

Vorwort

Bei der Öffnung der Sendung wird man bei aufmerksamer Betrachtung dieses Heftes bemerkt haben, dass sich der Untertitel verändert hat. Statt "Zeitschrift für Unterwasserarchäologie" lautet er jetzt "Zeitschrift für maritime und limnische Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte". Das hat gute Gründe. Allzu oft wird - auch in archäologischen Fachkreisen - Unterwasserarchäologie immer noch lediglich als Hilfstechne zur Dokumentation und Bergung unter Wasser geratener Objekte angesehen. Blättert man aber die wachsende Zahl ausländischer Zeitschriften und Periodika durch, zeigt sich sogleich, dass das internationale Verständnis sich erheblich erweitert hat, auch wenn in den Titeln der Publikationen wie auch in den Namen der herausgebenden Institutionen manchmal noch engere Begriffe wie "underwater archaeology", "archeologia subacquea" usw. vorkommen. Tatsächlich erstreckt sich heutzutage deren Arbeitsgebiet trotz notwendiger Schwerpunktbildungen prinzipiell über alle Perioden der menschlichen Entwicklung, durch alle Kulturen und über sämtliche Regionen der Erde. Dabei bilden Wasserfahrzeuge aller Art, ihre Bauweise und nautischen Eigenschaften, ihre Ladung und der durch Schifffahrt bewirkte Kulturaustausch zwar besonders wichtige Arbeitsbereiche, aber auch alle Wasserbauten wie Häfen, Befestigungen, Küstenschutz, Brücken, Seezeichen, ans Wasser gebundene Siedlungen sowie Einrichtungen für Fischfang und Jagd zu Wasser gehören dazu, d.h. alles was dem Leben des Menschen auf oder an Meeren, Seen und Flüssen dient und seiner Kultur ein besonderes Gepräge gibt. Dieses schließt die künstlerische Verarbeitung nautischer oder maritimer Themen ebenso ein wie Sitten und Gebräuche, weltliche und religiöse Vorstellungen und Begehungen, Mythen und Legenden, Arbeits- und Verhaltensweisen gewässernaher Bevölkerungen, also ethnographische, anthropologische und soziologische Aspekte und Fragestellungen - nicht anders, als in den herkömmlichen archäologischen Fächern auch!

Einem ebenso breiten Verständnis des Begriffs "Unterwasserarchäologie" ist diese Zeitschrift seit dem ersten Heft verpflichtet. Die Erfahrung hat aber inzwischen gelehrt, dass eine solche Einstellung auch nach außen deutlich gemacht werden muss. Mit "maritim" und "limnisch" soll auf Meer und Binnengewässer hingewiesen werden, "Archäologie" bleibt als zentraler Begriff erhalten, erfährt aber durch "Kulturgeschichte" eine wesentliche Erweiterung im oben beschriebenen umfassenden Sinne und unterstreicht, dass die Arbeit keinesfalls mit dem Auftauchen des Forschers aus dem Wasser beendet ist oder sich gar von nicht archäologisch geschulten Tauchern erledigen lasse.

Langjährigen SKYLLIS-Lesern ist das alles vertraut. Neue Abonnenten, die immer herzlich willkommen sind, können sich gleich in diesem Heft von der thematischen Breite der Beiträge überzeugen, von denen die ersten zehn aus der Jubiläumstagung "In Poseidons Reich XX" hervorgegangen sind, die die DEGUWA im Jahre 2015 dank der Gastfreundschaft und Unterstützung des Germanischen Nationalmuseums in dessen Räumen abhalten konnten.

