^a *La Biennale di Venezia*; in 1999, The *Praemium Imperiale* [World Culture Prize in Memory of His Imperial Highness Prince Takamatsu]; in 2005, Officer of the Order of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany; in 2008, The Prize of Peace of The German Libraries; in 2009, The Gaulle-Adenauer and in 2011, The Berliner Bär, The Leo-Baeck-Meda and the Distinction of *Commandeur de La Ordre des Arts et des Lettres de La République Française*.

But then, why does his gaze still seem to want to escape the lens of the photographer?

He grows, he stands out from an immense crowd, yet... still he hides, he takes refuge in millenary Civilizations and searches for comfort in the voice of the poets...

3. The Engine of His Work

What was the engine of Kiefer?

What drove him to this and not to any other way?

Anselm Kiefer is born in a Germany that is about to be brought to its knees and destroyed, after having written one of the most dark and sadistic pages of the Annals of Contemporary Human History. It most certainly would not have been easy to be the son of a Nazi officer and carry with oneself the weight of that inheritance. What to do? What could one do? Forswear the past? To hide it from the world for eternity? Or to transfigure it in some sort of philosophy, poetry and redemptive art that would allow him a reconciliation with the past and with the contemporary world and himself?

Kiefer realizes well that his biography is the “Biography of Germany”. He is the product of the place where he was born, with all its constraints, its history and its cultural memory. Plus the men around him, probably, would never even allow him to forget that. He was a son of a Nazi Officer!

Only his clarity of mind made Kiefer follow the only sane and, ultimately, possible way. Firstly, for his own personal liberation and pacification regarding the trauma that Nazism must have represented to his generation, and secondly for the others around him; instead of judging him, they accept him, they lament and, finally, they consecrate him.

“Master Stroke!”

In 1969 he challenges the world, he makes himself noticed, talked about when he is photographed making the Nazi Salute in some Main European Cities. From then on, diving in History, he transforms in his material per excellence, he starts to “re-establish” both himself and the emotions that History brings him. He leaves Germany. And doing so

of such characters as Johan Galtung, Chantal Mouffe, Alain Joxe, Boris Groys; Bruno Latour; Edgar Morin, among many others.

is to absolutely cut off with his past and roots, as he himself says: "Mon souhait était de faire une rupture d'ordre personnel"²⁸.

From then on, the confrontation of the present with the collective memory becomes central in the work of Kiefer. The nostalgia for times past and the ancient cultures makes him awake the most ancestral human memory and will drive him to the Universe of Civilizations and mythologies as far away in time as those of the Ancient Orient, Egypt, Greek, the Old Testament and the Kabbalah.

Let's look at some examples...



Fig. 2. *Departure from Egypt*²⁹, 1984 (The Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles).

In this very impressive painting, of dark coloration and overly exaggerated perspective, Kiefer comes to remember the dark past of the Jewish People, using the ancient myth of the exodus of the Hebrews from the Egypt, narrated in the Old Testament. The Figure of Moses is evoked through a staff. But what we remember here is mainly the connection of the recent past, of Nazism, to the most distant past of Pharaonic Egypt. By connecting these two-time frames in History, Kiefer intends to redeem the German People of the atrocities of the Holocaust. He intends to liberate them of the trauma of the Nazism.

In 1987, Anselm Kiefer finished a great painting, whose title sends to the most important Egyptian myth, the Osiris Myth. Osiris is one of the most important Egyptians gods, the god of the afterlife and the dead, who was murdered by his brother Seth, who divided Osiris' body into 14 parts and dispersed them around the world. But Isis, his beloved wife and sister, "resurrects" him and so Osiris represents the god of transition, resurrection, and regeneration.

²⁸ Laroche 2016, 64.

²⁹ Vd. Christofinis 2014: 1-9. <https://www.artslant.com/global/artists/show/15523-anselm-kiefer?page=1&tab=ARTWORKS> (accessed February 14, 2018)

This founding myth of the Egyptian Civilization is here portrayed by Kiefer, through a representation of a grave, a pyramid, to which is tied the dilacerated body of Osiris in 14 pieces of porcelain, that we can see standing out in white. Let's bear in mind that white was also a symbolic colour for death in ancient Egypt.



Fig. 3. *Osiris and Isis*³⁰, 1985-1987 (Collection SFMOMA, San Francisco).
(Vd. Licence <https://www.flickr.com/photos/rocor/7158585191>).

The model of death and rebirth that consecrates the vision of cyclical time of Kiefer - and which is the model of salvation par excellence of Egyptian civilization - is here exhibited in all its greatness and supremacy. But this ancient story illustrates too the human capacity for evil, since Pharaonic times to the German history. And in this way, Kiefer's art represents a combination of past and present.



Fig. 4. *Man under a Pyramid*, 1996. (The National Galleries of Scotland and Tate).
(Licence: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/32357038@No8/5337091564>).

³⁰ Furstenow-Khositashvili 2001, 116-118; Johnson 2014: 955- 956 and Noble, Strauss, Osheim, Neuschel, Accampo. 2010, 877.

The reflection of Kiefer concerning the union of Man and the Universe is very well represented in this painting, which measures more than five meters long.

The Universe appears here symbolized in a pyramid, symbol of the Egyptian Civilization that made the analogy man/cosmos its redemptive message. As Kiefer asserts:

"Là, dans ce tableau, c'est moi, mais ce n'est pas seulement moi, c'est un gisant, un archétype. Ci-gît. Je suis un homme d'aujourd'hui qui a des souvenirs précis des temps anciens [...] Je suis ici, composé de tous mes souvenirs qui remontent jusqu'aux dinosaures et même plus loin. Le futur st lié au passé, mais pas mélangé à lui"³¹.

To Kiefer, the pyramid³² is the perfect example of connection between the Earth and Sky. It announces the possibility of redemption after the "hell" of life, and the lying man illustrates the connection with cosmic times³³.

Man under a Pyramid also symbolizes the supreme dialogue between body and mind one of the topics of Kiefer's "mental architecture".



Fig. 5. *Fertile Crescent*,³⁴ 2009 (Presently in Exhibition until August 2017 at The NSU Art Museum Fort Lauderdale, United States of America).
DAD4W8/Alamy Stock Photo.

This work is part of a set of epic paintings that Kiefer presents for the first time at the White Cube Gallery, in London. The image transports the observer in time to one of the first civilizations of Antiquity, Mesopotamia, whose constructions are made of adobe. Because of this material, these constructions did not survive in time and become ruins, similar to those Kiefer knew in his infancy, in a dilapidated Germany.

³¹ Bouhours 2016, 212.

³² The theme "pyramids" is presented in others paintings. See, for example, *Only with Wind, Time, and Sound [Nur mit Wind, mit Zeit und mit Klang]*, 1997 (The Guggenheim in Bilbao, Spain). Cf. Arasse 2001, 268–74.

³³ It was already studied by Trindade Lopes, Almeida 2017, 1-8.

³⁴ Schama 2009.

So, it is in this mythical Universe, that we have just visited, where Kiefer finds an answer to its greatest anguish: that any destruction – and Auschwitz symbolizes the supreme destruction for a German born in 1945 – is succeeded by a creation! The apparent conflict between chaos and order, a cosmogonic model that he reclaims from ancient civilizations, will allow him a reconciliation with the world. The knowledge of these faraway knowledges, he also states, can offer to the modern men a reunion with nature and the Cosmic Universe³⁵.

Therefore, it is here that we find the concept that is essential to Kiefer, the one he designates as “Frontiers”:

“Quand je parle de frontières, je parle de notre essence même. Les frontières, c’est ce d’où nous venons, ce que nous sommes, ce qui va venir. Tout. Nous sommes la membrane entre le macrocosme et le microcosme, entre l’intérieur - ce que nous sommes et le dehors - ce que nous sommes aussi. Nous vivons de cela. L’interférence entre les deux est très complexe, c’est la vie même parce que nous sommes cet échange entre l’intérieur et l’extérieur. Et nous ne savons pas vraiment si nous ne sommes pas surtout composés du dehors. Je ne crois pas que la vie soit une entité bien façonnée, je pense au contraire que c’est un concept très fragile, dépendant autant de l’extérieur que de l’intérieur. La frontière définit le monde comme elle nous définit (...)”³⁶.

(...) Mais la frontière, c’est aussi l’ambiguïté par excellence. La frontière nous est nécessaire, sinon nous ne pourrions pas vivre (...) Une frontière culturelle permet de développer son identité, mais si la frontière est trop rigide on meurt aussi. Sans influence de l’extérieur on n’est plus rien. Il nous faut donc de la frontière mais pas trop ! J’utilise le mot « frontière » parce qu’il me permet d’englober tous les concepts, d’échapper aux définitions.”³⁷.

The most painful of all these frontiers is memory. Because it can recede, recede, recede... and dive, as it happened with Kiefer, in such distant Universes as culture and Jewish traditions, the trauma of the Holocaust, the ancient Cosmogonies – Egyptian and Sumerian – and naturally the voices of the poets.... Celan, Rainer Maria Rilke, Pessoa...

And to conclude what will never have a conclusion – because the work of real artists and those who are free spirits never has a beginning and never really has an end – the work of Kiefer consecrates him not only as a “painter of histories”, but as someone that, like a God, announces and confers to himself a function: to create time and time again... This is his strength. It is so well represented in the almost violent form of how he uses his

³⁵ To Kiefer, the human body is a kind of microcosm that represents the attributes of the Universe.

³⁶ "Borders, in us, outside us, us" Interview with Anselm Kiefer by Terrasse, Jean-Marc director of the auditorium (excerpts) 2007, 6.

³⁷ Cordellier 2008, 7. <https://docplayer.fr/20758229-Anselm-kiefer-au-louvre.html> (accessed on February 16, 2018).

pictorial resources. Yet probably it is that same violence that affects and maintains us, as spectators, his captives.

I don't know if consciously or unconsciously, the work of Kiefer is a panting that aspires to relief, that so superior art of an Egyptian and Mesopotamian world, where he so profoundly dove to save himself...

It is here that all the frontiers are at play...

"There is no history. Each human being made his own history, has his own thoughts and his own world. But everyone is alone with his own illusions, with his own methods. I think each human being tries to put themselves in a bigger context. So you always create an illusion that you stay longer on earth than you do...That's what religion is. That's what the pharaohs did when they created the pyramids. They want—put themselves in a longer, longer context. So you get interested in geological times too. But it's much stronger. And then in cosmic times too. This reassures you to find a sense [meaning] in the world, because in the world there is no sense. So the scientific process, as science, doesn't lead us to any key to the world. The more we know, the more we don't know. It's always like this. So only mythology tried to get some coherent view. And, also, alchemy tried to explain the world in a coherent way, what science never can do."³⁸

³⁸ "Anselm Kiefer on Mythology and Human Experience," San Francisco Museum of Modern Art video, 1:30, October 2006, <http://www.sfmoma.org/explore/multimedia/videos/268>

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The Memory of The Tower of Babel: between Mith, History and Art

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Abstract

In this article we propose to identify the transmission of cultural memory of the Tower of Babel's myth by means of artistic connections between Eastern Antiquity and Renascentist Europe, through perceptions of esthetic information. We also bring up a counterpoint to hegemonic view of art history, whose artistic references have been eurocentric and/or North-american, by presenting the works of a contemporary artist who lives in Southern Brazil.

Keywords: Babylon, Myth, Cultural Memory, Art.

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The Memory of The Tower of Babel: between Myth, History and Art

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Introduction

Visual history is a battlefield of considerable strategic importance for historic knowledge of society, its organization, operation and transformation (Bezerra de Meneses 2005, 33). Thus, we think that visual dimension is present in the whole social aspect, and its interpretation is essential, once esthetic is a legitimate field of investigation, based upon sensitivity and reason.

Images are grounded on material base, and are products of their own time, made of matter and transmitted as patrimonies, collections and languages. In this study, cultural memory is seen as esthetic memory, created through a language with expressive relevance in artifacts, which in turn yield idiomatic traditions.

Under the influence of Maurice Halbwachs' and Aby Warburg's ideas, German academic Jan Assmann (1995, 132) stated the concept of cultural memory:

The concept of cultural memory comprises that body of reusable texts, images, and rituals specific to each society in each epoch, whose "cultivation" serves to stabilize and convey that society's self-image. Upon such collective knowledge, for the most part (but not exclusively) of the past, each group bases its awareness of unity and particularity.

Past is a social construction marked by the need of sense and references of a certain present. Culture and society are the main conditions of mankind for creating identity, be it individual or collective, and this identity is reflexive, once it takes place through communication and interactions with others. As personal identity is shaped through relations with one another, it is necessary a common world of symbolic meaning, which is culture itself. According to Aby Warburg (2010, 3), "The conscious establishing of certain distance between yourself and outside world can be featured as the primal act of human civilization". But in order to adapt to a symbolic sense world of culture, its rules and

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meanings, man should establish some distance between the world and himself, which is legitimated by culture (Assmann 2010, 123).

Thus, we believe that cultural memories of Ancient Mesopotamia, XVIth Century Europe or Contemporary Brazil, do adapt ancient forms and concepts, and that this mimetic transmission of information is the maker of cultural traditions.

The study of cultural memory or transmission of esthetic information by cultural connections in the long term, founded by Aby Warburg, claims that transmission of elements highly expressive, along with the language of superstitions, esthetics, beliefs and cultural dynamics, make up the literary, artistic and religious background of each culture and of how all of these are experienced in some cultural environment.

For Warburg, there is a long iconographic history which took shape with a higher explanatory power, and these forms change in time and space. There are many contexts where a sign, symbol, concept, science or knowledge is transformed by each civilization. In his theory of cultural memory, the author (Warburg 2013, 453) says that the specific form which gathers that patent power is called *pathosformeln*, forms full of passion or expressiveness. One of the aspects studied by Warburg is the construction of gestures, formula and symbols which, for their expressiveness, become elements carrying affection, central ideas for art which will also explain the main canons of art expression, like melancholy, love, potential, love life, sacred objects, power, and so forth. These forms are also evidences of complex cosmologies, expressing languages and historical context of cultures. These patterns are improved in a language whose main goal is to render this expressive power, making that icon clear in every language, time or place.

According to Warburg, what matters is how the language of art has made itself along millennia, how it was built up while language, set of themes and indexes, and how these icons were established as forms of expressive energy. In his unfinished great work, *Mnemosyne Atlas*, he started approximating images, recognizing fractals showing some similarity, and from that he brings the question: if there was visual similarity, there would be some explanation.

Regarding the challenge launched by Aby Warburg which recommended expansion of borders between science and art, Didi-Huberman (2013, 34) claims that this proposition is a “deterritorializing of image and time which expresses its historicity. It means that the time is not the same of history in general”.

Artistic traditions of Ancient Mesopotamia were noticed by Aby Warburg (2010, 23), which recognized in Panel 1 of *Mnemosyne Atlas*, the Eastern Mesopotamian conceptions as a deep root of a cultural legacy called “Cosmos Projection over a piece of the body to make predictions. Babylonian official astrology. Practice born in the East”. Editors H. Breedekamp and M. Diers, in the preface to the issue of Aby Warburg studies (2013, xviii) state that “The iconology of Warburg nature goes from the form of works of art and transition of pictorial motives, but it develops from understanding these figurations in the context of an accurate and broad combination of the history of culture”.

We can also transpose these cultural conditions of image to the modern and contemporary world, highlighting pictorial elements which involve dynamic processes of time, and which imply the perception of discourse nature, by understanding image phenomenology inside that culture.

Thereby, from that conception we will perform the analysis of pictorial forms in some European Renaissance and Brazilian contemporary pieces of art. We understand that the binomials East-West, Renaissance-Contemporary, Europe-Brazil can become an interesting counterpoint for analysis, once it decentralizes the prevailing discourse of art history and includes peripheral history (Hall 2019; D'Alleva 2015).

In this article we propose to identify the transmission of a cultural memory of the Tower of Babel myth by means of artistic connections between Eastern Antiquity and European Renaissance, through perception of esthetic information. By way of challenge, we present an example of this remaining subject which is the work of a contemporary artist who lives and works in Southern Brazil.

The historical Tower of Babel

Babylon was the main religious and cultural pole in Southern Mesopotamia (Fig. 1), and the capital of the biggest empire of Eastern world before Persian, between 7th and 6th centuries BCE. It was built by the Euphrates River, around 55 miles (90 km) from the South of current Baghdad (Huit; Thalmann; Valbelle 1990, 232).



Fig. 1. Map of ancient Near East.
Source: Adapted from Collins, 2008:165.

Babylon is still an emblematic city in West tradition, and its tower gave way to many representations along history. Reports on the Tower of Babel building, present in some verses from the Book of Genesis (Gen. 11, 1-9) make references to ziggurat of Marduk

temple, the city's protector, made of clay bricks. The Hebrew name of the place mentioned in the text is Senaar, in Sumerian it was KÁ.DINGIR.RA, and in Akkadian, Bābilim. The etymology of Bābilim says that this word is composed of two Akkadian words: *bābum*, meaning gate, and *ilī*, meaning gods. Therefore, literally Babylon means Gate of Gods, possibly due to its great ziggurat (tower), once Mesopotamians believed it would made easier the Gods access to Earth through its monumental staircase.

Ziggurat, which in Akkadian language is *ziqquratu*, comes from the verb *zaqāru*, meaning “to construct a high building”, was a solid building with raw bricks in staggered-shaped pyramid, with a small sanctuary at the top (Fig. 2). In Sumerian it was called É.TEMEN.AN.KI, literally “the house of Heaven and Earth foundation” (Pozzer 2010). The original structure of The Tower of Babel was built by Hammu-rabi (1792-1750 BCE), and afterwards destroyed by Assyrian king Sennacherib, in 689 BCE, when he conquered Babylon. Its restoration was finished by Nebuchadnezzar II (604-542 BCE), the king of Chaldea dynasty (Westenholz 1995:59).

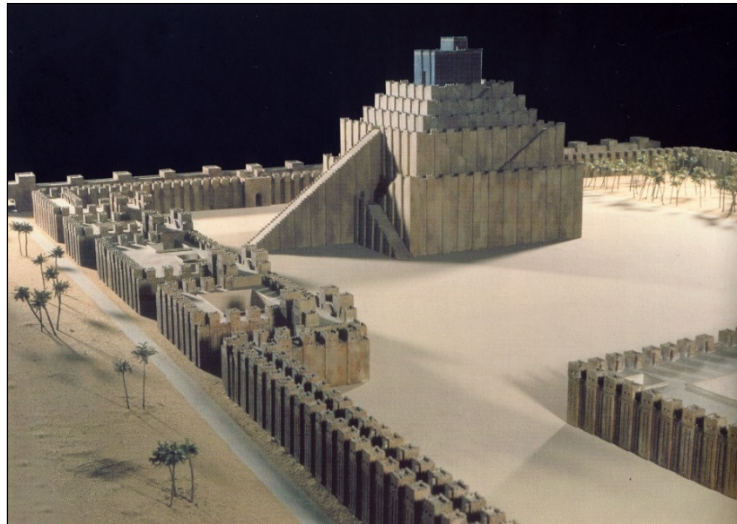


Fig. 2. Model of the walls and Tower of Babylon. Pergamonmuseum, Berlin.
Source: Curatola, 2006: 92.

In the picture above, we see the Euphrates River like a curved line to the left, a pit surrounding the center of the city, and in the midst a small dark square pointing to the foot of the ziggurat (Fig. 3).

At the top of the image (Fig. 4) we see the Euphrates River and thick woods in both river banks. There are many archeological traces, and at the bottom we can distinguish the square foot of old Tower of Babel and the base of its huge staircase.



Fig. 3. Wide view of Babylon site.
Source: Google Earth.



Fig. 4. Aerial view of Babylon site.
Source: Huot; Thalmann; Valbelle, 1990:245.

Nowadays we can only see traces of the Tower of Babel, like the pit of its foundations, built on a 91m side, and a bar as the base for the once great runway, making up an area of 8.100m². The area inside was made up of sun-dried bricks while outside walls were made of 15m thick backed bricks, having about 90m high. It's estimated that 36 millions of bricks were used, and three thousand men were employed to work day and night, during two years (Pozzer 2003, 71).

The Tower of Babel would probably had two major functions of two different natures: scientific and religious. Scribes used to make daily astronomic observations, reporting the results on clay tablets. The Tower's great staircase had also a religious function, once according to the imaginary of that time, it would make easier for gods go down from Heaven to relieve men's pains and sufferings.

During Nebuchadnezzar II reign, VIth Century BCE, Babylon had about 1 thousand hectares extension, and its wall, 8 gates, was estimated at about 18km length and 30m width (Marzahn 1993, 9). Some classical Greek and Latin authors after the apogee of Neobabylonian empire, described a real legendary Babylon. Despite distortions in some historical data, these authors' reports guided German archaeologists by the end of XIXth Century to locate this huge archaeological site, since they provided information on the city's topography (André-Salvini 2008b).

In his *Histories* (1.178-186), Herodotus (485-420 BCE), describes the city during Persian domain and mentions the big walls, the architectural complex for Marduk worship, the Euphrates river, the streets and hydraulic works. The legend of Babylon has passed from generation to generation through secondary or tertiary sources till reaching Hellenistic times, when the tradition of Babylon as one of the "wonders of the world, having big walls and hanging gardens" emerged (André-Salvini 2008a, 13).

Renaissance reframing

Ambivalence of Babylon myth between biblical damnation and men's fascination with power, between a real ancient city and a contemporary symbolic one, has tempted men in Renaissance, who lived under the influence of debates over Protestant Reformation and criticism of the papedom.

In the mid XVIth Century Northern Europe was shaken by violent political-religious uprisings, and these historical events have surely contributed to the emergence of many representations of the Tower of Babel. The idea of peoples scattering, caused by languages confusion, evoked religious schism, the translation of Bible into vulgar language and the assertion of powerful nations and dynasties announced the end of Christianity, formerly linked to Rome. Renaissance took the myth to glorify the epic conquest of Men over Nature, and renew Hellenistic culture. Let us analyse, therefore, some reframing of the Tower of Babel myth by three Renaissance artists.

In the mid XVIth Century, precisely in 1547, Dutch artist Cornelisz Anthonisz made a carving where the tower appears in fire coming from the sky. The tower looks like Rome's Coliseum, and an inscription on the top right corner says: Babelon/Genesis 14, connecting Bible's report to Babylon. We see the sky with many clouds from where rays of light/fire sprout in sidelong lines (Fig. 5).

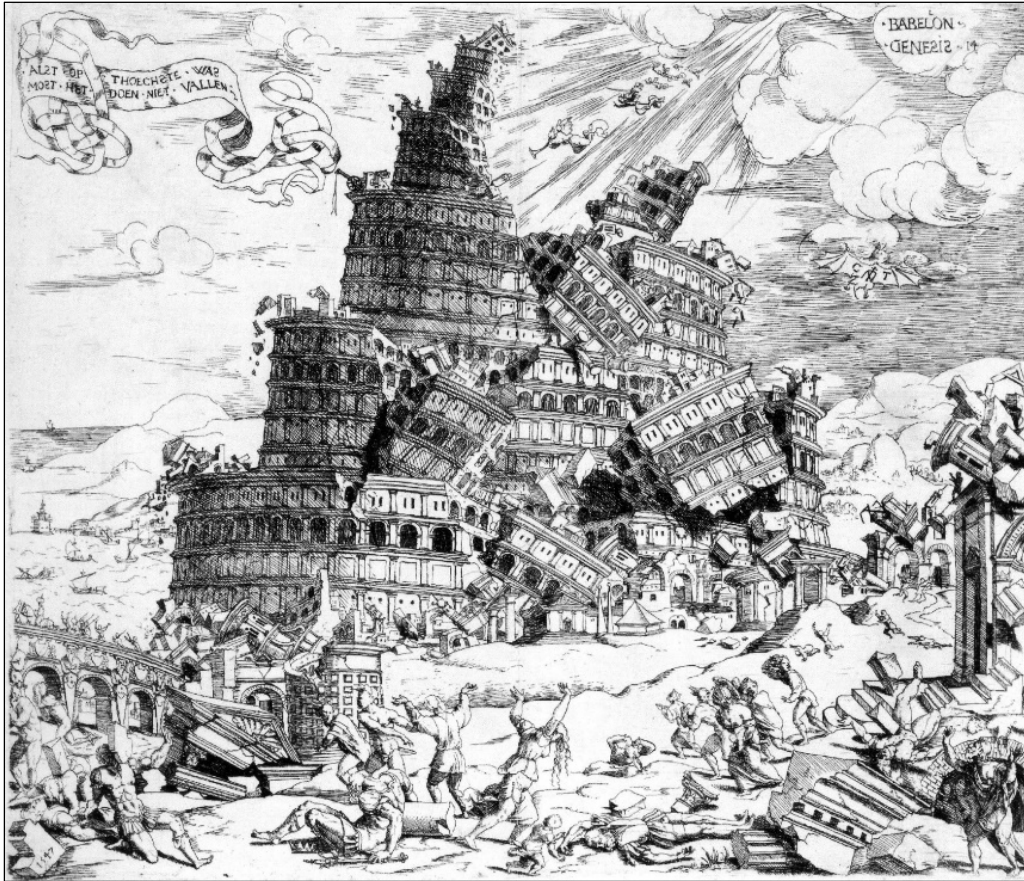


Fig. 5. Destruction of the Tower, Cornelisz Anthonisz (1505-1553), 1547. Etching, 32,3X38,3cm.
Source: André-Salvini, 2008b: 457.

In the center of the image we see the massive round tower being destroyed by fire from the sky. Besides the two inscriptions, one in archaic Dutch and the other showing Babelon/Genesis, we see Cornelisz Anthonisz's anagram CAT on a bat's wings, animal with a negative connotation connected to death, evil or devil, and on the lower left corner the date: 1547.



Fig. 6. The Destruction of the Tower, Cornelisz Anthonisz (1505-1553), 1547. Detail.



Fig. 7. The Destruction of the Tower, Cornelisz Anthonisz (1505-1553), 1547. Detail.

The foreground is full of men, women and children (some dead), showing desperate gestures, raising their arms as signs of dread or mercy. A whole city is destroyed, not only the tower.



Fig. 8. The Destruction of the Tower, Cornelisz Anthonisz (1505-1553), 1547. Detail.

The archs architecture, present in the aqueduct on the left corner, is clearly Roman-inspired, disconnected from historical reality. In the background, to the left, we see a river or the sea with small ships.

Fifteen years before Bruegel, Cornelisz Anthonisz connected the Tower's architecture to that of Roman Coliseum's, and broke up with square standard of medieval towers.

This picture is one of the first examples known as representing the destruction of the Tower of Babel by fire from the sky. In the Bible's texts there is no reference to this monument's ruin, but only the confusion of languages and the scattering of men in the world. The tower's destruction refers to a late tradition from rabbi Benjamin de Tudela's writings. This text written in XIIth Century was probably inspired by the travel reports by Harpocritum of Alexandria (355), which referred to a lightning hurting men (André-Salvini 2008b, 430):

You see, my child, these high towers numbered three [...] the third had been built by giants who desired to reach the sky. For this insane profanity, some were hit by the lightning; others, under God's order, could not recognize themselves among them; all the remaining left and died in the isle of Crete, where they were thrown by God in his anger.²

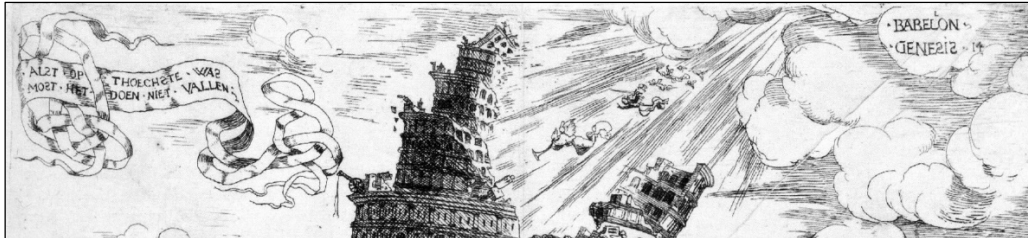


Fig. 9. The Destruction of the Tower, Cornelisz Anthonisz (1505-1553), 1547. Detail.

Sébastien Allard (2008, 457), art historian and current manager of Painting Department of Louvre Museum, explains the rereading of the subject-matter in the context of big excitement of Hebrew culture in Amsterdam at that time. We can see a direct connection among Genesis texts, the city of Babylon and the narrative of Apocalypse, pointed by the inscriptions on left and right upper corners, and the angels' trumpets announcing the end of times. It is interesting to see the image of lifting structures in all floors, as a way to remind us the unfinished condition of the construction.

Still according to Allard (2008), this picture was made only twenty years after the traumatizing sack of Rome carried out by Spain and Holy Roman-German Empire, when more than 30.000 soldiers destroyed part of the city. Roman people then eyewitnessed many murders of men and children, and rapes of women. This terrible memory must have inspired the artist, and kept alive cultural memory of that collective imaginary.

From 1550, references to Genesis's texts took a broader connotation with a strong moral appeal, establishing pride as the main capital sin. And it is exactly Babylon's pride which is referred in the Bible, being its punishment the consequence of citizens trying to compete with God.

Another artist influenced by this motif was Renaissance painter Pieter Bruegel, the Elder, born in the Netherlands, who made two oil paintings portraying the Tower of Babel. The first one is at the Kuntshistorisches Museum in Vienna, Austria (Fig. 10), and the other belongs to the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen's collection, in Rotterdam, Netherlands (Fig. 11). Both paintings were made around 1563.

² Tu vois, mon enfant, ces hautes tours au nombre de trois [...] la troisième avait été construite par de géants qui voulaient escalader le ciel. Pour cette impiété folle, les uns furent frappés de la foudre; les autres, sur l'ordre de Dieu, ne se reconnurent plus désormais entre eux; out le reste s'en alla tomber dans l'île de Crète, où Dieu, dans sa colère, les précipita.

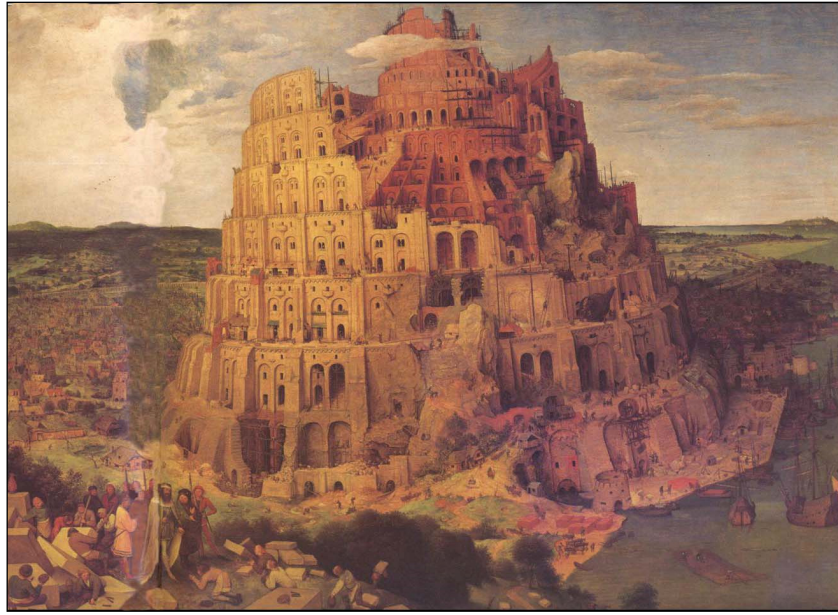


Fig. 10. The Construction of The Tower of Babel, Pieter Bruegel, 1563, Vienna. Oil on wood (114X155 cm).
Source: Kuntshistorisches Museum, Vienna.



Fig. 11. The construction of the Tower of Babel, Pieter Bruegel, 1563, Rotterdam. Oil on wood (60X74,5 cm).
Source: André-Salvini 2008b: 459.

In the painting at Vienna, the monument under construction seems to devour the stone mountain, in trying to desecrate Nature, seen as a divine work. Emphasis is given to the

excitement during the tower construction, depicted as an unfinished and monumental architectural work. Besides, we have in the foreground the representation of stone carving workers and the arrival of king Nimrod to inspect the construction. The several activities in this site and the city in the background reinforce the historical nature of this painting. The artist reinterpreted the motif of that mountain as a place for alliance with God and also as a scale of values of Nature. In a relevant article on this painting, Barbara Kaminska (2014, 4) places this landscape in the city of Antwerp, and also refers to Roman Coliseum to represent the tower.

In the second painting, known as Rotterdam panel, the condemnation of human pride is made metaphysically: the monument is turned into landscape and history, which surpasses its creator in magnitude. The connection Tower and Coliseum reasserts a break with square tower style and points to the idea of vanity in human actions. Let us remember that from 1530, Rome turned into a huge construction site with several large buildings, due to popedom's agency and desire to assert its own prestige. That moment a connection between these big edifications and the accounts of the Tower of Babel construction became inevitable. Allard (2008, 459) amazingly summarizes his writings by saying that: "Rome has turned into a Babel finally completed".

Although the two towers had been inspired by the Coliseum, which the artist saw for the first time in 1553 in his travel to Rome, Rotterdam's painting is distinct. In the painting at Vienna, Bruegel describes the construction of the tower, king Nimrod's arrival and the city of Babylon, presenting historically the divine condemnation. In the painting at Rotterdam, the Tower is the only object represented. Viennas's tower points to the history of Babel myth and its chaotic construction. In Rotterdam's, the metaphysics perspective of the myth is represented along with its monument and its hugeness. In this work, the artist followed Herodotus' description of an eight floor tower made of bricks, mostly red on the top and left corner and with stone façade. Here, the colors give an impression of massiveness, the piling up dark clouds and their shadows create an anguish atmosphere, pointing to the oncoming catastrophe and the end of the dream when peoples could be unite (Allard 2008).

And, as a way to honor our Portuguese colleagues, I bring a rereading of the Tower of Babel, or yet, an iconographic element of the myth's survival assigned to Joos Momper, from the collection of splendid *Museu Nacional de Arte de Lisboa* (National Museum of Ancient Art in Lisbon) (Fig. 12).

Dutch painter Momper mostly depicted landscapes, wherewith he stood out throughout his life. From 500 paintings assigned to him, only few of them has his signature, and only one is dated. It is known that he often collaborated with painters like Pieter Snayers, Bruegel, the Elder and the Young, usually in big mountain landscapes.

In this painting, Momper made his work from a high point of view, employing a conventional transition of brown in the first plan to gold color highlighted by the backing copper plate, and finally blue color in the background. Following Vienna's version of Bruegel, in this landscape he portraits in the first plan a group of small figures, king Nimrod being depicted as a long-bearded elder, dressing a red tunic.



Fig. 12. Tower of Babel, Joos Momper, ca. 1600, Lisbon. Oil on copper.
Source: author's photo, 2017.

On the lower half of the scene we see Momper's contemporary constructions in Renaissance style, and in the background the sea with countless ships. In the upper right corner we see thick clouds suggesting some oppressiveness only relieved by some birds in the sky. It is important highlighting that despite stylization of natural effects, Momper depicted stone carving workers in full activity of carving and carrying stones by using traction animals in the first plan, which also confirms the Tower under construction.

The survival of the myth in the art of Southern Brazil

I bring to this analysis a Brazilian contemporary artist³ which in a period of his artistic trajectory, dialogued with references of the Tower of Babel likewise. Thus, I intend to contribute a counterpoint to hegemonic view of art history, whose references have been often eurocentric and/or North-american. This artist lives and works in the Southern Brazil, being renowned over this country, and whose works are exhibited in museums and galleries at the center of the country. He also participated in collective shows in Portugal: *Portáveis*, at Faculdade de Belas Artes de Lisboa (Faculty of Fine Arts, Lisbon) - FBAUL'S Gallery, in 2014, and *Parergon*, promoted by the Câmara Municipal de Torres Vedras (Common Hall of Torres Vedras) - Paços Galeria Municipal (Town Gallery), Torres Vedras, in 2013.

³ Many Brazilian artists – some of them known abroad – have works based on that myth, but our intent here is focusing on a local artist's contribution.

Alfredo Nicolaiewsky is a visual artist who works with different languages, like drawing, painting, photography, film and collage, creating *assemblages* and using softwares to compose his recent works. He is also professor of Visual Arts and History of Art at the *Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul* (Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul). He has been present in many individual and collective shows, and has been given many awards in painting and drawings. According to Paulo Gomes (1999, 15):

Alfredo Nicolaiewsky is an artist whose manual abilities are on the best form, practicing a critical process of creation of an attentive visuality to historical contexts he witnesses, both social and artistic points of view; his purpose is to build an artistic work connecting the skillful craftsman and the refined thinker.⁴

In 1990, Nicolaiewsky created a series of artworks composed by lithographies hand-colored individually by using watercolor and colored pencil, thus making of each one a unique piece of art. He recreated the theme of the Tower of Babel in a set of these pieces, and named it *Cobra de fogo sobre a Mesopotâmia* (Fire snake on Mesopotamia), suggesting the likely destruction of the tower by fire from the sky, as well as Antonisch's picture. In these small lithographies we see the stylized reproduction of the Tower of Babel like a spiral in the center of the image, framed by polychromatic borders. The artist made a series of images with chromatic variations over this theme.⁵ At the top of five floors is a small illuminated lighthouse-like temple, and over it we can see a multicolored snake.

In Fig. 13, the background is in light blue dabbled with red triangles like fire tongues, what conveys a kind of order to the image. In pictures 14 and 15 we see other versions of the theme with chromatic variations from pink background with yellow flowers to degradations of red-blue. The artist himself states that the purpose:

(...) was thinking over the influence of color on the same image, paying attention to how much it could change. At the same time, it was a way to revisit my coloring books, when I painted using water and the colors emerged as if by magic (Gomes 1999, 37).⁶

⁴ Alfredo Nicolaiewsky é um artista que, em plena posse de suas habilidades manuais, exercita um processo crítico de construção de uma visualidade atenta aos momentos históricos que vive, tanto do ponto de vista social quanto do ponto de vista artístico; seu desígnio é o de construir uma obra em que se unam o hábil artesão e o refinado pensador.

⁵ The artist kindly ceded these images for this article.

⁶ (...) foi refletir sobre a influência da cor sobre uma mesma imagem, observando o quanto esta se alterava. Ao mesmo tempo, foi uma forma de refazer os cadernos de colorir que tive quando criança, nos quais se pintava com água, e as cores surgiam como num passe de mágica.



