

Space Ordering Theory in Humanistic Geography: A New Reading of the Biblical Exodus Route and Har Karkom Archaeological Ruins (Negev Desert)

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1. *Barbaglia's Theory of the Biblical Exodus*

On the occasion of the seminar organized in Novara on September 24th, 2022 by The Nuova Regaldi, entitled The proposal of the biblical Exodus by Emmanuel Anati according to the publication of the Ennateuch (Gen-2Kings) in the Holy Language of the Sanctuary of Jerusalem (5th-3rd century BC), Silvio Barbaglia placed himself the question if the biblical Exodus tale has an historical value. While once the answer was substantially positive, today is mostly negative (Barbaglia, 2022). Silvio Barbaglia asserts that to give an historical value to the Exodus it is necessary to identify, in Egypt, a cultural context capable to acknowledge the narrative contents of the Exodus cycle and to find the archaeological confirmations in the sites mentioned in the Bible along the desert route (Barbaglia, 2022).

According to what reported by various authors in the literature (Barbaglia, 2022), there are four main hypotheses of chronological dating for the Exodus cycle: a) The Anati proposal, that places the Exodus at the epoch of the VI Egiptian Dynasty, particularly at the time of the Pharaoh Pepi I (2332-2283 BC); b) The proposal that traces back the Exodus at the time of the Hyksos invasion (XV-XVI Dynasty, 1650-1551 BC); c) The proposal that traces back

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the Exodus at the epoch of the Pharaoh Akhenaton (XVIII Dynasty, 1364 – 1347 BC); d) The proposal that traces back the Exodus at the epochs of Pharaohs Ramses II and of his son Merneptah (13th-12th century BC). The last one is the most credited by the exegetes.

Unlike these four hypotheses, Silvio Barbaglia asserts that the biblical text is based on an *Inventio Chronologica* and on a Space theory within which the itinerary of the Exodus and the location of Mount Sinai should be placed. The assumption that time and space have been located *ad hoc* to assert a thesis and transmit a precise message, allows to affirm that the chronological and topographical aspects have to be reread in an original way with respect to what expected by the historiography and the classical archaeology.

In particular, in his PhD thesis (Barbaglia, 2017), Barbaglia asserts that during the Hellenistic Epoch, the zadokite priest of Jerusalem, Simeon the Righteous, promoted the publication of a foundational history, containing earlier traditions, reinterpreted in a theological project known as *Ennateuch* (Genesis - 2Kings).

Always in the same period (beginning of 3rd century BC), the priests Berossus, in the Mesopotamic area, and Manetho, in the Egyptian area, were solicited by the respective Seleucids and Ptolemaics reignings, to start a similar project to give rise to a foundational history of the respective cultural traditions.

For what concerns the story of the Jewish people, Barbaglia (2017) asserts that the descent of Israel in Egypt at the Joseph epoch (Genesis 37-50: Egypt as a land of salvation) and its exit at the epoch of Moses (Exodus 1-15: Egypt as a land of slavery and death) constitute two narrative cycles that lay the foundations for an historic-ideological storytelling, drafted at the beginning of the Hellenistic epoch for the Jewish that already lived for centuries in the respective eastern and western diasporas, in the Mesopotamia at east, and in the Land of Goshen, in Egypt, at west.

In particular, for what concerns the descent of the Jewish in Egypt at the epoch of Joseph, this can be traced back to the Jewish and Samaritan deportation happened around the year 300 BC, because of Ptolemy I Soter (323-284/2 BC) that forced Jerusalem to surrender, leading in Egypt many representatives of the priestly elite, comprise the high priest Hezekiah (S. Barbaglia, 2017, PhD Thesis, Third Volume, Second tome, p. 1037). Hezekiah was charged by the Pharaoh Ptolemy I Soter to the social and territorial reorganization of a part of the possessions seized by Alexander the Great along the eastern border of the Nile Delta.

According to Barbaglia, the story of Hezekiah became the inspiring theme for the composition of the Hellenistic style novel about Joseph and his brothers, inserted at the end of the Book of Genesis (Gen. 37-50), (S. Barbaglia, 2017, PhD thesis, Third Volume, Second Tome, p. 1038). From the researches of Silvio Barbaglia, the high priest of Jerusalem, Simeon the Righteous, son of Hezekiah, was the one who promoted the idea of representing the favorable moment of an allied Egypt, dedicating the final section of the Genesis, which talks about Joseph, to the figure of his father Hezekiah, thus praising in this

way the Ptolemaic policy, advantageous for the inhabitants of the lands of Judea and Samaria.