Der Bogen ist zeitlich von der Eiszeit bis in die frühe Neuzeit gespannt. Garry Momber und Sara Rich folgen den unter Wasser geratenen Spuren des Menschen während seiner Landnahme im damals trockenen Nordseegebiet und Laura Sanna berichtet über neue Forschungen in der größten, schon lange für ihre prähistorischen Funde verschiedener Epochen bekannten Karsthöhle der ligurischen Küste. Alexander Fantalkin und Oren Tal führen uns in die nahöstliche Eisenzeit und legt dar, wie es die Assyrer als typische Landmacht verstanden, das Mittelmeer und die darin mündenden Flüsse logistisch zu nutzen. Marta Bajtler eröffnet uns erstmals Einblicke in die Unterwasser-Forschungen Montenegros an dessen kurzer Adria-Küste und macht einige hellenistische

Amphoren- und andere Keramikfunde eines neueren Surveys bekannt. Wasserfahrzeuge kann man nicht nur zum Befahren von Gewässern benutzen, sondern damit auch einen Dammbbruch schließen. Das wußten aber auch schon die alten Römer, wie Marie-Pierre Jézégou mit ihrem Team an einem spätantiken Fund aus den Sumpfgeländen von Narbonne demonstriert. Mit Shelley Wachsmanns Beitrag gelangen wir abermals in den Orient: wir begleiten ihn auf der Suche nach dem einstigen Hafen von Jaffa. Massimo Capulli führt anhand einer kleinen Insel die Beziehung zwischen Mensch und Lagunen-Umwelt bei Venedig vor. Gleich zwei Beiträge, nämlich die von Ana Crespo-Solana sowie von Koldo Trápaga Monchet und António Rocha Santos, beschäftigen sich mit der staatlichen Sorge um Schiffbauholz auf der Iberischen Halbinsel in der frühen Neuzeit. Vesna Zmaić Kralj schließlich macht dem Tagungsort Nürnberg ein besonderes Geschenk, indem sie eine bedeutende Fundgruppe von Kostbarkeiten nürnbergischen Kunsthandwerks des beginnenden 17. Jhs. aus einem leider schon weitgehend geplünderten Wrack vor der kroatischen Küste bekanntmacht. Soweit die aus der Tagung in Nürnberg hervorgegangenen Beiträge - weitere folgen im nächsten Heft.

Die drei letzten Artikel sind unabhängig von DEGUWA-Tagungen eingesandt worden. Vladimir R. Chepelev schildert uns - gewissermaßen als Fortsetzung seiner früheren Berichte - das Schicksal weiterer Zarenboote, diesmal vom Alten und Neuen Ladoga-Kanal. Buche und Esche als Schiffbauhölzer sind schließlich die Gegenstände zweier Beiträge von Nili Liphshitz, die sich ebenfalls einer ganzen Serie ähnlicher Studien anschließen. So hofft die Redaktion, den Leserinnen und Lesern abermals eine recht bunte Palette an Themen bieten zu können.

Die Redaktion
Juni 2016

When the River Meets the Sea

A Neo-Assyrian Logistical Network in Operation

Alexander Fantalkin – Oren Tal

Abstract – Before the second half of the 8th century BCE, the Assyrian empire was basically a land-locked kingdom, possessing, however, developed abilities of river transportation. Following the incorporation of the Levantine coast into the Neo-Assyrian realm, with direct access to the Mediterranean, new strategies of imperial domination were created. Using one of the recently studied test cases, it will be demonstrated how under these circumstances both the rivers and the sea became connected within an intentionally created imperial network and landscape.

Inhalt – Vor der zweiten Hälfte des 8. Jhs. war das Assyrienreich im wesentlichen ein vom Meer abgeschnittenes Königtum, besaß aber fortgeschrittene Fähigkeiten im Flusstransport. Nach der Eingliederung der Levanteküste ins Neuassyrische Reich, die direkte Zugang zum Mittelmeer ermöglichte, wurden neue Strategien imperialer Herrschaft geschaffen. Anhand eines der neuerdings untersuchten Probebeispiele wird gezeigt, wie unter diesen Umständen sowohl die Flüsse als auch das Meer innerhalb eines bewusst geschaffenen Netzwerkes und Landschaftsraumes miteinander verbunden wurden.



Introduction

From the past to the present the rivers have served as one of the most important components of everyday life in Mesopotamia. Indeed, even the name we are using today, follows the Greek 'between the rivers', that derives from Aramaic *bēt nahrīn*: the two great rivers, the Euphrates and the Tigris (Lees – Falcon 1952) (Fig. 1)¹.

