



Endnotes for “Nomads of Yahweh,” the Exodus Wanderings, and the Soleb Temple

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Notes

¹ Hasel, Michael, “Israel in the Merneptah Stela,” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 296 (1994): 45–61.

² Kennedy, Titus, “The Land of the š3sw (Nomads) of yhw3 at Soleb,” *Dotawo A Journal of Nubian Studies* 6 (2019): 175–92.

³ John Lewis Burckhardt, *Travels in Nubia* (London: Murray, 1819), 74–75; Vincent Francigny, Romain David, and Alex De Voogt, *Soleb and Sedeinga* (Paris: Elnour, 2014), 4–13; Michela Schiff Giorgini, Clément Robichon, and Jean Leclant, *Soleb I: 1813–1963* (Florence: Sansoni, 1965).

⁴ James Henry Breasted, “Second Preliminary Report of the Egyptian Expedition,” *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature* 25 (1908): 84; cf. Wolfgang Helck, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums* 4 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1957), 1750–52; cf. Stela of Amenhotep III, CG 34025 recto.

⁵ Jean Leclant, “Les Fouilles de Soleb (Nubie Soudanaise): quelques remarques sur les écussons des peuples envoûtés de la salle hypostyle du secteur IV,” in *Göttinger Vorträge vom Ägyptologischen Kolloquium der Akademie am 25. und 26. August 1964*, ed. Siegfried Schott (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1965), 208.

⁶ Kennedy, “Land of the š3sw”; Charles Aling and Clyde Billington, “The Name Yahweh in Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts,” *Artifax* 24.4 (2009); Donald B. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992); Raphael Giveon, “Toponymes Ouest-Asiatiques à Soleb,” *Vetus Testamentum* 14/3 (1964); Jean Leclant, “Le tétragramme à l’époque d’Amenophis III,” in *Near Eastern Studies Dedicated to H. I. H. Prince Takahito Mikasa on the Occasion of His Seventy-Fifth Birthday*, eds. Masao Mori, Hideo Ogawa, and Mamoru Yoshikawa (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1991); Hans Goedicke, “The Tetragram in Egyptian?,” *Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 24 (1994); Michael Astour, “Yahweh in Egyptian Topographical Lists,” in *Festschrift Elmar Edel: 12. März 1979*, eds. Manfred Görg and Edgar Pusch, comps. Agnes Wuckelt and Karl-Joachim Seyfried, *Ägypten und Altes Testament* 1 (Bamberg: Görg, 1979); Shmuel Ahituv, *Canaanite Toponyms in Ancient Egyptian Documents* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1989); Faried Adrom and Matthias Müller, “The Tetragrammaton in Egyptian Sources—Facts and Fiction,” in *The Origins of Yahwism*, eds. Jürgen van Oorschot and Markus Witte, *Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 484 (Boston: De Gruyter, 2017).

⁷ Patricia Spencer, *Amara West, I. The Architectural Report*, *Excavation Memoirs* 63 (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1997); H. W. Fairman, “Preliminary Report on the Excavations at ‘Amārah West, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 1938–9,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 25 (1939): 139–44.

⁸ Siegfried Horn, “Jericho in a Topographical List of Ramesses II,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 12/3 (1953): 201–203; Giveon, “Toponymes,” 244; Astour, “Yahweh in Egyptian Topographical Lists,” 17.

⁹ Jean Leclant, “Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1960–1961. II. Fouilles au Soudan et découvertes hors d’Égypte,” *Orientalia* 31 (1962): 328; Michela Schiff Giorgini, Clément Robichon, and Jean Leclant, *Soleb III: Le temple: Description*, ed. Nathalie Beaux (Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 2002), 179–80; Michela Schiff Giorgini, Clément Robichon, and Jean Leclant, *Soleb V: Le temple: Bas-reliefs et inscriptions*, ed. Nathalie Beaux (Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1998), pls. 206–207; Leclant, “Les Fouilles de Soleb (Nubie Soudanaise),” 205–216.

¹⁰ Breasted, “Second Preliminary Report,” 83–96; José Galán, “The Ancient Egyptian Sed-Festival and the Exemption from Corvee,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 59 (2000): 255–64; Charles Cornell van Siclen, “The Accession Date of Amenhotep III and the Jubilee,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 32 (1973): 290–300; Raymond Johnson, “Amenhotep III and Amarna: Some New Considerations,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 82 (1996): 67.

¹¹ Giorgini, Robichon, and Leclant, *Soleb III*, 95; Michela Schiff Giorgini, Clément Robichon, and Jean Leclant, *Soleb IV: Le temple: Plans et photographies*, ed. Nathalie Beaux (Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 2003), fig. 76.