On the other hand, the figure of Moses is identified in a narrative project, starting from the origin of Israel until the exile at Babilonia, that is described in the books series ranging from Exodus to Deuteronomy. The strategic choice of the authorities of Jerusalem, to convince the inhabitants of the diaspora territories to come back to Judea, particularly to Jerusalem, gave place to the enhancement of the Moses figure, considering him as a hero of the people of God, guide of this people until the threshold of the Promised Land. It was a strong message for the community in diaspora, continuously living with the thought addressed towards their Mother Land.

Furthermore, the presence in the literature of the figure of Moses is well identifiable from a chronological point of view. The 5th century BC manuscripts of Elephantine, discovered on the homonym island in front of Aswan (Egypt), completely ignore the existence of the Torah and of the figure of Moses. Instead, the manuscripts of Qumran, dating to the middle of the 3rd century BC, document a central role of the Torah of Moses and of the Prophets (Kratz, 2006; Barbaglia, 2020). Moses can be considered the founder of the Jewish religion, born and grown up in the area of the Nile Delta.

2. *Space Ordering Theory in Humanistic Geography*

It is meaningful to start this chapter with the citation of Joan Didion reported in the book *The White Album* (1979), mentioned by Nicoletta Brazzelli (2015) at the beginning of the first part of her book *L'Antartide nell'immaginario Inglese*, that states that «Certain places seem to exist mainly because someone has written about them».

In reference to this, Nicoletta Brazzelli writes in the above mentioned book that the «space issue» is characterized by a physical component integrated by imaginative, symbolic and literary parts, as the way in which the space is perceived, conceived and represented. The knowledge of the world takes place through the sensory experience and the contact with the surrounding environment, but also through individual and collective reworkings of geographic and literary kind. While Geography tries to describe and analyze the space, identifying the physical characters, the literary production interprets and recreate it, expressing experiences, feelings and emotions (Brazzelli, 2015).

Nicoletta Brazzelli continues saying that storytelling is essential to interpret the relationships that the people establish with the environment: to narrate a place implies to describe the objects and the relevant events inside of it, tracing their territorial meaning. To depict the Earth, to decode the signs that characterize it, means to reflect on the human condition and its destiny. The lived experience intersects with the «scientificity» of Geography and the emotionality of the subject (Brazzelli, 2015).

David Lowenthal (1961), precursor of Humanistic Geography, in the 60s of the last century, argued that the «geographic knowledge is constituted by different personal experiences, by the memories of the past and by future

projects». Two key concepts of Humanistic Geography are the «sense of place» and the «inner landscape». According to Yi-Fu Tuan (1974), «to feel a place means to know it; the perception firstly happens at the visual level, afterwards involves other senses, that imply a direct contact with the environment».

The link between human beings and places shows that the places are not only perceived by their physicality, but also through the symbolic presence, the historical perspective, the interpretation of particular sites (Brazzelli, 2015). In that regard, Nicoletta Brazzelli affirms that there are two important study tools in Humanistic Geography: description and storytelling.

In Humanistic Geography the description is interpreted as a more powerful, more analytic method than that assumed in Geography. Storytelling, and more generally literature, staying in between an objective point of view and a subjective one, offer a valid anchor point for the comprehension of the «territorialization» processes. To narrate the places means to configure, to make evident the objects and the relevant events, tracing, in the temporal sense, their rooted territorial meaning (Brazzelli, 2015).

The overcoming of the idea of space as a merely geometric concept is given, above all, to H. Lefebvre (1991) and E.W. Soja (1996). They have placed the accent to the representation spaces, elaborated at an imaginative level. Lefebvre considers the space as the process of social production. In this context, he accomplished a model composed of three components: a perceived space, a conceived space and a lived space.

The Perceived Space, also known as the First Space, constitutes the natural basis, the physical space of investigation. It represents the natural scenery of interest and is formed by the physical characters of an area and comprehends all the natural properties (morphology, soil kinds, existing artifacts, crops, climate, etc.) of a certain place. It represents the original complexity of the terrestrial surface object of investigation.