The Mesopotamian rulers, Assyrians in particular, have expressed their interest in the Mediterranean region already during the days of the Middle Assyrian Empire (e.g., Brown 2013). Thus, Tiglath-Pileser I, who frequently campaigned against the Arameans, proceeded during one of the campaigns to Byblos, Sidon, and Arwad and received a tribute in the form of gifts from these principalities, which will be known later as important Phoenician centers. He even claims that during this campaign he embarked on a ship at Arwad and made a sea-voyage, on which he killed a *nāhiru*².

Later on, during the early stages of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, we hear

of heavy tribute paid by some Phoenician centers to Aššurnasirpal II, Šalmaneser III and Adad-Nirari III. However, it was only during the days of Tiglath-Pileser III (following his victory over Sarduri, the King of Urartu, at the battle of Kishtan in 743 BCE), when the whole area of the Levant, from Cilicia in the north down to Philistia in the south was incorporated into the Neo-Assyrian Em-

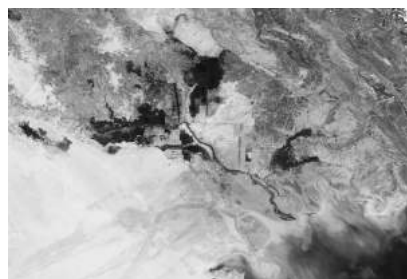


Fig. 1: A Satellite image of the Tigris and Euphrates delta.

pire. Tiglath-Pileser's III policies were continued by Sargon II and Sennacherib; and during the days of Essarhadon and Ashurbanipal in the first half of the 7th century BCE, when Assyria even ruled for some time in Egypt.

In the days of the old and the middle Assyrian periods, the crossing of the Euphrates was considered not less than a heroic achievement, and even in the days of Aššurnasirpal II (first half of the 9th century BCE), crossing the Euphrates was still considered an accomplishment worthy of commemoration in the throne room of his palace at Kalhu (Meuszynski 1981). At this time, we are still dealing with basically a land-locked kingdom, although with developed abilities of river transportation (Fales 1993) (Figs. 2-3). From the second half of the 8th century BCE, following the incorporation of the Levantine coast into the Neo-Assyrian realm, it is no longer so and a new strategies of imperial domination were created, which are particularly visible along the coastal area of the Mediterranean, which are dotted with Neo-Assyrian *emporía* and fortresses. A variety of perspectives concerning the general modes of Neo-Assyrian imperial control of this area were presented at length in various studies (e.g., Na'aman 2001; 2003; 2009a; 2009b; Fales 2008; Bedford 2009; Faust 2011; Berlejung 2012; Bagg 2013). In what follows, we shall



Fig. 2: A relief depicting crossing of a river (probably the Euphrates) by the army of Aššurnasirpal II.



Fig. 4: A Satellite image of Tel Aviv and the Yarkon rivermouth (top).

extremes of time, disregarding geopolitical boundaries and the modes of imperial dominations altogether (Fantalkin 2006). Contrary to this approach, and using a particular area as an example, we emphasize the decisive role of the Neo-Assyrian empire in the process of formatting the fragmented landscapes into coherent units, within the framework of intentionally created landscape, serving a much more complicated imperial network.

Connecting the Nodes of the Imperial Network

The idea of identifying Assyria as a 'network empire' was put forward by Liverani in 1988. Although in a response, a number of premises of this particular network model were rightly criticised by Postgate (1992), both views are not mutually exclusive but complementary, especially with regard to the southern Levant during the period of Neo-Assyrian domination. In this part of the world, conquered by the Assyrians, the physical manifestation of the empire indeed should be seen "not a spread of land but a network of communications over which material goods are carried" (Liverani 1988, 86).

