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Peftjauawybast, King of Nen-nesut: Genealogy, Art History, and the Chronology of Late Libyan Egypt*

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Summary: Peftjauawybast, King of Nen-nesut. Genealogy, Art History, and the Chronology of Late Libyan Egypt
This paper argues in detail for the identification of Peftjauawybast, King of Nen-nesut (fl. 728/720 BC[1]), with Peftjauawybast, High Priest of Ptah in Memphis (fl. *c.* 790–780 BC[2]), known from the Apis stela of year 28 of Shoshenq III. This identification ties in with a significant lowering of the accepted dates for the kings from Shoshenq III, Osorkon III and Takeloth III to Shoshenq V, and the material culture associated with them. Such a shift seems to be supported by stylistic and genealogical evidence. As a consequence, it is further suggested that the Master of Shipping at Nen-nesut, Pediese i, was perhaps related by descent and marriage to the family of the High Priests of Memphis and King Peftjauawybast.

Keywords: Peftjauawybast – Apis stelae – Egypt – Late Libyan period

Resumen: Peftjauawybast, rey de Nen-nesut. Genealogía, historia del arte, y la cronología del Egipto libio tardío
Este artículo argumenta detalladamente a favor de la identificación de Peftjauawybast, el rey de Nen-nesut (fl. 728/720 BC) con Peftjauawybast, el sumo sacerdote de Ptah

* Article received: September 7th 2009; approved: October 5th 2009.

[1] Kitchen 1986: 234.

[2] Kitchen 1986: 487.

en Menfis (fl. *c.* 790–780 BC) conocido a partir de la estela de Apis del año 28 de Shoshenq III. Esta identificación concuerda con una significativa reducción de las fechas aceptadas para los reyes que van desde Shoshenq III, Osorkon III y Takelot hasta Shoshenq V, y con el material cultural asociado con ellos. Este cambio parece sustentarse con evidencia estilística y genealógica. Como consecuencia, se sugiere que el maestro de navegación de Nen-nesut, Pediese i, estaba quizás relacionado por descendencia y matrimonio con la familia de los sumos sacerdotes de Menfis y el rey Peftjauawybast.

Palabras clave: Peftjauawybast – estelas de Apis – Egipto – período libio tardío

Peftjauawybast, King of Nen-nesut

The "Victory Stela" of Piye, the Kushite conqueror of Egypt, is one of the most illuminating documents for the late Libyan period. It reveals in some detail the degree to which Egypt had become politically fragmented by the late 8th century BC, naming as it does no less than four northern kings, "uraeus bearers", as well as over a dozen local chieftains of lesser stature. In doing so it provides a set of synchronisms between a number of rulers—notably Piye himself, his main opponent in the north Chief of the Libu Tefnakht of Sau (*Sais*), and four kings: Nimlot, Osorkon, Iuput and Peftjauawybast. The Stela thus provides one of the principal sources for reconstructing the chronology—both difficult and controversial—of this period.

The focus of the present article is one of the "uraeus bearers" recognised by Piye—Peftjauawybast, King of Nen-nesut (*Herakleopolis*). A loyal vassal of Piye, he was besieged within his city by the army of Tefnakht. Delivered by the army of Piye, Peftjauawybast's encomium of the Kushite at Khmunu forms a section of the narrative of the "Victory Stela" (lines 70–76). Though Peftjauawybast is a relatively obscure figure, his many family connections—both attested and conjectural—lend themselves to chronological analysis: not only in terms of genealogical links, but from the artistic style of their monuments.

Peftjauawybast (*Pꜣj.f-ṯꜣw-(m)-ꜥwj-Bꜣstt*), or as earlier scholars preferred, Pefnefdiubast (*Pf-nf-di(w)-Bꜣstt*), clearly possessed full kingship. Although his full titulary is not preserved, surviving monuments use nomen and prenomen with the titles *nb tꜣwy*, *nsw*, *nsw-bity*, *nṯr nfr*, *sꜣ Rꜥ*, and *nb irḫt*.[3] He is attested by a small number of monuments[4]:

[3] Bonhême 1987: 216–218.

[4] Cf. Kitchen 1986: 357–358.