The Conceived Space (also referred to as the Second Space) is based on interpretation rules and constitutes the study argument of professional disciplines, such as, architecture, territorial planning, town planning, and also archeology in particular situations. It regards the human activities, joined to the culture of the place. Being relative to the technical – organizational capabilities of the living people, the Conceived Space is synthesizable with the Perceived Space natural basis and with the process that transforms intellectual, historical and cultural instances into practice.

The Lived Space, also known as the Representational Space, or the Third Space, is the space characterized by meanings and symbols. According to Soja (1996), the Lived Space invokes different concepts in different disciplinary areas and is based on the combination of the Perceived and Conceived spaces. The combination of meanings and symbols characterizes the so called «Genius Loci», that is, the spirit of the place, imprinted by culture of the living people.

With the Third Space it is possible to reach the full cognitive knowledge, synthesizable by referencing and structuring a certain process. While the meanings and the symbols make the First and Second Space interpretable by the mind and attributable to a precise process of territorialization, the Genius loci and the meaning of the not material culture of the landscape

offer a precise cultural-aesthetic value (Brazzelli, 2015). As an example, we are not used to watch the various places/landscapes – both natural, like the Nile river or the Dolomites, and cultural, like the Chinese Wall or Florence – for what they are, as compounds of materiality or defined by artefacts, but for the meanings and values that people have been attributed to them (Dardel, 1986).

Nicoletta Brazzelli writes that Third Space deals with elements that do not belong to the visible part of the place/landscape but to its symbolic-cultural expression through which the spirit, the sacrality are manifested. It is through them that it is possible to define and explain the territorial rooting: it represents the collective identity that makes explicit a precise will of possession, with which it is easy to define the idea of Nation, the concept of Heimat and of Homeland (Brazzelli, 2015).

The Lived Space, or Third Space, is therefore the space of the cultural layering and rooting of the individuals and society memories (Lando, Voltolina, 2005). In this context, literature is recognized as a geographic tool capable to represent personal geographies. It assumes a significant role in the complex relationships that the men have with the reality; literature reveals the relationships and the hidden meanings that join the men to the places. According to this line of thought, a novel becomes a source from which a geographer can draw data, information, suggestions capable to express individual and social perceptions of the places (Yi-Fu Tuan, 1974).

This vision of Humanistic Geography considers five modes with which a literary text can be interpreted in order to provide the best description of the relationships, man-place, community-environment, culture-landscape (Lando, Voltolina, 2005).

The first interpretation key corresponds to the «Geographic fact». The literature serves as a tool to describe the reality. In this case, the literary text is read and interpreted according to the only geographic content, neglecting the layer relative to the territorial description of other facts. The second reading key corresponds to the «Sense of place». To define the sense of place means to go beyond the territorial description to understand the emotional and psychological links established with the places and the cultural values.

The third reading key is the «Cultural roots». Literary works can be interpreted as testimony of the cultural roots of a society in a particular place. The author imagination, his sensibility in front of certain attitudes, the human perceptions, the author capability to highlight the essence of his relationships with the nature, represent a precious help to understand the interaction with the place (Lando, Voltolina, 2005).

The fourth key of reading are the «Mind landscapes». According to Lando and Voltolina (2005) the literary text can express the reachness of the human experience by the description of certain situations that are configured in our mind and that the author is capable to transmit through the narrative language. Lando and Voltolina (2005), classify in turn the mind landscapes into four categories: The sense of «Topophilia and mem-

bership», the «Topophobia and the desire of escape», the «Freedom and the desire of travelling», the «Uprooting and the alienation».

Finally, the last reading key is the «Territorial consciousness». The image of the territory furnished by the author goes further his description capability, revealing his interpretation and reflection about the living society.

3. *Space Ordering Theory and the biblical Exodus*

Space Ordering Theory has been already proposed by V.H. Matthew (2015) to remember Egypt in the Biblical narrative. At first, Egypt can be described in physical/topographical terms, then as a place whose built structures and monuments become locations where daily tasks are performed by its inhabitants, and finally Egypt is a land reminded by its history, mythology, policy, economy and culture belonging to a collective memory.

Returning now to the biblical Exodus route, Barbaglia asserts that, since the text of Exodus was published in the first or the second decade of the 3rd century BC (Barbaglia, 2020), it is expected that the topographic description of the biblical route reported in Exodus must be dated between the 5th - 3rd centuries BC. Therefore, the pattern described in Exodus should match the route that a traveler of the 5th - 3rd centuries BC would take in the Sinai Peninsula to go from the delta of the Nile to Canaan (Barbaglia, Crosilla, 2022).