The main site under discussion, called Tell Qudadi, should be seen as an integral part of such a network. It is located on the northern bank of the mouth of the Yarkon river (Figs. 4–5). The major excavations were carried out from November 1937 to March 1938 on behalf of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and were directed by E.L. Sukenik and S. Yeivin, with the

concentrate on a case-study that deals with a particular micro-region on the central Israeli coast and its surrounding areas, during the period of Neo-Assyrian domination. A detailed account of the history and archaeology of this region was presented recently (Fantalkin – Tal 2015), and below we shall try to clarify how under the new circumstances both the rivers and the sea became connected within an intentionally created imperial network and landscape.

The emphasis on micro-regional developments in studying Mediter-

anean fragmented landscapes has been put forward by Horden and Purcell (2000). Using the *longue durée* perspective, they show convincingly that the Mediterranean landscapes were outstanding in the degree to which they were fragmented and, simultaneously, in the degree of their connectivity. As one of us has argued in the past, however, what is missing in the portrait of a permanently connected Mediterranean is the notion of historical/chronological context. That is due to the fact that in Horden and Purcell's reconstruction, the assumed connectivity stretches across



Fig. 5: Tell Qudadi: a photograph taken from the south bank of the Yarkon river (early 1920s), looking north-west, toward the sea.

participation of N. Avigad. As a result of these excavations, the remains of an impressive Iron Age fortress with two architectural phases were uncovered (Fig. 6). The excavators dated the first phase of the fortress to the 10th or 9th century BCE, whereas the second phase, attributed by them to the northern Israelite kingdom, existed in their opinion from the latter part of the 9th century BCE until 732 BCE, when it was destroyed as a result of the military campaign led by Tiglath-Pileser III (Figs. 7-8).

Based on re-evaluation of the finds from the excavations of Tell Qudadi, we have offered a detailed, but different interpretation (Fantalkin – Tal 2015). From archaeological point of view, based on the re-dating of Tell Qudadi's pottery assemblages, the site was not established before the second half of the 8th century BCE at the earliest. The second phase of the fortress shows continuity and should be dated to the first half of the 7th century BCE. The existence of the Iron Age IIB fortress at Tell Qudadi therefore corresponds to the period of the Neo-Assyrian domination in the Land of Israel. Considering the strategic location of the fortress, it is difficult to imagine its maintenance during Iron Age IIB under the control of anyone other than representatives of the Neo-Assyrian regime. Tell Qudadi is located at the estuary of the Yarkon river, one of the most important rivers in the southern Levant. It is noteworthy that during various historical periods, the Yarkon river, being one of the most important

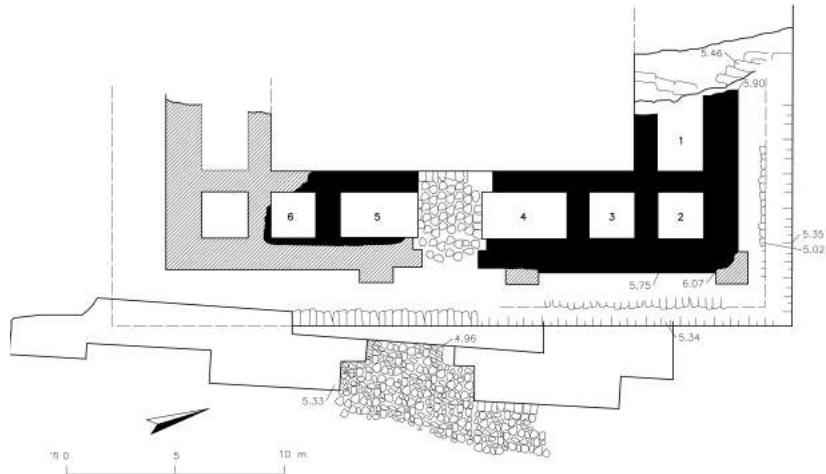


Fig. 6: Plan of the excavated part of the Iron Age IIB fortress at Tell Qudadi.

sources of fresh water (Avnimelech 1950-51; Avisar et al. 2001) and the widest of the country's Mediterranean coastal waterways, was considered a political, social and even cultural border (Rainey 1990; 2001; Gilboa 2005, 66-67). In this regard, a Neo-Assyrian trend of erecting fortresses or administrative buildings by river mouths should definitely be emphasized (see Shavit 2003, 213). It should not be forgotten, however, that both the construction and maintenance of the fortress were likely to have been carried out by a local vassal on orders from the sovereign, as had been the common practice in the frontier zones of the Neo-Assyrian empire (see, for example, Parker 1997; 2002; 2003; Dubovský 2006, 203-207).