Fig. 13. Fire snake on Mesopotamia (blue), Alfredo Nicolaiewsky, 1999, Porto Alegre. Watercolor w/o lithography on paper (35X50,5 cm).
Source: Artist's files.



Fig. 14. Fire snake on Mesopotamia (pink), Alfredo Nicolaiewsky, 1999, Porto Alegre. Watercolor w/o lithography on paper (35X50,5 cm).
Source: Artist's files.



Fig. 15. Fire snake on Mesopotamia (red-blue), Alfredo Nicolaiewsky, 1999, Porto Alegre. Watercolor w/o lithography on paper (35X50,5 cm). Source: Artist's files.

On the one hand we can recognize in these watercolors an exercise of memory (childhood) and a pact with the current creative process, in addition to a fine irony – the artist's strong features. On the other hand, we can identify the universal nature and recurrent theme of the Tower of Babel, which still instigates contemporary artists.

As well as Cornelisz Anthonisz, Alfredo Nicolaiewsky reflects upon the destructing power of fire, but includes a new and significant element – the snake. Main character in Bible's narrative about men's fate, the snake connects to the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise. But Nicolaiewsky plays with forms and disrupts the drama: the curved-line snake contrasts with the hard square geometry of the tower. The colors effect, striking feature of his works, also provides some lightness to the composition. These pieces of art show the process of transmission of a cultural memory which is collective, then is possessed by the artist, who reframes it with his own talent.

Conclusion

As a conclusion, we can say that in Ancient Mesopotamia, the Tower of Babel represented a complex symbolic system, where ziggurat was the connection between Heaven and Earth. The tower had been built by men who desired to get closer to heavenly world, in a city they hopefully created to live their lives free of evil.

Though rooted in Jewish-Christian imaginary, in Renaissance, the Tower of Babel's symbology referred to ideas marked by religious criticism of protestant movement, in

which Babylon was connected to Rome, the pope's city. This belief inspired European Renaissance artists, who resumed the theme of the Tower of Babel from Genesis' Bible reports. However, Brazilian contemporary art also made new questioning from the Tower's myth, pointing to a Jewish-Christian memory in national imaginary.

Babylon's myth is based on the tension between destruction and (re) construction, whose origin is in the very city's history, often destroyed and rebuilt. Nevertheless, Babylon was also a destructive empire, which has annihilated Jerusalem and banned its population. According to the Bible's texts, it was the evil city whose purpose was controlling the world, and its ziggurat was considered the symbol of human pride challenging gods. Human pride and men's desire to overcome Nature was the reason for this punishment: confusion of languages and peoples dispersion. This view is shared with A. Karabiyik (2018, 44), who says:

The Babel Tower is a universal image, a symbol of both humanity's separation and its unity. It signifies the ironic power of language in human relationships, in that it is a means of both communicating and misunderstanding. Language emerges between humans as a method of interaction and relationship; yet when the language, which is the medium of communication, is ruptured, this separation becomes the symbol of the antagonism. The Babylonian image in contemporary art begins an attempt to encapsulate these contradictions and to demonstrate the destructive powers of language to express differences, dissolutions, incompatibilities, disintegrations and helplessness.

On the other hand, Mesopotamian sources point that Babylon was the political and cultural capital of a great empire, where power was manifested through its monumental constructions, like the ziggurat, the palace and the temples. In Antiquity Age, the city gathered the cultural elite from most of the lands conquered, to where thousands of people were banned⁷. Therefore, in Babylon many languages of Eastern world were spoken at that time, and this fact was taken by the Babylonians as the evidence for their empire's greatness⁸, and not as obstacle for their domination.

The biblical version of the Tower of Babel's myth has survived over time and thus prevailed as textual and pictorial narrative in history. Recent studies in history of art are still based on Jewish-Christian discourse to elaborate their analyses, failing to realize their limitations to the view of East created by the West (Said 2001).

Memory depends on social assumptions in which individual memory can only be preserved in a context of collective memory. That is, society defines their members' memories; in other words, the individual's memory is made in a process of communication among social groups (Assmann 2010). This realization was inspired by sociologist Maurice Halbwachs'

⁷ There are evidences that "crossed-deportation" (people from many places moving at the same time) would have involved about 4.5 millions of people between 830 and 640 BCE (Liverani 2008, 193).

⁸ It is interesting to think of Mesopotamian cultural practice of writing texts in trilingual versions (Charpin 2011).

thoughts (1925, 240), in which ideas should take a sensitive form before reaching memory, and that there was a puzzling connection between concept and image:

Every character and every historical fact, when gets in that memory and transforms itself into a lesson, a notion, a symbol, it is given a meaning; it becomes an element in the system of ideas in a society.⁹

From this conception, Jan Assmann (2010, 35) questions the subject, and suggests that ideas should take a sensitive form before reaching memory, and that there was a puzzling connection between concept and image:

From this confrontation between conceptions and experiences, what we call figures-memories emerges. They are characterized more exactly by three things: concrete connection to time and space, concrete connection to a group, and reconstructivity as an independent process.¹⁰

Therefore, these figures-memories can refer to both iconic forms and narratives, but are not limited to an established geographic and historical space. A common symbolic system enables the shaping of a collective identity, that is, the sense of belonging to a social group, which depends on common knowledge and memory.

Maybe this is one of the reasons to explain the survival of forms full of passion referred by Warburg.

⁹ Tout personnage et tout fait historique, dès qu'il pénètre dans cette mémoire s'y transpose en un enseignement, en une notion, en un symbole; il reçoit un sens; il devient un élément du système d'idées de la société.

¹⁰ De ce va-et-vient entre concepts et expériences naît ce que nous appellerons les figures-souvenirs. Elles se caractérisent plus spécifiquement par trois choses: le rapport concret au temps et à l'espace, le rapport concret à un groupe, et la restructivité comme processus autonome.

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1916, the year Babylon got into Hollywood: An historical analysis of David W. Griffith's *Intolerance*

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Abstract

This paper aims to study how Babylon was portrayed in the 1916 film by David W. Griffith – *Intolerance*. This motion picture reveals a Babylon which is the direct result of the diverse visions and ideas the different historical actors had over the centuries. Through a historical analysis of *Intolerance*, a film that reached vast audiences at the time, one may be elucidated about the way the ancient capital was envisioned in the beginning of the 20th century, and which were the visual and textual sources used by the director to portray the city and its final fall.

Keywords: Mesopotamia, Film *Intolerance*, Reception of Antiquity, Babylon, Belshazzar.

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1916, the year Babylon got into Hollywood: An historical analysis of David W. Griffith's *Intolerance*

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1. *Understanding Babylon in the beginning of the 20th century*

In 1916 the famous Polish-American orientalist, Morris Jastrow, made the following observation about a film that had just premiered and which focused on the city of Antiquity that had always fired the imagination of Westerners – Babylon: «You have succeeded in conveying to the audiences a remarkably vivid picture of the art, architecture, costumes, public and private life of Babylonia» (Hanson 1972, 502). The film was *Intolerance*, by the North-American director David W. Griffith, released on August 6 of that year.

In line with the prevailing idea of that remote capital of the Euphrates, the film stood out for its grandiosity, having the biggest cinematographic sets ever seen until then. Nothing less would be expected, if we take into consideration that Griffith intended to portray a picture of the «gold cup in the LORD's hand» which «made whole earth drunk» (Jer. 51, 7). Jeremiah's words suggest an atmosphere of grandeur, power and majesty – an impression of mythical Babylon which has endured until today. Although the architecture and customs of that city are now known in some detail, in 1916 myth and legend overshadowed its history. In fact, what were the sources David W. Griffith and his team use to produce *Intolerance*?

Seventeen years had passed since the beginning of the archaeological excavations by a German team led by Robert Koldewey on the site of ancient Babylon. The results of the excavations were published by the archaeologist in a book entitled *Das Wiederstehen Babylon*, in 1913. In the following year, was published an English translation, so that English-speakers could envision the main discoveries *in situ* (Koldewey 1914). The excavations had uncovered the architecture of the city of Nebuchadnezzar II and his successors. Its treasures included the huge Gate of Ištar, the processional avenue, the royal palace and some tiles with inscriptions.

It is not possible to ascertain whether Griffith consulted this work for the production of his motion picture. We do know, however, that the producer's research was meticulous and wide-ranging, focusing on aspects like the architecture, clothes, sculptures, furnishings and art of the Babylonian capital. The evidence for this is in the scrapbook used during the filming, provided with valuable information about the Near-Eastern antiquity. This scrapbook is presently in the Museum of Modern Art in New York¹.

¹ Griffith Archives, *Museum of Modern Art* (MoMA), New York.

Based on the various images, reproductions and notes in this record, it is possible to get a more precise idea of the sources (Hanson 1972, 502) available at the time and the materials used by the producer². In fact, one of the chief works that were consulted regarding Assyrian and Chaldean culture was *A History of Art in Chaldaea and Assyria* (in two large volumes by Perrot and Chipiez, 1884), written around 15 years prior to the excavations on Babylonian soil. Not having access to the archaeological and architectural reality of the city, Perrot and Chipiez had to refer to ancient accounts, e.g. the Old Testament and classical authors, such as Herodotus. Nonetheless, as the actual authors indicate in the pages of their work: «The validity of these statements (referring to the Old Testament) has been confirmed by architectural and other remains found in Mesopotamia» (1984, 14).

Perrot and Chipiez do not call into question the biblical accounts, nor the words of the historian from Halicarnassus who wrote his *Histories* over a century after the fall of Babylon, in 539 BCE. Although they recognize some degree of exaggeration, they accepted them as portraying a reality long since vanished, to which the only access was in trusting the accounts left by the ancient scholars.

While Babylon, the famous capital of that great region which the authors called Chaldea, was bound to the Old Testament and the classical works, neighbouring Assyria was revealed through the vestiges exhumed by French and English explorers. We can say that there was a certain precociousness in Assyria. In fact, over half a century before Koldewey uncovered the city of Nebuchadnezzar, French and British explorers had already broken ground at Khorsabad, (the former Dûr-šarrukîn), Nimrud and Nineveh.

Despite the lack of general knowledge concerning the ancient city of Hammurabi and Nebuchadnezzar, still prevalent throughout the 19th century, according to Perrot and Chipiez «The Assyrian (architect) invented nothing. His language and his writing, his religion and his science, came from Chaldea, and so did his art. When the kings of Resen, of Calech, of Nineveh, took it into their heads to build palaces, they imported architects, painters, and sculptors from the southern kingdom» (1884, 122). This supposition was accepted to some extent by Griffith and his team. Consequently, throughout the film there is a strong presence of Assyrian art and architecture in a space that was supposed to be Babylonian.

The Assyrian collections displayed in European museums³ had much to say in this respect; they were the first to arrive in the West. In consequence, the art of Assyria became an expression of identity of the ancient Orient and of the distant Mesopotamia, thus diluting its singularities and the complex socio-cultural network. Assyria became the mirror of Mesopotamia, blurring its frontiers, blurring the culture of the north (Assyria) with that of the south (Babylonia).

It should be noted that, contrary to what happened with Assyria, whose antiquities were exposed to the public some five years after the first excavations were initiated, the main

² Besides Jastrow and Perrot and Chipiez, another source used for the movie was the book of the German author Friedrich Hottenroth (1884), *Trachten, Haus-, Feld- und Kriegsgeräthschaften der Völker alter und neuer zeit*. Stuttgart: Weise.

³ The first exhibit of Assyrian antiquities in the Louvre dates from 1847.

Babylonian relics⁴ only arrived in the Pergamon Museum in Berlin, where they are exhibited today, in 1917, some thirteen years after the first excavation campaigns.

So, although in 1916, when *Intolerance* premiered, the main structures, buildings and wealth of Babylon had been recognised and studied in detail, the city was enveloped in an aura of mysticism, the result of the romantic fantasies of the classical authors and the theological considerations of the Old Testament account.

Griffith's Babylon is, in short, a complex interlacing of different narratives compiled over the centuries, revealing the reception created over a long time, subjected to the interpretations, influences and vicissitudes of different cultural agents. The film of the American producer gives us a more accurate idea of how the different notions of Babylon were constructed, overlapped, and interwoven, from Antiquity until the 20th century. It also reveals how, to some degree, it is still viewed by contemporary authors⁵.

2. *Intolerance and the visual arts*

The year 1916 is also part of an important era within the cinematographic world. Griffith, who is considered one of the fathers of North-American cinema, embodied a turning point, initiating a period of great innovation in cinematographic techniques, and in Hollywood. His film, *The Birth of a Nation*, released the previous year, was applauded by the public, making it the most famous film ever produced. However, the director was accused of being a reactionary, and of portraying slavery and the Ku Klux Klan too light heartedly. In response to the criticism of *Birth of a Nation* and the dark aura that surrounded him and his film, Griffith produced *Intolerance*. The director addressed the themes of intolerance and prejudice, the struggle for affection and fraternity, creating a masterpiece which involved four separate stories, and to which he gave the title *Intolerance: Love's Struggle Throughout the Ages*.

This epic film is divided into four episodes: a) a contemporary story about a young man falsely accused of murder; b) an episode about the Huguenot massacre in France in the 16th century; c) the well-known biblical story of the crucifixion of Christ; d) the story of the fall of Babylon in 539 AC.

In the following short study, we will focus only on the last segment (the fall of Babylon). We will analyse the daily life, and the fall of the capital of the Euphrates independently, although the four stories were interlaced in the film, an innovative technique introduced by Griffith. This "parallel montage" implied the articulation of different periods, and the common thread was the absence of moral values and lack of tolerance. This is present in the Babylonian universe in the characters of the Persian king, Cyrus, and the high priest of

⁴ We refer to the Gate of Ištar and the glazed tiles in the processional avenue, which would only be reconstructed and exhibited in 1930. On this subject see Michael Seymour 2008, 57.

⁵ Today, Babylon is still dependent on the images portrayed in ancient art and literature, and specially by the words expressed in the Bible account. Oliver Stones' *Alexander* (2004) is a good example of this.

Bel, who together plotted treason, leading to prince Belshazzar's downfall. We are thus presented with the final days of the Neo-Babylonian empire.

As mentioned above, the cinematographic team did extensive research and analysis, proof of which is the attention to detail evident in the sets built for the film. This research was based not only on books about the Chaldean and Assyrian civilization, written in the late 19th/early 20th centuries, but also on the film sets and on artistic work from previous decades. There was, at that time, an intrinsic connection between the world of cinema and the world of visual and performing arts. The use of old photographs and paintings to reproduce scenarios was common practice. Griffith, in fact, had already made great use of historical photographs to recreate the iconic moments in *The Birth of a Nation*, as described by Lillian Gish, the leading actress in the film (Lillian Gish and Ann Pinchot 1969, 136-137).

In the director's scrapbook are found reproductions of the renowned works of John Martin and Georges Rochegrosse about ancient Babylon, which Griffith used as inspiration for recreating the city, and on which process we will focus in due course. An important aspect we should highlight is the fact that Griffith's movie and its splendid sets would ultimately inspire American and European directors, such as the German Fritz Lang (Barry 1940, 25). Could the Tower of Babel in *Metropolis* (1927) be somehow inspired by Griffith's *Intolerance* and its monumentality?

3. *Babylon in Intolerance*

3.1. The city

a) *Walls and gates*

The following analysis takes into account the historical period referred to, i.e., the final days of the last Neo-Babylonian dynasty, specifically, the year 539 BCE, when the capital fell to Achaemenid king, Cyrus the Great. One of the aspects that most fascinated Greek and Roman authors who wrote about this city was the size of its walls. Herodotus may have visited the city during the 5th century BCE, when many of the buildings, judging from his account, were still standing and in use. And we know that the producers of the film referred to Herodotus in calculating the height of the line of defence of the city. As indicated in the film, the walls were a «replica of Babylon's encircling walls, 300 feet in height» (fig. 1), a similar number presented by the Greek historian⁶. Griffith intended to create a scenario for his film that could transport the spectator to the city of Nabonidus with a certain authenticity. But the circa 300 feet (230 to be more precise)⁷ of the defensive structure in the film were far from an accurate measurement⁸. The true Babylonian walls would be much smaller, *circa* 130 feet less.

⁶ Herodotus, *Histories*, I 178.

⁷ See Köhler 2007, 63.

⁸ It is possible that the exaggeration that we mention above is due to a confusion of descriptions, by Herodotus and others, of two different walls: the exterior wall of the city and Habl as-Sahr, which constituted the largest defence region of Babylon (Reade 2008, 114).

Another reason to believe that Herodotus was the source referenced for the cinematic creation of the great wall that surrounded the city was that ancient historian's famous description: «On the top, along the edges of the wall, they built houses of a single room, facing each other, with space enough between to drive a four-horse chariot»⁹. This concept is reproduced in the film, where one finds in the intertitle: «walls (...) broad enough for the passing of chariots». There are evident echoes of a narrative, repeated over the centuries, which eventually led to the common Western image of Babylon. This Western image is precisely what we can observe in *Intolerance*. In the film, a procession in honour of the goddess Ištar takes place on the common ground next to the gates of the city, while on top of the wall prince Belshazzar appears inside a small carriage pulled by two horses (fig. 2).



Fig. 1. Still from *Intolerance*. City walls.

The city of Babylon had eight entrances, of which the best preserved is the famous Ištar Gate. Both Morris Jastrow and James Henry Breasted¹⁰ dedicated some pages of their respective works to this real *ex-libris* of Babylon. Unearthed in 1902 by Robert Koldewey, the main access to the city, and the processional way, aroused great admiration. At present, there is a reconstruction of the gate in the Pergamon Museum in Berlin. However, this restoration was only exhibited to the public in 1930, some fourteen years after the release of *Intolerance*. Therefore, the beauty of Babylon's gate could not compete with the Assyrian antiquities already in display in museums across Europe and illustrated in books.

⁹ Herodotus, *Histories*, I 179.

¹⁰ Judging from Brown's account, the book by James Henry Breasted, *Ancient Times. A History of the Early World* (1916), was one of the works used by the director's team (1973, 145).



Fig. 2. Still from *Intolerance*. Belshazzar at the top of the wall.

An example of this are the depictions that Felix Thomas, a renowned Italian painter, made for Victor Place regarding the old Sargonid city of *Dūr-šarru-kīn*¹¹. In this context, we find in the work of Perrot and Chipiez a recreation of the southeast gate of the Assyrian monarch's palace, based on Thomas' works¹². It is precisely this print that we will find cut out and pasted in the scrapbook that Griffith used during the making of the film (fig. 3).

Thus, the movie's version of the «gate of Imgur-Bel», where a veritable babel¹³ of «East Indians (...) Egyptians, Numidians, and ambitious Persians» were gathered, is an exact copy of Thomas' work of art (fig. 4). There we find the famous *lamassu* flanking the entrance, and the statue of a spirit (usually identified as Gilgameš)¹⁴ king and warrior in the centre. The actual name given to the gate, Imgur Bel, has Mesopotamian reverberances. In fact, Imgur-Enlil was the designation given by the ancient Babylonians to the internal wall of their city. On the other hand, the Akkadian expression represented simultaneously the ancestral name for the place known now as Balawat, situated in an Assyrian region, near Nineveh. By substituting Enlil, the supreme deity of the Sumerian-Akkadian pantheon, for Bel, a name associated to Marduk (Oshima 2007, 348), the god of Babylon, Griffith covered his work with a mantle of typically Babylonian reverberations.

¹¹ See Victor Place and Felix Thomas, *Nineveh and Assyria* (1867).

¹² Ibid.

¹³ «That is why it was called Babel – because there the LORD confused the language of the whole world. From there the LORD scattered them over the face of the whole earth» (Gn. 11, 9). The term *babel* in the Old Testament is a synonym for «confusion» and «diversity».

¹⁴ The statue of Gilgameš which we see depicted in the film is also a recreation of a picture in Jastrow (1915, plate LVII).

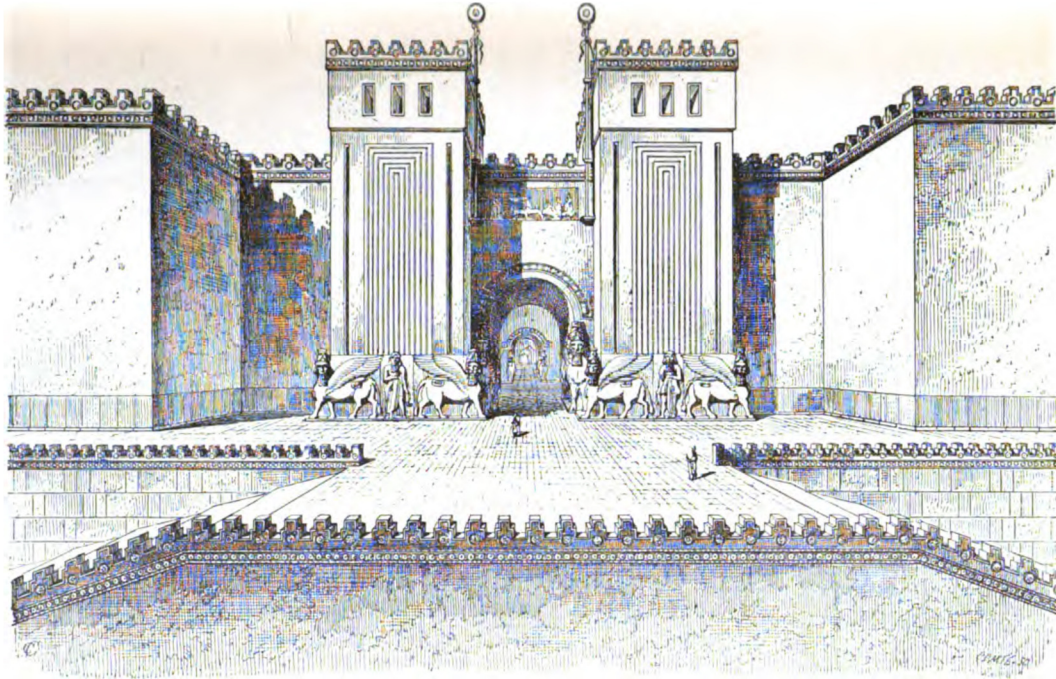


Fig. 3. Drawing by Felix Thomas depicting the south-eastern gateway of the palace of Sargon at Khorsabad (Perrot and Chipiez 1884, 17).

Curiously, or not, to reconstitute the gates of this entrance the director and his team would resort precisely to Imgur-Enlil, that is, Balawat. It was there that the most important and well-preserved relics of what would have been the gates of the ancient Assyrian structures, such as temples and palaces, were exhumed. In reality, what survived was not the actual gate, made of cedar wood, but rather the bronze strips (16 altogether) that adorned it. These decorative elements, loaded with images that evoked Assyrian power over its enemies, gave a very strong visual stimulus to the visitor of the palace (Curtis and Reade 1995, 98-9).

Intolerance recreates, twenty-nine centuries later, the luxurious atmosphere of the Assyrian monarch's palace, relocating it to the monumental entrance of the city of Babylon. The detail of these decorative motifs should not be underestimated. Some scenes next to the city gate show the attention that was given to them, with the entire structure totally adorned with iconographic details reminiscent of the originals from Balawat.

b) Monumental elements

When in May of 1847 the exhibition room of Assyrian antiquities in the Louvre museum was opened to the public, the highlight definitely was on the most striking and notable element of the entire collection - the colossal sculptures of huge winged androcephalous bulls measuring 4.20 m in height and 4.36 m in width¹⁵. The *lamassu* (as it was called in Antiquity), was considered by the old Mesopotamians to be a guardian, a protecting and

¹⁵ "winged human-headed bull" The Louvre Museum. <http://www.louvre.fr/en/oeuvre-notices/winged-human-headed-bull> (accessed on September 2020).

benign spirit which defended the entrances to the temples and palaces of the city. After the first excavations in the north of Mesopotamia and the discoveries by Botta and Layard¹⁶, the *lamassu* became an icon of Mesopotamian culture.



Fig. 4. The door of Imgur-Bel constructed for the movie *Intolerance*, as it stood after the shooting.

An important aspect is the shift in artistic interpretations of this civilisation that occurred after the 1850s, i.e. there was a difference between the time before, and the time after the first excavations. Before, Mesopotamia was portrayed, for lack of concrete evidence, by characteristics inherited from Egyptian, Persian or Classical art and sculpture. After, there was a cultural differentiator, the discovery of the *lamassu*. We do not have to look very far to confirm this. Two of the works we see reproduced in Griffith's scrapbook, and which served as inspiration for the film, the painting *Belshazzar's Feast* by John Martin and *La fin de Babylone* painted by Georges Rochegrosse, demonstrate this turning point. *Belshazzar's Feast*, Martin's painting of 1821, was based on iconography of contiguous civilizations and cultures, and the Rochegrosse work of 1890 introduces Assyrian artistic elements, the most significant of which is the *lamassu*, which becomes the symbol *par excellence* of northern and southern Mesopotamian culture. It should be mentioned that

¹⁶ Botta excavated Khorsabad, beginning in 1842; Layard excavated Nimrud and Nineveh, starting in 1845 and 1849 respectively.

no evidence of such was found in ancient Babylon or in the region of Chaldea that «made no use of stone» (Perrot and Chipiez 1884, 261). *Intolerance* thus confirms that the *lamassu* remained into the 20th century an icon of Mesopotamian culture.



Fig. 5. Still from the movie *Intolerance*. Detail of the decoration of the back wall.

But *Intolerance* was not only inspired by Assyria. Apart from the monuments, sculptures and bas-reliefs, Griffith adorned his whole work with various flower and geometrical decorations, which leads us to the remote land of Babylonia. In the marriage market scene, for example, when the character of the Mountain Girl is auctioned, we identify on one of the walls in the background an almost exact recreation of the panel of glazed tiles that

would have decorated the throne room in the palace of king Nebuchadnezzar II (fig. 5). The tiles with chromatic decoration, palmettes, trees and other geometrical representations are, as well as the stars and the lions in the film's settings, one of the best examples of the integration of Babylonian art in *Intolerance*. Thus, on a predominantly Assyrian stage, we are blown on by the winds of the Euphrates capital.

c) The general view of the city

When Nebuchadnezzar II came to power he imposed a series of measures to restore, enhance and embellish the main buildings of his city. In the temple of the god Bel/Marduk, the monarch «overlaid the furnishings of Esagila with red gold, and the processional boats with yellow gold and stones like the stars of the heavens» (Oshima 2007, 355). This profusion of colours, golds and reds, glazed blues and yellows, gave the city a modern and cosmopolitan feeling, reflecting his wealth and ostentation. The monochromatic and blurred shades typical of a film made before the imposition of Technicolor do not provide any perception of colour in the scenarios of *Intolerance*. However, judging from those who experienced the shooting in person «the set glittered with gold and glowed with colour. Everything everywhere was richly carved, richly decorated, richly draped» (Brown 1973, 169). Griffith did justice to Babylon.



Fig. 6. Still from the movie *Intolerance*. Prince Belshazzar and his wife approach a window with a view of Babylon.

Three scenes give us a general view of the city. In the first one, the priest of Bel looks out of a window to watch a procession in honour of the goddess Ištar. To one side is the statue of his god, Bel/Marduk¹⁷, which leads us to believe that the scene takes place in the temple of that deity. In the second scene, Belshazzar and the princess approach a similar window to contemplate their glorious city (fig. 6). The scene unfolds in the royal palace, where the prince regent meets up with his beloved. In the last scene, we again find the priest of Bel, plotting against Belshazzar in alliance with Cyrus. Although there were no such windows in Babylon, to prevent heat and dust (Marzahn 2008, 48) entering the rooms, these three sequences are extremely important to understand how the whole city was perceived, and how the buildings were imagined and laid out within the global architectural context.

The presence of two bridges and what looks to be a river suggest the division of the city in two separate parts. That was actually how it was in Antiquity, due to the course of the Euphrates. This feature is evoked since the time of the Greco-Roman accounts, which mentioned Babylon as a city through which the river ran. In Griffith's work, on the right side, we can see a large open courtyard with a sort of classical roofed colonnade. On the left is an indistinct cluster of buildings, several of which are stepped pyramidal structures, with a possible access ramp, similar to the old Mesopotamian ziggurats. The *ziqqurratu* («temple tower»; «mountain peak») was, notwithstanding, only one in Babylon – its most important building. The stepped tower stood out in the cityscape, being the highest edification, at a height of approximately 60 metres (Montero 2010b). All the other structures, contrary to what was projected by Griffith, fell short of this measurement, being mostly ground level constructions.

The proliferation of buildings of this nature and scale in *Intolerance* is reminiscent of the iconography in the visual arts in the last decades of the 19th century. In *Intolerance*, in addition to the stepped towers, we also see a tall circular building which takes us back to some famous representations of the tower of Babel, such as that of Gustave Doré (*The Confusion of Tongues*, ca. 1865), most likely inspired by the 9th century AD minaret of the Great Mosque of Samarra.

Taking into account all of these aspects, and judging by the monumental size of the film's architectural structures, Griffith's Babylon coincides with the favourable image in the Old Testament account: «the jewel of the kingdoms, the pride and glory of the Babylonians» (Is. 13, 19), city that «Babylon was a gold cup in the LORD's hand, she made the whole earth drunk» (Jer. 51, 7).

d) The grand courtyard

Intolerance was the costliest film ever produced until then. 19000 male extras were hired for the shooting of the film, mainly for the battle scenes¹⁸. The action filmed in the so-called grand court was the most famous scene of the film, where the final episode of the

¹⁷ The statue was made according to the image displayed in the cylindrical seal dedicated to the god by Marduk-zakir-šumi, a Babylonian ruler, now in the Pergamon Museum.

¹⁸ The scenes of the battle between Babylonians and the forces of Cyrus the Great were filmed from a hot air balloon, and included nineteen thousand extras.

Babylonian story took place. For this set the director was inspired by different locations. We know that the great staircase in the hall was a reproduction of the steps of the palace of Darius I (550-486 BC), in Persepolis (Brown 1973, 153), the Achaemenid capital. In fact, in Griffith's scrapbook there is a clipping showing the monumental staircase of the palatial Persian building. It is precisely this stairway that the director would use to build the triumphal access to Belshazzar's Babylonian palace. As we know, Persian architecture and art shared certain similarities with Mesopotamian ones. However, we have no knowledge of any discovery of such a staircase from the country between the rivers. The ornaments with which Griffith embellished it, lion heads and rosettes placed on the edge of each step, are, nonetheless, a particularity of Babylonian imagery.



Fig. 7. *Belshazzar's Feast* from John Martin (1821).

The main idea for the grand courtyard came from an 1821 painting by the British artist John Martin, entitled *Belshazzar's Feast*, featuring a great courtyard open to the sky with columns to either side, and three entrances in the background (fig. 7). Above them, in the darkness that envelops the palace and foreshadows its fate, are two buildings similar to the ones Belshazzar and the priest of Bel contemplated from the window. The central building, likely a representation of the tower of Babel, evokes the one we see depicted in a painting by the 16th century Flemish artist Pieter Bruegel (fig. 8).

In the film, *Belshazzar's Feast* served as the main inspiration for the set, which Griffith later filled with various other components and ornamental props. The three entrances of John Martin's painting are reduced to two in *Intolerance*, but the general scale (proportions) found in the painting are maintained. According to the artist (Martin), in

relation to the human figure the painting's perspective was manipulated so as to give the impression of the depth of a mile (Seymour 2008, 176). In the film of 1916, Griffith points out that «This hall over a mile in length, (was) imaged after the splendor of an olden day». Actually, more than a kilometer would have been the true size of the film's grand courtyard, the place where a cosmopolitan and heterogeneous population effusively celebrates victory in the first confrontation with the Persians.



Fig. 8. *The Tower of Babel* from Pieter Bruegel (1563).

It should be mentioned that the banquet of Belshazzar, immortalized by John Martin, evokes a biblical passage, which will be addressed below. For now, we must stress that the movement, the sense of festivity and exaltation in this canvas, are elements that Griffith transposes to his film. The Mesopotamian palaces were seats of power as well as royal residence, and places where the monarch communicated with his population. The concentration of such a diversity of population in a space that was perceived as sacred, would, nonetheless, be astonishing.

More astonishing would be the figure of an elephant. Perched on tall sculpted columns, these mammals from Southeast Asia stood out in the court of Belshazzar. The introduction of the elephant, strange to the Babylonian fauna¹⁹, in the court of Belshazzar gave Babylon a certain exoticism and exuberance. Griffith had been impressed with the 1914 film of Giovanni Pastrone, *Cabiria*, and he introduced into his own work some of the details he

¹⁹ The inscriptions of the Assyrian king Ashurnasirpal II (9th century BC) mention the hunting of elephants. However, the use of elephants as war animals only becomes common in the Hellenistic Period.

saw there. This corroborates the notion of ostentation and pride²⁰ with which Babylon is usually associated.



Fig. 9. Still from the movie *Intolerance*. The great court of Belshazzar.

3.2. The king and the population

a) The crown and other ornaments

The main character in *Intolerance* is Belshazzar, the so-called «apostle of tolerance». Although the leading character in the film, the son of Nabonidus was not the monarch himself but merely its prince regent. Notwithstanding, Belshazzar's costume, as conceived by Griffith, is that of an actual monarch. His robe and mantle were especially remarkable for their elaborate adornment, including the customary Mesopotamian fringed hem. The crown merits particular consideration. A true symbol of royalty, it underwent numerous alterations throughout history. In the neo-Babylonian period, the sovereigns used a conical-shaped crown, apparently undecorated²¹.

²⁰ Jer. 51, 32.

²¹ Such a crown is visible, for instance, in the stela of Nabonidus. This stela was acquired by the British museum in 1825. Its museum number is BM 90837.



Fig. 10. Still from the movie *Intolerance*. Belshazzar and the High Priest of Bel.

Contrary to this, on the film *Intolerance*, Belshazzar appears wearing a crown, somewhere between spiral and conical in shape, with the typical Mesopotamian spike and several decorative motifs. Where would Griffith have found the models for this headdress? The answer is simple: Assyrian bas-reliefs in which the Assyrian monarch is portrayed in a similar way. The king who governed the land of Ashur in the 7th century BCE wore a typical *polos* crown, with iconographic motifs positioned in rows (Bahrani 2007, 155). In the film (fig. 10), the crown of Belshazzar has adornments in oval shapes, stars, circles and a flower in the centre, symbolizing the royal diadem. Thus, we can conclude that, in *Intolerance*, the prince regent of Babylon wears a symbol of royalty analogous to those of the monarchs of the ancient Assyrian empire.

In the same picture, we see the priest of Bel, holding a staff topped by a crescent, symbol attributed in Mesopotamia to Sîn, the moon god, and not, as would be logical, to Bel/Marduk²². There are further inconsistencies: just before the appearance on the scene of the high priest of Bel, his servant leads the arrival procession holding the Egyptian ankh sign, which was unknown in Mesopotamian symbolism. The intrepid priest shares with Belshazzar the trappings and adornments that are reserved for top figures of society. However, his crown tells us a lot about Griffith's limitations in terms of historiographical analysis of ancient Babylon, and, in general, of ancient Mesopotamia. In fact, in the land between the rivers, the crown with horns was reserved exclusively for the gods, and it was unthinkable that a human would wear such a divine symbol.

²² For more references on the sources to this outfit, see Martin 1983.

b) The throne

As with the crown and sceptre, the throne was an important symbol of royal power. In the first page of Griffith's scrapbook we find examples of possible thrones for his work. The director chose the royal seat for Belshazzar from Assyrian and Persian models. Even more interesting is the seat where the prince reclines after the first Babylonian triumph over Achaemenid troops.



Fig. 11. Still from the movie *Intolerance*. Belshazzar and the princess enjoying a feast in the great court.

In the film's huge courtyard, Belshazzar and his beloved reap the rewards of a hard-won victory (fig. 11). He reclines on an enormous settee, protected by a sunshade; his legs are covered by a mantle. She rests in a high seat opposite her consort. Both are attended by servants waving fans to fend off the heat. The scene is presented like a photograph of the 7th century BCE relief of the banquet of Ashurbanipal which we see reproduced in the early 20th century works consulted by the director (fig. 12). The characters are the same as the bas-relief, that is, the ruler and his consort, although the context is different, however. The Assyrian monarch was celebrating in the gardens of his palace, the military victory against king Teumman of Elam, whose head he had brought as a trophy and ordered to be hung from one of the trees of his garden. Although the political and geographic context was totally different, Griffith captured its essence. In fact, the famous *Belshazzar's Feast* takes place in *Intolerance* after the military triumph of the Babylonian regent just as the banquet in the bas-relief of Ashurbanipal.

The North-American director manages to combine in the same set three different legacies: the Old Testament, from which he gets the famous banquet; the Assyrian, which inspires

the palatial celebration scene showing the intimacy between the regent and his wife; and the Babylonian, which serves as back drop to the scene.

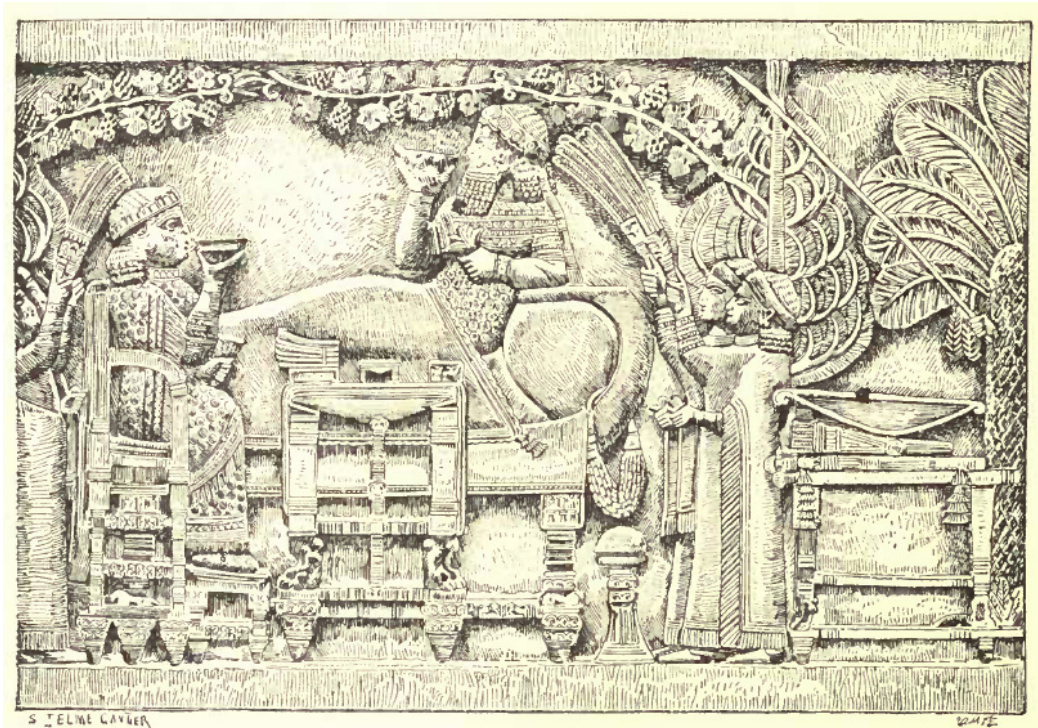


Fig. 12. Drawing of the bas-relief of Ashurbanipal (Perrot and Chipiez, 1884, 108).

c) The costumes

If the costumes worn by the ruler and the elite in *Intolerance* intended to be as authentic as possible, those used by the female characters left a lot to be desired. Neither the queen, or her assistants, or even the women of the harem wore clothes that resembled in any way those of Antiquity, but rather an elaborate interpretation of the director and his team based on a romantic idea of Orientalism²³. The suggestive garments that revealed bare shoulders, legs and backs, the transparencies, gems, feathers, sequins, were associated with the exotic and extravagant idea held of the lascivious Oriental women. These clothes conveyed, therefore, modernism and not the traditional Mesopotamian attires. The queen, for example, generally covered her body with a long ankle-length tunic, usually with a decorated band on her head.