According to Humanistic Geography Theory, the so called «Perceived space», constitutes the natural basis, the physical space of investigation. It is given by the physical characteristics of an area and comprehends all the morphological and natural properties of a place. Referring to the biblical Exodus, the Perceived Space is represented by the desertic environment of the Sinai Peninsula and by all the archaeological rests of different ages present there, deeply studied and classified by the team of prof. Anati, mainly for the areas of Har Karkom (Anati, 2018).

The «Conceived space» is given instead by the study argument of the various professional disciplines that interact with the territory. In this specific case the conceived space involves the study of archaeology, since the territory is characterized by the archaeological rests of various epochs. In the Sinai Peninsula, it is possible to find archaeological rests of the following periods: Paleolithic, Neolithic, Calcolithic, Bronze Age, Iron Age, Persian, Hellenistic, Roman, Bizantine and Islamic periods.

Prof. Anati associates the presence of rests of the Early and Middle I Bronze Age to the Jewish population involved in the biblical Exodus. A. Maeir (2015) believes that the spanning of the Middle and Late Bronze Ages, the Iron Age I and II, the Persian and Hellenistic periods, all may have served as a background for the formation, preservation and transformation of the biblical Exodus traditions. Silvio Barbaglia, instead, associates the writing of the Exodus text to the priests of the Jerusalem temple during the Hellenistic epoch. Despite the different proposals seem incompatible, in reality they can be correlated if the hypothesis that the pilgrims of the 5th – 3rd century BC, coeval with those

who wrote the Exodus text, had the opportunity to see and to interpret earlier archaeological rests than those of the Persian - Hellenistic periods.

Nowadays, to assert with certainty that the pilgrims of the 5th - 3rd centuries BC could see and interpret the archaeological remains of preceding periods, it is necessary that, together with the Bronze and Iron Age archaeological rests, remains of Persian and Hellenistic Age settlements (from the 5th to the 3rd centuries BC) are also present at the same sites or nearby. This provides reliable evidence that the authors of the Exodus, who lived during the Persian and Hellenistic periods, had been able to write a tale substantially based on the archaeology of the third millennium BC (Anati, 2016; Barbaglia, Crosilla, 2022), second millennium BC and of the later period (Iron II period), (Maier, 2015). This is especially true for the identification of Mount Sinai, in reference to the events treated in the Exodus, located by Anati in the zone of Har Karkom.

Therefore, the discovery of archaeological rests of the third, second millennium BC and of the Iron II period, near or in correspondence of those ones of the 5th - 3rd century BC, constitutes the key element on which the Conceived space, i.e. the space inhabited by a previous society to that of Persian-hellenistic Age in the Sinai Desert, is established.

From Anati's research (2018), it is possible to encounter the presence of archaeological sites of the Paleolithic Period, Bronze Ages (3rd Millennium BC), Iron I (end of the 2nd Millennium BC), Iron II (first part of the 1st Millennium BC), Persian (5th century BC), Hellenistic (3rd century BC), along the topographic route he proposes.

Anati reports that in Pitom (Patoumos of Herodotus, nowadays identified with Tell el-Maskhuta), vestiges of the Hyksos period (17th-16th centuries BC) and mostly of the Persian period (5th century BC) are found (Anati, 2016), as well as some inscriptions of the VI Egyptian dynasty (2345-2181 BC).

With regard to the place identified in the Exodus with the term Pi-Hahiro, located according to Anati along a channel of an old branch of the Nile estuary, it is known that the channel built under the Pharaoh Seti I (1291-1278 BC) was enlarged several times by Darius, king of the Persians (Herodotus IV, 39) (550-488 BC) (Anati, 2016).

Furthermore, near Tell el-Farame, archaeological remains of the Hellenistic period and fragments of the Iron Age were found in an area next to Pi-Hahiro. Hellenistic period is the period that Barbaglia traces back to the writing of Exodus. As for the thin tongue of land that separates the Serbonis lagoon from the Mediterranean Sea, along which Anati (2016) rebuilds the Exodus Sea of Reeds, he reports that a wide passage for ships was opened during the Hellenistic period. Therefore, this area was well known and frequented by the people of that period.