A number of possible scenarios concerning the building, maintaining and destruction of the fortress were presented (Fantalkin – Tal 2015, 187-201). Although we cannot postulate with certainty under which Assyrian king the construction of the fortress was initiated (Tiglath-Pileser III appears to be the most plausible candidate, but Sargon II or Sennacherib remain another possibility), we can claim that the fortress ceased to function slightly after the middle of the 7th century BCE, on account of the withdrawal of the Neo-Assyrian empire from the southern Levant in around 640-635 BCE. Whoever initiated the construction of the



Fig. 7: Tell Qudadi, the Iron Age IIB fortress at the end of excavations.



Fig. 8: Tell Qudadi, the Iron Age IIB fortress as at present.

fortress at Tell Qudadi, in general terms it corresponds to the transformation of Gezer into important Assyrian administrative centre, following Tiglath-Pileser's III campaign in 734/733 BC (cf. Reich – Brandl 1985; Dubovský 2006, 203-218; Ornan 2013; Ornan – Ortiz – Wolf 2013).

The ceramic Iron Age IIB assemblages of the fortress of Tell Qudadi, obtained from both its phases,

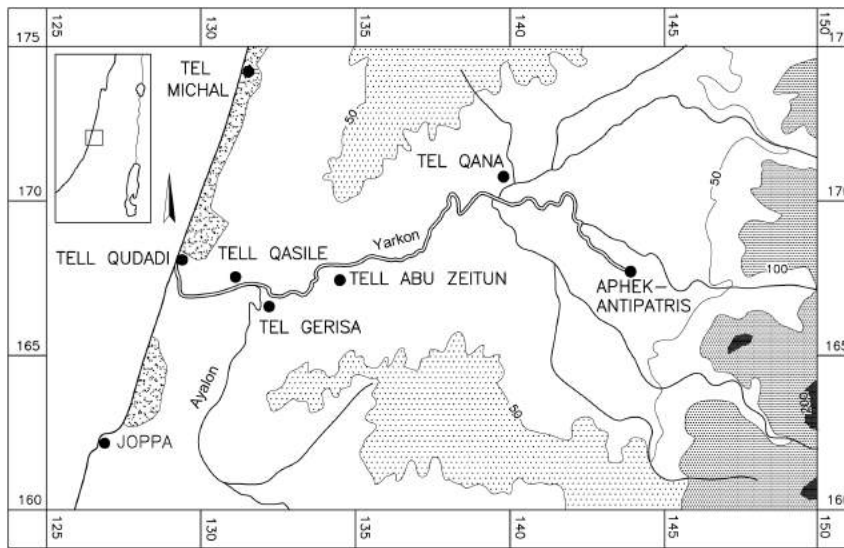


Fig. 9: Map showing Tell Qudadi and other settlements on the Yarkon river.



Fig. 10: Satellite image of the Yarkon and Ayalon rivers meeting point (center); Tell Qudadi is seen on the Yarkon rivermouth (left).

are heterogenic in their nature, that is to say they feature northern, southern and coastal characteristics. This is not surprising, giving the location of the site. It is located on the road that traversed the length of the coastal plain, linking Syria and Phoenicia with Egypt. Historical documents prove that during various periods the main international north-south highway crossed the Aphek Pass at the sources of the Yarkon to the east. However, Tell Qudadi apparently controlled the ford of the Yarkon estuary, allowing those who held the site to monitor convoys and travellers who chose the coastal road. The mound also afforded a view of the settlements on the banks of the Yarkon in antiquity, among them Kikar Hill (Giv'at Beth HaMitbahayim), Tell Qasile, Tel Gerisa, Tell Abu Zeitun and, perhaps, also Tel Aphek. There is no doubt,

however, that because of its strategic location, Tell Qudadi's main purpose was to protect maritime trade along the coast of Palestine (Fig. 9).