1. The "Victory Stela" of Piye, dated to year 21.[5]
2. A gold statue of Herishef from Ehnasya (Boston MFA 06.2408): carries cartouches with *nsw-bity* Peftjauawybast and *sꜣ Rꜥ* Neferkare.[6]
3. The bronze statue (Boston MFA 1977.16) with the name Neferkare on the belt, was attributed to Peftjauawybast by Russmann and accepted by others.[7] The features are certainly not Kushite, and the profile has similarities with those of Osorkon III and Takeloth III in the Heqa-djet chapel. The single uraeus also argues against a Kushite ruler. Leahy discusses the use of the "cap crown" on this bronze statue and the "Victory" stela.
4. Donation stela Cairo JdE 45348 of year 10.[8] The prenomen is Neferkare and the text refers to a daughter, Iruatj, by his wife, the King's daughter, Ta-sherit-en-ese, dedicated as Chantress of the Inner Abode of Amun at Thebes.
5. Donation stela Cairo TN 11/9/21/4 of year 10.[9] Similar to the preceding, perhaps naming a second daughter by Ta-sherit-en-ese.
6. Sarcophagus fragment Berlin 2100 names his wife Ir-bast-wedja-nefu, daughter of Rudamun, their daughter *...b...hꜥꜥ* and her son [Pedi-amun]-neb-nesut-tawy[10]; see also Daressy for a related block from Medinet Habu with the "late" writing of the name of Osiris.[11] A stone fragment from Abydos may also name Ir-bast-wedja-nefu.[12]
7. Sarcophagus inscription recorded by Robert Hay at Qurna naming Sopdet, a daughter of Peftjauawybast by his wife Ir-bast-wedja-nefu daughter of Rudamun.[13]

[5] Grimal 1981 with full bibliography to that date. For discussion of the date of the campaign—year 4, 12 or (as more conventionally accepted) 19/20 see Morkot 2000: 172–174, 184, 200.

[6] Russmann 1981: 154, figs. 8–9.

[7] Russmann 1981: 150–151, figs. 1–6; see e.g. Leahy 1992a: 232.

[8] Daressy 1917: 43–45.

[9] Daressy 1921: 138–139.

[10] PM I, 2: 678; LD III 284a; LD *Text* iii, 258; Jurman 2006: 71 G.

[11] Daressy 1897: 20–21—now Cairo JE 33902; Leahy 1979: 142; Jurman 2006: 71 F.

[12] Leahy 1990: 172–173.

[13] Graefe 1990; Jurman 2006: 71 H.

The family of King Peftjauawybast

Peftjauawybast had at least two wives: Ta-sherit/hered-en-ese and Ir-bast-wedja-nefu (or Ir-bast-wedja-tjau). Ta-sherit-en-ese is attested by the year 10 stelae from Herakleopolis, on which she carries the title "King's Daughter". Given the time of Peftjauawybast's rule, the number of kings that she could have been daughter of is rather large: Osorkon III (or "IV"), Takeloth III, Rudamun, Iuput, Nimlot, or one of the Kushites (Kashta or Piye). By Ta-sherit-en-ese, Peftjauawybast had a daughter, Iruatj, and perhaps a second. The second wife, Ir-bast-wedja-nefu, was daughter of Rudamun and mother of two daughters, Sopdet and *...b...h*ꜥꜥ. The latter was the mother of a [Pedi-amun]-neb-nesut-tawy.[14]

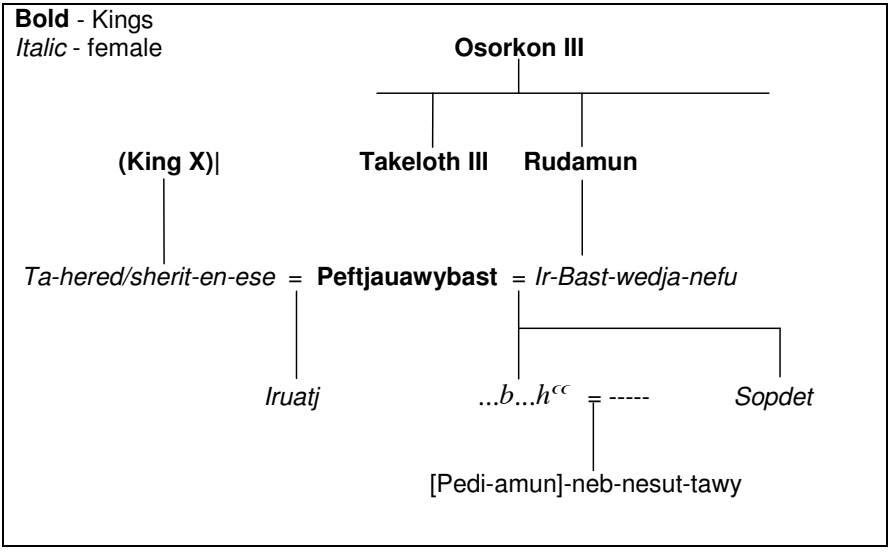

Table 1.
The known relatives of King Peftjauawybast.