Furthermore, Josephus Flavius writes that the Roman emperor Titus used the tongue of land to reach Egypt after the Judean Campaign (66-68 AC). In reference to the area which Anati identifies as Mount Sinai, it must be highlighted that he observed in the Beer Karkom valley abundant remains of the Hellenistic and Roman-Byzantine periods in addition to huge finds from the Bronze age. Among these, we mention several corrals for livestock and

agricultural terraces. Furthermore, Anati reports that 3 km far from Beer Karkom, in correspondence of wadi Bereka, some rests of an Iron I settlement have been found.

Anati also reports (Anati, 2016) that ten Hellenistic sites, datable to the years 332-37 BC, two Persian sites (587-332 BC) and seven Iron II sites (1000-587 BC) were found in the Har Karkom area. Therefore, populations which inhabited or transited along the Har Karkom and Beer Karkom valleys during the Hellenistic period, including perhaps the writers of Exodus, must have had a clear topographical knowledge of this area and its surroundings. Furthermore, the remarkable remains of earlier Ages must have conditioned the writing of a text about a hypothetical path anciently followed by a nomad and exile population from Egypt.

The third space, also said «Representational space», is the lived space which takes advantage of meanings and symbols. The set of meanings and symbols characterizes the «genius loci», that is the spirit of the place, distinguished by the culture of the society living there.

The lived space is therefore the space of the cultural layering and rooting of the individuals and society memories (Lando, Voltolina, 2005). The literature, i.e. the text of the Exodus, recognized as a geographic tool capable to represent the personal geographies, assumes a clarifying role for what concerns the complex relationships that the men have with the nature and places.

It was said before that this ordering of Humanistic Geography considers five modes with which a literary text can be interpreted in order to provide the best description of the relationships, man-place, community-environment, culture-landscape (Lando and Voltolina, 2005). These are the «Geographic fact», the «Sense of place», the «Cultural roots», the «Mind landscapes» and «Territorial consciousness».

The first reading key corresponds to the «Geographic fact». The literary text is read and interpreted according to the only geographic content. Let us consider some examples taken from the books of Genesis and Exodus:

Gen 47:11 As Pharaoh had ordered, Joseph settled his father and brothers and gave them holdings in Egypt on the pick of the land, in the region of Ramesses.

The geographic fact is given by the exact placement where Joseph made his father and brothers live «in Egypt», in the «region of Ramesses».

Ex 13:20 Setting out from Succoth, they encamped at Etham near the edge of the desert.

The geographic fact clearly shows the place of departure «Succoth», the camp site «Etham», and the environmental situation «near the edge of the desert».

The second reading key corresponds to the «Sense of place». To define the sense of place means to go beyond the territorial description to understand the emotional and psychological links established with the places and the cultural values. Let us consider the following example:

Ex 17:3 Here, then, in their thirst for water, the people grumbled against Moses, saying, «Why did you ever make us leave Egypt? Was it just to have us die here of thirst with our children and our livestock?».

The sense of place shows in this context the theme of loss, of the feeling lost, of being far from home and therefore far from their safety.

Third root of reading is the «Cultural roots». The literary works can be interpreted like testimony of the cultural roots of a society in a particular place. Let us consider the following example of cultural root in a particular place, of sensibility in front of certain human perceptions:

Ex18:5 Together with Moses' wife and sons, then, his father-in-law Jethro came to him in the desert where he was encamped near the mountain of God,

Ex18:7 Moses went out to meet his father-in-law, bowed down before him, and kissed him. Having greeted each other, they went into the tent. 8) Moses then told his father-in-law of all that the Lord had done to Pharaoh and the Egyptians for the sake of Israel, and of all the hardships they had had to endure on their journey, and how the Lord had come to their rescue.

These passages show the sensibility of Moses in front of certain human perceptions due to cultural roots towards his father in law Jethro and the desertic environment near the mountain of God, well known to him from the time he lived in Midian as husband of Sephora, one of the daughters of Jethro.

The fourth key of reading are the «Mind landscapes». The literary text can express the reachness of the human experience by the description of certain situations that are configured in our mind and that the author is capable to transmit through the narrative language.

NUM 10:29 Moses said to his brother-in-law Hobab, son of Jethro the Midianite, «We are setting out for the place which the Lord has promised to give us. Come with us, and we will be generous toward you, for the Lord has promised prosperity to Israel».