More indicative of the idea of Orientalism is the bacchanal scene. The atmosphere for the action is suggested by the French artist Georges Rochegrosse who in 1890 illustrated the fall of the city in a painting entitled *La fin de la Babylone* composed of nude female figures, stretched out on beds and accompanied by their lovers – the debauchery is a clear sign of

²³ In what concerns the idea of the Oriental women, Edward Said remembers that «the Orient was routinely described as feminine, its riches as fertile, its main symbols the sensual woman, the harem, and the despotic- but curiously attractive – ruler» (Said 1985, 103).

the decline of the empire (Bahrani 2001, 176). This scene is reminiscent of Eugène Delacroix' painting *La mort de Sardanapale*. The resignation in the face of the inevitable is a common theme in both artists, as is the showing of the body of the concubine, created according to the concept of the Oriental women, submissive and lascivious, living in a space that captured the imagination of Western men – the harem. Griffith introduces the scene during the celebrations of the Babylonian victory over the Persians. As in the above-mentioned painting, the debauchery and dissoluteness, perpetuating the biblical idea of the «lover of pleasure» (Is. 47, 8), «the great prostitute» (Rev. 17, 1) are the final images that mark the history of a city famous for its luxury and ostentation.

Roche-grosse's was not the only painting that influenced the director. In the 5th century BCE Herodotus propagated an outlandish story which imparted an image of Babylon as a city of bizarre customs. According to the legend elaborated by the historian, «once a year in every village all the maidens as they attained marriageable age were collected and brought together into one place, with a crowd of men standing around. Then a crier would display and offer them for sale one by one»²⁴. Based on this account Edwin Long painted *The Babylon marriage Market*, which would later lead to the scene in the film with the same title. In *Intolerance*, the Mountain Girl is auctioned in a market, as other women are sitting in a row patiently awaiting their turn. On one side, the men of the city appraise their potential new wives, and bid for them. Long's atmosphere is wholly recreated by Griffith²⁵. There is, however, no evidence in the cuneiform sources that would corroborate Herodotus' fable.

Thus, in these two different sequences it is possible to verify the influence that Greek authors and references from the Bible still had at the beginning of the 20th century. Babylon had been shaped in the image the other had created, and had so remained.

4. Why Belshazzar?

Everything in *Intolerance* points to the survival of the Old Testament narrative, from the banquet of Belshazzar reminiscent of the one in the Book of Daniel in which Belshazzar holds a feast for a thousand of his lords, to the stage setting based on the painting by John Martin. The work of the English painter depicts this precise moment: the feast when the fall of the city and the death of the monarch are prophesied. Daniel marks the moment in which the impiety and blasphemy against God culminate through the profaning of the sacred vessels. Through the Book of Daniel, Nabonidus was reduced to obscurity, while Belshazzar would be renowned, for many centuries, as the last ruler of the last empire of Mesopotamia. It did not matter, therefore, what was written in the *Cyrus Cylinder* or the *Nabonidus Cylinder*, but rather the age-old and indisputable Old Testament.

The backdrop for the final hours of Babylon in the film was thus the Book of Daniel. But there was also an element of novelty in *Intolerance*. In his clay cylinder, the Persian king, Cyrus, is noted for his tolerance, and for personifying the liberator of Babylon. This idea is

²⁴ Herodotus, *Histories*, I 196.

²⁵ The bizarre marital costumes are given as one of the explanations for the fall of the city. Long's painting is judge sufficiently accurate to be reproduced in the movie (Bahrani 2001, 175).

also depicted in the Old Testament. In the Book of Isaiah, God chooses Cyrus as his associate, whom He sends against the king of the Euphratean city to free the people of Israel from their yoke. However, this is not the positive and conciliatory picture we see in *Intolerance*. Right in the beginning of the episode that takes place in Babylon, Belshazzar is given the title of «apostle of tolerance», and assumes the part of avenger and protector. The roles are thus reversed. Cyrus is a ruthless invader, while Belshazzar is a decorous prince who is a victim of the utmost treason. What did Griffith intend with this image?

As a result of the negative criticism which ensued after his previous film, when Griffith was accused of racism and prejudice, he tried to improve his image and come across as a merciful and tolerant person. He used the screen to defend himself, using perhaps a little of his own history in the film's script. With Cyrus being the foreigner who claimed the city, it would be logical, in terms of strategy and character, that he would play the role of aggressor. Even though the Mesopotamian capital's «reputation» was quite negative because of the way it was depicted in the Old Testament and the Book of Daniel, Griffith chose to gild his Babylon, portraying it as a martyr, falling to the hands of a ruthless ruler²⁶. Thus, in *Intolerance* the inhabitants of the city accept Cyrus after his victory in what appears to be an attitude of resignation rather than of joy and liberation. Fundamentally, the director wanted to extol the Babylon of excesses, wonders, and possibilities.

Belshazzar, in turn, commits suicide, choosing death over capitulation. The truth is that, even though the prince regent fought ferociously against his opponent, his permissiveness and passivity were strong character traits; he gave priority to the banquet rather than taking precautions to defend the city. There are no heroes among the elite in *Intolerance*. The closest figure to this status is the Mountain Girl, who tries in vain to halt the advance of the Persians. This reflects a tendency over the last few centuries. Let us remember, for example, Lord Byron's 1821 play *Sardanapalus*, in which it is a woman that shows bravery and determination in the face of danger: Myrrha, the favourite concubine of Sardanapalus, urges the king to react, to go off to battle and take harsher measures against his opponents. Her character is probably based on the legendary queen, Semiramis, who was supposed to have been rather man-like (sometimes seen as a valiant warrior). Furthermore, in *Intolerance* it is the princess, and not Belshazzar, who takes the decision to sacrifice some concubines before he commits suicide, a scenario that makes one remember Delacroix's painting. The Oriental king, on the other hand, probably as a result of European colonialism and imperialism came to be perceived as idle and lazy, a vision that shows the adulterated and superior attitude of the other.

5. Why Babylon?

Intolerance is one of a long list of epic films shot in the first decades of the 20th century. The director chose nothing less than one of the most famous empires in the history of humanity. Babylon loomed in Western imagery so ageless and everlasting that it blended with the notion of time itself. It was back there, in the origins, in the place where the tower

²⁶ As Runions states «In Griffith's idyllic world of Babylon, people are not controlled by laws. They are allowed to pursue their own pleasures and interests, sexually and religious» (2013, 138).

of Babel had been built after the great Deluge, a symbol of the scattering of humanity. The choice of this city as a backdrop for this kind of story makes sense, not only because of its size, but also because of the events experienced at that time. The dark cloud that was hovering over Europe threatened to spread to other parts of the world, sinking it into an apocalyptic chaos. Misunderstood, criticised and surrounded by a society divided by social conflicts, Griffith alternated the crucifixion of Christ and the massacre of the Huguenots with a story equally able to engage the spectators. Babylon, as an inseparable legacy of the Judeo-Christian legacy, met perfectly the expectations of the film director. The end, the final result of mankind's intolerance was searched in that which constituted the defining and cathartic moment in the history of humanity, as portrayed in the Old Testament – the fall of the Babylonian empire and capital.

Griffith was not immune to the vicissitudes of his own times. The Babylon depicted in *Intolerance* was a combination of socio-cultural inheritances, showing the different degrees of reception that emerged over time. As implied by the word babel, for Griffith Babylon was a jumbled mixture of ideas perceived, experienced and transmitted over the centuries. This vision is not strange to our day-to-day conception about the ancient capital of Mesopotamia²⁷.

Notwithstanding, to this patchwork of perceptions, the North-American director added facts provided by the cuneiform sources, which exposed the *modus vivendi* and *pensandi* of this civilization, giving this eternal city a whole new vitality (unknown to the public at the time).

²⁷ Again, it should be recalled Oliver Stones' film *Alexander* (2004), whose set of Babylon, although much more accurate, with a recreation of Ištar's gate, also displays the famous hanging gardens and the colossal tower. In size and in imagination it is thus not very far from that of Griffith's *Intolerance*. The myth around the capital of the Euphrates still persists, overshadowing history.

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Observing the body, recovering rituals – Antiquity artifacts in the contemporary scene

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RES Antiquitatis 2 (2020): 58-63

Abstract

Reclaiming of the body in contemporary theater is linked to the nostalgia of the lost sacred, to a call to restore rituals. The European vanguard movements reveal a growing interest in the East and the consequent return of theatrical traditions that go back to Antiquity. In this study I will focus on contemporary creations that recover techniques from masks and puppets as a source of work for the scenic corporality, in some of Ariane Mnouchkine creations.

Keywords: Contemporary scene, masks and puppets, ritual, sacred, corporality.

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Observing the body, recovering rituals – Antiquity artifacts in the contemporary scene

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The presence of masks, puppets and objects/effigies on the scene is inevitably attached to a sacred dimension, giving rise to ambiguity, enigma, mystery, awakening the interaction between the visible and the invisible. Body discovery and awareness are stimulated through the figure and its articulation with matter, forcing the body to question itself and to recognize itself, re-configured with new traits. The object masks the body at the same time revealing it and stimulating new capacities of expression.

In this study I am interested in following the timeline that leads the connection between ancient sources and contemporaneous practices. In that sense, I am going to focus on some creations from Théâtre du Soleil, particularly from the 1980's and 1990's, which draw on ancestral sources and techniques for play designing and actor work, such as Chinese puppets, of which we have records dating back to 1.000 BC, Indian Bharata Natyam and Kathakali dances that lead us back to the ancient dances of the temples and to the Bharata treaty, dated with uncertainty from the 4th century BC, as well as later influences such as the Japanese Bugaku and Gigaku dances imported from Korea in the 7th century. Without copying any of the oriental forms that inspired her, the director tried to assimilate the different sources, transforming them and developing them in the stage's pulsation, without resorting to ready formulas. Always aware that each Eastern form does not correspond to a style, but to a driving force for creation.

Before going back to Antiquity, I will consider the late 19th century as a starting point, a shifting moment for theater practices, when the European vanguard movements began promoting the dissimulation of the actor's organic body by transforming it with masks, puppets and costumes among other scenic artifacts. This tendency is related to a break with the principles of realism and is reflected in the consequent revitalization of traditions that go back to different civilizations and periods of Antiquity.

"Puppets are as old as the world and rebirth from their own ashes,"¹ Jacques Chesnais says. Between the late 19th century and the early 20th century, puppets are reborn from the ashes at the hands of authors such as Edward Gordon Craig or Maurice Maeterlinck who proclaim an abstraction theater. Maeterlinck suggests banning the actor from the scene, by replacing it by matter and proposing a consequent return to the first theatrical forms: "Il faudrait peut-être écarter entièrement l'être vivant de la scène [...] L'être humain sera-t-il remplacé par une ombre, un reflet, une projection de formes symboliques ou un être qui aurait les

¹ Chesnais 1947, 12.

allures de la vie sans avoir la vie ? Je ne sais pas; mais l'absence de l'homme semble indispensable [...] Il est difficile de prévoir par quel ensemble d'êtres privés de vie il faudrait remplacer l'homme sur la scène, mais il semble que les étranges impressions éprouvées dans les galeries de figures de cire, par exemple, auraient pu nous mettre, depuis longtemps, sur les traces d'un art mort ou nouveau. Nous aurions alors sur la scène des êtres sans destinées, dont l'identité ne viendrait plus effacer celle du héros².

In 1914, at the Zurich International Theater Exhibition, Swiss Adolphe Appia and British Edward Gordon Craig occupied places of honor with collections that marked the return of the mask as a means to theater renovation. Craig's collection included Burmese and Javanese masks, some from Congo and Japan and three Aschanti masks. Craig proposed replacing the actor with a super-puppet, inspired by the early theaters of Greece, Egypt, and India. He proposed that masks, sculptures, shadows and puppets should occupy the human figure's place:

“Most people smile when someone talks about puppets. They tend to think immediately of their strings, their stiff arms, their shaken gestures, people say: “they are funny figures.” But keep in mind that they are the descendants of a great and noble family of idols, of idols made, in fact “in the image of a God” and that for many centuries these little figures had harmonious and not shaken movements, without the need for twine or strands of wire and did not speak through the nasal voice of the puppeteer.”³

From the European aesthetic vanguards, the representation of the human figure began to explore the binomial absence/presence through new perspectives, revitalizing ancestral techniques. Theater is rethought as a primitive art, a place where gods and the dead meet. According to Monique Borie “Corps de nouveau capables de faire apparaître le double, corps de nouveau habités par le contact avec l'invisible, capables de recevoir le dieu qui descend ou le fantôme qui revient, tels sont les acteurs dont Artaud a rêvé»⁴.

Contemporary scenic practices stimulated working methods that undergo a discovery of the actor's corporality, of the perception of the body and its limits, of the way it inhabits space and also of its cutout with matter. Reclaiming of the body in Western theater is still linked to the nostalgia of the lost sacred, to a call to restore rituals. Since the late 19th century, human figure representation in the contemporary scene breaks from the principles of realism and naturalism, allowing the emerging of theatrical practices that deviate from mimicry and promote the visual dimension to the detriment of the text. Body concealment makes the desire for metamorphosis concrete, expressing the defense instinct, the preparation for a transition ritual. To hide or transform the body is an ancestral act that we recognize in different communities around the world and that arises as a way of responding to certain spiritual concerns.

Masks and puppets represent ancestors, deities and spirits in rituals and theatrical practices that go back to different ancient civilizations. Anchored in rites and celebrations

² Maeterlinck 1999, 335-336.

³ Craig 1999, 116.

⁴ Borie 1997, 253.

they are present in a wide range of cultural and artistic expressions. Before they emerged as scenic artifacts they were magic and religious intermediaries, establishing connections between deities and human, the dead and the living, the supernatural and the mundane.

Shakespeare Cycle

Between 1981 and 1984, Théâtre du Soleil consecrates three creations from Shakespeare texts. The plays *Richard III* and *Henry IV* are approached with Japanese techniques such as Nô, Kabuki and Kyogen and *Twelfth Night* with Indian techniques like Khatakali, Bharata Natyam and also some influences from Commedia dell'arte. Ariane Mnouchkine's reading of Shakespeare's work has motivated her to anchor herself in the strength of Eastern theatrical codes: the rituals, the empty stage as a space propitious to apparitions, the sacred, the invisible, the illusion.

In Mnouchkine's opinion, the dehumanization of the actor's figure sculpted and stylized into an artificial body, simultaneously matter and effigy meets the supernatural reality and the essence of the phantasmagoric creatures that populate the texts of the playwright: "Quand nous avons résolu de monter Shakespeare, le recours à l'Orient est devenu une nécessité. Car Shakespeare se situe dans la métaphore des vérités humaines. Nous cherchons donc comment le mettre en scène en évitant à tout prix le réalisme et le prosaïsme"⁵.

It is a set of theater shows that combine different mask techniques, not only at the face level, but also with body masking and gesture stylization, with traditions that cross many different cultures and time spans. Nô, whose classical style was founded in the 14th century by masters Kanami and Zeami, has echoes of earlier origins in the context of temple dances, since its treatises show affiliations in the Bugaku and Gigaku dances imported from China in the 7th century that, in turn, derive from Korean masked dances of the 3rd century in an agricultural context whose purpose consisted in requesting good harvests from the gods and amusing the peasants. Throughout the ages, Nô has evolved but it still maintains the character of a mystical ceremony. Until today, a Nô is still dramaturgically understood as an appeal of the deities and ancestors, the actor being an intermediary between the mundane and the supernatural world.

While in *Richard III* and *Henry IV* we have the recreation of a set of Japanese techniques, in *Twelfth Night* the company immersed itself in an imaginary India as a drive for creation. Indian Bharata Natyam and Kathakali dances were one of the resources for body work in the actor's game. Its costumes main function lies in a conscious deformation of the actor's body and expressiveness, such as the use of make-up that metamorphoses the face into a dehumanized mask. The reconfigured bodies abandon their daily postures, through choreographic dynamics, using the encoded movements of the mudras and a base posture: bent and parted knees supported by the external side of the feet. Kathakali is defined by Eugenio Barba⁶ as a representation of tales, a show in which the stories are presented by

⁵ Mnouchkine 1984.

⁶ Barba 2006, 74.

two singers and interpreted by actors through mimicry, gestures and movements that oscillate between dance and acrobatics, in a codified body language, a true alphabet of the body.

In this production, Mnouchkine crosses ancestral techniques of Indian dances with the mimicry and mask games of Italian Commedia dell'arte. Since 1975, Soleil's actors cross different techniques in the mask work. The director clarifies the need for this crossing: « Les grandes traditions théâtrales, les grandes formes de jeu, utilisèrent le masque (de la tragédie grecque aux théâtres orientaux) et la musique (sauf la commedia dell'arte). [...] Pour nous, le masque constitue la formation essentielle du comédien. Dès qu'un comédien "trouve" son masque, il est proche de la possession, il peut se laisser posséder par son personnage, comme les oracles.»⁷

Tambours sur la digue

The 1999 play *Tambours sur la digue* has the subtitle "In the form of an old play for puppets represented by actors". It was built from the recovery of oriental techniques such as Chinese puppets, Japanese Bunraku, Nô and Kabuki and Vietnamese water puppets. This creation has the boundary between animate and inanimate as its founding principle, since it is a puppet show without puppets, or rather, with puppets inhabited by actors, whose biological bodies are masked by costumes and body masks. These puppet actors are sometimes manipulated by strings, retrieving the old technique of Chinese puppets or moved around by other actors in the gloom dressed in black, as in the Japanese Bunraku technique. Georges Banu⁸ refers to the interpreters who are divided between the functions of inhabited puppets and manipulators as crystallized mannequins. The scenic device was surrounded by white stones, illustrating the idea of territory marking commonly used in Nô plays, but also common to various religious rituals and moreover revealing a link with the symbolism of the stone as a place of burial.

In Hélène Cixous' text, the action begins with tragic floods and a storm, before which Mr. Khang has to decide who to save: the peasants or the city's inhabitants. The theme that led to her dramaturgy was the floods that occurred in China in 1998, one year before. The author explains how the theme revealed itself: « Ce qui s'est passé, c'est ceci : il y avait à ce moment-là des inondations en Chine ; on n'a pas besoin d'aller en Chine pour voir des inondations, il y en a toujours eu. Mais en fait, l'inondation en Chine qui existe depuis toujours - ça fait trois mille ans que la Chine lutte contre des inondations qu'elle cause -, est devenue tout de suite une figure, ça s'est concrétisé très vite sous une forme de fable qui dit simplement : "Voilà une inondation qui va détruire le monde, rêvons autour de ça." D'abord il y a de ça dans la Bible. Des inondations qui détruisent l'univers, on en a toujours eues. C'est même la façon dont les dieux se défendent contre les êtres humains»⁹

The use of mask theater and puppets in Théâtre du Soleil emerges as a way of discovering the body, seeking a movement for the actor's depersonalization. The actor's

⁷ Mnouchkine 1999.

⁸ Banu 2000, 68-70.

⁹ Cixous 2002.

work is anchored in corporality and in an understanding of emotions manifestation in physical actions as symptoms. In her rehearsals Mnouchkine constantly warns the actors: “Ne pense pas aux mots ; Pense à ton froid, à ton chaud. Et que ça se voit ” ¹⁰. The performing body is not just a vehicle for emotions but also the place where those emotions are drawn, materialized. The use of oriental techniques is thus in line with this dramaturgical language.

Théâtre du Soleil's dramaturgy draws on pedagogical lines for the actor's work, such as the ones from French authors François Delsarte, Jacques Copeau and Charles Dullin, who suggest new perspectives to explore the stage corporality, transforming and dissimulating the actor's body through masks, puppets and costumes. Soleil's creations promote the pursuit of a gesture stylization and the discovery of a mechanized body, artificial and cut out by matter. This way, different lines of the actor's delegation by matter and representation of artificial bodies in their different incarnations and effigies are explored.

The use of Eastern traditions in the construction of the Mnouchkine play involves body work and the creation of a gestural vocabulary. In this sense, not only does the human body figure appears disguised as the gesture itself appears puppetized and stylized, reproducing the movements of an inanimate body. Bodies that reproduce puppets' characteristics, creating the idea of lightness, suspension, articulation and challenge of the laws of gravity.

In the following testimony, puppeteer François Lazaro clearly illustrates the timeless echoes of the puppets, the relationship between his craft and the routes of Antiquity: “De toute éternité, les hommes se sont penchés sur des cailloux vaguement sculptés, sur des bâtons fourchus, des effigies, et les ont interrogés, la nuit venue. Ils ont allumé des feux, se sont rapprochés les uns des autres, ont raconté des histoires, dansé, gesticulé, et ont écouté les dieux qui leurs parlaient. Ils ont représenté leurs actes quotidiens et ont appris à manipuler les dieux contenus dans les pierres, dans les totems et les statues, pour vaincre la mort et obliger le monde à avoir un sens”¹¹

¹⁰ Pascaud 2005, 173, 192

¹¹ Lazaro 2003, 31.

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Greek and Latin historians in the Renaissance Library of D. Teodósio I, duke of Bragança

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Abstract

This text has as analysis field the library of D. Teodósio I, 5th duke of Bragança, known only by a 16th century copy of his House's inventory made after his death in 1563. As it would be expected, Antique culture is deeply represented in this great aristocratic library in all fields of knowledge – Philosophy, Poetry, Astronomy, Medicine, Theology, Civil and Canon Law. We will focus our attention on History, the most important section after Theology and Law, underlining the presence of Greek and Latin books and authors, both in their original version and in translation into vernacular languages, an eloquent testimony of the reception of Ancient Culture in Renaissance's Portugal.

Keywords: D. Teodósio I, duke of Bragança, aristocratic libraries, History, Greek and Latin historians.

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Greek and Latin historians in the Renaissance Library of D. Teodósio I, duke of Bragança¹

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As a result of a study included in a research project by CHAM, directed by Jessica Hallett on the heritage of the House of the 5th duke of Bragança², we have pointed out, in several meetings, colloquiums and publications³, the singularity and dimension of the dukes of Bragança's library, at the time D. Teodósio, deceased in 1563. Being physically missing, we know the contents of this library only through a 16th century copy of the inventory from the Ducal House's heritage.

In terms of dimension, it is the largest Portuguese library of the 16th century and, by comparison with other European aristocratic and regal book collections of the time, a major book collection of the Renaissance. It included the main knowledge branches, as they were conceived and valued at the time: Theology, Canon and Law, religious and spiritual literature, profane literature, architecture, poetry and music, philosophy, geography and history, mathematics, astrology/astronomy and the military art and war. This library assembled, in a coherent and structured whole, many of the authors and the major works of Christianity and Church, the Greco-Latin cultural legacy, the contemporary cultural, artistic, political and religious major trends, but also some of its tensions, such as the religious controversy. It also included a short but culturally significant number of work in Hebrew language and of Arab authors, particularly among the works of medicine, astrology and mathematics.

Among ancient and modern authors, virtually all the great names and the fundamental works of each knowledge area – and therefore many of the great editing locations and editors of that time – were found to be represented in the extremely updated book collection of the House of Bragança in the first half of the 16th century. This book collection was set and inscribed on traditions and legacies, both religious and legal-regulatory (Theology, Canon, Law), Greek and Roman culture (historians in Latin and in vernacular languages, philosophy, poetry, astrology & mathematics), and chronicles of various kingdoms and territories. As to the chronicles, three dominants are clear: the strong presence of ancient history, a keen interest on contemporary European history,

¹ This paper had the support of CHAM (FCSH/NOVA-UAc), through the strategic project sponsored by FCT (UID/HIS/04666/2013).

² Project *De Todas as Partes do Mundo, O Património do 5.º Duque de Bragança, D. Teodósio I.* (PTDC/EAT-HAH/098461/2008), financed by FCT, coordinated by Jessica Hallett. <http://www.cham.fcs.unl.pt/teodosio/>.

³ Buescu 2013, 2013 a), b), 2016.

and finally the non-European geographic and political territories, especially the Ottoman Empire and aspects of the European maritime expansion, namely Iberian.

This was also a library opened to the models of Humanism and Renaissance in its more diverse cultural and artistic expressions – literature, architecture, political discourse – of the spirituality currents, religious controversy and science, with a high percentage of contemporary authors, as well as many editions of classic, recent or very recent authors. But it was also an aristocratic library, where models and practices of the social group of nobility were shown in its multiple aspects: law and theological culture, the powers and models of the perfect prince, a memory of lineage and regal Portuguese chronicles, the art of the military and war, architecture, hunt, the fruition and pleasure of reading, of amorous and chivalrous fiction. This library also testifies the opening to late medieval and the 15th and 16th centuries spiritual currents, namely by the presence of authors and works associated to mystical spirituality, to the *Devotio Moderna* and even to Erasmus' doctrines. Ideologically, it was still a transition library, reflecting the contemporary tensions, hosting several and very recent works of religious controversy, despite the residual expression of Lutheranism in Portugal.

Due to its size and specificity of contents, it became clear that it was not only a reading library of the greatest aristocratic house in 16th century Portugal, or even a library at the service of latinists, humanists, theologians and men of science who attended or were at the service of the Bragança court in Vila Viçosa. The individual fruition and reading was not absent from the relationship of D. Teodósio with books, as we know by his intellectual interests, and is patent in a note by Caetano de Sousa: “Em quanto comia [D. Teodósio] mandava ler livros curiosos, e de lição proveitosa, em que tinha satisfação, e em a dar entreterendo aos que o servião” [While he ate [D. Teodósio], he was read curious books, of fruitful lesson, in which he had satisfaction, and providing it to those who served him]⁴. During his meals the duke discussed often astronomical issues, which captivated him.

Books were a component of the duke's genuine affection and interest by the world of culture. D. Teodósio had enriched his cultural patrimony with paintings, sculptures, being interested by the material testimonies of Antiquity, collecting epigraphic monuments in Vila Viçosa⁵. In his book *De Antiquitatibus Lusitaniae* (1593), André de Resende mentions some inscriptions to Endovelicus, which the duke had ordered to collect and insert in the frontispiece of the Saint Augustine convent⁶. In de duke's library, among the “Books of Sketches, Geometry & Architecture”, we find a “Libro que comthem as termas de Doclesinao [sic]” [Book containing the baths of Diocletian], another “Liuro meão de debuxos de medalhas e outras cousas” [Book on medal drawings and other things], as a “Liuro de debuxos de antigualhas de Roma” [Book of ancient drawings of Rome], or another that contemplated the “Antiguidades E casarias de Roma” [Antiques and houses from Rome]. Among the books of the Latin historians, there is a “Promtuarío de medalhas” [Handbook of medals], as well as an unidentified entry described as “Roma Monumenta” [Rome's Monuments].

⁴ HGCRP, VI 1949, 52.

⁵ Matos 1956, 25.

⁶ Resende 2009, 356.

But, as we have stated, D. Teodósio's collection of books was not simply a "reading" library of a 16th century noble house. In fact, D. Teodósio granted his library a patrimonial dimension within a wider cultural action emphasised by Luís de Matos. Furthermore, his library was part of a cultural and political strategy of emulation of the House of Bragança with the Royal House. As pointed out by Tereza Amado, also for D. Teodósio "The Library, institutional space of Knowledge, material vehicle and support of the acknowledged and allowed Wisdom [...], reveals the awareness and usefulness that Powers find in it"⁷.

Something more was underlying this library, where Theology was present, with all its great names, from Saint Augustine to S. Bonaventure, St. Thomas Aquinas or Eusebius, "father" of the Church's history, as well as outstanding names of great currents of medieval and modern spirituality; all the great classics, from Herodotus to Virgil, from Plato to Aristotle, from Valerius Maximus to Pliny, from Ptolemy to Galen, Plutarch, Xenophon, Plautus, Sophocles, Lucretius, Cicero, Seneca and so many others; the greater names and works of the medieval and 16th century legal culture; humanists and authors such as Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Machiavelli, Erasmus, Thomas Moore, Paolo Giovio. But also the chronicles: Portuguese, Castilian, Aragon, French, English, Burgundy, from several Italian cities, as well as from kingdoms and territories such as Poland, Hungary, Denmark or Greece; mathematics and ancient and modern books from leading names such as Euclid, Petrus Apianus, Regiomontanus, Oronce Finé, Pedro Nunes or Nicolaus Copernicus.

The solid intellectual background of D. Teodósio and his taste for literature and arts, in part inherited from his father D. Jaime, *doctissimus princeps*⁸, were unquestionable, and in his will the duke granted a patrimonial dimension to his library: «Deixo minha Livraria, e todos os livros, que tiver, ao Duque de Barcellos, meu filho, para que ande em Morgado, e não dará elle nem os seus successores da dita Livraria nenhuns livros, sem comprarem outros como elles, que metão na dita Livraria» [I leave my library, and all the books it has, to the Duke of Barcelos, my son, so that we goes in *Morgado*⁹, and he will not give him or his successors of the mentioned library, any books without buying others like them, that they put in the Library]¹⁰.

The duke had a specific purpose for his library: D. Teodósio has sought, near the Holy See, and has been granted papal permission for the institution of "huma Universidade de estudos geraes" [a University of general studies] in Vila Viçosa, which has been approved by a Pope Pius IV's letter in 1560. However, such a project has not been followed¹¹. Around that same time, D. Teodósio has sponsored the foundation, in Bragança, in 1561, of the College of the Holy Name of Jesus, eighth institution of the Society of Jesus to be introduced in Portugal, whose classes have opened the following year¹², and whose

⁷ Amado 1998, 36.

⁸ Appreciation of the humanist Cataldo Sículo, meaningful even excluding some rhetoric effects. Ramalho 2004, 50.

⁹ That is, belonging to the duke's global estate.

¹⁰ *HGCRP*, VI: 47. Full will in *PHGCRP* 1755, IV, 243-244 for the section in question.

¹¹ *Purificação* 1656. P. II, Book VI, Tit. VI, 197v-199.

¹² Osswald 2010, 261.

maintenance the duke had ordered his son in his will¹³. In 1559, the University of Évora was founded, sponsored by the cardinal and master inquisitor D. Henrique¹⁴, and in 1563 the duke died, frustrating his project of higher studies in Vila Viçosa, despite recommending his son, in the will, the prosecution of the project¹⁵. D. João, his successor, according part of the will's spirit, established two public classes of Grammar, Latin and Greek¹⁶. This document information allows us to place this library in another intellectual horizon, and to include it among the instruments of power and prestige of the House of Bragança, a goal of all major regal and aristocratic libraries of that time.

Ancient culture was profusely represented in all branches of knowledge – Philosophy, Poetry, Astronomy, Medicine, Architecture, Theology, Civil and Canon Law. In fact, we can say that this presence is transversal, given that we can find Greek and Latin authors and works of the more varied matters and knowledge in all its sections, whether in Latin or in its translation to vernacular languages, particularly Spanish and Italian, but also, although residually, French and German, and even in the smaller but significant sections of books in Greek and Hebrew.

We will focus our attention in History, the largest section following Theology and Law, stressing the presence of Greek and Latin authors and books, an eloquent testimony of the Ancient culture's reception in Renaissance Portugal. That unquestionable supremacy, also quantitative, of Theology, Law (Law/Canon) and History in the represented set of knowledge, is patent in the table and graphics presents below:

Number of books in each section	
Theology	447
Medicine	48
Canon	81
Law	114
Philosophy	52
Drawings, Geometry & Architecture	17
Greek	24
Hebrew	27
Oratory and Grammar	105
Historians in Latin	130
Poetry	48
Astrology & Mathematics	51
Italian Books	58

¹³ *PHGCRP*, IV, 1755, 239-240.

¹⁴ Teles 1647, Part II, book V, chap. XVII.

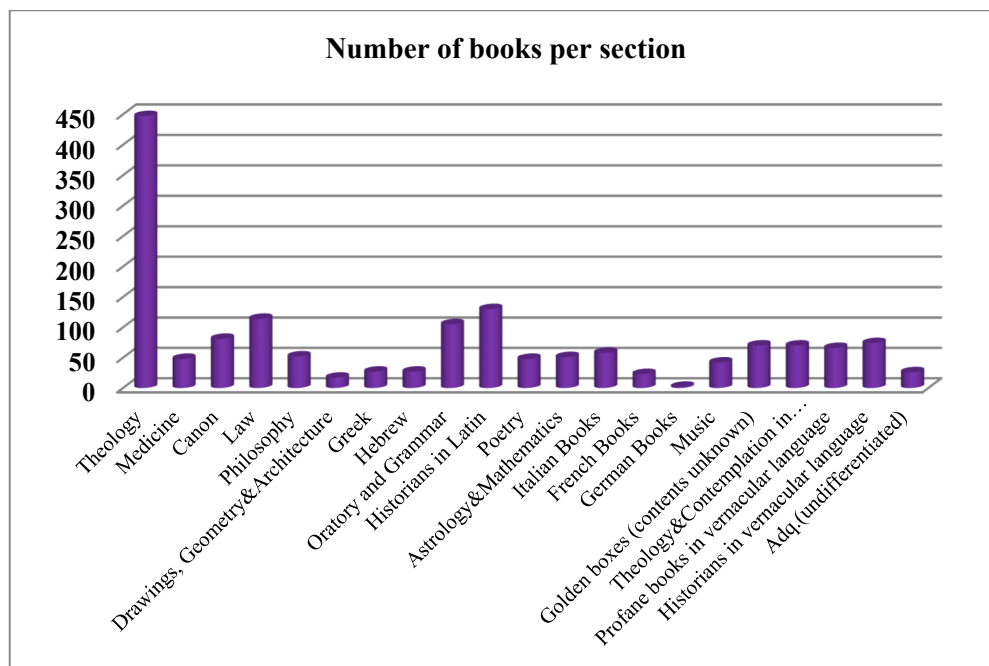
¹⁵ *HGCRP*, VI, cap XI, 54.

¹⁶ Teixeira 1983, 42. In his will, D. Teodósio ordered “muito a meu filho, que queira dar ao Mosteiro de Santo Agostinho de Villa Viçosa a Chancelaria da casa como eu lha dou pera se acabar o Collegio, e que tenha muita conta com ir adiante, e des que forem feitos os Gerais, pessa [sic] aos Padres que ponhão Mestres para ler artes” [much to my son, who is willing to provide to the Monastery of St. Augustine of Villa Viçosa the ministry of the house as I do in order to finish the College, and keep in mind to move forward, since the generals have been made, asks to the priests to put masters to read arts]. *PHGCRP*, IV, 239.

French books	23
German books	2
Music	42
Golden boxes (contents unkown)	70
Theology & contemplation in vernacular language	70
Profane books in vernacular language	66
Historians in vernacular language	74
Adq.[undifferentiated]	26
	1575*
*adding those which are outside the library (Chapel)	82
TOTAL	1657

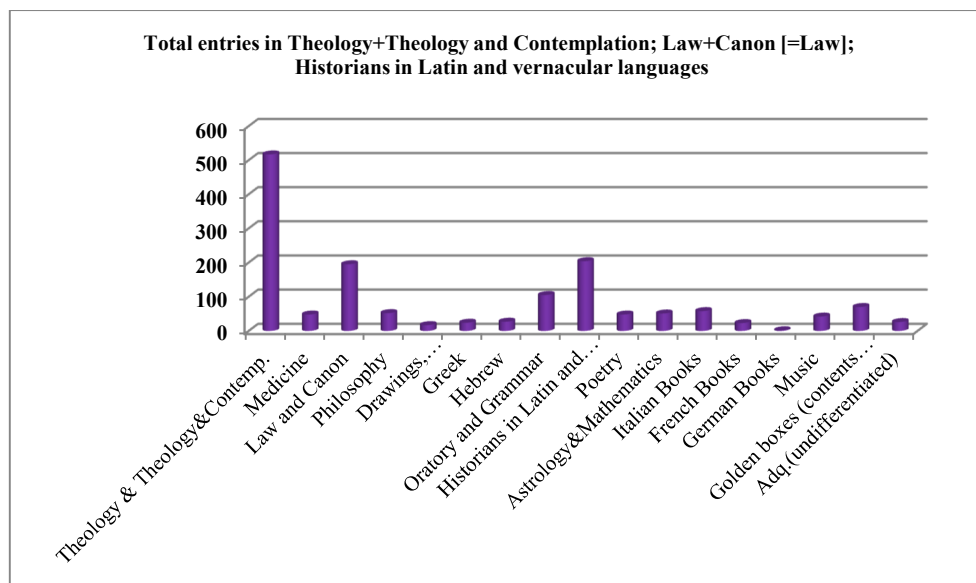
Table 1

The same data in graphic:



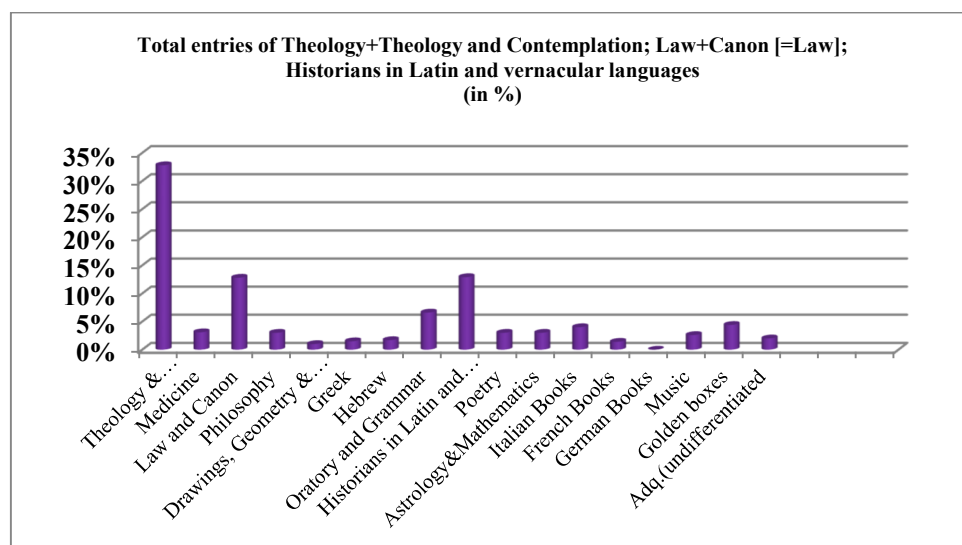
Graphic 1

If we group the total of the entries in the sections of Theology and Theology and Contemplation; Law and Canon, and Historians in Latin and Historians in [vernacular] Language, that supremacy is more differentiated:



Graphic 2

Below a graphic with the same values in percentage:



Graphic 3

The addition of the 74 entries regarding “*Historians in [vernacular] language*” to the section of “*Historians in Latin*”, with its 130 entries (8.25%), the works of history amount to 204, corresponding to 12.96% of the total content of the ducal library. There was still a substantial number of works of historic and chronicle nature, in Latin and vernacular language, in other sections, still adding to this quantitative dimension.