[14] Graefe 1990: 89; Jurman 2006: 73 correcting Aston and Taylor 1990.

All of the king's *known* children, and his grandson, lived at Thebes: Iruatj was installed as a chantress in the Inner Abode of Amun, as were daughters of other kings and Libyan chiefs. Nothing specific is known of Pedi-amun-neb-nesut-tawy other than that he was buried at Thebes.

Most writers have assumed that Peftjauawybast was somehow connected with one or other of the Libyan royal families by descent as well as marriage: no monuments, however, record his parentage. He is usually taken to be a slightly younger contemporary of Takeloth III and Rudamun on the grounds of his marriage with the latter's daughter, and his reign at the time of Piye's campaign.

Chronological placement of Peftjauawaybast

The evidence for the length and chronological parameters for the reign of King Peftjauawybast is: the account of Piye's conflict with Tefnakht of Sais; the stelae dated to the king's 10th regnal year; and the fact that he does not appear as ruler of Nen-nesut (Hininsu) on the Assyrian list of vassals from the records of Assurbanipal,[15] relating to 667/666 BC (conventionally accepted) or 671 BC (as argued by Verreth[16]). There is an outside chance, as suggested by Leahy that the Nimlot king of Khmunu (Hermopolis) of the "Victory Stela" may have lived long enough to have been the Lamintu of Himuni mentioned in the same list.[17]

Kitchen places the king's reign around 728 BC (the date of Piye's campaign, in his reckoning) but wonders how long after 720 BC he continued to reign.[18] Aston and Taylor follow the same date for the campaign of Piye, and hence Peftjauawybast's *floruit*.[19] Obviously, Peftjauawybast's absolute dates are affected by any changes in the dates ascribed to the reign of Piye and the campaign against Tefnakht.

Peftjauawybast's throne name was Neferkare: this was also the throne name of Shabaqo. Were it not for the Piye stela, one might postulate that Peftjauawybast was installed by Shabaqo, but this would overturn the generally

[15] Oppenheim 1969: 294.

[16] Verreth 1999.

[17] Leahy 1992a.

[18] Kitchen 1986: 234.

[19] Aston and Taylor 1990.

accepted ordering and interpretation of events,[20] and appears to have little in its favour. It is more likely that Neferkare is an archaising name common to both rulers, reflected also in the Kushite-period throne names Sekhemkare, Wahkare (Bakenranef), and Shepseskare (Gemenef-khonsu-bak).

Further stylistic evidence for the dating of King Peftjauawybast comes from the stelae of his year 10. Describing these, Daressy commented: "les personnages sont maigres, élancés, comme ils sont dans les représentations d'époque saïte" and suggested that they were contemporary with the reign of Shabaqo.[21] The stelae, poorly preserved, have never been illustrated, but this "thin" type of figure is typical of donation stelae from the Delta of the time of Shoshenq V, Tefnakht, Shabaqo, and Taharqo. This style, also found on a stela of year 22 (Kitchen: 746 BC) of the reign of Shoshenq V from Atfih,[22] has the "archaising" feature of prominent forward thigh for female figures (discussed further below). Within the conventional chronology this style would be stretched over a period of up to a century, and might be interpreted as a regional variation. This stylistic feature cannot be used to place Peftjauawybast's reign more precisely—although it does raise a number of questions about style.

The difficulty of placing Piye's campaign precisely—both within his reign, and in absolute terms—has already been noted. The parameters are roughly 730/728 and 715 depending on how long a reign (24 up to 40 years) and whether the conventional years 19/20 or a lower (year 4 or 12) date is adopted.[23] A date around 725 BC will suffice for the purposes of the present article.

The Kingdom of Nen-nesut

Peftjauawybast was king of Nen-nesut (Herakleopolis), but the extent of the kingdom is unclear from Piye's inscription, as the neighbouring towns and fortresses are said to have yielded to Tefnakht's advance. The evidence from the Libyan period more generally, would suggest that the rulers of Nen-nesut controlled the entrance to the Fayum, including the fortress of Per-Sekhem-kheper-re, perhaps the Fayum itself, and key river fortresses such as Teudjoi

[20] E.g. Morkot 2000.

[21] Daressy 1917; 1921.

[22] Peet 1920.

[23] Morkot 2000: 172–174, 184, 200.

(el Hibeh), extending as far north as Atfih. This would embrace nomes 18 to 22, perhaps as far south as nome 17.