- ¹² Giorgini, Robichon, and Leclant, *Soleb V*, pl. 221.
- ¹³ Leclant, “Les Fouilles de Soleb (Nubie Soudanaise),” 214.
- ¹⁴ Astour, “Yahweh in Egyptian Topographical Lists,” 20–29; Nicolas Grimal, “Les listes de peuples dans l’Égypte du II^e millénaire av. J.-C. et la géopolitique du Proche-Orient,” *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 149 (2006): 112–18; Nicolas Grimal, “Civilisation pharaonique: archéologie, philologie, histoire,” *Annales du Collège de France* 102 (2002): 722–27.
- ¹⁵ Leclant, “Les Fouilles de Soleb (Nubie Soudanaise),” 205–216.
- ¹⁶ Giveon, “Toponymes,” 244–45.
- ¹⁷ Astour, “Yahweh in Egyptian Topographical Lists,” 20–29.
- ¹⁸ IAWB Survey Site #5381.
- ¹⁹ Giveon, “Toponymes”; Bernhard Grdseloff, “Édôm, d’après les sources égyptiennes,” in *Revue de l’histoire juive en Égypte* (Cairo: Société d’études historiques juives d’Égypte / Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1947).
- ²⁰ James Allen, “The Speos Artemidos Inscription of Hatshepsut,” *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar* 16 (2002): 1–17.
- ²¹ Mitchell Dahood, “The Moabite Stone and Northwest Semitic Philology,” in *The Archaeology of Jordan and Other Studies: Presented to Siegfried H. Horn, Professor Emeritus of Archaeology and History of Antiquity*, eds. Lawrence T. Geraty and Larry G. Herr (Berrien Spring, MI: Andrews University Press, 1986), 429–41; Andrew Dearman, ed., *Studies in the Mesha Inscription and Moab* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989).
- ²² Giorgini, Robichon, and Leclant, *Soleb III*, 122–23; cf. Adrom and Müller, “Tetragrammaton in Egyptian Sources,” 96–97.
- ²³ Double M17, or Z4 = y, which is rare as an initial consonant except in use as an equivalent of the Semitic *yod*: Sir Alan Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 2007), 481, 556.
- ²⁴ Robert Morkot, “Nb-M’t-R’-United-with-Ptah,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 49 (1990): 335.
- ²⁵ Giorgini, Robichon, and Leclant, *Soleb III*, 40; cf. Giorgini, Robichon, and Leclant, *Soleb IV*; Giorgini, Robichon, and Leclant, *Soleb V*.
- ²⁶ Helck, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, 1665–66.
- ²⁷ Van Siclen, “Accession Date,” 290–91.
- ²⁸ Thomas Levy, Russell Adams, and Adolfo Muniz, “Archaeology and the Shasu Nomads: Recent Excavations in the Jabal Hamrat Fidan, Jordan,” in *Le-David Maskil: A Birthday Tribute for David Noel Freedman*, eds. William H. C. Propp and Richard E. Friedman, Biblical and Judaic Studies from the University of California, San Diego 9 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2004), 65–66; David Hopkins, “Pastoralists in Late Bronze Age Palestine: Which Way Did They Go?,” *Biblical Archaeologist* 56/4 (1993): 210.
- ²⁹ Papyrus Anastasi VI, 51–57; Raphael Giveon, *Les Bédouins Shosou des documents égyptiens*, Documenta et monumenta Orientis Antiqui 18 (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 130–34; Astour, “Yahweh in Egyptian Topographical Lists”; Steven Rosen, “History Does Not Repeat Itself: Cyclicity and Particularism in Nomadic-Sedentary Relations in the Negev in the Long Term,” in *Nomads, Tribes, and the State in the Ancient Near East: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Jeffrey Szuchman, Oriental Institute Seminars 5 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2009), 64; e.g. James Henry Breasted, ed., *Ancient Records of Egypt 2: The Eighteenth Dynasty* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1906), 211; James Henry Breasted, ed., *Ancient Records of Egypt 3: The Nineteenth Dynasty* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1906), 46, 53, 144.
- ³⁰ Thomas Levy, “Pastoral Nomads and Iron Age Metal Production in Ancient Edom,” in *Nomads, Tribes, and the State in the Ancient Near East*, ed. Jeffrey Szuchman, Oriental Institute Seminars 5 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2009), 157; Nadav Na’aman, *Collected Essays 2: Canaan in the 2nd Millennium B.C.E.* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2005): 91.
- ³¹ Justin Kelley, “Toward a New Synthesis of the God of Edom and Yahweh,” *Antiquo Oriente* 7 (2009): 255–80.
- ³² Giveon, “Toponymes,” 244.
- ³³ Sir Alan Gardiner, “The Tomb of a Much-Travelled Theban Official,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 4 (1917): p. 36 and pl. ix.
- ³⁴ Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 269–73; Ahituv, *Canaanite Toponyms*, 121–22.

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