The place of history in the ducal library reflects one of the more persistent traces of aristocratic culture since the Middle Ages, and renewed in the Renaissance: a preference for the memory and for the *true* example conveyed by the chronicles, which example should be privileged by the princes. In the dedication to Phillip of Asturias, offering him the Spanish translation of the works by Xenophon, in 1552, Diego Gracián concluded: “De la qual [historia] assi como de oraculo se pueden tomar los auisos necesarios para la gouernacion: pues la historia sola contiene la memoria de los buenos hechos, dichos, y consejos: y amonesta a los Principes lo que deuen de hazer mas que ningunas otras pinturas, o imagines de los antepassados” [of which [history], as an Oracle, can be taken the necessary warnings for governing: because history itself contains the memory of good accomplishments, sayings and advise: and warns the Princes on what they should do more than any other paintings or images from their ancestors]¹⁷.

In Antiquity, biography kept a narrow relation - although not absolute - with history. In the words preceding Alexandre’s life, Plutarch wrote and substantiated his intention: “it is not Histories that I am writing, but Lives¹⁸. From Thucydides (†395 bC) onwards – rediscovered by humanism of the *Quattrocento*, translated from the Greek, edited and offered by Lorenzo Valla to the pope Nicholas V (†1457)¹⁹ – history claimed the possibility of writing a true, or deemed truthful, narrative on the past. Historian/biographers, on their hand, were committed mostly to building narratives on real characters in their historical context, but that would also transmit life lessons. This way, ancient biographies would cross and interconnect with history, but based on the statement by Cicero in *De Oratore* (II, 36): “history, master of life”. The past should be projected onto the future, providing positive and negative examples of action and conduct that should be duplicated, emulated or, on the contrary, rebutted. In an equally famous formulation, Plutarch explained the reasons why he designed, compiled and presented the lives of great Greek and Roman men: “It happened to me to have initiated the composition of these biographies due to the instigation of others but, if I keep this task, I do it in my own interest; it is if history [of great men] was a mirror where I seek, somehow, to ordain and conform my life to the image of their virtues”²⁰. In this statement by Plutarch, it is not difficult to understand the moral and formative sense granted to the mirror image chosen by him: history was, truly, *magistra vitae*.

Although taking different formulations, this notion of history has been one of the major intellectual legacies in the knowledge of the past and of the role and function of history in the Middle Ages and in the Renaissance. In its core, history had a teaching and moral function, through exemplary memories and their normative effect – not excluding the remembrance of tyrants and bad princes’ actions. The *exemplum* has full part of history

¹⁷ Gracián, 1552. We have read the copy in BNP, Res. 563 V.

¹⁸ Plutarch, l. 2, 225.

¹⁹ It was this bibliophile and founder of the Vatican library pope, who has financed this, as well as many other translations and editions of classical works. Grafton 1997, 11-12. Still according to Grafton, Coluccio Salutati († 1406) has known the I Book of Sículo’s work, especially translated by Leonardo Bruni († 1444) for his mythological researches but has not had access to Thucydides’ work. There is a joint edition of Herodotus, Thucydides and Diodorus Siculus in the library’s inventory.

²⁰ Quoted by Leão. 2012, 13.

and its acting power, whether to glorify models to be followed and emulated, whether to evidence tyrannies, malpractices and rulers' vices, which the good prince, good military and good ruler, must know in order to avoid them. The tradition of sayings, adages and sentences which, coming from Ancient rhetoric, was cultivated during medieval times and the Renaissance, and equally expressed that dimension of example, confining the old collections of the *chreiai* with the biography genre, with a correlated expression in the old library funds²¹.

Being possible to remember numerous examples, we hereby recall two of them, due to considering them expressive of this power of history, although in different ways. The short and simple “*Prollego*” from the *Crónica do Condestabre*, edited in 1526 sponsored by D. Jaime de Bragança, stated: “Antigamente foy custume fazerê memoria das cousas que se faziam: assy erradas como dos valentes & nobres feitos: dos erros porq[ue] se delles soubessê guardar. E dos valentes & nobres feytos aos boõs fezessem cobiça auer peras [sic] semelhâtes cousas fazerem [...]” [In the old days it was customary to remember the things that were made: both the wrong and of the valiant & noble deeds: of the mistakes to avoid them. And of the valiant & noble deeds by the good so that other could covet to do such things]²².

In 1560, painter Hubert Goltzius (†1583) published in Antwerp a monumental work dedicated to Phillip II, *Los Vivos Retratos de todos los Emperadores desde Iulio Cesar hasta el Emperador Carlos V y Don Fernando su hermano....* Due to the convergence of the power of verb and of the history lesson, but also through the “presentification” of the great emperors since Antiquity through the portraits collected in coins and other formats and present like their true effigies, it was about solemnizing the role of history, of the past and of the example of the great emperors of the past, uniting Antiquity and the present in a continuous time. Each portrait of each emperor, occupying a whole page in a round shape, like if it was a medal/coin, was topped by a sentence/emblem, and underneath with a brief chronological indication of their kingdom. In the back of the previous page, there was a short biography of each ruler.

Thus, we can understand the value conferred to history by European culture and, in its core, by aristocratic culture, which showed a preference for memory and for the example conveyed by the historic and chronicle narrative, by the lives of great men and their achievements, and the most important episodes in the continuous time flow. Like most of his peers, Guillaume Budé, humanist and librarian of Francis I of France, considered that history was essential to political success. “Prudence” – he wrote – “comes mostly from experience and from the observation of past examples as registered by history”²³.

Nadine Kuperty-Tsur notes how the broader knowledge of the great heroes of Antiquity represented a secular alternative to the reports of Christian and redemptive sacrifice of the lives of saints and hagiographies which, continuing to be a much disclosed reading, had now found “competition”²⁴. “Par le biais de la traduction, les nobles découvrent des

²¹ Pereira 2004, 66.

²² *Coronica do Condestabre* 1526, II. We have read the copy in BNP with the reference Res. 26 A.

²³ Quoted by Knecht 2008, 203.

²⁴ Nadine Kuperty-Tsur 2001, 67-68.

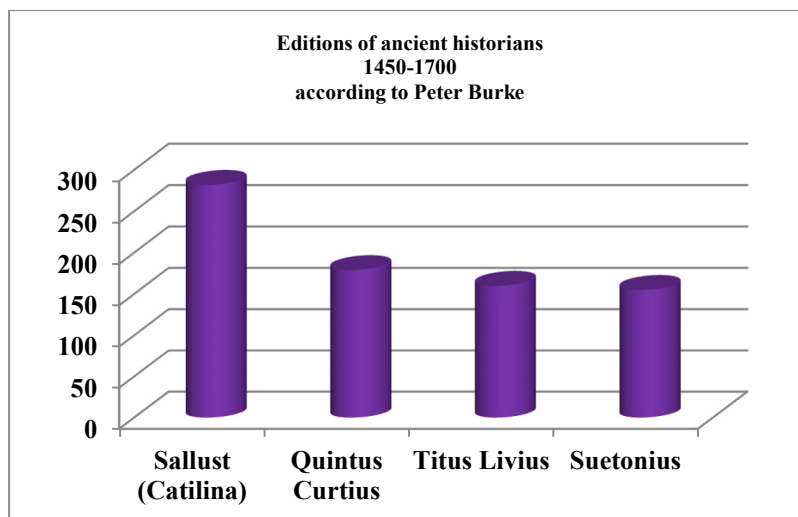
textes susceptibles de leur servir de modèles et qui connaissent un immense succès à la Renaissance. D'une certaine façon, les images des héros grecs ou des généraux romains, libres et dignes, proposent une alternative à la conception chrétienne de l'homme, pécheur dès sa naissance et infiniment misérable devant Dieu. Aux récits des sacrifices et des souffrances salvatrices des hagiographies médiévales, sont préférés les Vies parallèles de Plutarque, la Vie des empereurs de Suétone, les Histoires de Tacite, les Commentaires de César [...]» [Through translation, the nobles have discovered the texts that can serve them as models and that have an immense success in the Renaissance. In a certain manner, the images of Greek heroes or Roman generals, free and worthy, present an alternative to the Christian conception of Man, sinner from birth and endlessly miserable before God. To the tales of sacrifices and saving suffering of the medieval hagiographies, they prefer the Parallel Lives of Plutarch, the Life of Emperor Suetonius, the Stories of Tacitus, the Commentaries by Cesar].

The superiority of ancient history and of chronicles over novel literature and chivalric romance, very popular then, resided in the fact that they transmitted really happening facts, worthy of memory and polarizers of example, while chivalry books brought deception, illusion and deceit. Gracián, translator of the *Moralia*, established the confrontation between "[...] estos libros fingidos de cauallerias y patrañas fingidas [...]" [these false books of cavalries and false "tricks"], and the example, not only likely but true, of the stories conveyed by Plutarch. At the end of a long diatribe (fols. 8-9), Gracián concluded, addressing the emperor Charles V, to whom he dedicated the work: "Assi que en lugar de Tristanes/Reynaldos florisandos/primaleones Palmerines y Duardos y otros cien mil tales que hinchén los papeles de mentiras donde muchas personas muy amenudo gastan sus buenas horas por medio desta traslacion tomaran vn passatiempo no menos prouechoso que deleytable y honesto los que quisieren gozarlo en conoser quiê fueron Emperadores/Reyes/Principes/y efforçados capitanes y otros varones y mugeres illustres dignos de memoria [...]" [Thus, instead of Tristan/Reynald Florisand/Primaleon Palmerin and Dudardos and other one hundred thousand as such who fill the papers with lies where many people very often spend many hours, through this translation, they have taken a no less fruitful hobby than delectable and honest those who wished to know who have been Emperors/Kings/Princes and dedicated captains and other illustrious men and women worthy of memory]²⁵.

In the confluence of the exemplar value of history and the consecration of classic culture during Renaissance, the section of historians in Latin from the ducal library included a large number of Greco-Latin Antiquity historians, whose European dissemination has been enhanced by humanist typography. Cesar, Titus Livius, Sallust, Quintus Curtius and Suetonius are among the most read historians, with a large number of editions, between the mid-15th century and late 17th century. For the considered period²⁶, Peter Burke accounts 155 editions of Suetonius, 160 of Titus Livius, 179 of Quintus Curtius or 282 of the *Catilina* by Sallust.

²⁵ Consulted edition: *Morales de Plutarco traduzidos de lengua griega en castellana* 1548, 9.

²⁶ Burke 1992, 171.



Graphic 4

The library of duke D. Teodósio showed this central importance of ancient history and this “simmer” in its editorial circulation. It is the case of Titus Livius († 17), of whose work *Ab Urbe Condita* we find, only in this section, two entries, apart from a joint edition with Justin, Roman historian (3rd century)²⁷. Plutarch († c. 120) is another of the represented names, through *Vitae Parallelae*, with great fortune since the Renaissance²⁸. It was the humanist movement of the *Quattrocento* that has initiated his works’ restitution process²⁹, namely the *Moralia* and *Vitae Parallelae*, the latter comprehending a series of biographies from princes and illustrious men in Antiquity such as Pericles, Artaxerxes, Solon, Pyrrhus, Alexander, Julius Cesar, Alcibiades, Themistocles, Lycurgus or Cicero, whose fortune was based mostly in the fact of supplying finished models of the heroic ideal, stressing the figures of Alexandre – paradigm of the heroes already in the Middle Ages³⁰ - and Julius Cesar.

Fully or partially, the *Vitae* by Plutarch were the subject of a wider editorial movement, in Latin, Greek and vernacular language, being one of the main repository of *exempla* of political literature in the 16th and 17th centuries³¹, and a fundamental presence in aristocratic pedagogy. Humanist and bishop Jacques Amyot, French translator of the *Moralia*, in the dedication of his translation of the *Vitae* (1559) addressed to his two pupils, the future Charles IX (1562-1574) and Henry III (1574-1589) of France, claimed Plutarch was [...] l’auteur le plus idoine et plus propre à vostre estat, pour vous proposer à

²⁷ It is a joint edition of *Décadas*, or part of *Décadas* by Titus Livius, and the *Epitome* de Justin, a well disseminated summary during the Middle Ages of the *Historiae Phillipicae et Totius Mundi Origines et Terrae Situs*, by Pompeius Trogus, written in Cesar Augustus’ time.

²⁸ *Princeps* Latin ed. of *Vitae*: Rome, 1470. There was also a Greek edition of this work in the ducal library.

²⁹ Aulotte 1965: 21-38. V. The inventory of the Greek manuscripts by Plutarch existing in Italy in the 15th century in Bolgar 1977: 485-487, and the list of translations for the common languages during the 16th century, 520-521.

³⁰ Cary 1956.

³¹ Aulotte 1965, 21-130; Bolgar 1977, 520-523.

lire quand vous seriez venu en âge d'y pouvoir prendre quelque goust" [the most idoneous and proper author to your condition, to propose you to read, when you've come to that age and when you enjoy its reading]³².

The works of Plutarch were known and read in Portugal in the beginning of the 16th century. In D. Manuel's wardrobe inventory there is a reference to "Dous livros da Vyda de Putraco [sic]" [two books on the life of Plutarch]³³; amongst D. Catarina's books it is mentioned the *Vidas*³⁴ and, in the inventory of the books received from Castille in 1534, the "Apoetamata Plutarquy, cubiertas de cuero aleonado en papel, con sus fytas y dorados" [Apoetamata Plutarch, covered in fulvous leather in paper, with its straps and golden decorations], most certainly the Spanish translation by Diego Gracián, published in the previous year³⁵. Also among D. Duarte's († 1543) books, bastard son of D. João III, there were the *Vidas* by Plutarch³⁶. In D. Teodósio's library there were seven entries regarding works of Plutarch, making him in one of the more represented ancient authors in the ducal library, in accord with his fortune in the European culture during the 16th century.

Another Greek author recovered by Renaissance was Xenophon († 355 bC). The *Cyropaedia* (c. 378-362 bC), considered the most perfect model of prince since Antiquity, after a long period of obscurity, has gained a wide circulation with the translation of the original Greek into Latin by Poggio († 1447). In 1470, Vasco de Lucena, a Portuguese humanist at the service of the court of Burgundy, translated it into French, based on Poggio's version, dedicating it to Charles *the Bold*, son of Isabel of Portugal, duchess of Burgundy³⁷. The translations multiplied, throughout the 16th century, into English, French, German, Italian and Spanish³⁸. To the request of D. João III, the humanist Diogo de Teive († c. 1566) has translated the *Cyropaedia* directly from the Greek, a version which has been lost³⁹. Also the bastard son of D. João III, D. Duarte, has had two books of Xenophon, surely *Cyropaedia*, one in Latin and another in the original Greek version.

This work existed in the duke's library in a manuscript copy, as well as Xenophon's *Opera* in two copies in this section, and also the Spanish translation by Diego Gracián, dedicated to prince Phillip of Asturias, in the section of the historians in vernacular languages. In the library there were still many other central authors of history, as well as ancient geography, with influence in Renaissance culture as it is the case of Tacitus, who had not been fully unknown during medieval times but, as many other authors, has gained

³² Quoted by Adler 1957, 132. V. the presence of Plutarch in the conception of *Livre de l'Institution du Prince* (c. 1519, published in 1547), by Guillaume Budé, dedicated to Francis I, or in the set of the advised readings by Filipe de la Torre to young Phillip II in *Institución de un Rey Christiano* (1556), chap. IV, ed. Truman 1979, 26-30.

³³ "Inventario" 1904, 411.

³⁴ "A Livraria real" 1902, 30-31.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, nº50, 35.

³⁶ "[21] Item plutharchus de uitis uirorum Jlustrem". *Ibidem*, doc. V: 104. On the presence of Plutarch in Portugal, v. Soares 2011, 11-49.

³⁷ Gallet-Guerne 1974.

³⁸ Bolgar 1977, 524-525.

³⁹ Machado 1965, 703. The *Cyropaedia* seems to have been translated into Portuguese at least four times, being the oldest one the translation by Teive. Prieto 1984, 775.

prominence during the 15th century. It was the publication, around 1470 in Venice, of the *princeps* edition of his works and of the first edition of the *Annales* in 1515, then recently rediscovered, which have made the fortune and influence of this historian and of his political thought in 16th and 17th century Europe, with multiple translations and editions. But also Sallust, Suetonius, Julius Cesar, Ptolemy⁴⁰, Pomponius Mela⁴¹, Quintus Curtius⁴², Cornelius Nepos⁴³, Eutropius⁴⁴, some of them still present in other sections, and even lesser known authors, such as Hegesippus⁴⁵, Aelianus⁴⁶, Arian⁴⁷, Ammianus Marcellinus⁴⁸, composing a set we repute of extraordinarily relevant.

In the case of Suetonius, the other great biographer of Antiquity after Plutarch, his most famous work, *De Vita XII Caesarum*, existed in four copies in D. Teodósio's library. The work consisted in the biographies of Roman rulers, from Julius Cesar to Domitian, both as conduct models, as is emperor Titus, and as negative examples by reprehensible actions or vices, such as Nero and Caligula, among others. In summary, the writing of the "lives" in Antiquity has mostly a moral and exemplary goal, in the sense of offering to the men of the present a set of actions to reproduce or rebut. Without achieving the extraordinary popularity and impact of Plutarch, *The Twelve Cesars* by Suetonius, well known since the high Middle Ages⁴⁹, had around 18 printed editions until 1500, reaching 100 during the 16th century.

The characteristics of this collective biography of the first rulers of the Empire answered to the Renaissance taste for the heroes' models, but also by the lives, in a conception

⁴⁰ Claudius Ptolemy († 168), Greek astronomer, mathematician and cosmographer. It is *Geografia*, whose *princeps* edition, without the maps, is from 1475. During Renaissance, this knowledge kept a narrow bond with history; therefore it is not unusual to be in this section, as it is the case of many works present.

⁴¹ The *De Situ Orbis* by Pomponius Mela († c. 43-50) has been one of the main sources of geographic knowledge for centuries. Another entry in the inventory, "de commentis", with commentaries.

⁴² In two copies. Although the inventory's entry does not mention the title, it is his single work that survived, *Historiae Alexandri Magni Macedonis*, biography of Alexandre, *the Great*, in ten books. The first two have been lost and the remaining eight are incomplete.

⁴³ Cornelius Nepos († c. 25 bC), Roman biographer. *Vitae Excellentium Imperatorum*. Author of an extensive work, this has been the one that survived, having a wide circulation.

⁴⁴ Flavius Eutropius (4th century), Roman historian. *Breviarium Historiae Romanae*. It is a ten-book compendium on the history of Rome since the Foundation, partly based on Titus Livius. Continued by Paulus Diaconus under the emperor Justinian. Another copy in the ducal library.

⁴⁵ Hegesippus (2nd century) has been the author of *Historiographi Fidelissimi Ac Disertissimi et inter Christianos Antiquissimi Historia De Bello Iudaico. Seeptri Sublatione. Iudaeorum Dispersione* [...].

⁴⁶ Claudius Aelianus († c. 235), author and rhetoric professor, with deep expertise in Greek language. The *Varia Historia* (*Ποικίλη Ἱστορία*) is a mix of anecdotes and small biographies of authors, heroes and famous athletes of Antiquity. Ed. *princeps* 1545, only Latin 1548.

⁴⁷ Lucius Flavius Arrianus († 160), or Arriano f Nicomedia, Roman historian of Greek origin, *Anabasis Alexandri* [= *De Rebus Gestis Alexandri Magni*]. It is his main work, deemed one of the more important sources of Alexandre's campaigns.

⁴⁸ Ammianus Marcellinus († a. 391), Roman historian. The work is entitled *Res Gestae*, and it covers the history of Rome from 96 to 378, the penultimate great historical account of that time (the last by Procopius). The inventory only registers the name of the author.

⁴⁹ In the eulogy he wrote about Charles Magne († 814), Einhard had been inspired very closely by *Vidas* by Suetonius. Henri-Jean Martin and Bruno Delmas (colab.) 1996, 129.

which emphasizes, apart from the power and military and legislative activity, other aspects such as physical appearance, faults and virtues, vices and tastes within the Roman social life, rendering those great men closer and more real, in summary, more human for those who read them during Renaissance. Suetonius highlighted, for example, the food habits of the several emperors, mentioning that Tiberius preferred Chios wine, Augustus, who drank little, preferred the wines from Falerno; he also detailed curiosities about the imperial banquets, relating how Caligula drank pearls of inestimable value dissolved in vinegar and Vitellius offered his guests a majestic plate including salmon livers, pheasant and peacock brains, flamingo tongues and lamprey eggs. Other biographers from Antiquity, leaving sometimes unique and precious materials for the knowledge of ancient history and culture, were still present in this section of the library, such as the Greek Diogenes Laërtius (3rd century) with his *Vitae et Sententiae*, the most complete collection of biographies of ancient Greek philosophers, a fundamental contribution for philosophy's history until the 18th century⁵⁰.

Besides the Greco-Latin historiography/geography, D. Teodósio's library was much up-to-date regarding contemporary historians. Despite the ongoing process, during the 16th century, of valuing vernacular languages, Latin was still the quintessential conveying language in the European circulation of learned culture. Therefore, we find in this section many authors from the 15th and 16th centuries whose works, whether due to being humanist authors who preferably or exclusively wrote in Latin, whether aiming to reach a larger circulation, have been published in Latin. Besides this contemporary chronicles published in Latin, topic we will not develop here, the library also displayed a large number of editions of Latin and Greek historic works translated into vernacular language. The case of Titus Livius is paradigmatic, although Plutarch, Xenophon, Julius Cesar or even others may be raised. Apart from Latin editions of *Decades*, the library also encompassed an Italian and a Spanish edition of its work, as well as "hũa parte de Titu Liuiio de Letra de mão" [handwritten part of Titus Livius], partial manuscript copy of an Italian translation of *Decades*.

Finally, let us note that the section of the historians in Latin makes clear how, during the Renaissance, the bond between geography and history was very narrow⁵¹; a dimension apparent in several authors and works, like the Greek geographer and historian Strabo († c. 24) and his *De Situ Orbis*, Solinus and Pomponius Mela⁵², Pliny *The Elder* († 79) and

⁵⁰ The 1st printed edition has been the Latin, with the indicated title, in Rome, 1472. The library contained perhaps a later edition. The 1st full edition in the Greek original is the one from Basel: Froben, 1533.

⁵¹ Issue mentioned and contextualized by Isabelle Pantin (ENS, Paris) in the communication delivered in the international workshop *Bibliotecas e Livro Científico (séculos XV-XVIII). Objectos, espaços e ideias*, Centro IUHCT, January 20th-21st 2011, Lisbon, FCUL-BNP, org. Luana Giurgevich, Teresa Nobre de Carvalho and Henrique Leitão.

⁵² Caius Julius Solino (3rd century) and Pompónio Mela († c. 43-50) Latin geographer, *Caii Iulii Solini Polyhistor, Rerum toto Orbe memorabilium Thesaurus locupletissimus. Huic ob Argumenti Similitudinem Pomponii Melae De Situ Orbis Libros Tres*, [...], "de comento". The *De Situ Orbis* by Mela has been one of the main sources of knowledge in geography for centuries.

the *Naturalis Historia*⁵³, the *Geography* by Ptolemy († c. 168)⁵⁴. We will signal still that two of the possible four copies⁵⁵ existing in the ducal library of *Epitoma Rei Militaris* (= *De Re Militaris*) by Publius Flavius Vegetius (4th century), the most important treaty on military organization and strategy of Antiquity, are found in this section. This influential work, of which there are more than 200 manuscripts in European libraries, had a *princeps* edition in Utrecht, in 1473, and there is the doubt around a possible translation into Portuguese by infante D. Pedro⁵⁶.

Below there is a table with the names of all the Latin historians, which we were able to identify, by alphabetical order – only in the respective section, being that, as we have mentioned, there are other entries in other sections of the library's inventory concerning historians of Antiquity.

GREEK AND ROMAN HISTORIANS IDENTIFIED IN THE SECTION OF HISTORIANS IN LATIN		
Inventory order number	Name	Nº of entries
4388	Ammianus Marcellinus	1
4317	Gaius Linius Secundus	1
4361	Carolus Sigonius	1
4313	Claudius Aelianus	1
4360	Cornelius Nepos	1
4373	Diogenes Laërtius	1
4348	Dionysius of Halicarnassus	1
4270; 4391	Strabo	2
4271	Eusebius of Caesarea	1
4319; 4364	Eutropius	2
4306; 4327	Flavio Biondo	2
4278	Flacius Philostratus	1
4337; 4370	Flacius Josephus	2
4392	Hegesippus	1
4279	Heliodorus	1
4349	Herodotus, Thucydides, Diodorus Siculus	1
4273	Julius Cesar and Plutarch	1
4372	Lucius Florus and Polybius	1

⁵³ Gaius Plinius Secundus, known also as Pliny, *the Elder*, Roman naturalist. It is his encyclopaedic work, written c. 77-79, in which Pliny collected a lot of the knowledge of his time and has become the model for the genre. Another copy in the Philosophy section.

⁵⁴ The *princeps* edition, without the maps, is from 1475, being certain that in D. Teodósio's library there was a later and complete edition.

⁵⁵ The *De Re Militari* by Vegetius is confirmed for two entries. There may be another copy in a joint volume with another work, in the language historians' section, but we cannot confirm it, as it happens with entry nº 5002, given the author is not identified. Let us recall that engineer Roberto Valturio has been an author of a treaty in *De Re Militari*, with *princeps* edition in 1472, a book which is also present in the library among the Latin historians; therefore we could not confirm Vegetius as the author of the works in the entries nºs 4925 and 5002.

⁵⁶ There was another copy among the oratory and grammar books, and a version in vernacular language, in a volume with a work on the conquest of Rhodes among the historians in vernacular language. There is a bilingual Latin/Portuguese edition with the title *Vegécio. Compêndio da Arte Militar*, translation by João Gouveia Monteiro and José Eduardo Braga, Introductory study, commentary and remarks by João Gouveia Monteiro, Foreword by Maria Helena da Rocha Pereira, Coimbra: 2009. On Vegetius in Portugal, s. 133-147, based on a study by Peter Russal published in 2001, Gouveia Monteiro believes that Infante D. Pedro has, in fact, translated this work into Portuguese.

4383	Lucius Flavius Arrianus	1
4352; 4382; 4389	Marcus Junianus	3
4269	Plutarch	1
4307	Polydorus	1
4374; 4392; 4394	Pomponius Mella	3
4396	Ptolemy	1
4371; 4284	Quintus Curtius	2
4291	Sallust	1
4272	Sallust and Suetonius	1
4311	Solinus and Pomponius Mela	1
4281; 4283; 4387	Suetonius	3
4346; 4350	Tacitus	2
4267; 4367; 4369	Titus Livius	3
4343	Titus Livius and Justin	1
4300; 4355	Vegetius	2
4325; 4329; 4336	Xenophon	3

Table 2

As mentioned above, there is still to be considered the presence of ancient history in other sections of the library, with an emphasis to the historians in vernacular language. The vast majority of those versions are translations into Spanish. Here we can find names and works such as Plutarch and the *Vidas*⁵⁷, the *Catão* by Cicero⁵⁸, Appian of Alexandria and the *Triunfos*⁵⁹, the *Obras* by Xenophon, Valerius Maximus and the *Hechos y Dichos Memorables*⁶⁰, Titus Livius “with images”⁶¹, Quintus Curtius and the *Historia de Alexandre Magno*⁶², Flavius Josephus *De la Guerra Judaica*⁶³, *Los Comentarios* de Julius Cesar⁶⁴. Also Plautus, considered to be the greatest comedigrapher of ancient

⁵⁷ The *princeps* edition of the Spanish edition has the title *Translation de las Vidas... de Latin em Romance por Alfonso de Palencia*, Seville, 1491, to which many translations have followed.

⁵⁸ *Livro de Marco Tvllio Ciçeram chamado Catam Maior ou da Velhiçe, dedicado a Tito Põponio Attico*. Might have been the 1538 edition, Venice, with a translation by Damião de Góis. Reedited with presentation by João Alves Dias 2002.

⁵⁹ Published in Valencia, 1522. There is also, with different titles but identical subject, *História de las Guerra que uvo entre los Romanos*, Alcalá, 1536.

⁶⁰ Publius Valerius Maximus (1st century bC -1st century aD), Roman writer. The *Factorum Dictorum Memorabilium* written in 31 AD is the oldest compilation of *exempla* that has come to us since Antiquity. The first Spanish translation is from Antoni Canals, in 1395. Between 1416 and 1427 Juan Alfonso de Zamora, secretary of Juan II of Castile, has made a new translation, whose *princeps* edition is from Zaragoza, 1495.

⁶¹ We have not identified the Spanish “depicted” translation of *Décadas*.

⁶² *Historia de Alexandre Magno// De los hechos del Magno Alexandre Rey de Macedonia*. The *princeps* is the one from Seville, Meinardo Ungut and Estanislao Polonio, 1496; a 2nd, Seville, 1534.

⁶³ *De Antiquitatibus ac de Bello Judaico/De la Guerra Judaica*. The 1st Latin printed edition is from 1470; despite the title appearing in Latin, it is the Spanish translation which is present. The Spanish *princeps* translation is from 1492, by Alonso de Palencia. Flavius Josephus is much represented in the library: a manuscript copy, maybe in Spanish, although safeguarding the hypothesis of being in Portuguese, with the indication “not assessed due to being in the list of restricted book ”; it is also included in the Latin books, *De Antiquitatibus ac de Bello Judaico*, and another in Italian.

⁶⁴ *Los Comentarios de Cayo Julio Cesar* by Diego López de Toledo. The *princeps* edition of the Spanish translation is from Toledo, 1498.

Rome, is present among the historians in vernacular language, with the *Comédia chamada Soldado Glorioso*⁶⁵.

Below there is a table with the names of Greek and Latin historians in vernacular languages, which we were able to identify, by alphabetical order.

IDENTIFIED GREEK AND LATIN HISTORIANS IN VERNACULAR LANGUAGES		
Inventory order number	Name	Nº of entries
4910;4914	Appian of Alexandria	2
4931; 4941	Flavius Josephus	2
4945	Julius Cesar	1
4971	Marcus Tullius Cicero	1
4972	Plautus	1
4928	Pliny	1
4907	Plutarch	1
4947	Polydor Vergil	1
4930	Quintus Curtius	1
4968	Sextus Julius Frontinus	1
4915	Titus Livius	1
4913	Valerius Maximus	1
4912	Xenophon	1

Table 3

Among the Greek books we find some historians. Apart from two entries regarding Plato, one of them the complete works with commentary⁶⁶ or the comedies by Aristophanes († c. 385 bC), we will stress a bilingual Greek/Latin edition of the Greek geographer and historian Polybius († 120 bC), Plutarch and the *Vitae*, also in a Latin edition in the library, as we have seen, Aesop († 560 bC), alongside with other authors, Homer's the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, Euripides († 406 bC) or Lucian of Samosata († c. 181); and in an undifferentiated section of the library we again find Herodotus († c. 420 bC), Appian of Alexandria (90 -† ?) with two works, Flavius Josephus († c. 100), Herodian († 252), Justin (3rd century), or the geographer Pomponius Melia († 50).

We believe this sample shows the cultural and ideological importance of History, as well as its reception, value, influence and irradiation of the great Greek and Roman historians, founders of a conception of formative and exemplary history so dear to the humanist and Renaissance thought. We end with a statement by the Portuguese humanist, bishop and historian Jerónimo Osório, which synthesizes the status and place of history in the culture of Renaissance, as it is clear in D. Teodósio's library: "[...] there is nothing more useful

⁶⁵ Titus Maccius Plautus († 180?). *Miles Gloriosus*, in the Latin original. We could only find the Spanish translation *La Comedia de Plauto intitulado Milite Glorioso*, Antwerp, 1555. There are several contemporary translations into Portuguese, with the title *O Soldado Fanfarrão*.

⁶⁶ Alongside with a work by Plutarch in Latin.

than History to acquire knowledge, nor stronger than her to awaken the virtues, nor healthier to heal the wounds of the Republic, nor more pleasant for the delight of life”⁶⁷.

⁶⁷ Jerónimo Osório, “Carta-dedicatória” [Dedication-letter] to Cardinal D. Henrique from the edition of the chronicle by D. Manuel, *De Rebus Emmanuelis Gestis...*, 1571 [1572], section translated and quoted by Pinho 1988, 340.

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Echoes from Antiquity in D. João de Castro's Maritime Rutters

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Abstract

D. João de Castro was born to an illustrious Portuguese family, and received the same education that was given to other young noblemen of his time and status: in the enlightened environment of the court of King D. Manuel I, they received at the same time a military training and an introduction to a traditional classical learning. Thus it is possible to understand how years later, in his writings, he showed an assiduous conviviality with Pliny, Ptolemy, Pomponius Mela, Vitruvius, and other authors of Antiquity. It is not improbable that the readings of his first years included also romances of chivalry, because he admired the exploits of Alexander the Great. The present paper, in addition to following briefly the military career of D. João de Castro, will be interested in his nautical writings, three rutters that were written in so many maritime journeys between 1538 and 1541: the «Rutter from Lisbon to Goa», the «Rutter from Goa to Diu», and the «Rutter of the Red Sea».. Some attention will also merit the numerous letters he wrote during his years of residence in India. Thus, an attempt will be made to enumerate the literary echoes of Antiquity in the writings of D. João de Castro, bearing in mind that unlike many humanists of the time, whose life was completely passed in Europe, the celebrated Portuguese *fidalgo* and rutter-writer had the opportunity to travel extensively through extra-European spaces, confronting firsthand the geographical lesson of the classical authors with the human and geographical realities of the East.

Keywords: D. João de Castro, Rutters, Sixteenth Century, Antiquity, Intertextuality.

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The well known phrase of the Portuguese poet Luís de Camões, «nãa mão sempre a espada, & noutra a pena» ('one hand always in the sword, another in the quill'),¹ although used in *Os Lusíadas* in a different context, perfectly summarizes the life and deeds of D. João de Castro. Indeed, it is a figure that, at such a fertile time in relevant nautical, military and literary actions, was able to distinguish himself simultaneously as a man of arms, a navigator and a scholar.

Portugal was then involved in an important movement of maritime and territorial expansion in the Atlantic archipelagos, in Morocco and also in the East, following the discovery of the maritime route to India and the discovery of Brazil.² Thus, the young Castro grew up in an environment of great effervescence, characterized by the regular arrival of protagonists of war feats practiced in distant parts and of news of adventurous expeditions carried out in previously unknown lands and seas. Not much can be gathered about the early years of D. João de Castro.³ Born in Lisbon around the year 1500, he grew up in the court of King D. Manuel I, where his father held a high position, since he was governor of one of the highest courts (*Casa do Cível*), and also ministry of the Treasury (*Vedor da Fazenda*).⁴ It is quite probable that he grew up together with the crown prince, the future D. João III, born in 1502, and also with prince D. Luís, born in 1506, for later he would maintain excellent relations with both of them. The training and education he received would not be very different from that given to other young men of his time and condition: while they were prepared for military duties, through intense training, they began to cultivate the letters and the arts in the enlightened environment of the royal court.⁵ The chronicler Diogo do Couto wrote years later that Castro, in his youth, had been «well educated in the liberal arts» and also that he was «a good Latinist».⁶

¹ Camões 1572, 126 (7-79). All translations from Portuguese to English are my own.

² For a synthesis of the Portuguese expansion, see Newitt 2005.

³ A detailed biography of Castro may be found in Aquarone 1968. See also Albuquerque 1987, II: 106-120; and Garcia 1995.

⁴ On D. Álvaro de Castro, see Aquarone 1968, I: 12-23.

⁵ Contemporary author Francisco de Monzón, in his *Libro primero del espejo del príncipe Christiano* (CF. Monzón 1544), explained that the teaching of several areas of natural philosophy (cosmography, geography, geometry, arithmetic) was part of the educational program

At the age of 18, Castro embarked for Morocco without paternal permission, going to Tangier to serve under the orders of D. Duarte de Meneses, a celebrated captain, whose military deeds against the Moroccans were then cause for astonishment and admiration in Portugal. The Moroccan ports dominated by the Portuguese, that were the scene of regular military confrontations, then served as a school of arms for the young Lusitanian nobles, where they carried out their respective training.⁷ And D. Joao de Castro, following the rule, stayed in North Africa for a long time, perhaps with one or another sporadic voyage to Portugal, where he would only return definitively in 1527. Meanwhile, he had been knighted, for the practice of relevant feats of arms. In a letter written in 1539, he would recall, in regard to his Moroccan experience, that «it was there that I grew my beard».⁸

The next ten years remain relatively obscure. But in 1528, on his return to Portugal, D. João de Castro received as a paternal inheritance the *Quinta da Penha Verde*, in Sintra, where he seems to have resided thereafter. This country estate was to become famous a few years later thanks to the original attempts by its owner to acclimatize exotic plants of oriental origin.⁹ Some extant documentation suggests that Castro, around this period, began to perform military functions in various naval missions, connected with the defense of the Portuguese coast and with the logistical support of the Lusitanian fortresses in Morocco.