A serious problem with any interpretation of this period that assumes that the kingship of Peftjauawybast somehow represents a "legitimate" succession to the family of Takeloth III and Rudamun is that his "kingdom" is completely new, and lies well to the north of Theban territory. This is particularly significant for those who argue that Osorkon III, Takeloth III and Rudamun represent a "Theban Twenty-third Dynasty". Kitchen, proposing a Leontopolite origin for this line, suggests that Peftjauawybast was installed in Nen-nesut when Takeloth III was made co-regent by Osorkon III.[24] Kitchen implicitly assumes a blood relationship, as well as marriage, with that line. Aston and Taylor similarly argue for Peftjauawybast's kingship as direct successor to Rudamun and the line of Osorkon III.[25] They assume that Osorkon III, Takeloth III, and Rudamun had all died before the campaign of Piye, which they date to c.728 BC, and this results in some complex—and largely irrelevant—arguments over dating and political geography.

A way around the problem has been the recent relocation of the "Theban Twenty-third Dynasty" to become a "Herakleopolitan Twenty-third Dynasty"[26]: a solution with as little foundation as the earlier proposal.

The political geography of the Nile valley south of Memphis is much less clear than that of the Delta,[27] and whilst it is certain that the Theban region had its own rulers at some points during the Libyan period, the fracturing of the entire region south of Memphis into independent kingdoms is a very late phenomenon. Nevertheless, as early as the reign of Osorkon I or Takeloth I, the High Priest of Amun, Iuwelot, (son of Osorkon I) acknowledged that his northern military boundary lay at the nome of Asyut.[28] The northern boundaries of the Thebais in the late 25th–26th Dynasty and Ptolemaic period were slightly further south, with key centres at Tjeny and Ptolemais Hermiou. Although new as a kingdom, territorially Peftjauawybast's rule appears to have been essentially the same as the Tanite/Bubastite power-base that controlled the entrance to the Fayum and southern access to Memphis and the Delta. Nen-nesut and the fortresses at Teudjoi (el-Hiba), and Per-Sekhem-kheper-

[24] Kitchen 1986: 356.

[25] Aston and Taylor 1990: 145–147, so also Leahy 1990: 187.

[26] Aston 2009.

[27] See Leahy 1990.

[28] Succinctly Kitchen 1986: 311 and n. 385.

re had been the seats of formidable royal representatives such as the Crown Prince Osorkon and may, with the region to north and south, have effectively been a unit for a considerable time.

Rather than being installed by Osorkon III or succeeding as "heir" to his line, it is equally—if not more—likely that Peftjauawybast was raised to kingship by the Kushites. The Sandstone stela of Piye attributes to the Kushite ruler the power to make and unmake kings and chiefs[29] so Kashta or Piye may have installed Nimlot and Peftjauawybast as vassals, creating their new kingdoms as a buffer between the Theban province and the Delta.[30]

In searching for a possible origin for the king of Nen-nesut, the only obvious prominent individual with the same name is the royal scion and High Priest of Memphis, attested by an Apis stela of year 28 of Shoshenq III.[31] Clearly on any conventional reading of the evidence he could not be the same person.[32] However, challenging the exact chronology of late Libyan Egypt, and lowering the dates for a number of kings—notably Shoshenq III, Osorkon III and Takeloth III—so that they overlap the earlier 25th Dynasty, presents a totally different world.

Problems in the chronology and material culture of late-Libyan Egypt

In a number of recent papers Morkot has considered some aspects of changes in style during the Libyan~Kushite~early-Saite periods. "Archaism" seems to have had a northern Egyptian origin, and some of the Memphite models (such as the 5th Dynasty pyramid temple of Sahura at Abusir) are well known and have long been recognised. The influence of these Memphite models in Thebes is quite clear, but chronologically complex.[33] Memphite models also influenced the monuments of a local Tanite dynasty that included the kings Pedubast II and Gemenef-khonsu-bak, who were contemporaries of the 25th Dynasty.[34] There was also stylistic continuity from the later New Kingdom into the earlier Libyan period,[35] and variation in depictions of

[29] Morkot 1995: 231–232; 2000: 179–80; 2007: 154.

[30] Morkot 2000: 180.

[31] As already proposed by James *et al.* 1991a: 254–255, 384, n. 125; and Morkot 2000: 275.

[32] So Kitchen 1986, and, as far as we are aware, all other more recent writers.

[33] Morkot 2003: 2006.

[34] Morkot 2000: 219, 223, 274, 284–285; Morkot 2003: 87–89.

[35] Morkot 2007.

female form.[36] In discussing these developments it is important to recognise that variation and change in style was regional as well as chronological[37] and that it was not a simple linear-chronological process.