It is a «mind landscape» that shows a desire to travel in order to reach the place which the Lord promised to give them. This also satisfies a sense of belonging following the Lord promise.

Finally, the fifth key of reading is the «Territorial consciousness». The image of the territory furnished by the author goes further his description capability because reveals his interpretation and reflection about the living society.

Ex (1:11): Accordingly, taskmasters were set over the Israelites to oppress them with forced labor. Thus they had to build for Pharaoh the supply cities of Pithom and Raamses.

This is a proof of a territorial consciousness expression. Survival difficulties of the Jewish people led them to forced labor.

According to the previous examples, the analysis of the Biblical text with the paradigmatic tools of Space Ordering Theory, offers a likely interpretation of the Exodus route. In particular, to emphasize the «Genius Loci» of the Jewish nomadic people, it is advisable to investigate the Biblical text following the five modes proposed by Lando and Voltolina (2005) for studying the relationships between man-place, community-environment, culture-landscape.

4. Conclusions

The paper presents a new reading of the biblical Exodus route based on Space Ordering Theory in Humanistic Geography. In particular, the concepts of perceived, conceived and lived space are investigated and deepened. A first identification of the physical characters of the territory and of the archaeological rests constitutes the so called Perceived Space analysis. The successive analysis of the archaeological classification of the various settlements constitutes the so called Conceived Space. Finally, the analysis of the biblical text with the paradigmatic tools of the lived space, leads to the «genius loci», that is to «the cultural layering of the individual and society memory foundation» of the Jewish nomadic people in the Sinai Peninsula.

According to Silvio Barbaglia the text was written in the Hellenistic period. But it is evident that the relevant presence of vestiges dating back to the III Millennium BC and also to the II Millennium BC, in correspondence or nearby the Persian-Hellenistic sites, must have conditioned the text content of the Exodus, mythically referring to an earlier period. Therefore, this result allows us to consider reliable the topographical route proposed by Emmanuel Anati, even in the historical context of the Exodus described by Silvio Barbaglia.

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Space Ordering Theory in Humanistic Geography: A New Reading of the biblical Exodus Route and Har Karkom Archaeological Ruins (Negev Desert)

The paper proposes a new procedure based on the Space ordering theory in Humanistic Geography [H. Lefebvre, (1991), E.W. Soja, (1996)], for reading the biblical Exodus route and Mount Sinai location. The Sinai Desert is characterized by hard crossing and critical survival conditions where, nowadays, it is still possible to find archaeological rests of nomadic settlements dating back to the Paleolithic Period until the Period of the Islamic conquest. The largest part of the settlements facing the locations of Har Karkom have been deeply studied by the team of prof. Emmanuel Anati during forty years of activity and identified as one of the possible locations of Mount Sinai e.g. (Anati, 2018). According to Humanistic Geography, the desertic landscape and the archeological ruins of the Sinai Peninsula can be studied and interpreted through the so called First Space Theory. The Second Space aims to investigate the origin and classify the age and purpose of such rests and of the relative settlements which guarantee the survival to the populations and the flocks in tow during their seasonal herding migrations or during the frequent transfers between the two bordering lands of the Sinai Peninsula: Egypt and Canaan. According to the historical reconstruction of the archaeological ruins, Third Space can be considered as the space of the cultural layering and of the individual and society memory foundation (Lando and Voltolina, 2005). By the way, this can be related to the composition of a *holy story* during the Hellenistic Period (Barbaglia 2017), the so called biblical Exodus of elder populations from the delta of Nile to the land of Canaan. After a brief introduction on the biblical Exodus proposal by S. Barbaglia (2017), the paper investigates the Space Ordering Theory characteristics introduced by H. Lefebvre (1991) and E.W. Soja (1996) in Humanistic Geography. Finally, the applications of such theory for the reconstruction proposal of the biblical Exodus route are analysed.