In the meantime, his participation in the Portuguese fleet that in 1535, under the command of António de Saldanha, joined Emperor Carlos V's expedition against Tunis is well documented. The Spanish attack against the North African stronghold of the celebrated corsair Kheir-ed-Din, also known as Barbarossa, was a success, and contributed to increase the safety of Christian shipping in the Mediterranean.¹⁰ Years later, in one of his rutters, D. João de Castro would remember the astronomical observations that he performed in the ruins of ancient Carthage.¹¹

So far, the life of D. João de Castro would be indistinguishable from that of many of his noble contemporaries. But it was surely then, after the return from Morocco and coinciding with the numerous sea voyages he undertook in the vicinity of the Portuguese coast and in the Mediterranean, that he began to develop a deep interest in nautical and geographical issues. The awakening of this interest is perhaps connected with the close relationship he established with Prince D. Luís, the brother of King D. João III, and Dr. Pedro Nunes, a distinguished mathematician who in the royal court had been the tutor of the princes since about 1532. For, as Castro later wrote, it was during these years that in the house of Prince D. Luís «the science of cosmography flourished more than in any

implemented at the court of king D. João III. Regarding the education of Portuguese nobility, see Buescu 1996; and specifically about classical education, Tarrío 2015.

⁶ Couto 1614, 6-9-126: «foi bem instruido nas artes liberaes»; «bom Latino».

⁷ About Castro's presence in Morocco, see Jesus 2016.

⁸ Letter to D. João III (Goa, 1539?), in Cortesão & Albuquerque 1968-1981, III: 26.

⁹ Regarding this rural estate, see Moreira 1995, who quotes the most important bibliography.

¹⁰ About Saldanha, see Lobato 1964; about the expedition, see Deswarte-Rosa 1998 and Carvalho & Jesus 2017; about Barbarossa, see Nunes Ibarra 2004.

¹¹ Castro 1968-1981d, 252.

other part of this roundness that we inhabit».¹² And it was under the aegis of Nunes, who was also the royal cosmographer since 1529, that D. João de Castro began an in-depth study of cosmographic questions, especially those related to maritime navigations.¹³

* * *

D. João de Castro is usually credited with the authorship of a «Tratado da Sphaera, por perguntas e respostas a modo de dialogo» ('Treaty on the Sphere by questions and answers in the form of dialogue'), which would have been written around 1536-1537, but that at the time remained in manuscript and was only published in modern times.¹⁴ The writing of this work, based on the famous and homonymous medieval treatise by Johannes de Sacrobosco, coincides with the publication of the *Tratado da Sphaera com a Theorica do Sol e da Lua* ('Treaty of the Sphere with the Theory of the Sun and the Moon') by Pedro Nunes, which was printed in Lisbon in 1537.¹⁵ But it has already been shown that the two texts are significantly different.¹⁶ The manuscript that has been associated with the name of Castro is composed of a very dense technical text, full of scholarly discussions and references to ancient (and also medieval) authorities, in an «immense intertextual game» that takes «Sacrobosco as a partial point of departure».¹⁷ Names such as Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Julius Caesar, Virgil, Ovid, Lucanus, Ptolemy, Lactantius and Macrobius appear repeatedly quoted, and sometimes critically.

This treatise has been used repeatedly to prove the high scientific level achieved by D. João de Castro and also his extensive readings of ancient (and also medieval) authors and writings related to cosmography and geography.¹⁸ But recently the authorship of this manuscript was challenged, with quite convincing arguments, by a geographer who concluded that the celebrated navigator could not have written the «Tratado da Esfera».¹⁹ Which means that the cultural profile of D. João de Castro has to be reframed, assuming that this work is not a part of his bibliography, and someone else was its author.

In 1538, D. Garcia de Noronha was invested as viceroy of the Estado da Índia ('State of India'), and as was customary in those times he took with him to the East many of his close relatives and servants, who would thus have the opportunity to gain 'honor and fame', as the saying went. D. João de Castro was the brother-in-law of the new Viceroy, a circumstance that led him to embark for India, in command of one of the ships of that year's fleet. The journey was uneventful, but would eventually become noted on account

¹² Castro 1968-1981c, 12. Regarding the Prince, see Deswarte-Rosa 1991.

¹³ On Pedro Nunes, see Leitão & Martins 2002.

¹⁴ Castro 1968-1981a.

¹⁵ For a modern edition, see Nunes 2002.

¹⁶ Among other approaches, see Barreto 1986, 29-107.

¹⁷ Barreto 1986, 41: «imenso jogo intertextual»; «Sacrobosco como parcial ponto de partida».

¹⁸ See, for instance, Hooykaas 1968-1981.

¹⁹ The suggestion was put forward by Daveau 1995. Doubts about Castro's authorship are also expressed by Cardoso 2004. Suzanne Daveau suggests Pedro Nunes or João de Barros as plausible authors; but another likely candidate would be, for instance, Fernando Oliveira. About this interesting character, see Domingues 2004.

that Castro prepared a detailed logbook, enriched by innovative nautical observations, which became known as the «Roteiro de Lisboa a Goa» ('Rutter from Lisbon to Goa').²⁰

This would be the first of three important hydrographic treatises prepared by D. João de Castro during his prolonged sea voyages. When, between the end of 1538 and the beginning of the following year, he commanded a galley on an expedition to the Portuguese controlled port of Diu, in Gujerat, which had just undergone a violent siege, he wrote a detailed travel account known as the «Roteiro de Goa a Diu» ('Rutter from Goa to Diu').²¹ This work, filled with essential navigational information, also included many innovative observations and also critical remarks that questioned the basically empirical knowledge of Portuguese pilots. Shortly thereafter, during 1541, when he participated in an expedition to the Red Sea, under the command of the new governor D. Estêvão da Gama, D. João de Castro wrote the third of his known treatises,²² the «Roteiro do Mar Roxo» ('Rutter of the Red Sea'), in which he describes in detail the sea voyage he made to Suez, including many accounts of the regions bordering that sea, as well as abundant critical notes on geographical and hydrographic matters.²³

Meanwhile, all the rutters included several watercolor illustrations done by Castro himself, depicting natural phenomena, geographical accidents, hydrographic environments, natural and humanized landscapes, various ships, as well as human figures. The illustrations were specifically referred to in the rutters, showing a clear interaction between textual and graphic components.²⁴ D. Estêvão da Gama, in a letter written to D. João III, emphasized the exceptional skills of D. João de Castro «to probe ports and to draw».²⁵ Although the authorship of the original tables is controversial, it seems that the illustrations would have been prepared by experienced draftsmen, based on sketches provided by the author of the texts, and it has been suggested, but without absolute confirmation, that one of these could have been the Portuguese cartographer Gaspar Viegas.²⁶

* * *

The enormous value of the writings of D. João de Castro, which remained unpublished at the time, circulating only in handwritten copies among specialists in the art of sailing, lies not only in the innovative nature of many of the observations recorded in them – on

²⁰ Although the autograph manuscripts of the rutters are no longer extant, there is a good critical edition of these valuable writings of D. João de Castro, prepared by Armando Cortesão and Luís de Albuquerque on the basis of manuscript copies kept in several Portuguese and foreign libraries. See Castro 1968-1981b.

²¹ See Castro 1968-1981c.

²² Some passages of the «Roteiro de Goa a Diu» suggest that there was another rutter of the coast of India (from Goa to Cochín), but to date no manuscript has been located. Cf. Cortesão & Mota 1988, I: 135.

²³ See Castro 1968-1981d. Regarding the context of this expedition, see Coates 1993.

²⁴ See Albuquerque 1988; and also Loureiro 2013.

²⁵ Letter to D. João III (Goa, 25-10-1541), in Rego 1960-1977, VIII: 543: «pera sondar barras e debuxar».

²⁶ See Cortesão 1935, II: 170-177.

terrestrial magnetism, on atmospheric phenomena, on techniques to determine the latitude –, but also in the openly experiential attitude of its author, who deliberately and systematically tries to find answers to practical and theoretical problems of the nautical science of his times.²⁷ The largest sections of all the rutters, moreover, are dedicated to recording daily observations and procedures related to navigation: directions, currents, winds, weather conditions, navigational signs, latitudes, geographical accidents, natural phenomena, etc.

D. João de Castro wrote at least three other works, of which unfortunately no original manuscript or copy has yet been located:

- A «Roteiro de Goa a Cochim» ('Rutter from Goa to Cochin'), which is mentioned in one of the other three rutters, and which would have been written in 1539.²⁸
- A treatise about the «cosmografia das terras que jasem entre ho eufrates e o gange» ('cosmography of the lands between the Euphrates and the Ganges'), which he himself claims to have started around 1539.²⁹
- A treatise on the fortresses of India, which is attributed to him in the biography composed by his grandson, D. Fernando de Castro, in the late sixteenth century.³⁰

A careful analysis of the three rutters written between 1538 and 1541 reveals D. João de Castro as:

- An attentive observer of the human and natural world that surrounded him, and which he sought to describe accurately, often using illustrative drawings;
- A man concerned with the resolution of practical and theoretical sailing problems, trying with his contributions to advance the art of Portuguese navigation;
- An amateur antiquarian, interested in the material vestiges from the distant past;
- And also a curious, and sometimes critical, reader of the works of Antiquity, which he regularly confronted with the world around him.³¹

It is the latter question that is of interest in the present context, since the rutters do indeed contain multiple explicit and implicit references to classical authors and works.³² These references can be grouped basically in two distinct sets, but of unequal dimensions:

²⁷ Regarding these questions, see Cortesão & Albuquerque 1968-1981, IV: 175-208.

²⁸ Cortesão & Mota 1988, I: 135.

²⁹ Castro 1968-1981c, 91.

³⁰ Castro 1995, 132: «do livro que o visor-ei D. João deixou feito de sua letra, aonde estão as descrições de todas as fortalezas que temos na Índia» ('of the book that the Viceroy D. João de Castro left completed in his own hand, where one may find the descriptions of all the fortresses we [the Portuguese] have in India').

³¹ See the partial approach to the references to Antiquity in Castro's works in Deswarte-Rosa 1985.

³² For the sake of commodity, in the text I use the expressions «first rutter», «second rutter» and «third rutter» to refer to, respectively, the «Roteiro de Lisboa a Goa», the «Roteiro de Goa a Diu», and the «Roteiro do Mar Roxo».

on the one hand, the most restricted group, the writings of the Portuguese navigator contain mentions and implicit references to topics of classical culture; on the other hand, in the broader group of allusions, D. João de Castro quotes explicitly specific names and works, sometimes with precise textual references.

An example of the first group of references is found in the expressions «let the clarification of this in Apollo[’s hands]» or «the doubt will remain for Apollo [to solve]», which Castro uses in the first and second rutters when he cannot answer a concrete question, and which seems to refer to some of Virgil’s verses.³³ Another example is found in the phrase «fleeing from Scylla, ended up with Charybdis», applied in the first rutter to an objectionable decision taken by a certain pilot, and that finds its source in a line from Homer.³⁴ Still another example, taken from the second rutter, when referring to Indian sculptures, D. João de Castro considers them to be so polished and perfect «that they seem to stem from the hand of Phidias», a mention to the famous Greek sculptor Phidias, which was certainly taken from Pliny’s writings.³⁵ In the second rutter, there is mention of a certain anecdote involving «the architect Dinocrates», who appeared before the «great Alexander dressed in a lion’s skin»; it is the story of Dinocrates, taken from the work of Vitruvius, an author whom D. João de Castro knew well, as will be mentioned later.³⁶ And in another context, when describing a certain Indian temple in the second rutter, Castro praises its proportions, so perfect that «it would be very hard for a painter to copy, even if it was Apelles»; the source of this mention, once again, is Pliny.³⁷ Finally, in a certain section of the third rutter, there is an allusion to «Lucius Lucullus, noble citizen of Rome», a reference that could have originated in the writings of Plutarch.³⁸

All these references are made, so to speak, in passing, without any specific reference to the respective source, as if D. João de Castro shared with the reserved number of his readers a common cultural substratum. These ancient authors, in fact, would be standard reading in the circles connected to the Lusitanian court, whether directly from the originals or from manuscript collections of extracts, thus not needing any further explanation.

³³ Castro 1968-1981b, 154: «fique a detreminação disto a Apollo»; Castro 1968-1981c, 55: «a duuida fique [a] apollo». For this suggestion, see Castro 1843, p. 261. Regarding the reception of this classical author in Portugal, see Ureña Prieto 1986. As for Virgil’s references to Apollo, see Miller 2009, 95-184.

³⁴ Castro 1968-1981b, 238: «por fugir de Scila foi dar em Caribdes» (cf. Homer, *Od.* 12). The name of Homer is never mentioned by Castro. About the reception of Homer in fifteenth and sixteenth century Europe, see Palmer n.d.

³⁵ Castro 1968-1981c, 88: «que parece serem lauradas por mãos de fídia» (cf. Pliny, *NH* 36-4). Regarding the treatment of Phidias in the works of Pliny, see Isager 1991.

³⁶ Castro 1968-1981c, 13: «Zenocrate architeto», «grande alexandre vestido em huma pele leonina» (cf. Vitruvius, 2.pref). About this specific episode, see McEwen 2003, 95-112. On the relations of Castro with this author, see Moreira 1995.

³⁷ Castro 1968-1981c, 61: «seria muito poder guardar hum pintor inda que fosse apeles» (Pliny, *NH* 35-36). Regarding Pliny’s references to the famous Greek painter, see Gutzwiller 2009.

³⁸ Castro 1968-1981d, 183: «Lucio Luculo, nobre cidadaom de Roma» (cf. Plutarch, *Lucullus*). The name of Plutarch is never mentioned by Castro, but he certainly knew the *Parallel Lives*, maybe in a Spanish edition; on these editions, see Tarrío 2015. About Plutarch, see Beck 2014.

* * *

But D. João de Castro's three rutters contain a broad set of explicit references to some of these, as well as to others, authors of Antiquity, that will be worth analyzing in more detail. Let us look and analyze a summary table of all the quotations:³⁹

Authors	R1	R2	R3	Total
Archimedes			1	1
Aristotle	2		1	3
Diodorus Siculus			1	1
Euclid			1	1
Hipparchus			1	1
Marinus of Tyre			1	1
Pliny	10	1	9	20
Pomponius Mela	2		4	6
Ptolemy	18		39	57
Strabo			6	6
Vitruvius		2	1	3
Total	30	3	65	

Several ancient authors deserve a single mention in the three rutters. Three of them are mentioned in the same passage of the third rutter, in which Castro criticizes the lack of theoretical knowledge of the Portuguese sailors, as opposed to the «antiguos» ('ancients'), who in addition to inquiring the secrets of nature also wrote about them. In this passage, he alludes to the «astrology of Hipparchus», to the «extensive mechanics of Archimedes», and to «Euclid's geometry».⁴⁰ These quotations, however generic, would certainly be based on second-hand readings, the authors' knowledge of these classic authors stemming from a close reading of the *Tratado da Sphaera* by Pedro Nunes and from the lessons of the Portuguese cosmographer that Castro had had the opportunity to attend.⁴¹ Diodorus Siculus is also mentioned only once in the third rutter, again in a passage that includes references to several authors that in this specific instance would have dealt with the problem of the sources of the Nile River. But the mention of D. João de Castro seems to have been taken from Pliny.⁴² As to the quotation of Marinus of Tyre,

³⁹ R1: Castro 1968-1981b; R2: Castro 1968-1981c; R3: Castro 1968-1981d.

⁴⁰ Castro 1968-1981d, 181-182: «estrológia de Hiparco», «macânica tam abundosa de Archimedes», «geometria de Euclides».

⁴¹ Cf. Nunes 2002, 1-184. Concerning the authors read by Pedro Nunes, see Leitão 2002a.

⁴² Castro 1968-1981d, 236 (cf. Pliny, *NH* 5.10). About Diodorus Siculus, see Sacks 1990.

which appears in the first rutter, in a passage concerning Cape Guardafui, it is also second-hand, the evident source being Ptolemy, as the Portuguese navigator himself suggests, when he writes about «the navigation that Diogenes made in 25 days, where Ptolemy harshly reprimands Marinus».⁴³ It seems certain, therefore, that none of these authors, who are quoted only once, will have been read first hand by D. João de Castro.

Aristotle and Vitruvius are mentioned three times each in the rutters of D. João de Castro. The Greek philosopher is summoned on a marginal note of the first rutter, concerning a night gale, where it is stated that «this strong wind is called by Aristotle, in the book of the heavens and the world, *procela*». The quotation, once again, could be indirect, perhaps originating in Pliny's writings.⁴⁴ Immediately after, in the same rutter, and also on a marginal note, the Stagirite is again mentioned in a general way, as «Aristotle in the Meteorology», this time in connection with the phenomenon known as St. Elmo's fire, which is carefully described. Again, this is possibly an indirect quotation, or even a pseudo-quotation.⁴⁵ It should be noted that in both cases these are notes in the margins of the text of the first rutter, which may or may not be the responsibility of Castro. Finally, there is a third generic reference, this time to the «ability of Aristotle», which appears in a passage already mentioned above, where several authors are quoted to criticize Portuguese seamen.⁴⁶ These indications lead one to suppose that the work of Aristotle dedicated to meteorological phenomena would also not be known in first hand by the celebrated Portuguese navigator.

The case of Vitruvius seems to be distinct, as it has already been demonstrated.⁴⁷ D. João de Castro was well acquainted with the treatise of the Roman architect, whom he explicitly quotes three times in his rutters. In the opening pages of the second rutter, he explicitly mentions «Vitruvius», in a passage about the importance of the connection between theory and practice.⁴⁸ Later, in this same rutter, and with regard to a method of catching fish used by Indian fishermen, «Vitruvius» is mentioned.⁴⁹ Finally, «the architect Vitruvius» is mentioned again in the third rutter, in the aforementioned passage where several authorities are summoned to the discussion about the sources of the river

⁴³ Castro 1968-1981b, 259: «a navegação que Diogenes fez em 25 dias, em que Ptolomeo reprende muito a marino» (cf. Ptolemy, *Geog.* 1.9). It should be noted that the source of this reference could also have been Pedro Nunes, who translated and annotated the «Liuro primeiro da geographia de Ptolomeu» ('First book of the Geography of Ptolemy'), where Marinus is dealt with at length (cf. Nunes 2002, 69-104). On Marinus of Tyre, see Geus 2013. Regarding the search for the sources of the Nile, see Johnston 2011.

⁴⁴ Castro 1968-1981b, 192: «este pé de vento chama Aristóteles, no livro do céu e mundo, *procela*» (cf. Pliny, *NH* 2.42-50, which apparently is based on Aristotle, *Meteor.* 2.4 e 2.6). On Aristotle's theory of winds, see Wilson 2013, 196-207. It should be added that one of the lost texts of Pedro Nunes dealt precisely with the winds, and that the origin of D. João de Castro's reference could be in the contacts he had with the royal cosmographer; see Leitão 2002b.

⁴⁵ Castro 1968-1981b, 228: «aris. nos metauros» (cf. Pliny, *NH* 2.37). Apparently, there is no mention of this phenomenon in Aristotle's *Meteorologica*; cf. Aristotle 1952. On the interpretation of these natural occurrences by early modern observers, see Martin 2011.

⁴⁶ Castro 1968-1981d, 182: «abilidade de Aristhoteles».

⁴⁷ See Moreira 1995. On the contemporary diffusion of Vitruvius' work, see Rowland 2014.

⁴⁸ Castro 1968-1981c, 12 (cf. Vitruvius 1.1). In a Portuguese academic context, see the recent edition, Vitruvius 1998, 2-3.

⁴⁹ Castro 1968-1981c, 136.

Nile.⁵⁰ There are no more explicit references to the Roman architect in Castro's writings. However, the presence of the treaty of Vitruvius lurks in several descriptions included in the rutters, whenever there is question of old and monumental buildings.

This is the case of the detailed information included in the second rutter about the Hindu temple on the island of Elephanta, «which is built with such wonderful craftsmanship, that it does not appear to have been made by human hands»;⁵¹ and also about «a magnificent temple» located in the island of Salsette, composed of buildings «crafted in the Roman style».⁵² D. João de Castro was greatly interested in the antiquities of India, and «he submitted Vitruvius to a local critical reading, observing Indian art in the light of the Vitruvian gaze».⁵³ He would certainly have a copy of the *De architectura libri decem* in one of the several editions that came out of the European presses in the first three decades of the sixteenth century, perhaps the illustrated Latin edition that was published in Venice in 1511 by Friar Giovanni Giocondo.⁵⁴ Or maybe, who knows, he possessed a handwritten copy of the Portuguese translation known to have been made by Pedro Nunes, but which has not yet been located.⁵⁵

There remain four more names in the list of ancient authors quoted in the rutters of D. João de Castro: Strabo and Pomponius Mela, each with six mentions, and Pliny and Ptolemy, who collectively gather 77 quotations. The references to «Strabo from Cappadocia» are concentrated in the final part of the third rutter, where Castro tries to identify place-names from classical geography with the places of the Gulf of Suez visited or sighted by the Portuguese expedition that sailed the whole Red Sea.⁵⁶ It seems obvious that he would have had the text in front of him, for he writes at a certain point «the words of Strabo clearly announce it».⁵⁷ Which means that Castro could have had with him either a manuscript copy of the section of the *Geography* dealing with the Red Sea and the surrounding regions, or some Latin edition of Strabo's work, of the many that were published in Europe in the first decades of the sixteenth century.⁵⁸ As for the six mentions to Pomponius Mela, they always respect geographic details, about the location of Atlantic islands,⁵⁹ or about the regions bordering the Red Sea.⁶⁰ It is not entirely clear whether these are first-hand references. However, it is not impossible that D. João de Castro had

⁵⁰ Castro 1968-1981d, 236: «vetruuio arquiteto» (cf. Vitruvius 8.2).

⁵¹ Cf. Castro 1968-1981c, 61: «o qual he laurado de tam marauilhosa obra, que parese emposivel ser feita por mãos de vmanos». About Elephanta Island, which is located in the vicinity of Mombay, see Collins 1988.

⁵² Castro 1968-1981c, 68-69: «hum magnifico templo», «laurados dobra romana». Regarding the first Portuguese perceptions of Indian monumental architecture, see Biedermann 2013.

⁵³ Moreira 1995, 52: «submeteu Vitruvius a uma leitura crítica local, observando a arte indiana à luz do olhar vitruviano».

⁵⁴ Cf. Vitruvius 1511, available at archive.org [accessed 11-02-2107]. Concerning this specific edition, see Rowland 2011.

⁵⁵ About this translation, see Leitão 2002b.

⁵⁶ Castro 1968-1981d, 326-335: «Estrabam capadoçio» (Strabo, *Geo.* 16.4).

⁵⁷ Castro 1968-1981d, 335: «craramente o dizem as palavras de estrabam».

⁵⁸ He could have browsed, for instance, the edition Strabo 1502. Cf. Strabo 1930, 307-373 (16, 4). About Strabo, see Dueck 2000.

⁵⁹ Castro 1968-1981b, 132 and 141.

⁶⁰ Castro 1968-1981d, 236, 302-303, 305 and 309.

handled a copy of Mela's *Cosmographia*,⁶¹ a treatise which at the time was well known in Portugal, and which even had an edition in Spain in the final years of the fifteenth century.⁶²

In addition to these hypothetical readings of ancient texts, two authors and two works are clearly identified in D. João de Castro's writings, and which were surely part of his library. On the one hand the *Natural History* of Pliny, an author that is quoted 20 times in the three rutters. On the other hand, the *Geography* of Ptolemy, an author mentioned no less than 57 times in the three rutters. Throughout his extensive sea voyages, Castro is in permanent dialogue with both of these authors, quoting their works on a regular basis, often with precise mention of textual places, through references to specific books and chapters.

Gaius Plinius Secundus, a Roman military man and writer of the first century, was the author of a famous *Historia Naturalis*, a monumental work of an encyclopedic nature, compiled over many years. Organized in 37 books, Pliny's work sought to gather all the available information about the natural world in the various areas of knowledge. Rediscovered in the fifteenth century by the Italian humanists, the *Historia Naturalis* was first printed in Venice in the 1460s, and later enjoyed a lasting success with numerous editions throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Some of these editions were known and read in Portugal, and a Portuguese humanist, Martinho de Figueiredo, even published a commentary on the work in Lisbon in 1529.⁶³

The references and quotations are spread across the three rutters, reflecting an intimate acquaintance with Pliny's texts: alluding to the archipelago of the Canaries, «as can be seen in Pliny»;⁶⁴ about St. Elmo's fire, «this sign is mentioned by Pliny»;⁶⁵ about the tidal movements, «Pliny was right»;⁶⁶ concerning the river Nile, «as can be read in Pliny»;⁶⁷ and so on. But, it should be noted, Castro's position is not always concordant, for he sometimes calls into question the teachings of the Roman naturalist, as when he writes at a given moment, in reference to the lunar halo, «it seemed clear that Pliny was wrong».⁶⁸ Of course, Pliny's encyclopedia, or a part of it, would be a must-read for any traveler curious about the geography of the extra-European worlds, as was the case with D. João de Castro. And the Portuguese navigator almost certainly possessed a copy of the *Naturalis Historia*, in one of the several Italian editions published in the early decades of the sixteenth century.

⁶¹ See, on this context, Carvalho 1974.

⁶² Cf. Mela 1498, available at <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor/cosmographia-sive-de-situ-orbis--0/html/> [accessed 11-02-2017]. About this edition, see Carrizo Gómez 2013. Concerning Mela, see Romer 1998.

⁶³ Figueiredo 1529. About this booklet, see Tarrío 2007. See also, on the circulation of Pliny's work in Portugal, Leitão 2007; and Barreto 2007.

⁶⁴ Castro 1968-1981c, 132: «como se parece em Plinio».

⁶⁵ Castro 1968-1981b, 228: «Deste sinal falla Plinio».

⁶⁶ Castro 1968-1981c, 160: «teue rasam plinio».

⁶⁷ Castro 1968-1981d, 236: «como se lee em plinio».

⁶⁸ Castro 1968-1981b, 185: «pareçia claro enganarse Plinio».

Finally, the most frequently quoted and commented author in D. João de Castro's rutters is, undoubtedly, Ptolemy. The Alexandrian geographer of the 1st and 2nd centuries prepared several treatises related to cosmographic, geographical and mathematical themes, but his *Geography*, which systematized the geographical knowledge of the Greco-Latin world, was the most influential of all. Rediscovered in Europe during the fifteenth century, the Ptolemaic *Geography* underwent numerous editions, in diversified formats, both in the second half of this century and in the sixteenth century.⁶⁹ Despite the extraordinary enlargement of Europe's geographical horizons in the early modern period, as a result of the great Iberian voyages of discovery, Ptolemy's work retained its authority as a founding reference, serving as a working tool for many European scholars. From one edition to the next, Ptolemy's work was being complemented by its successive editors with new comments and updated tables.⁷⁰

Pedro Nunes had included as an appendix to his edition of the *Tratado da Sphera* a translation of the «Liuro primeiro da geographia de Ptolomeu» ('First book of the geography of Ptolemy'),⁷¹ which D. João de Castro certainly knew. But his notes are much broader, and Ptolemy is permanently present throughout the first and third rutters. Sometimes the references are mere conventional quotations, in which the name of the Alexandrian is invoked alongside other authors, as when Castro refers to one of the Atlantic archipelagos and adds «as can be seen in Ptolemy, Pliny and Pomponius Mela»,⁷² or when he alludes to the port of Toro and comments «as we can see in the writings of Ptolemy, Strabo, and other authors».⁷³

But the absolute majority of the mentions to Ptolemy refer to the most accurate identification and location of places visited or sighted by Castro in his navigations. The Portuguese navigator is always attentive to the place-names and the coordinates transmitted by the Alexandrian geographer: «Ptolemy clearly shows us» or «as we can see in Ptolemy».⁷⁴ And there is a permanent concern to associate modern place-names with those that are referred in the *Geography*. Meanwhile, Castro does not hesitate to correct the geographer when he deems it necessary: thus, when referring to the Atlantic archipelagos, he proclaims «in this part we should not follow Ptolemy».⁷⁵ An important detail, D. João de Castro repeatedly quotes Ptolemy's maps, showing that he had at hand a copy of the *Geography*: «Ptolemy's map 3 of Africa»;⁷⁶ «in the chart included in Ptolemy's maps»;⁷⁷ «according to Ptolemy's map 6 of Asia».⁷⁸ Ptolemy is the most important literary reference of D. João de Castro, the author that he quotes more

⁶⁹ On the rediscovery of Ptolemy in Europe, see Gautier-Dalché 2007. About Ptolemy, see also Berggren & Jones 2000.

⁷⁰ For an introduction to the Ptolemaic maps, see Berggren 2002.

⁷¹ Nunes 2002, 69-104. On the relations of Nunes with the work of Ptolemy, see Gaspar 2013.

⁷² Castro 1968-1981b, 132: «como parece em Ptolomeu, Plinio, Pomponio mella».

⁷³ Castro 1968-1981d, 326: «como podemos ver na escriptura de tholomeo, estrabam e outros autores».

⁷⁴ Castro 1968-1981d, 335 and 337: «tolomeo manifestamente nos amostra», «como podemos ver em ptolomeo».

⁷⁵ Castro 1968-1981b, 142: «nesta parte não devemos estar por Ptolomeo».

⁷⁶ Castro 1968-1981b, 142: «Ptolomeo tauoa 3 de Africa».

⁷⁷ Castro 1968-1981b, 252: «na carta que tem as tauoas de Ptolomeo».

⁷⁸ Castro 1968-1981d, 199: «segundo parece em tholomeo, tauoa 6ª de asia».

frequently, and also the one he is permanently questioning, always present at his working table, and whom he describes as the «prince of cosmographers».⁷⁹ The library of the celebrated Portuguese navigator certainly included a copy of the *Geography*, an edition that is difficult to identify.⁸⁰

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In the large group of extant manuscript letters written by D. João de Castro there are not many more references to classical writings.⁸¹ There is only an allusion to Flavius Josephus in a letter written to King D. João III at the end of 1541, with an extensive report on the expedition to the «Straits of Mecca».⁸² Castro had written in the prologue to his third rutter, upon embarking in Goa at the end of 1540 on the expedition to Suez, that he was determined to unveil all the secrets of the Red Sea, for he understood that «nothing was more obscured and confused in the minds of men and in the scriptures of the ancients, than the cosmography of this sea and land».⁸³ For this reason, the account of this journey presents a greater density of scholarly quotations, since it was a true project of historical and geographical investigation. And so, apart from the works of ancient geographers and naturalists such as Ptolemy or Pliny, nothing more natural than to be accompanied by a copy of the *Jewish Antiquities*, written by the politician and historiographer of the first century. The work had been repeatedly published in Europe since the final years of the fifteenth century, and probably Castro had with him a copy of one of these editions.⁸⁴

In view of the literary references that can be ascertained in the three rutters, and also in the correspondence of D. João de Castro, the extent of his readings of ancient authors should be reevaluated. In fact, the Portuguese navigator traveled with a small library, composed at best by half a dozen books. His readings during the period of formation, of course, would be broader, but in the rutters of the long sea voyages that he accomplished between 1538 and 1541 one can only detect with certainty the use of two books: the *Geography* of Ptolemy and Pliny's *Natural History*. A third book was probably also in his possession, the treatise on *Architecture* by Vitruvius. And two other treatises could also be part of his portable library, the *Cosmography* of Pomponius Mela and Strabo's *Geography*. Finally, the *Antiquities* of Josephus complemented this restricted group of

⁷⁹ Castro 1968-1981d, 305: «primcipe dos cosmografos».

⁸⁰ For a list of some of the editions of Ptolemy available before 1539, see Leitão & Martins 2004, 367-372.

⁸¹ Documents originating from Hormuz in 1546 mention that Castro had ordered «hum liuro [...] dos feitos d'Alixandre e doutros varoes elustres» ('a book of the deeds of Alexander and other illustrious men'), probably a translation of Persian manuscripts (Letter to Bastião Lopes Lobato [Hormuz, 03-02-1546], in Cortesão & Albuquerque 1968-1981, IV: 25). Castro was extremely interested in the figure of Alexander the Great, who was mentioned twice in his rutters (Castro 1968-1981b, 124; Castro 1968-1981c, 13). On the Portuguese interest in the history of Alexander, see Barletta 2010.

⁸² Letter to D. João III (Goa, ?-10-1541), in Cortesão & Albuquerque 1968-1981, III: 31-45: «ao estreito de Mequa» (quote on 31; reference to «Josefo» on 37).

⁸³ Castro 1968-1981d, 183: «nenhuma outra cousa estar mais escura e embaraçada nos emtendimentos dos homens e escrituras dos amtigos, que a cosmografia deste mar e terra».

⁸⁴ Concerning the Spanish editions, see Sem 1999. About Josephus, see Chapman & Rodgers 2016.

classic works that D. João de Castro used regularly. However, for a navigator interested in confronting the lesson of the classics with the observable and experienced geographical and natural reality, this small set of works brought together the essential names and works of the classical European tradition.

* * *

The three rutters would suffice to justify the deserved reputation enjoyed by D. João de Castro as a man of letters and science. But the last phase of his life consolidated his prestige as a man of arms. Indeed, returning to Portugal in 1542, for what he supposed was going to be a quiet retirement in the company of his wife and children, D. João III called him again for active service in the defense of the Portuguese coast and the Moroccan fortresses, which were then being gradually abandoned.⁸⁵ And in early 1545, apparently on the recommendation of Prince Luís, the Portuguese King appointed him as governor of the *Estado da Índia*. In September of that same year, Castro arrived in Goa for a period of government that was to be filled with military and diplomatic missions, which Portuguese chronicles and extant archival materials document in detail.⁸⁶

Especially noteworthy was the second siege of Diu, organized in 1546 by a Turkish and Gujarati confederation that was violently defeated at the end of that same year.⁸⁷ Contemporary sources unanimously emphasize the scrupulous honesty with which the new governor served his office, the strict principles of justice that guided his actions, as well as the vast prestige that he was able to obtain for Portuguese arms among many Asian potentates. His celebrated entry into Goa in April 1547, after the victory of Diu, fits this latter context, as a true reconstruction of the triumphal processions of ancient Rome. The chronicler Gaspar Correia, who then resided in the capital of the *Estado da Índia*, left us a truly majestic portrait of the «strong Castro» which will be later hailed by Luís de Camões,⁸⁸ who in good Renaissance manner, permanently associated his name with both letters and arms.⁸⁹ The image would soon be replicated in the so-called *Livro de Lisuarte de Abreu*, a manuscript collection of depictions of the Portuguese fleets annually bound for India, together with portraits of the rulers of the *Estado da Índia*, drawn by an anonymous author, which may have been the same Gaspar Correia.⁹⁰

The following year would be marked by successive military campaigns on the west coast of India, especially against Bijapur and against Cambay. But D. João de Castro's career was drawing to an end. As he bitterly wrote to King D. João III shortly before, «the hardships of India» had «spent his body», «the care and grief over so many wild things» had «crushed his bones», and «men's bad living» had «damaged his soul». The governor was to die in Goa on June 6, 1548, after prolonged illness, curiously enough, a few days

⁸⁵ Regarding this topic, see Fontoura 1998.

⁸⁶ Among other studies, see Albuquerque 1989.

⁸⁷ On this military episode, see Jesus 2012.

⁸⁸ Camões 1572, 3 (1-14).

⁸⁹ Correia 1975, IV: 430-431. About this portrait, see Jordan-Gschwend 1995.

⁹⁰ See Albuquerque & Esteves 1992.

after receiving from Portugal his new appointment as viceroy of India for a period of three years.⁹¹

⁹¹ It will be worth mentioning that there are other possible connections between D. João de Castro and the ancient world: on one hand, his triumphal entry in Goa, following the siege of Diu, with a staging filled with symbolic elements inspired in classical themes; on the other hand, the care with which he undertook the preservation of the memory of his predecessors at the head of the *Estado da Índia*, with the setting of a gallery of portraits of 'illustrious men', with clear classical reminiscences. On these questions, see Quina 1995; and also, more recently, Martins 2013.

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Investigaciones arqueológicas en Tell el-Far'a (Palestina).
Informe preliminar de la tercera campaña (2019): excavación,
prospección, toponimia y restauración

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Abstract

Tell el-Far'a, situated some 11 km northeast of the West Bank city of Nablus, on the central mountains of Palestine, was identified in 1931, by the north American orientalist William Albright, as the ancient city of Tirzah. Nowadays, this hypothetical identification became dominant. Fifteen years later, beginning in 1946, the *École biblique et archéologique française*, of Jerusalem, under the supervision of the Dominican father Roland de Vaux, undertook nine archaeological seasons at Tell el-Far'a. The work, conducted by the French team, has led to identification of seven major periods, from Pre-Pottery Neolithic to Iron Age.

After a long period of archaeological inactivity, since 1961, Tell el-Far'a has become again the centre of a research project, coordinated by an international team with University of A Coruña, NOVA University, Lisbon, the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities, Palestine, through the Department of Antiquities and Cultural Heritage.

In 2017 and 2018, the two first campaigns took place and in October 2019 the third season had the following objectives: studying architecture, material culture and absolute dating concerning Iron Age;

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surveying the wadi el-Far'a and surrounding areas in order to understand the regional settlements and the political and economic influence of ancient Tell el-Far'a between the Chalcolithic and Iron Age; study of toponymy of Tell el-Far'a and its region; and restoration and valorisation of an Iron Age house excavated by the *École biblique* team in 1951.

Keywords: Palestine, Iron Age, Absolute datation, Archaeological survey, Places names, Restauration.

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Tell el-Far'a, situado a 11 km al noreste de la ciudad cisjordana de Nablus (fig. 1), en las montañas centrales de Palestina, fue interpretado en 1931 por el orientalista estadounidense William Albright como la sede de la ciudad bíblica de Tirsá¹. En la actualidad, esta identificación hipotética se ha impuesto en la historiografía y no ha sido rebatida. Quince años más tarde, a partir de 1946, la *École biblique et archéologique française* de Jerusalén (Ebafr), bajo la dirección del padre dominico Roland de Vaux, llevó a cabo nueve campañas de excavación en Tell el-Far'a². Los trabajos realizados por el equipo francés permitieron documentar una larga secuencia histórica formada por siete grandes períodos, que van del Neolítico Precerámico a la Edad del Hierro.