As things stand, there have been numerous problems in dating the material culture of the late-Libyan~Kushite~Saite periods. Artefacts are frequently dated on chronological and genealogical assumptions, and circular arguments: kings named on such artefacts are *assumed* to be (e.g. Takeloth) II or III because of the style of a coffin/stela which is itself dated by another one and genealogical/chronological presuppositions.[38]

This material is extremely complex, and there is a huge amount of it. We are aware of that, and have no intention of denigrating the work of the numerous scholars who have made enormous contribution to our understanding of the period. It is clear, however, that many Egyptologists feel that refinement of the internal chronology of this period is necessary.

Notably, there is a considerable amount of evidence—genealogical and other—that suggests a lowering of the dates for Osorkon III and Takeloth III. Aston and Taylor commented on generation jumps, and "late" dates for statues, coffins and other artefacts associated with descendants of Takeloth III. In conclusion they observed that: "Since the latest estimates place Takeloth's death c. 758 or 757 BC … his children would seem to have outlived him by two generations instead of one."[39]

Likewise Broekman:

> *"It appears that seven of the eight known children of Takeloth III survived into the last years of the eighth century BC and that, consequently, they seem to have outlived their father by two generations. A generation jump also occurred between Takeloth's father Osorkon III and the latter's daughter Shepenupet I, who was probably still alive during the reign of the Nubian King Shebitku, as appears from the inscriptions and reliefs in the Nubian part of the Chapel of Osiris Heqa-Djet at Karnak."* [40]

[36] Morkot 2006.

[37] Morkot 2007.

[38] E.g. Aston and Taylor 1990: 133, 142, 143.

[39] Aston and Taylor 1990: 138, 142, 149.

[40] Broekman 2009: 93.

If it were not for the constraints of the generally accepted model for TIP chronology, it would have been more logical simply to have assumed that the reign of Takeloth III (and hence that of Osorkon III) should be lowered by a generation; indeed, Taylor has more recently suggested that Takeloth III "survived into the 730s".[41] Payraudeau has also suggested a lowering of Takeloth III's *floruit*, and an increase in its length to at least 14 years (perhaps to over 19, identifying him with the unnamed king associated with Shepenwepet I in the Wadi Gasus double-dated inscription).[42] Yet as Jansen-Winkeln rightly notes: "*However long he reigned, the problem of the 'generation shift' does not disappear...*".[43] Aston appears to have neither changed his position nor accepted the logic of his own arguments.[44]

A close chronological proximity to the Kushites is indicated by the newly excavated stela from Dakhla, dated to year 13 of Takeloth III, which names the Chief of the Shamain, Nes-Djehuty. This man is also known (as "Great Chief of the Shamain") from the Lesser Dakhla Stela of year 24 of Piye.[45]

An additional factor in favour of a later dating for Osorkon III and Takeloth III is the choice of titulary and the sculptural style of the chapel of Osiris-Heqa-Djet at Karnak. Here, as Kitchen observed many years ago, Osorkon III combined a typically Libyan-period, Ramesside-derived, throne name—Usermaetre Setepen-amun—with archaising Nebty and Golden Horus names: *Śt-ib-tꜣwy* and *Ms-nṯrw*.[46] Takeloth III followed the same style, also with Usermaetre (Setepen-amun) as throne name, but with *Wꜣḏ-tꜣwy* for Horus, Nebty and Golden Horus names.[47] The parallel with Shabaqo's use of *Śb(ꜣ)ḳ-tꜣwy* for the same three names cannot be ignored, although alongside a throne-name that had both Old Kingdom and Ramesside resonances.[48] There are other uses of *tꜣwy* as part of the Horus name at this time[49]: *śʿnḫ-tꜣwy*,

[41] Taylor 2006: 288, n. 74.

[42] Payraudeau 2004.

[43] Jansen-Winkeln 2006: 253.

[44] Aston 2009: 25.

[45] Kaper and Demarée 2006: 30, 35; cf. Payraudeau 2009: 295–296.

[46] Kitchen 1986: 349, 356; cf. also Leahy 1990: 188; Leahy 1992b: 162, n. 47; Payraudeau 2007: 152; cf. comments of Jurman 2006.

[47] Bonhême 1987: 188–192.

[48] Morkot 2007: 148.

[49] Bonhême 1987: 222–223; Leahy 1990: 188.

perhaps by Gemenef-khonsu-bak, and (*sḥtp-ꜣwy*) by Pedubast II, both Tanite kings and generally agreed to have ruled under the Kushites.