Nowadays, the Yarkon and Ayalon rivers (the latter flows some 2 km to the north of Tell Gezer) are merged into one river at around 3 km east of the Yarkon estuary (Fig. 10). It is assumed that the ancient course of the Ayalon was diverted in recent geological times and that there was an ancient outlet for the Ayalon just offshore north of the Jaffa promontory (Raban 1994). It is not clear whether the alternation was a natural one or a man-made and when exactly it took place (Raban 1985, 27). However, it is more than plausible that both rivers have merged into one during the Late Iron Age as they do today. The suitability of the Yarkon waters for

extensive river navigation in ancient times is evident. The same holds true for the Ayalon, as shown by the impressive preserved bridge of the Mamluk period built by Baybars in 1273 CE and located on the river near Lydda (Rosen-Ayalon 1995, 517).

A peculiar feature that was noted based on the optical mineralogy analysis of the Iron Age IIB pottery from Tell Qudadi is that almost all the cooking pots of different dimensions belonged to the *terra rosa* and crushed calcite group (Iserlis – Fantalkin – Tal 2015). The provenance of this group should be most probably located in the area of the upper Shephelah, where Tell Gezer is located as well. The fact that almost all the cooking pots from Tell Qudadi were most probably produced in the upper Shephelah is of particular importance (Fig. 11). One may assume, with a high degree of certainty, the existence of a logistical network, where the Assyrian representatives at Gezer took care of supervising the production of sets of cooking pots of different but fixed standards in the vicinity of Tell Gezer and of their shipment³, via the Ayalon and the Yarkon rivers, to the fortress of Tell Qudadi, for storage and further distribution in times of need, via the Yarkon river to the site Aphek, located near the sources of the Yarkon⁴. The need for the possibility of swift distribution of cooking utensils and other goods (possibly stored at Tell Qudadi) to the area of Aphek stems from the fact that the Assyrian armies were probably camping at Aphek (Apqu in Neo-Assyrian sources), the major gateway on the main road from north to south, on their way to Egypt. The account of the tenth campaign of Esarhaddon, undertaken in 671 BCE against Egypt, elaborates the point:

"... (for a distance of) thirty 'miles' of land, from Apqu which is situated in the border region of Samerina to Rapihu on the bank of the Brook of Egypt where there is no river, I let the troops drink buckets of water drawn from wells with ropes and chains ..." (K 3082+K

3086; translation after Radner 2008, 306).

It is obvious that the fields around the Aphek springs served as the focal point for replenishing the Assyrian army before a difficult journey to the south and, not less important, on its way back⁵. Under such circumstances, the role of the Tell Qudadi fortress within the Neo-Assyrian system of imperial control appears to be twofold: it could have served as an important intermediate station on the maritime and overland route between Egypt and Phoenicia, where the Neo-Assyrian administrative officials or their representatives could closely monitor the trade and levy duties on it; simultaneously, it could have served as an important and thus protected storage depot for the Assyrian army, being one of the focal nodes of logistical support within the system of an intentionally created imperial network. In this network, both the rivers and the sea became connected as a result of applying a new strategy of imperial domination for the subordinated area.

Notes

¹ The Hebrew term Aram-Naharaim, mentioned five times in the Old Testament should not be confused with *bet nahrin*, since it probably relates to the region located in the Upper Euphrates and its tributaries: the Balikh and the Khabur Rivers.

² This mysterious creature, sometimes identified with a whale, a sea-cow or a monk-seal, is most probably related to hippopotamus (Bordreuil – Briquel-Chatonnet 2000; Caubet 2008; Elayi – Voisin 2014).