Tras un largo período de olvido desde 1961, por parte de la arqueología, este yacimiento arqueológico vuelve a ser el centro de un nuevo proyecto de investigación, en este caso coordinado por un equipo internacional en el que participan la Universidade da Coruña,

¹ Albright 1931.

² De Vaux 1956 y 1976. Véase también los informes de cada campaña publicados en la *Revue Biblique* entre los años 1947 y 1961.

la Universidade NOVA de Lisboa y el Ministerio de Turismo y de Antigüedades de Palestina, a través del Departamento de Antigüedades y Patrimonio Cultural.

En 2017 y 2018, se llevaron a cabo las dos primeras campañas de campo por el equipo internacional del nuevo proyecto³. En octubre de 2019 tuvo lugar la tercera campaña con los siguientes objetivos⁴:

- Excavación centrada en el estudio de la arquitectura, de la cultura material y de la datación absoluta en la Edad del Hierro.
- Prospección en wadi el-Far'a y en sus alrededores para conocer el poblamiento regional y poder reconstruir el área de influencia política y económica de los antiguos habitantes de Tell el-Far'a entre el período Calcolítico y la Edad del Hierro.
- Toponimia de Tell el-Far'a y su región.
- Restauración y valorización de una vivienda de la Edad del Hierro excavada en 1951 por el equipo de la *École biblique*.

1. La excavación arqueológica

En esta campaña el trabajo de excavación se concentró en el sector occidental del tell (fig. 2), donde se amplió el sondeo A (abierto en 2017) transformándolo en un área de trabajo, que quedó organizada de la siguiente manera: sondeo A (6 x 5 m), sondeo A1 (7.30 x 5 m), sondeo A2 (3 x 5 m) y sondeo A3, al sur de los anteriores (9.70 x 4 m). Los trabajos de campo entre 2017 y 2019 en los sondeos A, A1, A2 y A3 han permitido identificar las siguientes unidades constructivas (UC), que se corresponden con tres fases cronológicas dentro de la Edad del Hierro (ss. X-VIII a.C.):

1.1. Fase TEF 1 (fig. 3).

UC.100: muro de grandes piedras. Largo conservado: 4.60 m; ancho: 0.60 m.

UC.101: muro de grandes piedras paralelo a UC.100. Largo conservado: 2.30 m; ancho: 0.50 m.

UC.102: pavimento de piedras planas. Largo conservado: 3.00 m; ancho: 2.10 m.

³ Montero Fenollós, Caramelo, Yasin y Dias 2019; Montero Fenollós, Caramelo, Yasin, Dias y Sanjurjo 2020 (en prensa).

⁴ Esta campaña arqueológica, que se desarrolló entre los días 8 y 26 de octubre, fue financiada por la Fundación Palarq, el CHAM-Centro de Humanidades (Universidade NOVA de Lisboa), el grupo de investigación CulXeo (Universidade da Coruña), y la AECID (Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Unión Europea y Cooperación de España) a través del programa formativo Acerca. Manifestamos nuestro agradecimiento a todas estas entidades. De igual manera, el proyecto desea expresar su gratitud a la municipalidad de Wadi el-Far'a, al Centro Deportivo y de la Juventud de Far'a y al Instituto de Estudios Bíblicos y Arqueológicos (Casa de Santiago) de Jerusalén, por su apoyo y colaboración durante la campaña. El equipo de trabajo estuvo formado por: Juan Luis Montero, Francisco Caramelo, Fátima Rosa, Beatriz Freitas, João Gonçalves Araújo, José Pardo, José Gabriel Gómez, Ingrid Bejarano, Blanca Sicilia, Sufyan Dias, Bassam Helmi, Meher Hassan, Dua'a Badawi, Niveen Abdo, Haneen Hijab y Seema Shaban.

UC.109: pavimento de piedras planas de diversos tamaños. Largo: 10 m; ancho: 2.50 m.

UC.110: pavimento de piedras planas con enlucido de yeso conservado en algunas zonas. Largo: 10 m; ancho: 2.50 m aprox. Estaba situado inmediatamente debajo de UC.109.

1.2. Fase TEF 2 (fig. 4).

UC.108: muro de mampostería formado por grandes piedras en el exterior y pequeñas en el interior. Se conserva una sola hilada. Largo: 7.50 m; ancho: 0.80 m; altura conservada: 0.20-0.30 m. Este muro se prolonga hacia el sur 1.95 m.

UC.115: fragmento de muro formado por grandes piedras en la cara exterior y pequeñas la interior; similar a UC.108. Ancho: 0.80 m.

UC.121: muro de piedra formado por piedras pequeñas en el interior y más grandes en el exterior. Está adosado a UC.105. Largo: 3 m, ancho: 0.80 m; altura conservada: 0.40 m.

UC.124: muro de piedras de pequeño tamaño en el interior y de mayor tamaño en las caras exteriores. Longitud excavada: 1.90 m; ancho: 0.98 m. Altura excavada: 45 cm.

UC.125: Murete de piedras de gran tamaño, adosado a UC.113. Longitud: 1.50 m; ancho: 0.40 m, y altura conservada: 0.39 m.

UC.126: muro de piedra, que se adentra en el perfil sur del sondeo. Largo excavado: 2.60 m; altura excavada: 0.40 cm. Probablemente hace ángulo recto con el muro UC.108.

1.3. Fase TEF 3 (fig. 4)

UC.103: muro de piedras a tizón, que conserva tres hiladas. Largo: 6.70 m; ancho: 0.35 m; altura conservada: 0.55 m.

UC.104: pavimento de piedras. Largo excavado: 2.10 m; ancho: 1.90 m.

UC.105: muro con tres pilares de piedra paralelo a UC.103.

UC.106: muro de piedras, que conserva dos hiladas. Hace ángulo recto con UC.103 y UC.105. Largo: 2.00 m.

UC.107: muro de piedras, que conserva la última hilada. Largo excavado: 4.20 m; ancho: 0.35 m.

UC.111: muro de piedras de mediano tamaño sin tallar y dispuestas de forma transversal (a tizón o perpiaños). Unidas con barro y con pequeñas piedras en los huecos a modo de cuñas. Largo: 6.35 m; ancho: 0.45-0.35 m; altura conservada (4 hiladas): 0.90-0.75 m.

UC.112: muro de idénticas características que UC.111, con el que hace ángulo recto. Largo: 8.90 m; ancho: 0.42-0.38 m; altura conservada: 0.60-0.50 m. Tiene una puerta de 1.25 m de ancho que da a la calle UC.118.

UC.113: muro de piedra construido con dos técnicas: una sola hilera de piedras con disposición transversal (a tizón) y dos hileras de piedras medianas con relleno interior de otras más pequeñas. Largo: 8.60 m; ancho: 0.40-0.45 m.

UC.114: pavimento de piedras planas de diverso tamaño. Largo: 2,10 m; ancho excavado: 2 m.

UC.116: restos de dos *tannurs* (hornos de pan) de adobe y cerámica parcialmente conservados. Diámetro: 0.50 m. Altura conservada: 0.17-0.33 m.

UC.117: fragmento de un muro de piedra mal conservado. Hace ángulo con UC.107. Largo: 0.58 m; ancho: 0.40 m; altura conservada: 0.30 m.

UC.118: calle de tierra con pequeñas piedras. Largo excavado: 10.60 m; ancho: 1.90-1.83 m.

UC.119: pavimento de piedras de diversos tamaños. Largo: 3.60 m; ancho: 2.00 m.

UC.120: muro de piedras de mediano tamaño sin tallar y dispuestas de forma transversal (a tizón). Unidas con barro y con pequeñas piedras en los huecos a modo de cuñas. Largo: 5.70 m; ancho: 0.40-0.45 m; altura conservada: 0.73 m. Tiene una puerta de 72 cm de ancho en la que se conservaba *in situ* el quicio.

UC.122: fragmento de *tannur* de cerámica sobre un círculo de pequeñas piedras. Está situado en el exterior del muro UC.103 y está cortado por el muro UC.108.

UC.123: restos de un *tannur* situado en el centro de la sala 1 y construido sobre un círculo de pequeñas piedras. Diámetro: 0.70 m.

UC.127: suelo de tierra endurecida delimitado por los muros UC.112, 120, 113 y 105. Largo: 5.60 m; ancho: 3.30 m.

Todas las UC de la fase TEF 3 conforman una unidad de hábitat, a la que hemos denominado “Casa A” (fig. 5 y 6). Se trata de un edificio de planta rectangular (6.70 x 8.90 m), de 52 m², que estaba organizado en cuatro espacios:

- La sala nº 1 (5.60 x 3.30 m) o sala central, contaba con una puerta con acceso a la calle. El suelo es de tierra endurecida y tiene un *tannur* en el centro. Entre los materiales cerámicos, destaca la presencia de una olla de cocina, hallada *in situ* y situada sobre una cama de pequeñas piedras en el ángulo noroeste de la sala; de una lámpara de aceite; y de un pequeño colador/filtro, entre otros objetos (fig. 7).
- La sala nº 2 (5.70 x 2 m) contaba con un pavimento de piedras planas en el sector septentrional, mientras que el resto era de tierra endurecida. A la sala se accedía por una puerta, que conservaba *in situ*, en la jamba izquierda, un quicio de piedra (con un hueco circular de 10 cm diámetro) para soportar el eje de la puerta. Se trata, por tanto, de una sala provista de una puerta de madera para cerrar su acceso. Entre la sala 1 y 2 había un desnivel o escalón de 20 cm.
- La sala nº 3 (3.43 x 1.90 m) tenía un pavimento de piedras planas y poseía, como elemento de separación con respecto a la sala 1, dos muretes construidos entre

dos pilares de piedra de los que se conserva su base, de forma irregular (de 55 x 40 cm)⁵. Entre ambos había una puerta de 72 cm.

- La sala nº 4 (2.10 x 1.90 m) estaba pavimentada con piedras y contaba con un pilar, que aún conservaba tres piedras en altura, de una dimensión de 55 cm. Este pilar tenía a su izquierda un muro de cierre y a su derecha una puerta de 80 cm de ancho que se abría a la sala 1.

2. La datación absoluta

Uno de los objetivos de la campaña era definir una nueva secuencia estratigráfica y una cronología absoluta de la ocupación correspondiente a la Edad del Hierro en Tell el-Far'a. Las únicas dataciones absolutas obtenidas por radiocarbono hasta la fecha para el yacimiento han sido las realizadas por el nuevo proyecto⁶.

En la campaña de 2018, se dataron 3 muestras por radiocarbono AMS de carbones recuperados sobre el pavimento de piedra UC.114, perteneciente a la fase TEF 3 (fase VIIb de Chambon)⁷. En la campaña de 2019, se tomaron otras 3 muestras de carbones que se dataron por el mismo procedimiento y laboratorio⁸. Los resultados de estas dataciones con las calibraciones individuales correspondientes e intervalos de confianza 1 σ y 2 σ están recogidos en la tabla 1. Las calibraciones de las campañas de 2018 y 2019 fueron obtenidas usando la curva de Reimer *et al.* (2013) utilizando Oxcal⁹.

Muestra	Campaña	Lab Code	Edad ¹⁴ C	Calib 1 σ BCE	Calib 2 σ BCE
M6	2018	18C/1267	2840±30	990±54	1013±96
Como rango				1043-936	1108-917
M5	2018	18C/1266	2780±30	938±42	924±80
Como rango				980-896	1004-844
M4	2018	18C/1265	2910±30	1117±72	1110±99
Como rango				1188-1045	1209-1011
M9/19	2019	19C/1201	3420±30	1710±44	1754±118
Como rango				1754-1666	1871-1636
M12/19	2019	19C/1202	2790±30	948±44	934±78
Como rango				992-904	1011-856

⁵ Este tipo de salas cerradas mediante pilares con muros entre ellos son frecuentes en las construcciones del nivel VIIb de Tell el-Far'a. Véase Chambon 1984, 158-159.

⁶ Montero Fenollós, Caramelo, Yasin, Dias, Sanjurjo 2020 (en prensa).

⁷ Véase la tabla 3.

⁸ Las muestras fueron enviadas a ICA (*International Chemical Analysis Inc.*) para su datación.

⁹ Bronk Ramsey y Lee 2013, 720-730.

M8/19	2019	19C/1203	2850±30	996±55	1019±92
Como rango				1051-941	1111-927

Tabla 1. Resultados de las dataciones AMS de carbones obtenidas en Tell el-Far'a en las campañas 2018 y 2019.

Con la excepción de las muestras M4/2018 y M9/2019, todas proporcionan edades coherentes con el período Hierro IIA, que se corresponde cronológicamente con el siglo X a.C. Si se calibran las edades individualmente y se calcula la media ponderada de estas, se obtiene una edad promedio de 982±23 BCE considerando el intervalo de confianza 1σ , es decir, el 68% de las observaciones. Esta edad promedio corresponde al rango de edades 1004-959 BCE., es decir, primera mitad del siglo X BCE. Dado que el radiocarbono en carbones proporciona una gran precisión, aunque puede proporcionar edades inexactas al asociarse a un material como la madera carbonizada que puede ser anterior a la ocupación, se debe utilizar el intervalo 2σ para mayor seguridad. En este caso, la edad obtenida es de 995±39 BCE, una edad casi idéntica, pero con un error mayor. Esta edad corresponde al rango 1034-955 BCE, esto es, entre la segunda mitad del siglo XI y la primera del X BCE.

Entre las edades usadas para este cálculo, una de ellas (M4/2018) es ligeramente más antigua que las demás, aunque estadísticamente no se puede considerar anterior. Dada la naturaleza del material datado, podría ser madera más antigua. Aunque no se puede considerar como una edad anómala o un *outlier*, por el escaso número de muestras datadas, se ha excluido esta muestra para obtener una mayor precisión. De esta manera, se obtiene la edad promedio de 963±24 BCE para el intervalo 1σ y de 968±43 BCE para el intervalo 2σ . Esto equivale a los rangos 987-939 BCE y 1011-925 BCE, respectivamente. Es decir, sitúa la ocupación claramente en el siglo X BCE.

La muestra M9/2019 proporciona, por el contrario, una cronología diferente, al proporcionar el intervalo 1σ una edad de 1710±44 BCE y el 2σ de 1754±118 BCE. Esto equivale a un rango de 1754-1666 y de 1871-1636 respectivamente que, por tanto, se correspondería con el Bronce Medio II (fase V de Tell el-Far'a)¹⁰.

Intervalo	Calib 1σ BCE	Calib 2σ BCE
Media ponderada	982±23	995±39
Rango	1004-959	1034-955
Media ponderada excluyendo M4/2018	963±24	968±43
Rango	987-939	1011-925

Tabla 2. Estimación de edad media a partir de edades calibradas.

¹⁰ Mallet 1988.

Si tenemos en cuenta la primera interpretación de la tabla 2 (media ponderada de las cinco muestras), los rangos de edad obtenidos (rango 2σ 1034-955 BCE) no son coherentes ni con las edades propuestas por Herzog y Singer-Avitz para la fase VIIb de Tell el-Far'a (ca. 900-840/830 a.C.)¹¹, ni por Finkelstein (ca. 870-segunda mitad del siglo IX a.C.)¹². En ambos casos, las fechas propuestas se basan en estudios comparativos de la cerámica de Tell el-Far'a con otros yacimientos de la región (en particular con Megiddo VA-IVB). Sí concuerda, sin embargo, con la cronología apuntada por Chambon (siglos (XI)-X a.C.)¹³, a pesar de que esta tampoco se fundamenta en métodos de datación absoluta. Finalmente, existe cierto solapamiento con el rango propuesto tanto por Herzog y Singer-Avitz como por Finkelstein para la fase VIIa de Tell el-Far'a que, sin embargo, Chambon data entre los siglos XII-XI a.C. (ver tabla 3).

Una comparativa de esta nueva cronología absoluta obtenida en Tell el-Far'a (campana de 2019) con las ya propuestas anteriormente¹⁴, en particular con la llamada *Low Chronology* de Finkelstein (estudiada en detalle por Gilboa y Sharon¹⁵), muestra la falta de coincidencia con las edades obtenidas para la fase VIIb (nuestra fase TEF 3). Mazar y Bronk Ramsey concluyeron que esta cronología baja era cuestionable y propusieron una revisión completa debido a la escasa duración de las fases¹⁶.

Fases Far'a	Chambon (1984)	Herzog y Singer-Avitz (2006)	Finkelstein (2012)	Más reciente (2018-2019)	Media ponderada (2018-2019)
VIIa	ss. XII-XI a.C.	950-900 a.C.	Segunda mitad del siglo X-inicios del siglo IX a.C.	-	
VIIb TEF 3	ss. (XI)-X a.C.	900-840/830 a.C.	870-segunda mitad del siglo IX a.C.	987-939	1004-959

Tabla 3. Intervalos cronológicos para las fases VIIa y VIIb de Tell el-Far'a, propuestos por diferentes autores y comparados con los datos obtenidos para la fase TEF 3 (1σ) por AMS (campanas de 2018 y 2019).

¹¹ Herzog y Singer-Avitz 2006.

¹² Finkelstein 2012, 334.

¹³ Chambon 1984, 12.

¹⁴ Finkelstein (1996) es considerado el arquitecto de la *Low Chronology*, mientras que Mazar (2005) es el principal defensor de la *High Chronology*.

¹⁵ Gilboa y Sharon 2001 y 2003.

¹⁶ Mazar y Bronk Ramsey 2008.

3. La prospección arqueológica

Con el objetivo de conocer la ocupación humana en la región de wadi el-Far'a y su posible conexión con el asentamiento de Tell el-Far'a, desde el Calcolítico a la Edad del Hierro, se está llevando a cabo una prospección arqueológica extensiva. Los trabajos realizados hasta la fecha han tenido como punto de partida los estudios previos realizados por exploradores de finales del siglo XIX¹⁷, los mapas del *Department of Lands and Surveys of Palestine*¹⁸, así como las investigaciones más recientes de dos equipos de arqueólogos israelíes¹⁹ y del proyecto Wadi el-Far'a, realizado bajo la cooperación de la Universidad de Birzeit y el *Calvin College* de Michigan²⁰. Los trabajos de esta campaña han permitido prospeccionar cuatro yacimientos situados al sur y al este de Tell el-Far'a.

3.1. El-'Unuq

Situación geográfica: ribera occidental.

Distancia a Tell el-Far'a: 5 km.

Dimensiones: 300 x 200 m.

Estado de conservación: aceptable. Actividades agrícolas.

Vestigios visibles: cercado perimetral en piedra de forma oval.

Materiales arqueológicos: cerámica muy erosionada.

Datación provisional: Hierro.

Prospección Zertal: yacimiento nº 160 (Hierro I y II). Propone que sea la bíblica Gilgal (citada en De 11, 30)²¹.

3.2. Tell Za'anun (o Za'inuni)

Situación geográfica: ribera occidental.

Distancia a Tell el-Far'a: 9,1 km.

Dimensiones: 500 x 300 m.

Estado de conservación: malo. Cultivos, cantera cercana y expolio de tumbas.

Vestigios visibles: prensa de aceite, necrópolis y muros.

Materiales arqueológicos: cerámica.

Datación provisional: Bronce Antiguo, Hierro y Bizantino.

¹⁷ Guérin 1874; Conder y Kitchener 1882.

¹⁸ Compiled, drawn and printed under the direction of F. J. Salmon, Commissioner for Lands and Surveys, Palestine, 1935.

¹⁹ Kochavi ed. 1972; Zertal 2008.

²⁰ Abdulfattah y De Vries 2005.

²¹ Zertal 2008, 434.

Prospección Zertal: yacimiento nº 183 (Neolítico, Calcolítico, Bronce Antiguo, Bronce Medio II, Hierro II y Bizantino). Distingue cuatro sectores: ciudad baja, ciudad alta, área de actividad industrial y cementerio²².

3.3. *Khirbet 'Ain Dabbur*

Situación geográfica: ribera occidental.

Distancia a Tell el-Far'a: 9 km.

Dimensiones: 500 x 200 m.

Estado de conservación: malo. Canteras cercanas y actividad agrícola.

Vestigios visibles: no hay restos apreciables.

Materiales arqueológicos: cerámica.

Datación provisional: Bronce Medio.

Prospección Zertal: yacimiento nº 184 (Bronce Medio II)²³.

3.4. *Khirbet 'Ainun*

Situación geográfica: en las estribaciones septentrionales de las montañas de Tammum, a 2.5 km de Tubas.

Distancia a Tell el-Far'a: 5.6 km.

Dimensiones: 350 x 250 m.

Estado de conservación: buena, excepto un sector afectado por la construcción de un depósito de agua.

Vestigios visibles: numerosas casas con muros de mampostería (fig. 8) y muralla.

Materiales arqueológicos: cerámica, vidrio y mosaico.

Datación provisional: Hierro, romano-bizantino.

Prospección Zertal: yacimiento nº 58 (Hierro I y II, Bizantino, Islámico y Medieval). Propone que sea la ubicación de la bíblica Tebes (citada en Ju 9, 50 y II Sam 11, 21) y descarta la identificación con Enón, nombrada en el Nuevo Testamento (Jn 3, 23)²⁴.

4. *Tell el-Far'a: estudios de toponimia del yacimiento y su contexto*

El estudio de la toponimia de Tell el-Far'a y su entorno se ubica en el contexto de una serie de investigaciones complementarias, que se están llevando a cabo en paralelo a los estudios específicos relacionados con los trabajos arqueológicos en el yacimiento. El

²² Zertal 2008, 477-478.

²³ Zertal 2008, 481-482.

²⁴ Zertal 2008, 108 y 220-221.

objetivo principal es el de contribuir, desde la filología, con una serie de estudios en los que se van a ir planteando diversos aspectos lingüísticos sobre los topónimos de la zona de este tell. Exponer, describir y analizar la problemática en torno a algunas incógnitas aún por resolver sobre el origen, el significado y la identificación de estos topónimos en el espacio geográfico, en una perspectiva lingüística, puede contribuir a la revisión de antiguas tesis e hipótesis y a la propuesta de nuevas vías de investigación no tenidas en cuenta anteriormente. En la actualidad los estudios de toponimia, basados en los estudios filológicos más tradicionales, se complementan con una visión más histórica y social, en la que tiene un papel importante no solamente el análisis del léxico, sino también del contexto en el que este aparece en las fuentes escritas. Ello ayuda a poder entender mejor la percepción que los lugares han tenido o tienen en su contexto espacial, pero también en el conceptual y, en ocasiones, en el simbólico.

En la campaña de 2019, después de una primera toma de contacto *in situ*, y de acuerdo con los directores del proyecto, se han establecido dos líneas de trabajo, complementarias entre sí, que consisten en recopilar la documentación escrita sobre el topónimo *al-Far'a* y otros estrechamente relacionados con este. Para ello se están revisando los estudios toponímicos descriptivos y críticos anteriores realizados por los investigadores del siglo pasado, cuyo interés en la toponimia estaba más bien orientado a conseguir identificar los sitios de los yacimientos con localidades bíblicas. También se están recopilando las escasas referencias que de ciertos topónimos de la zona aparecen en algunos artículos en lengua árabe, los cuales se abordan, como en los estudios europeos, desde una visión más histórica que filológica.

Desde el punto de vista metodológico filológico, el primer objetivo de la toponimia es analizar los nombres asignados a los lugares en una perspectiva lingüística: análisis lexicográfico, fonético, semántico, morfológico, etimológico, dialectológico y traductológico. Esta primera tarea tiene que ser rigurosamente objetiva y eminentemente descriptiva en su primera fase, en la que hay que atenerse a lo que la palabra escrita transmite textualmente. Más tarde podrá realizarse el estudio comparativo, interpretativo y crítico de los textos y relacionarlos también con otras disciplinas.

Resulta extraño el hecho de que en ninguno de los estudios de la toponimia de la zona el topónimo árabe *al-Far'a* haya sido objeto de la atención que se merece. Nadie parece haber tenido interés en rastrear el significado de este término más allá de su significado actual restringido al campo léxico geográfico como “lugar elevado”.

Para el estudio de este topónimo (y posteriormente de otros de la zona relacionados tradicionalmente con este) creemos que es necesario empezar por el rastreo de ciertas fuentes documentales medievales escritas en lengua árabe. Estas fuentes son las obras lexicográficas, las geográficas y las historiográficas, que pueden complementarse con las literarias y probablemente con las religiosas. El período histórico en el que se compusieron estas obras abarca los siglos VIII-XIV. Los datos extraídos para el estudio de la toponimia van a ser ordenados, procesados y contrastados para su posterior traducción y análisis interpretativo. La tarea de consulta y extracción de datos de este tipo de fuentes resulta ardua y lenta y, por varios motivos, requiere de tiempo y paciencia. Estas obras suelen ser de gran extensión y sus ediciones críticas carecen, la mayoría de las veces, de

buenos índices específicos. Asimismo, el árabe clásico en el que fueron escritas no siempre es fácil de interpretar, no tanto por la sintaxis sino por el léxico arcaizante y las referencias ilustrativas con la técnica de inclusión de glosas internas basadas en versos aislados pertenecientes a la poesía antigua, refranes, citas de otros autores, etc. En todo caso, gracias a los filólogos árabes y europeos, que en los siglos XIX y XX prepararon las ediciones críticas de estas obras escritas en árabe, hoy se dispone de unos textos que resultan ser una fuente de información muy valiosa.

El primer término en el que hemos focalizado nuestro interés es *far'a* y, siguiendo la metodología de estudio propuesta, se ha comenzado por la consulta de este vocablo en las fuentes lexicográficas con el fin de exponer su formación (morfemática), su significado (campo semántico), y las explicaciones y comentarios (glosas, antónimos, restricción de uso de los términos para un género concreto, ejemplos contextuales, etc.) que sobre este se registran. Para ello se ha empezado por la consulta en algunos de los grandes diccionarios de la lengua árabe, que han sido y son de avalada autoría y autoridad y que, tradicionalmente han sido utilizados, y lo siguen siendo, por parte de los especialistas en lengua árabe²⁵.

Los diccionarios árabes tradicionales registran el léxico por raíces, siguiendo el orden alfabético árabe, y a continuación van incluyendo las voces derivadas de esa raíz primigenia. Estas raíces, triliteras en su mayoría, están formadas por tres consonantes (a veces pueden contener alguna semiconsonante), que son las que, en teoría, contienen el significado o los significados principales. Partiendo de esta raíz trilitera, por el procedimiento de la derivación (variaciones de las estructuras morfemáticas, mediante el sistema de afijación) se crean, según unas reglas y estructuras gramaticales bastante rígidas, los demás términos, que la mayoría de las veces guardan un significado más o menos directo con la raíz originaria de la que proceden. Sin embargo, en muchas ocasiones, el léxico procedente de una raíz no es fácil de asociar a la primera acepción que esta registra y que normalmente es la de uso más extendido.

Far'a es la transliteración del término árabe *fāri'a* (فارية), que deriva de la raíz *fara'a* (فزع) o *fari'a* (فرع). La transliteración *far'a*, tal como aparece en el nombre actual del yacimiento, es una adaptación establecida por los europeos, posiblemente por la misión arqueológica francesa dirigida por Roland de Vaux, que refleja interferencias de la variedad dialectal del árabe oriental (palestino) en su pronunciación. Desde el punto de vista morfológico *fāri'a* (فارية), que aparece con el artículo *al-* (ال) en el topónimo, es un participio activo femenino singular de la forma I de una raíz trilitera. Los participios en árabe pueden sustituir en su uso a las formas correspondientes del presente de indicativo (imperfectivo) de los verbos. Ello nos llevaría a una primera traducción del término como “la que + el verbo en su conjugación en tercera persona (en este caso en femenino singular)”.

²⁵ al-Bustani 1944-1979, 685-686; Cherbonneau 1983, 854-855; Dozy 1881, II 256-257; Kazimirski 1860, II 578-580; Wehr 1977, 632.

A partir de una exhaustiva revisión de las entradas correspondientes a la raíz *fr'* (*fā'*, *rā'* y *'ayn*) en los compendios léxicos, se han seleccionado las principales acepciones de las distintas voces que derivan de esta raíz. Se ha optado por prescindir de la indicación del tipo morfológico de las voces árabes consultadas y solamente se ofrecen las traducciones literales de las distintas acepciones. El significado de la raíz *fr'* que aparece como primera voz (entrada) en la mayoría de los diccionarios es el de “dividir”, “clasificar”, “esparcir” y “formar ramificaciones”. Esta primera acepción es la más extendida y utilizada en el árabe clásico, en el árabe estándar y también en los dialectos árabes. La segunda acepción está relacionada con el significado de “subir”, “elevarse” “alzarse”, aunque su uso es mucho más reducido y queda prácticamente limitado al registro más culto de la lengua árabe. Por lo tanto, si nos atenemos a estos significados, la traducción de *al-fāri'a* (الفارعة) sería “la que se esparce (o la que tiene ramificaciones)” y “la que se eleva (o es alta)”. El significado que se atribuye al topónimo del yacimiento por parte de los habitantes de la zona es el de “lugar elevado” (= “la que se eleva” en femenino). Resulta curioso que el término aparezca en femenino, ya que registrado como “lugar que se eleva”, en su uso común, aunque restringido al léxico geográfico, se utiliza siempre en su correspondiente forma masculina: *al-fāri'(u)* (الفارع).

Del conjunto de los significados registrados de la raíz *fr'* en las fuentes consultadas se exponen aquí solamente los que se considera que guardan cierta relación con el topónimo *al-Fāri'a* y que además pueden resultar de interés para el posterior estudio de otros topónimos de la zona. Para ello se han establecido tres grupos principales de significados, teniendo en cuenta las acepciones de la raíz. Se trata de un primer intento de sistematización en el que los significados de las distintas voces se presentan siguiendo el criterio del orden en el que suelen aparecer en las obras lexicográficas hasta ahora consultadas.

a) Significados relacionados con el espacio: “subir a un monte o bajarlo”, “ladera de un montículo”, “subir a un lugar elevado”, “lugar elevado desde el que se otea bien el entorno”, “quemar un monte”, “llegar los primeros a un lugar”, “entre los sabios: se dice del lugar edificado por otros”, “barranco”, “alojarse en casa de alguien”, “lugar elevado que destaca por su belleza”, “lugar próspero y fértil”, “recorrer un país para explorar su terreno”, “lugar que tiene suficiente agua para abastecer a la gente”, “cumbre, cima lugar más elevado” “algo grande y elevado, de gran valor”, “tener abundantes ramas el árbol y también la tribu” “lugar con agua y vegetación” “lugar de enterramientos” y “hendidura en la montaña”.

b) Significados con matices sociales relacionados con costumbres y acciones del ser humano: “quemar una montaña”, “sacrificar una cría (hembra) de camella o de oveja para la fiesta”, “atacar y vencer a una tribu”, “casarse el hombre con una mujer importante”, “contraer matrimonio en un lugar elevado”, “pertenecer a una estirpe noble”, “soldados de la guardia real”, “consumar el matrimonio con una mujer después de haber celebrado la boda”, “tener la persona riqueza abundante disponible para gastar”, “objeto de precio elevado y de gran valor”, “contraer matrimonio con una de las mujeres principales de la tribu”, “tribu de las más importantes y nobles”, “sacrificar, inmolar”, “desflorar a una

mujer”, “parir la camella o la oveja sus primeras crías” y “hacer prisionero al jefe de una tribu”.

c) Significados relacionados con la mujer: “himen de la mujer de tribu noble”, “primera menstruación de una chica, que es la señal de su fertilidad”, “la que procede de estirpe noble”, “la que destaca sobre las demás”, “mujer espigada y alta”, “primera sangre que ve la mujer cuando va a dar a luz”, “cabellera abundante y larga de la mujer (que hace posible el peinado con bucles), “mujer que es excepcional (que impone) y hermosa, aplicable en raras ocasiones al hombre”, “mujer de gran belleza y virtudes bellas”, “la que es fértil”, “aquella que tiene dinero abundante y disponible para gastar”, “primera mujer de la tribu a la que el hombre elige para contraer matrimonio”, “ser casada la mujer ilustre con un hombre de los notables de su tribu”, “mujer de buen porte”, “mujer fértil”, “mujer que tiene sus reglas”, “mujer que se engalana y adorna”, “mujer que aventaja a las demás por sus cualidades”, “mujer alta y de talle esbelto” y “la que es elevada (en virtudes y nobleza)”.

Como puede observarse, las acepciones de las voces, derivadas de la raíz *fr'*, registradas en estos compendios léxicos o diccionarios, se adscriben a una serie de campos semánticos, entre los que destacan el concerniente al espacio y el asimilado a lo femenino. A esta raíz se le asocian conceptos relacionados con “altura”, del terreno, pero también de la mujer y de la estirpe a la que se pertenece; con “prosperidad”, abundante agua, frondosidad, riqueza económica, fertilidad, lugar idóneo para ocupar y edificar, entre otros conceptos. Por lo tanto, el topónimo al-Fāri'a, nombre del yacimiento, y que deriva de la raíz *fr'* estaría estrechamente relacionado con los significados asociados al léxico registrado, léxico que, en la actualidad, en la mayoría de sus acepciones está en desuso, como ya se ha apuntado más arriba.

Partiendo de esta primera documentación lexicográfica, hasta ahora nunca tenida en cuenta para el estudio del topónimo Tell el-Far'a (o al-Fāri'a), nos ocuparemos aquí de analizar con algunos ejemplos la posible conexión que puede existir entre el antiguo nombre Tirsá y el término árabe el-Far'a (al-Fāri'a). En el primer tercio del siglo pasado la historiografía europea estableció una vinculación entre la ciudad bíblica de Tirsá y Tell el-Far'a²⁶ por una serie de razones de índole histórica y también por los indicios arqueológicos del yacimiento, a partir de las campañas dirigidas por Roland de Vaux²⁷, pero sin evidencias documentales escritas, a falta del hallazgo *in situ* de material epigráfico que corroborara esta hipótesis. Las referencias textuales, en las que pudo sustentarse esta hipótesis, generalizada y aceptada hasta hoy, pero con cierto reparo, son los diecisiete pasajes bíblicos del Antiguo Testamento en los que aparece citada Tirsá. El nombre Tirsá (femenino) procede de una raíz hebrea, que alude al “deleite”, al “placer” y también a la “belleza”. Tales calificativos se han relacionado tradicionalmente con la naturaleza del entorno de la zona en la que se ha pensado que pudiera estar ubicada esta ciudad: un lugar de acceso fácil al valle del Jordán, que hizo posible la ocupación humana, características también atribuibles a Tell el-Far'a. Por otro lado, se cree que debió de ser una ciudad de gran belleza, ya que Salomón (Ca 6, 4) compara Tirsá con la belleza de su

²⁶ Albright 1931, 241-251.

²⁷ De Vaux et al. 1993.

amada. La antigua ciudad bíblica de Tirsá, según el relato del Antiguo Testamento, fue la capital del reino del norte y sede del rey Jeroboán I hasta que Omrí trasladó la capital a Samaria (1Re 14, 17).

Desde el análisis filológico no existe relación fonética justificable entre los topónimos Tirsá y Fāri'a, y se puede afirmar que sendos términos no proceden de una misma raíz semítica, sino de dos raíces distintas, una hebrea y la otra árabe. Por lo tanto, se descarta la identificación de Tirsá con Fāri'a por la vía de la analogía en su derivación radical. Sin embargo, si nos detenemos en los pasajes en los que aparece el nombre Tirsá en el Antiguo Testamento, se observa cierta relación entre el contenido de las citas bíblicas y los significados recogidos para la raíz árabe *fr'* de la que procede al-Fāri'a. La primera coincidencia sería que, tanto en el texto bíblico como en las acepciones recogidas en el léxico árabe, ambos nombres se refieren a lugares y en género femenino. En el Antiguo Testamento, Tirsá es el topónimo de una localidad importante, mientras que en árabe solo se hace alusión a un lugar indeterminado, pero con una serie de características comunes a las de la ciudad bíblica: “lugar próspero”, “lugar elevado del que se sube y se baja”, “lugar hermoso e importante”, “lugar edificado” “lugar en el que uno se aloja” y “lugar de acampada de la guardia real”. Otra referencia a Tirsá, que pudiera tener relación con una de las acepciones de la raíz *fr'* “lugar de enterramiento”, es que la ciudad fue un importante lugar de memoria por estar enterrados allí Abías, el hijo de Jeroboán (1Re 14, 18) y Baasá, tercer rey de Israel (1Re 16, 6). Otro pasaje, que aparece en 2Re 15, 16, y que también llama la atención, es el episodio de Menahem, que como venganza por no abrirle el enemigo las puertas de la ciudad, abre los vientres de todas las mujeres embarazadas. Recordemos que uno de los significados de la raíz árabe es “sangrar abundantemente las mujeres antes del parto”, acepción que parece estar relacionada con el castigo bíblico.

La segunda coincidencia es que, en la Biblia, Tirsá aparece como nombre de mujer y también la acepción de la raíz árabe *fr'* y el léxico derivado de esta incide en lo femenino, al referirse a la mujer en los significados principales. En el relato del Antiguo Testamento Tirsá es la quinta de las hijas de Selohfad (Nú 26, 33), quienes recibirán la herencia de su padre, al no tener este hijos varones (Nú 27 1, 11). Recordemos la acepción árabe de la raíz “la que posee abundante riqueza para gastar”. Las hijas de Selohfad descendían, como su padre, de una estirpe noble, descendiente de Manasés, de la tribu de Josué; siendo también una de las acepciones de la raíz árabe “la mujer que procede de estirpe (tribu) noble”. Dios dispone en la Biblia que las hijas de Selohfad se casen con sus primos paternos o con parientes paternos cercanos (Nú 36 1, 3), por lo tanto, hombres de su misma tribu de notables. Uno de los significados de la raíz *fr'*, registrada en distintos diccionarios, es precisamente “contraer el hombre matrimonio con una mujer importante de su misma tribu”. Esta costumbre, extendida en las culturas del Oriente Próximo, era recomendable para que la dote y la herencia no pasaran a manos de otra tribu cuando la mujer heredaba los bienes de su padre, al no tener esta hermanos que pudieran heredar. En uno de los versos de Cantar de los Cantares (Ca 6, 4) la amada es comparada por el amado con la belleza de la ciudad de Tirsá. Una de las voces derivadas de la raíz *fr'* recoge los significados de “lugar que destaca por su belleza” y también “mujer bella”.