Teoria dell'ordinamento spaziale in Geografia umanistica: una nuova lettura del percorso dell'Esodo biblico e delle rovine archeologiche di Har Karkom (Deserto del Negev)

L'articolo propone una procedura innovativa, basata sulla teoria dell'ordinamento spaziale in geografia umanistica [H. Lefebvre, (1991), E.W. Soja, (1996)], per una lettura del percorso dell'Esodo Biblico e dell'ubicazione del Monte Sinai. Il deserto del Sinai è caratterizzato da severe condizioni ambientali dove, oggi, è ancora possibile trovare resti archeologici di insediamenti nomadici che spaziano dal periodo Paleolitico al periodo della conquista Islamica. La gran parte degli insediamenti ubicati nella zona di Har Karkom (deserto del Negev) sono stati studiati dal gruppo di ricerca del prof. Emmanuel Anati nel corso di quarant'anni di attività e identificati come una delle possibili ubicazioni del Monte Sinai (ad es. Anati 2018). In base alla geografia umanistica, il paesaggio desertico e i resti archeologici della Penisola del Sinai possono essere studiati e interpretati attraverso la Teoria del Primo Spazio. Il Secondo Spazio si pone l'obiettivo di investigare l'origine e classificare l'età e lo scopo di tali resti e dei

relativi insediamenti che garantirono la sopravvivenza delle popolazioni e delle greggi al seguito durante le migrazioni stagionali della pastorizia o durante i frequenti trasferimenti fra le due terre confinanti la Penisola del Sinai: l'Egitto e la Terra di Canaan. In base alla ricostruzione storica dei resti archeologici, il Terzo Spazio può essere invece considerato come lo spazio della stratificazione culturale e della fondazione della memoria individuale e sociale (Lando e Voltolina, 2005). A tal proposito, ciò può essere posto in relazione con la composizione durante il Periodo Ellenistico (Barbaglia, 2017) di una *storia sacra*, il cosiddetto Esodo biblico di precedenti popolazioni dal Delta del Nilo alla Terra di Canaan. Dopo una breve introduzione in merito alla proposta dell'esodo Biblico di S. Barbaglia (2017), l'articolo approfondisce le caratteristiche della Teoria dell'Ordinamento Spaziale introdotta in geografia umanistica da H. Lefebvre (1991) e E.W. Soja (1996). Infine vengono analizzate le applicazioni di questa teoria per una proposta di ricostruzione del percorso dell'esodo Biblico.

Théorie de l'ordre de l'espace en Géographie humanistique : une nouvelle lecture de la route de l'Exode biblique et des ruines archéologiques de Har Karkom (Désert du Négev)

L'article propose une démarche innovante, basée sur la théorie de l'ordonnement spatial en géographie humaniste [H. Lefebvre, (1991), E.W. Soja, (1996)], pour une lecture du chemin de l'Exode Biblique et de l'emplacement du Mont Sinai. Le désert du Sinai se caractérise par des conditions environnementales sévères où, de nos jours, il est encore possible de trouver des vestiges archéologiques de colonies nomades allant de la période paléolithique à la période de conquête islamique. La plupart des colonies situées dans la région de Har Karkom (désert du Négev) ont été étudiées par le groupe de recherche du prof. Emmanuel Anati au cours de quarante ans d'activité et identifiées comme l'un des emplacements possibles du mont Sinai (e.g. Anati, 2018). Basé sur la géographie humaniste, le paysage désertique et les vestiges archéologiques de la péninsule du Sinai peuvent être étudiés et interprétés à travers la première théorie de l'espace. Le Deuxième Espace a pour but d'enquêter sur l'origine et de classer l'âge et la destination de ces vestiges et des implantations connexes qui garantissaient la survie des populations et des troupeaux qui les suivaient lors des migrations saisonnières des bergers ou lors des transferts fréquents entre les deux terres bordant le Sinai Péninsule : Égypte et Pays de Canaan. Basé sur la reconstruction historique des vestiges archéologiques, le Troisième Espace peut plutôt être considéré comme l'espace de stratification culturelle et le fondement de la mémoire individuelle et sociale (Lando et Voltolina, 2005). À cet égard, cela peut être lié à la composition au cours de la période hellénistique (Barbaglia, 2017) d'une *histoire sacrée*, le soi-disant exode biblique des populations précédentes du delta du Nil vers le pays de Canaan. Après une brève introduction sur la proposition de l'Exode Biblique par S. Barbaglia (2017), l'article explore les caractéristiques de la Théorie de l'Ordre Spatial introduite en géographie humaniste par H. Lefebvre (1991) et E.W. Soja (1996). Enfin, les applications de cette théorie sont analysées pour une proposition de reconstruction du chemin de l'Exode Biblique.