The reliefs of the Heqa-Djet chapel depict Takeloth III wearing the short kilt with broad pleats that "normally" characterises 25th Dynasty archaism.[50] The figure of Takeloth is also notable for its proportions of broad shoulders, triangular torso and very narrow waist, but with long legs. The figure is thus closer to those of Shabaqo and Shebitqo than to the "top heavy" figures with low waist and rather short legs found in the images from Iuput, Tefnakht and Bakenranef to Taharqo.[51] Leahy observes that a stela from Abydos (Cairo JE 30434) depicting Takeloth III (perhaps post-mortem) also shows archaising features.[52] The extremely fragmentary stela of Osorkon III from Hermopolis also appears to belong to the "archaising" group.[53]

The archaising features of style and titulary of the reigns of Osorkon III and Takeloth III are further reflected in the use of basiliphorous names with the form "Ankh+ KN".[54] The commonest forms are Ankh-Takeloth and Ankh-Osorkon, given to male children and grandchildren of those two kings, and persisting into later generations. The name Ankh-Shoshenq is well attested from Memphis (notably the Serapeum stelae), and some holders of the name were descended from Shoshenq III through his daughter, Ankhesen-Shoshenq. Other male forms are quite rare in the late Libyan period. Ankh-Nimlot may be associated with the ruler of Khmunu (*Hermopolis*), and Ankh-Pediese was a grandson of Pediese, Great Chief of the Ma and royal scion at Memphis. The name-form becomes quite common in the 26th Dynasty, using both nomen and prenomen.

Payraudeau's redating of Berlin papyrus 3048 from the reign of Takeloth II to Takeloth III[55] also raises some significant issues. The Berlin papyrus is written in abnormal hieratic, and the earliest known other documents in this form are papyri of years 21 and 22 of Piye. Broekman has already observed that changes in language begin at the end of, or follow, the reign of Shoshenq III, and are part of the archaising process that can now be certainly dated to

[50] Morkot 2003: 84.

[51] Morkot 2003: 87–88; 2007: 158–159.

[52] Leahy 1990: 171; see now Leahy 2009: 433, fig. 12 and 434–435.

[53] Spencer 1989: 57–62, pls. 100–110.

[54] Leahy 1992b; Taylor 2006: 282.

[55] Payraudeau 2004.

that phase.[56] Because of genealogical information, Payraudeau subsequently redated Berlin 3048 back to the reign of Takeloth II,[57] creating an even greater problem regarding its use of abnormal hieratic. Likewise Ritner has shown that coffin CGC 41035, which uses the late form of the name Osiris known from the 25th Dynasty, belongs to a granddaughter of Takeloth II (and daughter of Crown Prince Osorkon), and not Takeloth III as suggested by Leahy and Aston and Taylor.[58] Ritner also reconsidered the Turin Stela of a Shepenwepet who he also identifies as daughter of the HPA and Crown Prince Osorkon.[59] Munro and de Meulenaere dated the stela stylistically to 720–700 BC or "not earlier than the end of the eighth century" respectively, and consequently Aston and Taylor proposed she was a grand-daughter of Takeloth III and daughter of Osorkon "F".[60]

These facts add considerable pressure to the chronological tension noted by Aston and Taylor from coffin styles and genealogies. The case is extremely strong for suggesting that the conventional dates for the reigns of Osorkon III (787–759 or 784–756 BC) and Takeloth III (764–757 or 761–754 BC) should be lowered *at the very least* by 25 years. Less "generation jump" would then be required between the family of Takeloth III and individuals who can be dated after c. 700 BC. On a rather more radical reading of the evidence, the rise of Tefnakht of Sais would be attributed to the years following 36 and 38 of Shoshenq III, rather than Shoshenq V: this has already been suggested, tentatively,[61] involving a downward shift of some 60 years.

It should be stated that we regard Osorkon III to be identical with the Crown Prince and High Priest of Amun well-documented in the reigns of his father Takeloth II and of Shoshenq III. This seems to be firmly established by the text of the Akoris Stela that identifies him as both king and as High Priest of Amun.[62] This attractive identification, accepted by many earlier Egyptologists[63] was rejected by Kitchen—his high chronology would place

[56] Broekman 2002.

[57] Payraudeau 2009.

[58] Ritner 1999; Leahy 1979: 148; Aston and Taylor 1990: 132–133.

[59] Ritner 1999: 358.

[60] Aston and Taylor 1990: 133–134.

[61] Morkot 2000: 181–182.

[62] Shobo 1995: 301–305, pl. 116.