Si se hace una lectura detenida del Cantar, se puede comprobar que algunas de las cualidades atribuidas a la amada o al relato de la relación entre los amantes estarían también vinculadas con algunos de los significados recogidos por la raíz árabe *fr'* como por ejemplo la alusión a “la hendidura en la montaña” (Ca 2, 14), que los compendios lexicográficos recogen también como una de las acepciones de la raíz árabe; o la cabellera como rebaños (Ca 4, 1), que en una de las entradas de la raíz árabe aparece con la acepción de “abundante cabellera que puede peinarse en bucles”. También existe coincidencia entre “subir y bajar del monte” para una de las acepciones de *fara'a* y “subida y bajada del monte” en Ca 6, 8. Otro ejemplo más sería: “mujer destacada que sobresale en la tribu” (Ct 5, 9) y el mismo significado para una voz de la raíz de *fr'*. Estos últimos ejemplos no están directamente relacionados en el Cantar con el término Tirsá, pero resulta curioso que aparezcan en ese texto alusiones a expresiones similares a las que se encuentran en los diccionarios árabes como significados derivados de la raíz de la que procede el-Far'a (al-Fāri'a).

Este primer acercamiento al significado de la raíz *fr'* y el léxico derivado de esta no permite afirmar que Tirsá sea el-Far'a (al-Fāri'a), pero sí se puede concluir que los pasajes de Tirsá citados en el Antiguo Testamento y las numerosas acepciones relacionadas con la raíz árabe de la que procede al-Fāri'a guardan una afinidad y una vinculación bastante evidente en cuanto a una serie de connotaciones. Esto sí nos permite vislumbrar una cierta relación entre ambos términos.

Otra línea de trabajo, imprescindible para el estudio de la toponimia de la zona de Tell el-Far'a es, en colaboración con el topógrafo del proyecto José Gabriel Gómez Carrasco, la revisión de la toponimia del mapa a escala 1:20.000 del *Survey Department of the British Mandate in Palestine*, de 1928-1947. El estudio toponímico se va a incluir en cartografía y SIG (Sistema de Información Geográfica) con el propósito también de evaluar parámetros estadísticos de distribución. En el mapa aparecen más de ochocientos topónimos registrados en transliteración inglesa de la lengua árabe. Este registro parece bastante riguroso teniendo en cuenta los medios con los que probablemente contaron los ingleses; se percibe que para el registro de los nombres fueron asesorados por informantes con una sólida formación en lengua árabe, sirva de ejemplo el registro de la transliteración del nombre de Tell el-Far'a en su grafía, correspondiente al término en árabe clásico, *al-Fāri'a*. Pero también debieron de consultar a otras personas, quizá con menos formación en lengua árabe clásica, que les reproducían los nombres de los lugares de manera oral y en algunos casos en dialecto, por lo que los topónimos a veces presentan variantes en el registro gráfico. Se ha elaborado un listado de todos los topónimos del mapa tal como y aparecen registrados en transliteración al inglés. A continuación se ha fijado su registro en la lengua árabe clásica y en las variantes dialectales, cuando estas existen, añadiendo a cada topónimo su transliteración al español según la norma estándar utilizada para los estudios árabes. En los casos en los que ha sido viable, se ha traducido el topónimo, ya que algunos, como ocurre en otras lenguas, no tienen traducción posible.

Quedan aún por resolver algunas dudas acerca de las acepciones de ciertos términos referentes a accidentes geográficos, hoy en día de uso casi olvidado, y de otros topónimos relacionados con la arqueología, que parecen remontar a la antigua terminología no

siempre bien definida y hoy en desuso, como son por ejemplo “ruina”, “lugar abandonado” y “lugar despoblado”. El siguiente objetivo, en el que se está trabajando, es establecer una serie de criterios para la clasificación de estos topónimos con el fin de seleccionar los que puedan tener un interés especial para el estudio del yacimiento. Podemos avanzar que la toponimia de la zona es muy variada y hace referencia a antropónimos, etnónimos, arqueónimos, zoónimos y fitónimos. El estudio podrá implementarse más adelante con una investigación sobre los nombres de posible origen hebreo, latino, griego y turco, así como el estudio de algunos topónimos árabes, formados por etimologías populares, que en ocasiones ocultan topónimos antiguos cuyo origen no es árabe. Para el desarrollo de este proyecto será necesaria la prospección de la zona con el fin de verificar la geolocalización exacta de los topónimos registrados en el mapa británico y, asimismo, para constatar la pervivencia y el estado de conservación de los enclaves que pueden resultar de especial relevancia arqueológica. También será de utilidad entrevistar a los habitantes originarios de la zona de Tell el-Far'a, ya que probablemente puedan aportar información de diversa índole sobre algunos topónimos.

5. Los trabajos de restauración y valorización

El proyecto de conservación y restauración de la casa 327 de Tell el-Far'a (fase VIId), excavada en 1951 por el equipo de la *École biblique* de Jerusalén²⁸, pretende ser un proyecto piloto para la recuperación patrimonial del yacimiento (fig. 9 y 10).

La casa 327 es un conjunto arquitectónico de planta rectangular, de muros de mampostería, que ha estado expuesto al aire libre durante 68 años, sin ningún tipo de protección. Por esta razón, se ha visto afectado por los agentes climáticos, los contrastes térmicos y de humedad, así como por la fauna de la zona. Todos estos agentes, han favorecido y acelerado muchas de las patologías y problemas que afectan a esta construcción de la Edad del Hierro.

En general, los muros de piedra presentaban un buen estado de conservación, teniendo una altura conservada de entre 80 cm y 1 m. La presencia de vegetación era el problema más acusado, que afectaba tanto al pavimento de piedra como a los muros de la casa, lo que ha provocado, junto con la acción humana y la actividad ganadera, que los materiales constructivos se hayan desplazado de su ubicación original. En algunos casos, se han observado piedras caídas de gran tamaño, como ocurre en el hogar doméstico central.

Una vez realizados los estudios sobre el estado de conservación e identificadas todas las problemáticas presentes, se hizo una propuesta de consolidación, siguiendo criterios de mínima intervención y reversibilidad de los materiales. Los principales trabajos realizados por el equipo de restauración, dirigido por Blanca Sicilia Navarro, se han centrado en la documentación del edificio, la limpieza mecánica de la vegetación presente en todo el conjunto, la consolidación de los muros externos e internos de toda la casa, el desmontaje y recolocación de piedras movidas en su emplazamiento original, la

²⁸ Chambon 1984, 121 y 168.

recolocación de elementos caídos y la reintegración del muro oeste, hoy desaparecido, para mejorar la lectura del edificio por el visitante (fig. 11).

De todas las tareas realizadas, la más importante fue la de consolidación de los muros de la casa. Para ello se empleó, previa prueba, un mortero formado por tres partes de tierra, cribada del propio yacimiento, una parte de cal y agua. El mortero se aplicó colocando pequeñas piedras, previamente humedecidas, en los huecos más grandes y agujeros de los muros. Una vez seco el mortero, con la ayuda de un cepillo metálico y un paletín, se eliminó el excedente de mortero (fig. 12). La intervención se completó con la colocación de un panel explicativo en inglés y árabe sobre el yacimiento arqueológico y la casa 327.

Para garantizar la salvaguarda de estos vestigios arquitectónicos antiguos, es importante prever un seguimiento y un mantenimiento periódico del conjunto arqueológico, para lo que sería necesaria la realización de inspecciones periódicas con la intención de controlar la evolución de los restos. De cara a futuras intervenciones, se estima importante realizar conjuntamente con los arqueólogos del equipo una planificación para la conservación de los restos excavados, así como acordar los criterios museográficos que se quieren establecer para valorizar Tell el-Far'a.

6. Conclusiones

Los nuevos trabajos de excavación en Tell el-Far'a han aportado nuevos datos para el estudio de la Edad del Hierro en la región del Levante proximoriental. Hasta ahora, se han identificado tres fases cronológicas distintas, que de la más reciente a la más antigua son:

- TEF 1 (antigua fase VIIe): Hierro IIC. Se trata de los restos de dos pavimentos de piedra, que se corresponden con la ocupación de Samaría por parte del ejército asirio (ca. 720 a.C.).
- TEF 2 (antigua VIId): Hierro IIB. Se conservan varios fragmentos de muros de piedra, por ahora, inconexos.
- TEF 3 (antigua VIIb): Hierro IIA. A esta fase corresponde la llamada “Casa A”, de donde proceden las dataciones absolutas realizadas en 2018 y 2019 (C-14), que apuntan una fecha a comienzos del siglo X a.C. Desde el punto de vista de la técnica constructiva, es de destacar que la mayor parte de los muros son de mampostería con piedras colocadas a tizón (o perpiaños), es decir, estaban sentadas de tal forma que su longitud es la del grosor del muro. La irregularidad de la cara interior y exterior (mampuestos salientes) de los muros conformaba una superficie perfecta para trabar bien un grueso enlucido final de barro y paja picada, lo que contribuía a un buen aislamiento térmico. La fragilidad constructiva de los muros (de unos 40 cm de ancho) y la ausencia de indicios de escaleras en el interior hacen pensar que se trata de un edificio de carácter doméstico desprovisto de un piso superior.

La fase TEF 3 (VIIb), y no la fase VIIa de Far'a (como han apuntado algunos autores), es la que se correspondería cronológicamente con la fundación de la antigua Tirsá por el rey

Jeroboán I. Otra cuestión más compleja, aún por dilucidar, es si Tell el-Far'a es, efectivamente, la sede de esta ciudad bíblica.

La prospección en wadi el-Far'a y su *hinterland* ha servido para comprobar, por el momento, que hubo una ocupación importante durante la Edad del Hierro en los yacimientos de el-ʿUnuq, Tell Miska, Tell Za'anun y Khirbet ʿAinun.

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Fig. 1. Mapa de situación de Tell el-Far'a (© TEF, José G. Gómez).



Fig. 2. Plano topográfico del sector occidental de Tell el-Far'a, en el que se localiza el sondeo A (© TEF, José G. Gómez).

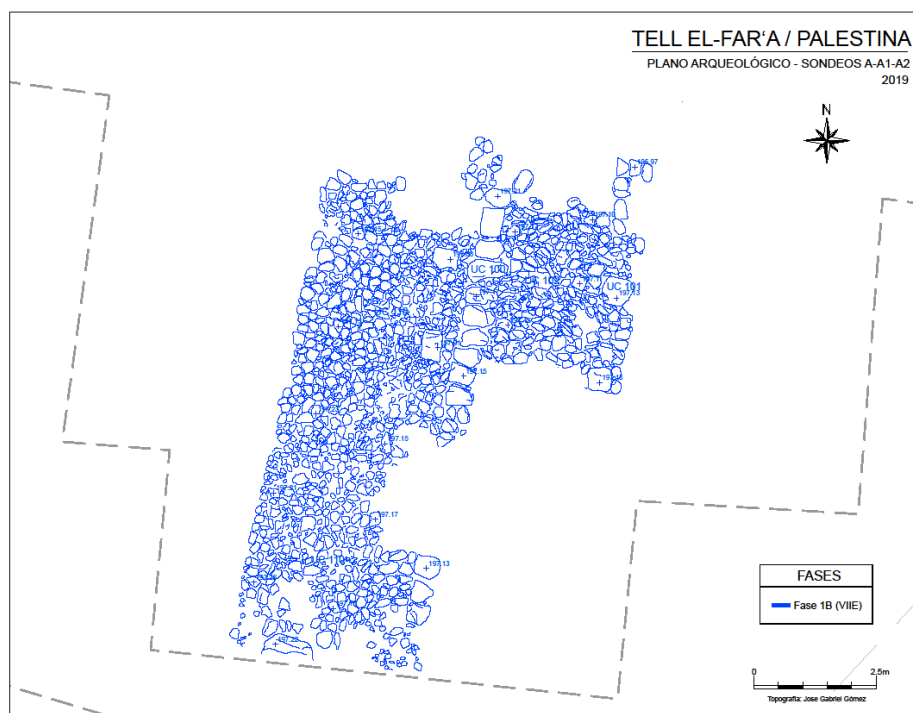


Fig. 3. Plano de los pavimentos de piedra UC.102 y UC.110, fase TEF 1b (© TEF, José G. Gómez).

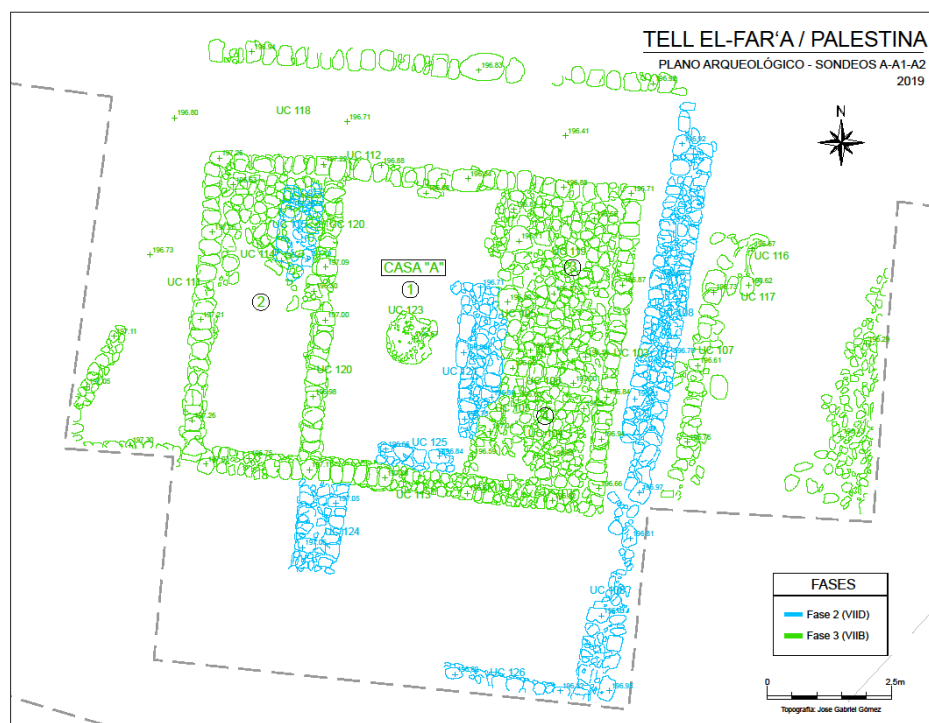


Fig. 4. Plano con las fases TEF 2 y TEF 3 tras la campaña de 2019 (© TEF, José G. Gómez).



Fig. 5. Vista general de la “Casa A”, fase TEF 3 (© TEF, José Pardo).

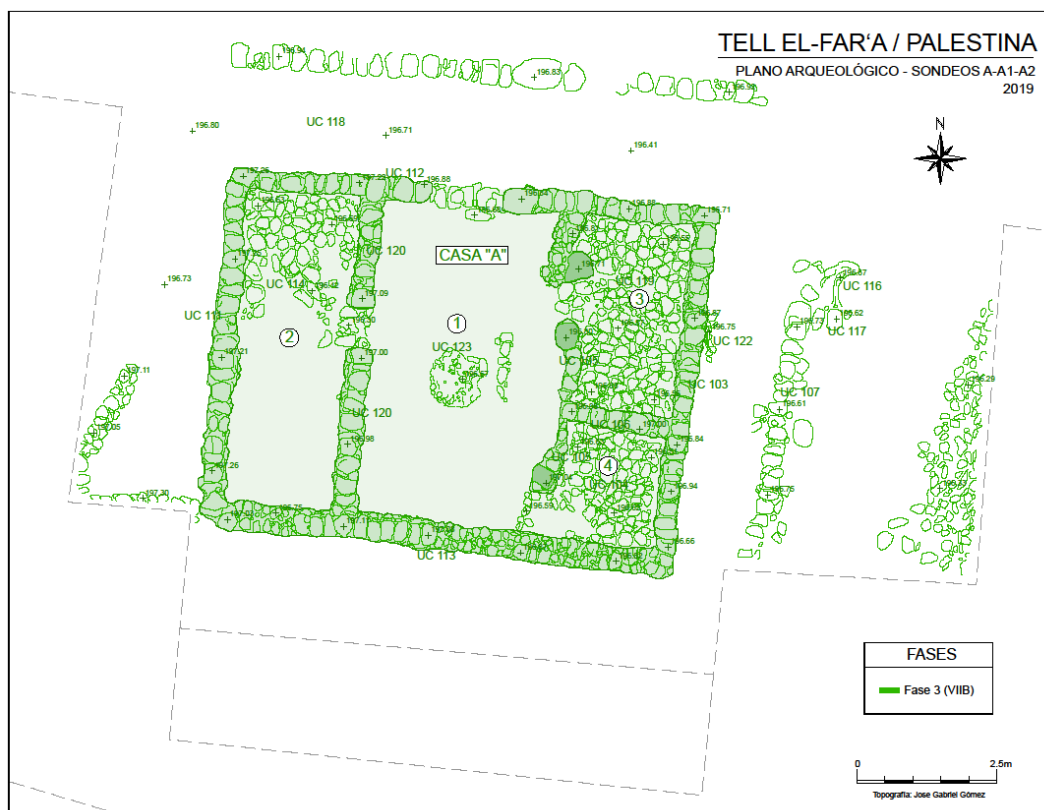


Fig. 6. Plano de la “Casa A”, fase TEF 3 (© TEF, José G. Gómez).



Fig. 7. Materiales cerámicos hallado en la “Casa A” (© TEF, José G. Gómez).



Fig. 8. Vista aérea parcial de Khirbet 'Ainun (© TEF, José G. Gómez).



Fig. 9. La casa 327 antes de su restauración y consolidación (© TEF, José Pardo).



Fig. 10. La casa 327 después de su restauración y consolidación (© TEF, José Pardo).



Fig. 11. Detalle de la técnica de restauración de un muro de la casa 327 (© TEF, José Pardo).

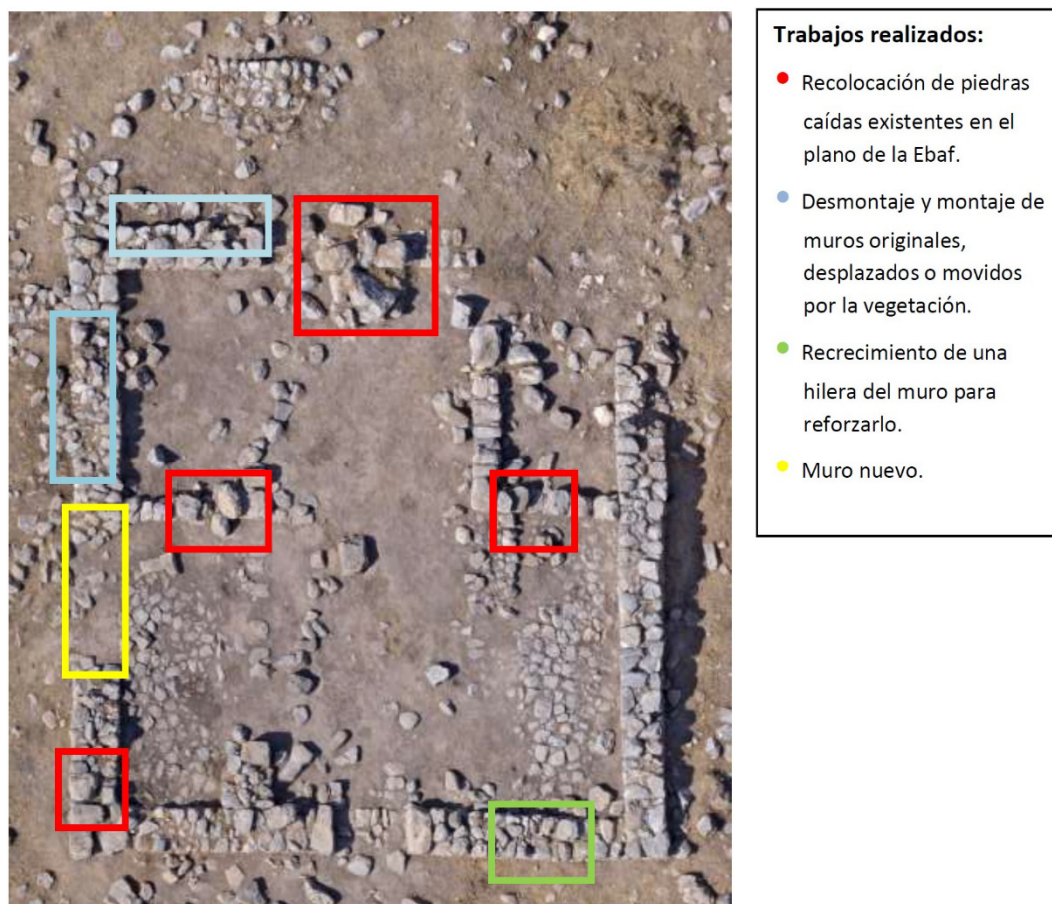


Fig. 12. Resumen de las intervenciones de consolidación y restauración realizadas en los muros de la casa 327 (© TEF, José G. Gómez y Blanca Sicilia).

From Karkemiš to Rapiqu: The Assyrians in the Euphrates Valley in the 13th century

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Abstract

The Euphrates Valley was a scene of rivalries between the Hittites, Babylonians and Assyrians throughout the 13th century BCE. The Assyrians developed several strategies to control the valley through the establishment of governors or the creation of small settlements. Shalmaneser I was very active upstream of the confluence on the Habur, while the Middle Euphrates came into the Assyrian sphere during the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I. Analysis of the available literature invites a multi-level approach to separate local events from matters affecting the geopolitical balance of the states.

Keywords: Middle Assyrian Empire, borders, Euphrates, Habur, regional organisation.

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From Karkemiš to Rapiqu: The Assyrians in the Euphrates Valley in the 13th century*

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The middle valley of the Euphrates (in the broadest definition between the present-day Syria-Turkey border and the Haditha Dam in Iraq) is generally marked by its distance from Aššur, the Assyrian capital (Fig. 1). Although Adad-nirari I (1295-1264 BCE) claimed in his inscriptions to rule over a vast territory as far as the Euphrates from Karkemiš to Rapiqu,¹ the Assyrian presence on the river is still the subject of much discussion.² The scarcity of textual sources combined with the limited number of excavated sites makes it particularly difficult to understand this region, especially since the sources come from a wide variety of periods and locations. In addition, the entire vast area was at the intersection of the Hittite and Babylonian worlds, in a context of strong local traditions.

However, recent research gives a picture of the Assyrian presence on the river, highlighting the various forms it may have taken depending on the area, as well as the differences that may have existed in different periods of 13th century, but also from one sector to another. This article does not claim to give an exhaustive overview of this subject, which has already been the topic of much research, but rather to propose an updated summary.

I. The Euphrates Valley at the beginning of the 13th century BCE

It is impossible to separate a study of this region from the study of Assyro-Hittite relations, which have already been the subject of much research.³ As texts from Emar, Hattuša, Aššur, Tell Chuera and Tell Sabi Abyad are published and analysed, we also get an understanding of how complex those relations were, with probable interactions at a regional level, sometimes independent of the Royal Courts of Aššur and Hattuša.

* The publication of this article, written in 2013, has been greatly delayed. I thank F. Caramelo to have however managed to find a solution to allow its publication, in a very reworked version. I would also like to extend my warmest thanks to all colleagues who have generously shared their digital libraries, at a time when the pandemic was preventing access to academic libraries and the paper books they keep.

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¹ Grayson 1987, 131. See Caramelo 2013, 135-137 for a reflection on the territorial aspect of the royal ideology.

² Brown 2013, 101, note 6; Fales 2011, Herlès 2007, Llop-Radua 2012, Luciani 2001a, Tenu sous presse a and b.

³ See among others Cancik-Kirschbaum 2008a, Freu 2003, Yamada M. 2011 to quote a few.

At that time, the Euphrates Valley was under Hittite rule, while the Mittani, whose territory had been severely reduced, still served as a buffer state with the Assyrians.

At the very beginning of the 13th century, Assyrian King Adad-nirari I (1295-1264) proclaimed in his inscriptions that he ruled the area up to the Euphrates, but few, if any other textual or archaeological documents support this assertion. There is no reason to doubt *a priori* the existence of the sovereign's military expeditions, but they were undoubtedly not followed by the settlement of Assyrians in these areas, but the lands were traversed by his armies.

The situation changed in mid-13th century under the reign of Shalmaneser I, who began to take over new territories. Before his campaigns, the Middle Euphrates was divided between two major areas of influence: the Hittite Empire and Babylonia, then called Karduniaš. The boundary between them was likely in the vicinity of Tuttul,⁸ modern-day Tell Bia, as evidenced by a long letter (KBo I 10) sent by the Hittite King Hattušili III (1267-1237)⁹ to the Babylonian King Kadašman-Enlil II (1269-1260). According to this letter, Tuttul was under Hattušili's authority, but close to the edge of his correspondent's area of influence.¹⁰ Another document also dating from the reign of Kadašman-Enlil II (discovered in Marwaniye, 10 km downstream from Terqa) confirms that the region was at that time under Babylonian rule.¹¹

The Babylonian presence in the region likely also dates back to the second half of the 14th century BCE. The *Chronicle of the Kassite Kings* reports that King Kadašman-Harbe, grandson of Aššur-uballit I, had “strengthened the fortifications of the citadels in Šaršar (= Djebel Bišri), dug wells there, and settled people on fertile lands in order to help guard it.”¹² The Euphrates Valley likely escaped control by the Mittani as they were under attack by Hittites and Assyrians.

The previously cited letter (KBo I 10) reports an intermittent epistolary relationship between the Hittite and Babylonian courts. Kadašman-Enlil II justified his difficulties sending messengers due to the presence of hostile Ahlamu and the presence of the King of Assyria, who prevented the messengers from travelling. Whether the threats were real or used as a pretext by Kadašman-Enlil II and his entourage to distance themselves from the Hatti—which Hattušili III seems to believe—the letter nevertheless reveals the activities of the Assyrian king, whose name is never revealed, on the Euphrates.

⁸ For the toponyms attested in the Middle Assyrian documentation, see Nashef 1982 (RGTC 5). It has been very usefully and completely updated by E. Cancik-Kirschbaum and C. Hess. This work is available both in online edition <https://books.openedition.org/cdf/4439> and in printed version Cancik-Kirschbaum & Hess 2016.

⁹ The Hittite and the Babylonian absolute chronologies are not yet known with certainty. So the reign dates I give should be seen more as orders of magnitude.

¹⁰ Beckman 1996, 132-137. See Astour 1996, 38; Harrak 1998, 246.

¹¹ Rouault 2009, 139.

¹² Glassner 1993, 224 and Glassner 2004, 279.

II. The reign of Shalmaneser I and the fate of former Hittite possessions

One of the consequences of the "Hittite tradition of contempt for the Assyrians" outlined by A. Harrak¹³ is that many texts do not refer to the Assyrian king by name. In combination with the very poor state of certain documents, this means that the identity of the protagonists and the dates of the events mentioned, particularly in the letters, often remain unknown. There seems to be no doubt, however, that Shalmaneser I, who put a definitive end to the Mittani by defeating its king, Šattuara,¹⁴ undertook multiple operations on the Euphrates. Some of them took him very far north, to Malatya.¹⁵

The Karkemiš area

The personal presence of the Assyrian ruler in the Upper Euphrates is now confirmed in a text from Tell Taban (To5A-609) dating from his 28th year of rule. The text records the king's trip to Karkemiš, probably in the company of Crown Prince Tukulti-Ninurta.¹⁶ A text from Assur (KAJ 249) mentions the king's visit to Araziqu¹⁷ in connection with Mušru.¹⁸ The poor state of the tablet makes it difficult to understand the events, as they could relate to either the conquest of Mušru or to its political and economic integration.¹⁹ The date of the text is also not a matter of consensus, as there is almost nothing left of the name of the eponym, but attribution to the reign of Shalmaneser I is quite possible.²⁰ This date would be supported by the mention of the king's victory in Mušri²¹ in one of his inscriptions. Letter KBO XVIII 24, presumably written by Tudhaliya IV to Shalmaneser I, also reported on Assyrian military activities in the territories formerly conquered by Suppiluliuma I.²² A collection of letters (KUB 23.92, KUB 23.103, KUB 40.77) likely written by Tudhaliya IV at the time of Tukulti-Ninurta I's accession to the throne reveals

¹³ Harrak 1998, 243.

¹⁴ Grayson 1987, 183-184.

¹⁵ Heinhold-Krahmer 1988, 87-98. For a summary of the events with the main bibliographical references, see Tenu 2006, 164-165; Tenu 2009, 197-198.

¹⁶ Shibata 2017. I would like to thank Daisuke Shibata for sharing this text with me long before its publication.

¹⁷ Araziqu is usually identified with Tell el-Hajj (Tenu 2009, 204) but recently E. Cancik-Kirschbaum and C. Hess proposed a location at Tell Beddaye, a site also situated on the eastern bank of the river a few kilometres from Tell Ahmar (Cancik-Kirschbaum & Hess 2016, 18). This proposition seems all the more convincing as numerous Middle Assyrian sherds were collected on its surface (Einwag, Kohlmeyer & Otto 1995, 105) and Tell Ahmar was itself occupied by Assyrians (see Paci and Tenu in press, Tenu in press b) but possibly after the 13th century BCE (see Bunnens 2013, 179-180 and 186). A text by Emar AuOr 5 T 13 (Arnaud 1987, 233-234), unfortunately undated, would attest that Araziqu was at one time controlled by the Hittites (Yamada M. 2011, 201-202).

¹⁸ Faist 2001, 90-92; Jakob 2003, 497. On the term Mušri, see Bagg 2007, 306-307. The term appears to have referred to an area downstream of Karkemiš. This hypothesis is supported by a letter (n. 17) of Dur-Katlimmu (Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996, 177-178) which associates it (in the form Mišraju), with the Euphrates and the city of Tilipinis. Y. Cohen proposed to identify this latter with el-Qitar (Cohen 2019, 189).

¹⁹ Prechel & Freydank 2011, 6.

²⁰ Voir Jakob 2003, 497, Faist 2001, 90-91; Llop-Radua & Shibata 2016, 69 (they attribute the text to the reign of Tiglath-pileser I).

²¹ Grayson 1987, 183.

²² Heinhold-Krahmer 1988, 88-90 and Mora & Giorgieri 2004, 87-98.

that the Hittite sovereign had taken note of the new borders established in the aftermath of the campaigns of Shalmaneser I and recalled that the latter and his own father, Hattušili III, had not written to each other.²³ It is perhaps in this context that some sites came under Assyrian domination and that a small Assyrian settlement was established on the site of Tell Shiukh Fawqâni.²⁴ The ancient name of this site, “Marina,” appears in a letter from Dur-Katlimmu, dating from the eponymy of Ina-Assur-šumī-ašbat i.e. around year 22 = 1212 BCE.²⁵ The occupation was modest, but erosion at the site is such that it is difficult to determine its nature and duration. The site may have afterwards returned to Hittite rule, as possibly suggested in a Hittite letter (KBo XVIII 25) sent by Suppiluliuma II (?) to Tukulti-Ninurta I (?).²⁶ The (very damaged) text reads: “he gave back Karkemiš.”²⁷ Although very limited, this small settlement from which Karkemiš can be seen reveals the desire of the Assyrians to “physically” settle in the Euphrates valley. The discovery of standard Middle Assyrian pottery to the exclusion of all others²⁸ reflects a very particular form of settlement, in an official and administrative framework.

Emar

The city of Emar²⁹ never appears in Assyrian sources as belonging to the Hittite Empire, but as an autonomous polity³⁰ that had extensive trade relations with Aššur. In the Late Bronze Age, there was a “palace,” temples and a residential zone.³¹ Little is known about the ceramic materials unearthed during excavations overseen by J.-C. Margueron between 1972 and 1976 because only complete shapes have been published by A. Caubet,³² but the vast majority relate to the local corpus. P. Pfälzner identifies only two shapes related to the domestic corpus of Middle Assyrian pottery,³³ but Hittite pottery does not appear to be represented either.³⁴ The excavations at Emar were taken over by a Syrian and then Syrian-German team from the 1990s, but the most recent levels were by

²³ Mora & Giorgieri 2004, 155-174.

²⁴ Tenu 2010, 247 and 250.

²⁵ Cancik-Kirschbaum & Hess 2016, 92-93 (lettre n. 2). Freydank 2016, 9. The level prior to the Middle Assyrian settlement yielded a house violently destroyed by fire that the excavator tentatively attributes to the campaigns led by Suppiliuma I (Bachelot 2005, 331). The pottery of this level presents shapes that belong to the Middle Assyrian horizon, such as a carinated cup (pl. 3:22) discovered on the floor of room 1 of the house.

²⁶ Mora & Giorgieri 2004, 29.

²⁷ Mora & Giorgieri 2004, 102. See Heinhold-Krahmer, 87, note 99; Hararak 1987, 260; Yamada M. 2011, 207.

²⁸ Capet 2005, 381. Non Middle Assyrian sherds come from the decayed mudbricks of the architectural structures and are therefore older.

²⁹ A web page written by Betina Faist, Uwe Finkbeiner and Siegfried Kreuzer presents Emar in a very clear way, <https://www.bibelwissenschaft.de/stichwort/17472/>.

³⁰ Cancik-Kirschbaum 2008b, 93; Faist 2001, 216 and 220-233.

³¹ Margueron 1993a, 85-91. The interpretation of the building discovered in *chantier* A as a *hilani* palace is nowadays much debated.

³² See Caubet 1982 and 2014.

³³ Pfälzner 1995, 201.

³⁴ Genz 2011, 312.

then considerably damaged by erosion and illegal excavation.³⁵ Most of the corpus brought to light thus dates back to the 14th century and the end of Mittani domination.³⁶

The site was violently destroyed around 1175 BCE.³⁷ The circumstances of this event are largely unknown, but a small Assyrian commercial and military post might have been located there.³⁸

The question remains as to whether the city may have at some point in its history been attacked by the Assyrians and whether the Assyrians may have played a role in its final destruction. Text MARV III 19,³⁹ dating from the eponymy of Ili-qarrad, records the delivery of copper blocks taken from the country of Hatti, and more precisely, from Hazariru, which is otherwise unknown, and from Imar. This administrative document from the reign of Shalmaneser I therefore suggests looting.⁴⁰ The possibility of an Assyrian offensive was, however, mainly mentioned due to the famous attack by the king of the Hurrians on Emar.⁴¹ The identity of this man remains a mystery, but the hypothesis of it being an action by the Grand Vizier, King of Hanigalbat, Qibi-Aššur, has been regularly suggested.⁴² M. Yamada links this event with the (re)construction of the town of Šumu by the Hurrians. The location of Šumu is unknown, but it was in the vicinity of Emar. If M. Yamada's hypothesis were confirmed, this would demonstrate that the Assyrian campaign was not just a military coup, but that it led to a policy of settlement and control, probably very localised, but aimed at being long-term. This hypothesis may be supported by the description in a Tukulti-Ninurta inscription (A.O. 78.23⁴³) of several cities, which M. Astour has located in the region.⁴⁴ This proposal is attractive, especially if considered as part of a multiscale approach, where local events may seem to contradict the geo-political balance between states. The Hittites and Assyrians would “officially” be at peace, but this would not prevent Emar and the Grand Vizier, King of Hanigalbat from being in conflict.

In 1978, J.-C. Margueron and his team conducted an excavation campaign lasting a few weeks at Tell Faq'ous, a site situated approx. 12 kilometres as the crow flies from Emar.⁴⁵ Located on a cliff, Tell Faq'ous was understood by J.-C. Margueron as a military position intended in particular for the protection of Emar. Nothing in the short exploration of the

³⁵ Sakal 2018, 63.

³⁶ Sakal 2018, 84. F. Sakal also points out that the Mittanian material itself is rare.

³⁷ Cohen & d'Alfonso 2008, 14-15.

³⁸ Dietrich 1990, 26; Adamthwaite 1996, 109.

³⁹ Faist 2001, 89-90.

⁴⁰ Yamada M. 2011, 200. According to him, “this text shows that the Assyrians, most probably those of Assyrian Hanigalbat, raided I/Emar (Meskene Qadime) in this period.”

⁴¹ See Astour 1996 and Cohen & d'Alfonso 2008, 21-22 who date this event to the period of the Mittanian domination, i.e. at the beginning of the 13th century BCE

⁴² See the point proposed by M. Yamada (2011, 211-212). E. Cancik-Kirschbaum considers this hypothesis as hardly conceivable (Cancik-Kirschbaum 2008b, 95).

⁴³ Grayson 1987, 271-274.

⁴⁴ Astour 1996, 39-43. See also Tenu 2009, 208-209.

⁴⁵ Margueron 1982a, 47.

site documented its destruction, but the excavator included it in the context of Assyrian military operations without explicitly holding them accountable.⁴⁶

A final collection of documents from Tell Sabi Abyad illustrates the complex relationship between the Assyrians and the Emariotes. Around 1190 BCE, a conflict broke out between Emar and Karkemiš. The King of Assyria, Aššur-nirari III (1193-1188 BCE) apparently sent troops to Emar to support the viceroy of Karkemiš. The conflict lasted several months and it is not clear what the outcome was.⁴⁷ Emar may have sought independence from Karkemiš when Hattuša had just fallen.⁴⁸ We do not know what prompted the Assyrians to side with one rather than the other, but this event may have been part of a broader context, of which we know almost nothing, of rivalry between the two cities, with perhaps more economic and commercial than political origins.

Tell Fray

At Tell Fray, there are two levels (V and IV) dating from the Late Bronze Age. The most recent has been attributed to the 13th century BCE, based on a sealing bearing the seals of the Hittite King Hattušili III (1267-1237) and his wife Padu-hepa. This level was violently destroyed by fire. Several buildings in this level were excavated, interpreted as characteristic of Hittite architecture by the excavators.⁴⁹ However, in light of more recent excavations carried out in particular in the area of the Tishrin Dam, the architecture appears to be rather representative of local culture, as does the pottery.⁵⁰ In the “northern house,” eleven tablets, three letters and eight administrative texts were discovered on the floors of two rooms. They were described as Middle Assyrian and dated to the beginning of the 13th century,⁵¹ but are still unpublished. The ancient name of Tell Fray is not yet known with certainty. Identification with the city of Yahariša, whose name appears on one of the tablets⁵² and is also known from Nuzi texts, is probable,⁵³ but A. Bounni also proposed that Tell Fray was called Šaparu. This toponym, which is also mentioned in the written documentation of Tell Fray, appears in the form of “Šiprin” in the treaty between Suppiluliuma and Šattiwaza⁵⁴ in the second half of the 14th century. This hypothesis is fragile as the tablets have not been published and in the text of the treaty Šiprin belongs to the kingdom of Karkemiš and not to Aštata.⁵⁵ The date and circumstances of the destruction of Tell Fray by fire remain mysterious, but the excavators did not exclude the possibility that the site was destroyed by Shalmaneser I.⁵⁶

⁴⁶ Margueron 1982a, 62.