³ For capacity measures, applied to different types of vessels in Neo-Assyrian documents, see Fales 1990; Gaspa 2007. The capacity measures of local cooking pots, brought to Tell Qudadi from the upper Shephelah, strongly indicates the existence of fixed standards (Fantalkin – Tal 2015, 89-90). Although it is tempting to assume that the capacities of these cooking pots were based on some sort of Assyrian standards, it is also possible that they were produced based on the local system of standardization.

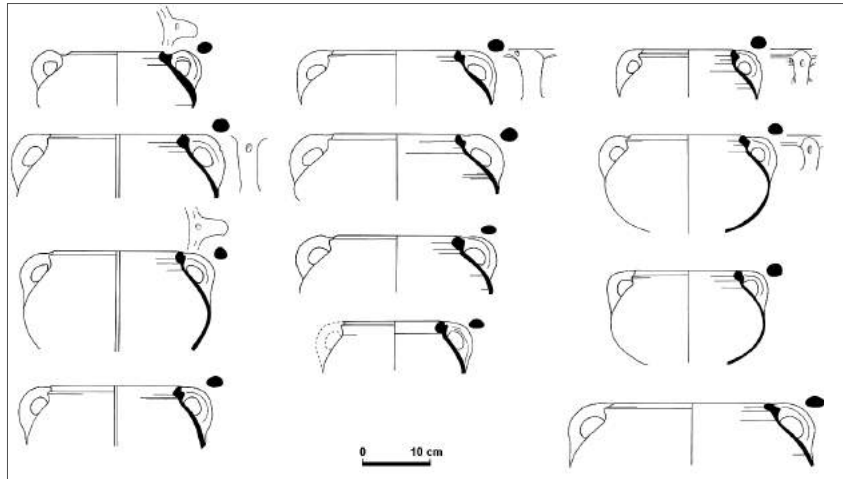


Fig. 11: Tell Qudadi, selection of cooking pots from the Iron Age IIB fortress.

⁴ As a matter of comparison, one thinks of the famous letter to Aššur, composed in the context of Sargon II campaign against Urartu (714 BC), where the provincial governors are expected to prepare stores of flour and wine for the Assyrian army (TCL 3, 1.53; after Thureau-Dangin 1912). For this and additional examples of civilian responsibilities and military duties of provincial governors, as well as the hierarchy of Assyrian military and civilian administration, see Postgate 2007. For the attempt to estimate the average daily rations of grains/bread for the Assyrian army and to calculate the medium size of an Assyrian armed contingent on campaign, see Fales 1990.

⁵ Although Aphek was not inhabited during the era of Neo-Assyrian domination and its latest Iron Age II phase relates to the late 9th century BCE (that is the Iron Age IIA, see in this respect Kleiman 2015), its former rural hinterland flourished during this period (Torge 2007). Aphek is mentioned as a point of reference in a famous Adon Papyrus, a letter with a request for help, written by a local ruler to the pharaoh on the eve of the approach of the army of the king of Babylon. Although it has been suggested that the letter should be dated to either one of Sennacherib's campaigns (Krahmalkov 1981; Shea 1985) or to Esarhaddon (Green 2004), placing the letter within the framework of the Neo-Babylonian assaults on the southern Levant in the late 7th century BC (most probably in 604 BCE) remains the most plausible option (Porten 1981; Yurco 1991). Green, who opts for a date around 678/677 BC, suggests that the Aphek mentioned in the text should be located in cen-

tral or northern Syria (2004). Such an attribution is unnecessary once one accepts the Neo-Babylonian date and the identification of Adon as the king of Ekron (Porten 1981). For additional options concerning the identification of Adon's kingdom, mostly in Philistia, see Katzenstein 1983.

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Abbreviations:

BA = Biblical Archaeologist

BASOR = Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research

IEJ = Israel Exploration Journal

JBL = Journal of Biblical Literature

PEQ = Palestine Exploration Quarterly

SAAB = State Archives of Assyria Bulletin

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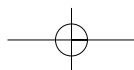
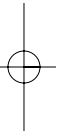
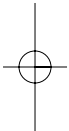
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