[63] E.g. Hall 1954: 164–165 and see Baer 1973: 15–16.

almost a century between the beginning of Osorkon's pontificate (c. 840 BC) and the end of Osorkon III's reign (749 BC), giving him an impossibly long career if one individual. Although the identification of the two Osorkons was rejected by a number of writers, the idea was raised again by Leahy[64] invoking the evidence of the Akoris Stela. Leahy pointed out that the King's longevity was not a major issue, and that Helen Jacquet-Gordon's suggestion that there was a substantial overlap of the reigns of Takeloth II and Shoshenq III reduced his life-span by a full decade. The overlap of reigns was also argued at the same time by Aston.[65] The equation of the HPA Osorkon and Osorkon III was also defended by the present authors[66] and is now widely accepted again.[67]

As proposed tentatively elsewhere we assume Takeloth II to have been the eldest son of the High Priest Nimlot (C), son of Osorkon II, an idea that now has wide currency.[68] Accepting the identity of Osorkon III with the Bubastite High Priest and son of Takeloth II, we do not subscribe to the theory that Osorkon III and Takeloth III were rulers of a "Theban Twenty-third Dynasty", but the continuation of the Bubastite family; hence he would have been the king Osorkon of Bubastis named on the Victory Stela of Piye's year 21 (Kitchen: 728 BC). As Takeloth III is not named on the Stela he presumably became co-regent of Osorkon III *after* the invasion of Piye, and not some decades before it. Takeloth III would thus have been a contemporary of the Kushite ruler Shabaqo. Given that, the mass of otherwise anomalous data reviewed now becomes comprehensible, along with an almost incredible "mystery" envisaged by Kitchen:

> *"What happened to the high-priesthood of Amun of Thebes after the accession of Takeloth III remains a total mystery. While perhaps some record of a couple of incumbents for the 40 years down into the reign of Shabako remains to be found, yet the simplest explanation may well be that the office was actually left in abeyance ...".*[69]

[64] Leahy 1990: 192–193.

[65] Aston 1989.

[66] James *et al.* 1991a: 256, 385, n. 129.

[67] See e.g. Jansen-Winkeln 2006: 243; Aston 2009: 20–21; and now allowed even by Kitchen 2009: 183–185.

[68] James *et al.* 1991a: 240; see now Payraudeau 2004, 84, n. 36; cf Aston 2009, 18, n. 148.

[69] Kitchen 1986: 201.

The 40 years lay between the elevation of Takeloth G to kingship and HPA Haremakhet. He may have taken office in the reign of his father Shabaqo (Kitchen: 716–702 BC), although his statue inscription specifically associates him with Taharqo and Tanwetamani. Kitchen attempted to reduce this gap by introducing an Osorkon "F".[70] However, Ritner has shown that there was no such individual.[71] Rather, the late 8th-century BC style of a stela of lady Shepenwepet, daughter of an HPA Osorkon, used as part of the argument in the creation of Osorkon F[72] should be taken as further evidence for a later dating of the Crown Prince/HPA and then pharaoh, Osorkon (III).

The dating of Osorkon III and Takeloth III is directly relevant to Peftjauawybast because of the marriage of that ruler to a daughter of Rudamun (another son of Osorkon III), and because of the link between Osorkon III and the Kushites through the God's Wives of Amun, Shepenwepet I and Amenirdis I. Lowering the date of Osorkon III would also necessitate a significant reduction in the date for Shoshenq III—opening the possibility that the Peftjauawybast attested as HPM in his reign was the future king of Nen-nesut.

The High Priest of Memphis, Peftjauawybast

The evidence for the High Priest of Memphis, Peftjauawybast, is:

1. The stela recording the burial of the Apis bull in year 28 of Shoshenq III (798 BC in Kitchen's calculation[73]) (see Figs. 1 & 2).
2. A wooden statue, Berlin 11637.[74] The statue in sycomore-fig wood depicts Peftjauawybast squatting, left leg raised, right leg folded. His head is shaven; details of collar and the text were added in black and yellow paint. The statue is of a type that is familiar from Theban examples in stone from the New Kingdom to Late Period.[75]

[70] Kitchen 1986: 564–565.

[71] Ritner 1999: 357–358.

[72] Kitchen 1986: 565.

[73] Kitchen 1986: 489.

[74] *PM* VIII, 800 [801–743–200]; Staatliche Museen 1895: 18 and pl. 49.

[75] E.g. Josephson and Eldamaty 1999: pl. 3 CG 48603 (Akhamenru); pl. 6 CG 48606 (Harwa); pl. 31 CG 486031 (Pediamennebnesuttawy).