⁴⁷ Akkermans & Wiggermann 2015, 120-121.

⁴⁸ Cohen & d'Alfonso 2008, 14-15.

⁴⁹ Bounni & Matthiae 1980.

⁵⁰ Pfälzner 1995, 203-204.

⁵¹ Matthiae 1980, 39 and Pedersén 1998, 103. G. Wilhelm considers these tablets are actually Mittanian (quoted by Faist 2001, 215, n. 73)

⁵² Bounni 1977, 7-8.

⁵³ Bounni 1988, 369.

⁵⁴ Bounni 1988, 369.

⁵⁵ Beckman 1996, 41.

⁵⁶ Bounni & Matthiae 1974, 36.

Tuttul

Several texts allow us to date Tuttul's change of sovereignty.⁵⁷ Letter KBo I 10 indicates that it was still Hittite around 1267-1260. The city is then mentioned in at least two texts from Tell Sheikh Hamad and in one from Tell Sabi Abyad, showing that it had by then become Assyrian.⁵⁸ In text DeZ 3280,⁵⁹ Tuttul was governed by a man named Katmuḥḥayu during the eponymy of Nabu-bela-ušur. Nabu-bela-ušur was eponym at the end of the reign of Shalmaneser I.⁶⁰ The text of Tell Sabi Abyad (T 97-3)⁶¹ explicitly mentions the presence of an Assyrian governor, Aššur-šuma-eriš,⁶² during the eponymy of Etel-pi-Aššur, dated to the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I.⁶³ Finally, in letter no. 2 from Tell Sheikh Hamad published by E. Cancik-Kirschbaum⁶⁴, dated to the eponymy Ina-Aššur-šumi-ašbat (21st or 22nd year of Tukulti-Ninurta I's reign),⁶⁵ it seems quite clear that the city was always dominated by the Assyrians. So, it seems that it passed into their hands during the reign of Shalmaneser I.

From an archaeological point of view, the situation is more difficult to analyse, as no 13th century levels have been discovered at Tell Bia (modern-day Tuttul), meaning that there are no traces of Assyrian occupation. J.D. Lyon also noted that archaeological material contemporary with Hittite domination was also mostly local.⁶⁶ For the Assyrians, integrating the region into the provincial system was undoubtedly the best solution to quickly establish their domination over a city that had already lost its independence, but had not been deeply affected by the presence and/or culture of the Hittites.

Generally speaking, Hittite dominion over the Euphrates Valley is almost invisible in the archaeological field, with the exception of Karkemiš, Emar, el-Qitar⁶⁷ and Tell Fray. At the latter two sites, it is only documented by seal impressions.⁶⁸ From an archaeological point of view, the analysis of events is all the more difficult because political control was not necessarily accompanied by the spread of an associated material culture.

⁵⁷ See Cancik-Kirschbaum 2014b, 113-114.

⁵⁸ See also Cancik-Kirschbaum & Hess 2016, 150.

⁵⁹ Röllig 2008, 72-73, text n. 39.

⁶⁰ See Freydank 1991, 56 and 191; Bloch 2012, 407 (26th regnal year of Shalmaneser I, i.e. 1246), Röllig 2004, 44 and 49.

⁶¹ Wiggermann 2000, 172. In a table made by E. Cancik-Kirschbaum, Tuttul appears as the capital of an administrative district in another text from Tell Sabi Abyad, T 96-7 (Cancik-Kirschbaum 2014a, 301, Abb. 1).

⁶² Jakob 2003, 117. I thank Stefan Jakob for confirming the name of this governor.

⁶³ On the place of this eponym, see Röllig 2004, 47 et 49, Reculeau 2011, 172 and Freydank 2016, 9 (year 13= 1221).

⁶⁴ Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996, p. 95 (lettre n. 2, ligne 9).

⁶⁵ Cancik-Kirschbaum 2009, 131, Freydank 2016, 9.

⁶⁶ Lyon 2000, 100.

⁶⁷ The site delivered a Middle Assyrian tablet. It is a private document that is not dated (Snell 1983). Y. Cohen considers that it belongs in style and format to the Syro-Hittite tradition of Emar (Cohen 2019, 289, n. 49). T. McClellan also noted that pottery shapes common to both el-Qitar and Emar find parallels to Tell Sabi Abyad and may indicate that Assyrian pilgrims came to these two sites located on the right bank of the Euphrates river (McClellan 2018, 141-142).

⁶⁸ Otto 2018, 14.

Qabr Abu al-'Atiq

The small site of Qabr Abu al-'Atiq occupies a mound of approx. 58 m by 45 m. It was first identified in the 1990s,⁶⁹ but excavations began in 2008.⁷⁰ Five rooms in a building violently destroyed by fire were partially excavated. The pottery as well as two, as yet unpublished, tablets discovered have been typically Middle Assyrian. The architecture also demonstrates clear similarities with rooms discovered in Building P at Tell Sheikh Hamad (formerly Dur-Katlimmu). J.L. Montero Fenollós suggests that Qabr Abu al-'Atiq was a *dunnu*, probably built and owned by a very high-ranking official in Dur-Katlimmu. The name of the site, destroyed after the 11th year of the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I,⁷¹ is not yet known, but its role was most certainly to control communication routes and the surrounding steppe.

Apart from the site of Qabr Abu al-'Atiq, there is little evidence of Assyrian control,⁷² but Tuttul was at a minimum integrated into Assyrian provincial organisation. The data is less clear for Emar and Tell Fray, but considering their place—and especially Emar's—in Assyrian trade, we propose (F. Caramelo, J.L. Montero Fenollós and I) that both sites, together with Tuttul and Qabr Abu al-'Atiq, were important points on the steppe route in the western section.⁷³ The existence of this steppe road was proposed as early as 1983 by H. Kühne and its location was specified by P. Pfälzner following the Wadi Agig survey. Our proposal is that this route continues westwards and, by joining the Euphrates at Emar, allows the distance between the Levantine coast and Aššur to be covered as quickly as possible.

According to J.L. Montero Fenollós and colleagues, the date of the foundation of Qabr Abu al-'Atiq corresponds to the 13th century and the reigns of Adad-nirari I, Shalmaneser I or Tukulti-Ninurta I.⁷⁴ Attribution to the reign of Shalmaneser I is a viable option because, in addition to his military expeditions, he played an important role in the regional structuring of the Djezirah after the definitive end of the Mittani.⁷⁵ The foundation of Dunnu-ša-Uzibi, in the upper Tigris Valley, also dates back to his reign.⁷⁶

The abandonment of Tell Shiukh Fawqâni and the burning of Qabr Abu al-'Atiq may have been isolated events, but both sites may also have suffered from being too far from Aššur and too remote. These positions, intended to act as bridgeheads on hostile margins, were probably too precarious. This failure may explain, upstream, the retreat to the Balih in favour of a denser line of occupation with, in particular, Tell Sabi Abyad, which Tukulti-

⁶⁹ Einwag, Kohlmeyer & Otto 1995, 102.

⁷⁰ Montero Fenollós *et al.* 2010 and 2011; Montero Fenollós & Caramelo 2012.

⁷¹ On the dating of the Middle Assyrian occupation, see Montero Fenollós, Sanjurjo Sánchez & Márquez Rowe 2018.

⁷² Sherds dated to the Late Bronze Age were collected at Tell Tadayin (see Herlès 2007, 434), but data are too scarce to draw any conclusions about its occupation at this period.

⁷³ Tenu, Montero Fenollós & Caramelo in press with previous bibliography.

⁷⁴ Montero Fenollós, Sanjurjo Sánchez & Márquez Rowe 2018, 154.

⁷⁵ On the creation of the Middle Assyrian provinces under his reign, see Llop-Radua 2012.

⁷⁶ Schachner 2004, 5; Radner 2004, 113.

Ninurta I founded around 1225⁷⁷ and in the 12th-11th centuries, the establishment of fortification lines on the Euphrates.⁷⁸

III. The Lower Middle Euphrates Valley and the conquests of Tukulti-Ninurta I

Terqa and the land of Hana

An analysis of the situation in Terqa and in the land of Hana raises many difficulties as the documentation can be poor or ambiguous. It is ambiguous in that different regions in the Middle Assyrian Empire are referred to as Hana/Hanu⁷⁹ and it is not always easy to determine which is being discussed. Two cities are named Terqa, one on the Middle Euphrates and the other on the Balih.⁸⁰ Added to this uncertainty are doubts about whether Terqa/Tell Ashara continued to be the capital of the kingdom of Hana.⁸¹ Finally, it should be noted that the archaeological data at Tell Ashara and the surrounding sites are sparse for the Middle Assyrian period.⁸² The situation is particularly complex and questions remain as to whether and when the Assyrians conquered or at least took control of the region around Tell Ashara. Two texts have long been regarded as evidence of Assyrian domination during the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I. For A. Podany,⁸³ contract LH17⁸⁴ (unfortunately without any archaeological context) showed that Terqa was Assyrian under the eponymy of Libur-zanim-Aššur, the 6th or 7th year of the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I.⁸⁵ Assyrian domination appears to be confirmed by a letter discovered at Tell Sheikh Hamad/Dur-Katlimmu dated to the eponymy of Ina-Aššur-šumi-ašbat,⁸⁶ which reports the arrival of Sin-mudammiq in Terqa to organise the harvest.⁸⁷ Recently, E. Cancik-Kirschbaum and C. Hess considered that this letter was more likely to refer to Terqa on Balih and not Tell Ashara.⁸⁸

The toponym “Hana” raises just as many difficulties. Around the middle of the 2nd millennium BCE, the Kingdom of Hana extended towards the Lower Habur Valley⁸⁹ and then became one of the vassal states of the Mittani.⁹⁰ Hanaean activities then moved to Qaṭṭuna/Qaṭni in the Habur Valley at the end of the period of independent reign by Hana

⁷⁷ Akkermans & Wiggermann 2015, 91.

⁷⁸ Tenu in press a, and in press b.

⁷⁹ For a short presentation, see Tenu 2009, 193-195 et Cancik-Kirschbaum & Hess 2016, 55.

⁸⁰ Cancik-Kirschbaum & Hess 2016, 147.

⁸¹ Podany 2014, 68.

⁸² Rouault 2009; Tenu 2009, 191-192.

⁸³ Podany 2002, 73 and 151-153.

⁸⁴ The text was first published by H.M. Kümmel in 1979. Neither the names Terqa or Hana appear in the text, but the name of the Habur river does (l. 7-8).

⁸⁵ Reculeau 2011, 172; Bloch 2012, 407; Freydank 2016, 9.

⁸⁶ Reculeau 2011, 172; Bloch 2012, 407; Freydank 2016, 9.

⁸⁷ Cancik-Kirschbaum 2009, 127.

⁸⁸ Cancik-Kirschbaum & Hess 2016, 147.

⁸⁹ Cancik-Kirschbaum 2009, 126-127.

⁹⁰ Rouault 2004; Cancik-Kirschbaum 2009, 126-127.

kings at the very end of the 14th century or the very beginning of the 13th century BCE.⁹¹ The last king of Hana, Pagiru, eventually became a vassal of the Assyrian ruler, probably Adad-nirari I.⁹² For H. Kühne,⁹³ the fact that Sin-mudammiq went to Terqa to organise the harvest shows that the city had lost its status as a capital, but as we have seen, this could refer to Terqa on the Balih and not Tell Ashara. There is now a growing consensus that Terqa (Tell Ashara) was abandoned as the capital and that Hana is located in the Habur Valley.

However, two pieces of information seem to indicate that the toponym “Hana” could still designate the Middle Euphrates region in the Assyrian sources. The first is in the famous passage from the inscription of Tukulti-Ninurta I (A.O. 78.23), where he lists the regions that came under his command. It is an understatement to say that this list has given rise to questions and comments. Only one example of this text is known, on a stone tablet discovered in Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta.⁹⁴ After stating the capture of 28,800 Hittites in the year of his accession to the throne, the extent of his conquests and the victorious battle with forty kings from the Nairi lands, to the north of the Van Lake, the sovereign reported having captured Kaštiliaš IV, King of the Kassites, and becoming “Lord of Sumer and Akkad in its entirety.”

He then specified having brought under his command the lands of Mari, Hana and Rapiqu and the mountains of the Ahlamu (probably the Jebel Bishri) and about thirty other lands. The rest of the inscription is devoted to the construction work carried out at Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta. The discovery of a “land of Mari” on the Habur led several researchers to think that this region is the subject of the inscription (see below). A. Podany subsequently considered that the land of Hana could also be located on the Habur. While this alternative location should not be dismissed, it does not seem to me to correspond to the “logic” of the royal inscriptions. It is difficult to understand why, in the same text, the Assyrian ruler would put his victories over distant and powerful enemies (the Hittites, the Nairi kings and the Babylonian king) on the same level as victories over regions like Hana and Mari, which had been dominated by the Assyrians since at least the reign of his father, Shalmaneser I, and probably since that of his grandfather, Adad-nirari I.

The second piece of information that I believe is likely to demonstrate that two Hanas could coexist is an administrative text discovered at Tell Sheikh Hamad, published by W. Röllig. Text DeZ 3281 is dated to the eponymy of Enlil-nadin-apli, whose place in the succession of eponyms is unfortunately uncertain.⁹⁵ The text records deliveries of barley to different towns in Assyria, usually recorded under their names, but in four cases under the name of a person, whose title is not specified, but presumably was the ruler. The first two are well known in the texts of Dur-Katlimmu: Eṭir-Marduk was a governor of the town⁹⁶ and Sin-mudammiq was a *sukkallu* who resided in Aššukanni.⁹⁷ The identity of the

⁹¹ Kühne H. 2018, 142.

⁹² Kühne H. 2018, 142.

⁹³ Kühne H. 2018, 143.

⁹⁴ Grayson 1987, 271.

⁹⁵ Shibata 2011, 100, note 45; Freydank 2016, 9 (12th year = 1213 BCE)

⁹⁶ Röllig 1997, 284, note 14; Jakob 2003, 113.

last two, at the end of the list, raised many discussions at the time of publication because men with these names were not known in relation to the 13th century, but the 11th century.⁹⁸ At that time, Tukulti-Mer and Aššur-ketti-lešer were respectively King of the land of Hana and King of the land of Mari. The existence of a ruler named Aššur-ketti-lešer in the 13th century has since been confirmed by texts from Tell Taban/Ṭabetu. In text DeZ 3281, line 12, “a land of Upper Hana” is referred to. Thus, if we retain the hypothesis that Tukulti-Mer was King of the land of Hana, this would mean that two of the contributors paid for the land of Hana. This toponym would have thus designated at the end of the 13th century two different regions, one between the Balih and Habur, the Upper Hana, whose capital was perhaps Qatni,⁹⁹ and the other on the Middle Euphrates, under the responsibility of Tukulti-Mer.

These two texts offer limited clues and to date nothing allows for certainty, but they seem to show that excluding *a priori* a location on the Middle Euphrates could distort our understanding of events.

The Assyrians could have subdued the land of Hana around Terqa during the activities of Tukulti-Ninurta I in northern Babylonia,¹⁰⁰ but they did not transform it into a province. This was probably not appropriate in this case: the territory, located far from Aššur, had enjoyed a certain power only a short time before and had established strong political and cultural links with Babylonia.¹⁰¹ The tablet (still unpublished) discovered in Marwaniye shows that only a short time before, during the reign of Kadašman-Enlil II (1263-1255 BCE), the region was still under the rule of the Babylonians.¹⁰²

One can probably assume that the Assyrians chose to integrate the land of Hana on the Euphrates as a vassal kingdom, which would explain both why it appears in DeZ 3281 under the name of its ruler and why in Tell Ashara itself and in the surrounding sites, the Middle Assyrian material culture is so poorly documented. For example, Djebel Mashtale, about 4 km south of Terqa, has yielded levels from the Late Bronze Age, where pottery from the southern tradition appears to be in the majority, but which nevertheless includes shapes from the Middle Assyrian horizon, dating back to the 13th-11th centuries.¹⁰³

⁹⁷ Röllig 1997, 284, note 15; Jakob 2003, 60-62.

⁹⁸ See for instance Luciani 2001b.

⁹⁹ Cancik-Kirschbaum 2009, 128.

¹⁰⁰ See also Cancik-Kirschbaum 2009, 129. On the chronology of Tukulti-Ninurta's activities against Babylonia, see Yamada S. 2003 (especially the synthesis p. 166-168) and the PhD thesis of Ygal Bloch (Bloch 2012, 273-275), Jakob 2003, Jakob 2011, 194-205; Llop-Radua 2011.

¹⁰¹ H. Kühne (2018, 143) pointed out that Ammurapi, a client king of the Assyrian king, likely Shalmanaser I, worshiped Kassite gods.

¹⁰² Rouault 2009, 139.

¹⁰³ Tenu 2009, 192.

The Lands of Mari and Suhu

In the inscription of Tukulti-Ninurta I A.O.78.23 mentioning the “land of Mari and Rapiqu and the mountains of the Ahlamû,”¹⁰⁴ one may be surprised at the absence of “the land of Suhu”, situated between Rapiqu and Mari, as this toponym also appears in sources from the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I. This absence is probably explained by the fact that, although the two regions often shared a common history, this was not always the case in the 13th century.

One of the first mentions of these two lands in the Middle Assyrian period comes from a letter discovered in Dur-Kurigalzu. A man named Zikir-ilišu, who may have been a Babylonian envoy to the Assyrian court, wrote it.¹⁰⁵ The text reports that one band of armed Hirana had settled partly in towns in Subartu captured by the Assyrian King and partly in the lands of Suhu and Mari. The text is poorly preserved, but it shows that the lands of Suhu and Mari were not integrated into Assyria.¹⁰⁶ Its date is uncertain: O. Gurney proposed the reign of Adad-nirari I (1295-1264 BCE),¹⁰⁷ B. Faist that of Shalmaneser I (1263-1234)¹⁰⁸ and Y. Bloch that of Tukulti-Ninurta I.¹⁰⁹ The context, in any case, leaves no doubt that the land of Mari mentioned here is indeed the one located on the Middle Euphrates.¹¹⁰

Since the discovery of tablets attesting to the existence of a “land of Mari” on the Middle Habur, research on the land(s) of Mari has multiplied¹¹¹ and there are still many uncertainties as to their location around Tell Taban/Tabetu or at Tell Hariri/Mari, including the passage from the inscription of Tukulti-Ninurta I A.O. 78.23. My hypothesis is that it is the Mari of the Middle Euphrates for two reasons. First of all (and this is the same as for the country of Hana), it is difficult to see why the Assyrian sovereign would have included a region that was already firmly part of Assyria in an inscription valuing his conquests and victories. Excavations at Tell Taban also show the complete integration of the city within the Assyrian material culture, especially concerning pottery.¹¹² In addition, unlike Tell Ashara, which delivered few, if any, vestiges of the 13th century, Tell Hariri was probably occupied at that time.

In 1979, J.-C. Margueron and his team opened an excavation at Tell Hariri es-Srir to the south of the site. It was an imposing mass of clay, still at least 8 m high, which was located

¹⁰⁴ Grayson, 1987, p. 273. The land of Mari around Tell Taban was indeed subject to the Assyrians from the reign of Shalmaneser I (Shibata 2007). For detailed argumentation, see Tenu 2009, 129-132.

¹⁰⁵ Gurney 1949, 139-141; Faist 2001, 234-236.

¹⁰⁶ Cancik-Kirschbaum 2008a, 215. See also Bloch 2013, 265-266, note 173; Clancier 2020, 281-282.

¹⁰⁷ Gurney 1949, 141.

¹⁰⁸ Faist 2001, 236.

¹⁰⁹ Bloch 2013, 266, note 174.

¹¹⁰ Clancier 2020, 281.

¹¹¹ See the paper of D. Shibata (2011), which provides an update on this issue. with previous bibliography

¹¹² H. Numoto, D. Shibata & S. Yamada (2013) pointed out the long lasting local traditions in many aspects in Tell Taban/Tabetu but the pottery sequence they conveniently present (p. 175) do show the complete integration of this corpus to the Middle Assyrian pottery assemblage.

against the rampart. The almost sterile accumulation had no stratified deposits, but delivered about 50 slingshots made from hardened earth. Dating perhaps to the Middle Assyrian period, this small tell would have served as a platform for a Middle Assyrian fortress measuring ca. 50 m by 50 m.¹¹³ Extending this hypothesis, J.L. Montero Fenollós proposed that a *dunnu* of comparable dimensions to those of Qabr Abu al-'Atiq and Tell Sabi Abyad was built there.¹¹⁴ A second area, *chantier* E, excavated in 1984, 1987 and 1990,¹¹⁵ yielded findings attributable to the Middle Assyrian period. It was a small domestic building, unfortunately very poorly preserved, but with at least two levels of occupation.¹¹⁶ It delivered two graves, one of which had a skeleton resting on a layer of plaster with purple castings (tomb 863),¹¹⁷ similar to other tombs of this type found in cemeteries and tombs at Tell Chuera (see below).¹¹⁸ Pottery from the Middle Assyrian and Middle Babylonian traditions was also discovered there.¹¹⁹

The main data documenting the Middle Assyrian period in Mari consists of the cemeteries discovered in the ruins of the *Grand Palais Royal*. To date, they may be the largest corpus of Middle Assyrian tombs known, with 304 burials, according to Marylou Jean-Marie.¹²⁰ Plastered tombs, sometimes purple in colour, identified as a new funerary custom by J. Mallet,¹²¹ have been recognised in these cemeteries. The tradition has also been identified in two graves (C. 32 and C. 33) on level 2 of Tell Chuera.¹²²

Several tombs have delivered refined and luxurious objects: gold jewellery, mirrors and glazed wares. A. Parrot¹²³ had assumed that these graves were those of members of an Assyrian garrison stationed in Mari. This hypothesis is widely discussed in particular because the pottery does not correspond to the standard assemblage, as defined by P. Pfälzner;¹²⁴ many shapes are related to other horizons, notably Babylonian,¹²⁵ and very few graves delivered weapons—only eleven, according to J.L. Montero Fenollós¹²⁶, who studied two of them in particular. Twenty-three bronze arrowheads and an iron ring were found in tomb 176. In tomb 134, five iron arrowheads in a quiver and a sieve were

¹¹³ Margueron 1982b, 29-30; Margueron 2004, 536.

¹¹⁴ Tenu, Montero Fenollós & Caramelo 2013, 148.

¹¹⁵ Margueron 2004, 530-532.

¹¹⁶ Margueron 1993b, 19.

¹¹⁷ Jean-Marie 1999, 53.

¹¹⁸ Klein 1995, 188.

¹¹⁹ Pons & Gasche 1996.

¹²⁰ Jean-Marie 1999; Tenu 2009, 188. According to H. Kühne (2017, 326), 63 tombs are roughly dated to 1350-1200 BCE

¹²¹ See for instance, tombs 656, 658, 659, 665, 670 and maybe 668, but no bone was found, Mallet 1975, 26-30.

¹²² Klein 1995, 187-188. The precise dating of level 2 has not been established, but level 3b has delivered tablets dated to the second half of the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I (Kühne C. 1995, 206; Jakob 2009, 1-3). These burials would thus date back to the beginning of the 12th century. For a synthetic presentation of Tell Chuera in the Middle Assyrian period, see Tenu 2009, 94-97.

¹²³ Parrot 1974, 150-151.

¹²⁴ Pfälzner 1995.

¹²⁵ Tenu 2009, 189-190 and 195. The same situation occurs at Khirbet ed-Diniye, see Tenu 2012, 104-105.

¹²⁶ Montero Fenollós 2004, 14.

discovered.¹²⁷ In the 13th-11th centuries BCE, the use of iron for weapons was still rare.¹²⁸ The Assyrian King Tiglath-pileser I himself claimed that he had killed four bulls with iron arrowheads.¹²⁹

For J. L. Montero Fenollós, the two men in graves 134 and 176 were probably archers, perhaps even officers.¹³⁰ The low proportion of graves containing weapons gives the general impression of low militarisation at the site and seems to strongly contradict the hypothesis of an Assyrian garrison put forward by A. Parrot. However, it cannot be ruled out that the scarcity of weapons in the graves does not reveal the small number of soldiers but rather a deliberate choice not to "waste" indispensable military equipment.

The occupation of Tell Hariri during the Middle Assyrian period is certain, and moreover, contemporary sherds have been collected at Tell Abu Hassan, a site on the left bank of the river, close to Tell Hariri.¹³¹ To consider *a priori* that the land of Mari could never therefore refer to the "metropolis of the Euphrates" seems to me to be a significant bias. The number of tombs, the discovery of two levels of occupation on *chantier* E, and the possible presence of a military installation of the *dunnu* type indicate that the occupation of the site was neither ephemeral nor negligible, although its nature remains difficult to establish.

The place of Suhu in Middle Assyrian military operations in the 13th century is a thorny issue to address because the sources, which are few in number, are often allusive or poorly dated. First of all, from an archaeological point of view, it must be acknowledged that there are virtually no sources available. Most of the archaeological activity in the region took place during the rescue excavations linked to the construction of the Haditha Dam between 1978 and 1986.¹³² 82 sites were inventoried at that time, several of which were further researched by Iraqi and foreign teams. The results of this work have not been widely published and the unpublished thesis of Sabah Jassem Abdul Amir al-Shukri, defended in 1988, remains the main source to this day.¹³³ The Assyrian presence in ancient Suhu in the second part of the 2nd millennium BCE seems to me beyond doubt, but the archaeological evidence available to us indicates a date more likely in the 12th century than the 13th century.¹³⁴ This absence can certainly be explained by the luck of the draw in the excavations, but written documentation provides another, more satisfactory and likely more relevant explanation.

¹²⁷ See the complete lists in Montero Fenollós 2004, 13 and 14. The closest parallel for this discovery is the material from tomb T 47 of Khirbet ed-Diniye, dated to the 11th-10th century. Christine Kepinski and her team discovered a sieve (V 149) and 28 iron arrowheads in a quiver (m 156) made of organic material in a vaulted tomb, within the walls of the fortress (Kepinski 2012, 66 and 188).

¹²⁸ On the spread of iron use, see H. Kühne 2017. J. Llop-Radua's article on Middle Assyrian armament as documented in written sources also shows the still rare character of iron (Llop-Radua 2016).

¹²⁹ Grayson 1991, 25.

¹³⁰ Montero Fenollós 2004, 17.

¹³¹ Geyer & Monchambert 2003/1, 260; Tenu 2009, 190.

¹³² Kepinski, Lecomte & Tenu 2006.

¹³³ Abdul-Amir 1988.

¹³⁴ I have published papers of this data on several occasions Tenu 2006, 2008, 2009, in press a and in press b.

The first mention of a campaign against Suhu in Assyrian sources likely dates back to the reign of Adad-nirari I.¹³⁵ A very damaged text seems to indicate that the Assyrian King led a military operation to Suhu via the Wadi Tharthar. This reference is isolated and difficult to satisfactorily interpret, but it could explain why Adad-nirari I mentioned Rapiku in his epithets.¹³⁶

The other texts all date from the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I and several are closely associated with the sovereign's campaigns in Babylonia. The chronology of events has given rise to numerous studies which show that two major events, the capture of the Kassite ruler Kaštiliaš IV and the direct takeover of Babylon and the deportation of the statue of Marduk, constitute the culmination of a conflict that consisted of many episodes. Suhu does not appear in any royal inscriptions or chronicles, but it does in letters and administrative texts.¹³⁷ MARV IV 27 and MARV IV 30 are not dated, but J. Llop-Raduà, who published a very useful translation, suggested attributing them to the eponymy of Etel-pi-Aššur, i.e. the 13th year of the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I.¹³⁸ Both explicitly mention a campaign led by the King against Suhu, which may have been linked to an operation against Babylonia, which also appears in text MARV IV 30.¹³⁹ It may have been during this campaign that Suhean prisoners were deported to villages around Tell Chuera.¹⁴⁰

Another document, Emar VI/3, 263¹⁴¹, is of great interest in understanding the Middle Euphrates under the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I because it mentions Suhu and the land of Mari. The author of letter Emar VI/3, 263 wrote to his correspondent in Emar that two Ahlamu from Suhu had informed him that “the governor of the land of Suhu severely raided the land of Mari with his chariots and his troops.”¹⁴² This letter does not have a date, but it most certainly dates from the end of the 13th century BCE or the very

¹³⁵ Bloch 2013.

¹³⁶ Grayson 1987, 131.

¹³⁷ The mention of Suhu in MARV II 17 is subject to discussion. For Y. Bloch, the reading Suhu does not raise any difficulties and would show cooperation between Assyrians and Suheans (Bloch 2012, 229). K. Deller and J. N. Postgate (1985, 74) have suggested Suḫuritišu. This reading was also taken up by E. Cancik-Kirschbaum and C. Hess (Cancik-Kirschbaum & Hess 2016, 122-123). In addition to differing opinions on whether or not to mention Suhu, the dating of the text is also uncertain. For Y. Bloch (2012, 275), the eponymy of Abi-ili, son of Katiri takes place in the 21st year of the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I, between the capture of Kaštiliaš IV and the king's takeover of Babylon; for W. Röllig before the eponymy of Ina-Aššur-šumi-ašbat (Röllig 2004, 48). H. Reculeau also considers that Abi-ili was eponymous in the first half of the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I, after Etel-pi-Aššur (year 13) and before Ina-Aššur-šumi-ašbat, the 17th year of reign (Reculeau 2011, 172). E. Cancik-Kirschbaum (2018, 10) estimates that there were between 4 and 9 eponyms between Ina-assur-šumi-ašbat and Abi-ili, son of Katiri. H. Freydank (2016, 9) places the eponymy of Abi-ili in the 19th year of the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I, 1215 BCE, between that of Etel-pi-Aššur (year 13=1221) and Ina-Aššur-šuma-ašbat (year 22=1212).

¹³⁸ Llop-Raduà 2010, 108-113. On these two texts, see also Cancik-Kirschbaum 2009, 129; Freydank 2016, 9 (year 13 = 1221).

¹³⁹ Another text MARV I 1 records a campaign against Karduniaš and ca. 14.400 Kassite deportees during the eponymy of Etel-pi-Aššur (Bloch 2012, 273; Llop-Raduà 2011, 213-214).

¹⁴⁰ Jakob 2009, 94; Jakob 2005, 184.

¹⁴¹ Arnaud 1986, Durand & Marti 2005, Shibata 2011, 97-98.

¹⁴² Shibata 2011, 97.

beginning of the 11th century.¹⁴³

Once again, the location of the land of Mari is the subject of much discussion. Its identification with the region of Ṭabetu/Tell Taban on the Middle Habur seems to me possible, but no more probable than with the region of Tell Hariri. In particular, D. Shibata stresses how unlikely it seems to him that an event of this importance would not be reflected in Tell Taban documentation.¹⁴⁴ Y. Bloch favours the location on the Habur and finds it doubtful that Emar's authorities would be kept informed of a purely local event far downstream on the Euphrates between Mari and Suhu.¹⁴⁵ This argument is weakened by the fact that Emar had relations with Suhu, as evidenced, for example, by the letter sent by Talmi-Šarruma, Governor of Emar, to Nabunnu, Governor of Suhu,¹⁴⁶ and also by Emar VI/3, 26, which relates to a transaction carried out in a house in Anat, a city located in Suhu, also involving a man named Nabunnu, son of Ulambu[rriyaš]. These two texts date to the end of Emar's archives and are most likely more recent than Emar VI, 263. However, they do attest to links between Emar and Suhu that justify that Suhean actions would be of general interest to the Emarites, as well as providing information on the situation in the region ruled by a governor¹⁴⁷ put in place by the Kassite rulers.¹⁴⁸ One may wonder to what extent the Suhean attack on the land of Mari was directed against the Assyrians, who then dominated the region around Tell Hariri, and whether the news of this raid was not in the end rather good news for the Emarites. The author of the letter also stated that he would inform his correspondent of the booty taken by the Suheans.

The conflict that led Tukulti-Ninurta I to oppose the Hittites went through several phases, some of which were very acute crises, at the time of the battle of Nihriya,¹⁴⁹ for example, or the mobilisation of the Hittite vassal states in the Levant against the Assyrians.¹⁵⁰ Apart from these episodes, a low intensity conflict may still have existed, with misfortunes of the Assyrians not necessarily displeasing Emar, which was under Hittite domination.

The significant place of Suhu in the geopolitical chessboard of the end of the 13th and beginning of the 12th century BCE is confirmed by letter KBo 28. 61-64¹⁵¹ sent by Tukulti-Ninurta I to a Hittite king, probably Suppiluliuma II, at the very end of his reign.¹⁵² The text is very damaged and understanding the events it reports is difficult.¹⁵³ It refers to the role of a "servant of Suhu" in a *coup d'état* on the throne of Karduniaš. The context, reasons and identity of this "servant of Suhu" remain unclear, but this text, dated to the

¹⁴³ Shibata 2011, 98, note 19; Clancier 2020, 306.

¹⁴⁴ Shibata 2011, 98.

¹⁴⁵ Bloch 2012, 266 (note 174).

¹⁴⁶ Cohen 2015.

¹⁴⁷ Clancier 2020, 309.

¹⁴⁸ Clancier 2020, 315-316.

¹⁴⁹ See *inter alia* Yamada M. 2011, 202-203, with previous bibliography. See also Bryce 2005, 337-339 (the equation between Nihriya and Nairi is however to be excluded).

¹⁵⁰ This is the meaning of the treaty that the great Hittite king Tudhaliya IV concluded with Šaušgamuwa of Amurru (Beckman 1996, 98-101, esp. 101). Tudhaliya IV also released his vassal Ammistamru II of Ugarit from participating in war against Assyria (Beckman 1996, 167-168). Ugarit paid in exchange fifty mina of gold.

¹⁵¹ Mora & Giorgeri 2004, 113-127.

¹⁵² Mora & Giorgeri 2004, 113.

¹⁵³ Durand & Marti 2005, 127-129; Singer 2008; Cancik-Kirschbaum 2008a, 216-217.

eponymy of Ili-pada (around 1197 BCE) shows that the Assyrian military campaigns had not succeeded in controlling Suhu, which was still led by a governor, qualified as a “servant”. Suhu was then important enough for its governor to play a key role in the Babylonian political scene.¹⁵⁴

Unpublished texts from Tell Sabi Abyad confirm that at the end of the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I, the Suheans were considered the enemies of Assyria, including the Kassites, and that the Assyrians received information about suspicious movements of the Suheans.¹⁵⁵

The literature on Suhu in the 13th century is disparate but consistent. At no time did Suhu actually become part of Assyria. In the current state of the documentation, we know with certainty only one campaign of Tukulti-Ninurta I against Suhu, launched at the beginning of its operations in Babylonia. It apparently ended in failure, which either showed the Assyrian ruler that it would never be possible for him to hold Suhu, or that his strategic interest in his Babylonian policy did not justify military investment.¹⁵⁶ There is nothing to definitively rule between these two hypotheses, which are not mutually exclusive.

In any case, texts subsequent to the campaign of year 13 (eponymy of Etel-pi-Aššur) show that governors ruled the region. They were probably put in place at the end of the 14th century by the Kassite King Kadašman-Harbe II when he “strengthened the fortifications of the citadels in Šaršar (= Djebel Bišri).”¹⁵⁷ The absence of Suhu in inscription A.O. 78.23 is likely not an error and Rapiqu certainly should not be interpreted to mean Suhu by metonymy. Suhu avoided Assyrian takeover in the 13th century.

Conclusion

The Middle Euphrates Valley passed partly into the Assyrian fold in the 13th century, but the control of the Aššur remained uneven. The offensives of Shalmaneser I essentially ensured his control over the area upstream of the confluence with the Habur, while the lands of Hana and Mari on the Middle Euphrates were more likely to be subjected later, in the context of the activities of Tukulti-Ninurta I in northern Babylonia.

An analysis of the situation in the Euphrates Valley is very complex because it was at the forefront of politics in the major states and more particularly the conflicts between the Assyrians and the Hittites, who were generally allied with the Babylonians. This regional geopolitical balance underwent multiple profound upheavals as a result of major events such as the coup d'état by Hattušili III against his nephew and the capture of Kaštiliaš IV by Tukulti-Ninurta I; however, most are undoubtedly unknown to us. The story is probably fraught with local clashes and frictions that are difficult to explain. For example, was the destruction of Qabr Abu al-'Atiq and Emar an isolated event, a successful *coup de force*, or part of a more general conflict? There is no way to know for sure. One can also imagine the important role played on this chessboard by the vassal states, who likely

¹⁵⁴ See Clancier 2020, 300-308.

¹⁵⁵ Akkermans & Wiggermann 2015, 119.

¹⁵⁶ See Tenu in press b.

¹⁵⁷ Glassner 1993, 224 and Glassner 2004, 279.

often had more latitude and could afford to influence politics without threatening the general balance. A multiscale perspective on the data is therefore essential.

Finally, it remains particularly difficult to make the connection between the textual data and the archaeological documentation, due to the lack of chronological precision, especially in the absence of discoveries of texts dated by known eponyms.

The form of political domination or control greatly affects the quantity and quality of archaeological data. Hittite control established by Suppiluliuma I over the Euphrates Valley is little or not reflected at all in the archaeological material. The Assyrians were clearly pragmatic in adopting the “formula” they felt was most appropriate,¹⁵⁸ which explains the wide variations in the administrative statuses of the sites (e.g. Tuttul was fully integrated into the Assyrian administrative system) and in the quantity and even nature of the Assyrian material uncovered. The land of Hana on the Euphrates was certainly a subject of the Assyrians by oaths of vassalage, without any real Assyrian presence or culture.

The temporal and geographical imbalance of the sources at our disposal does not allow us to obtain a truly satisfactory picture of the place of the Middle Euphrates in the Assyrian Empire in the 13th century, but we can nevertheless measure its importance both in the surveillance and protection of the borders and the protection of the main traffic routes which supplied the capital. The challenge for the Assyrians was therefore to hold on to the vast territory they had conquered, even if their presence on the ground was in places very limited and was in fact very dependent on the relations maintained with the local populations and elites.

At the beginning of the 12th century, the destruction of Emar and the end of the great Hittite Empire profoundly changed the balance of power in northern Syria, while Babylonia, shaken by *coups d'état* and a victim of Assyrian and Elamite military campaigns, was going through a troubled period in the 12th century.

¹⁵⁸ Tenu, Montero Fenollós & Caramelo 2012.

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