The Apis stela shows him serving alongside his father, Pediese, and half-brother Takeloth D.[76] However, at the burial of the next bull, in year 2 of Pimay, it is Peftjauawybast's half-brother Harsiese H who officiated, but still with their father.[77] It is generally assumed that Peftjauawybast and Takeloth D had died in the intervening 26 years,[78] and been succeeded by their brother. Is it possible instead that the High Priest, and a senior member of the Bubastite royal house, had been installed by the Kushites as ruler of the key city of Nen-Nesut? Most Egyptologists would assume not: but only because the accepted chronology would not allow such a possibility.

The family of the High Priest of Memphis, Peftjauawybast

Peftjauawybast was the son of the High Priest of Ptah and Great Chief of the Ma, Pediese, who had himself succeeded his father, Takeloth B, and grandfather, Shoshenq D, in the office. Shoshenq D, Crown Prince and eldest son of Osorkon II and the Great Royal Wife Karoma, had been appointed High Priest of Ptah by his father.[79] He is supposed to have presided over the burial of an Apis bull in year 23 of Osorkon II, although the inscription (SIM 3090) recording this does not specifically name him.[80]

Ahmad Badawi excavated the tombs of this family at Memphis,[81] although filiations were not given in all cases. The tomb of the Crown Prince Shoshenq D, son of Osorkon II, was the most imposing (now re-erected in the garden of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo), with sculptured decoration, a re-used Ramesside sarcophagus, and a silver coffin. The other tombs belonged to Takeloth, Pediese and Harsiese, but lack full publication.[82] No tomb for Peftjauawybast was identified.

Earlier reconstructions of the period suggested that Shoshenq D, the High Priest of Amun Nimlot C, and perhaps all other sons, predeceased Osorkon II:

[76] Malinine *et al.* 1968, I: 19–20, no 21; II, pl.VII.

[77] Malinine *et al.* 1968, I: 21–23; II, pl. VIII.

[78] Kitchen 1986: 194.

[79] Kitchen 1986: 100–103, §§81–2; Nagy 1995.

[80] Malinine *et al.* 1968: I, no.18; cf. comments of Kitchen 1986: 101 and n. 77; Jansen-Winkeln 2005: 76, n. 16; 2006: 239.

[81] Badawi 1944; 1957; *PM* III^2.2.3: 846–848.

[82] Yoyotte 1961: 124, §5.7, 125, §5.8.

the King's prayer clearly fears dynastic problems.[83] Although the HPA Nimlot C certainly died before his father, the Crown Prince and HPM Shoshenq D was buried with udjat-amulets, one of which names Shoshenq III.[84]

The High Priest of Ptah and Great Chief of the Ma, Pediese, is known to have had three wives. Tairy, the mother of Peftjauawybast, was daughter of Takeloth B and hence full or half-sister of her husband. A second wife, Her-Bast, was the mother of Takeloth D. The *wrt ḫnrw m Mn-nfr* [...]-Iret-irou was mother of Harsiese H who was serving as HPM in year 2 of Pimay.

Pediese's own mother, Tjesbastperu, was a king's daughter. This Tjesbastperu is assumed by Kitchen and others to have been a younger daughter of Osorkon II, so introducing a "generation drop".[85] The canopic jars in Vienna that are cited for this filiation name her *only* as daughter of Osorkon si-Bast (i.e. II) and Istemkheb (G) and not as a wife or mother. According to the Apis stela of year 2 of Pimay, Pediese, as High Priest, *sm*-priest, and Great Chief of the Ma, installed the Apis bull in year 28 of Shoshenq III along with his wife the *s3t nsw* Tjesbastperu.[86] Thus, Pediese's mother Tjestbastperu *may* have been a "late" daughter of Osorkon II, but she could have been daughter of another king.

The Apis burial stela of year 28 of Shoshenq III[87] shows Pediese, but gives him only one title, Great Chief of the Ma. Takeloth D, son of Pediese and Her-Bast, is accorded the title *sm*-priest.

The Apis stelae of year 2 of Pimay[88] names other members of the family: Harsiese H who was officiating as *wr ḫrp ḥmmw* and *sm* and was son of Pediese and the *wrt ḫnrw m Mn-nfr* [...]-Iret-irou. Two additional lines of text name "his" (Harsiese H's) sons: Takeloth, son of Ta-di-ta-neb-n-...[89] and Ankh-Pediese, son of Kapes-en-ha-ese.[90] This Takeloth, now designated "H" is identified by Jurman with the *sm*-priest and *wr ḫrp ḥmmw* accompanying

[83] Jacquet-Gordon 1960; Morkot 2000: 108–109.

[84] Jansen-Winkeln 2005: 76; 2006: 239–240.

[85] Kitchen 1986: 102; and more cautiously 322, §281.

[86] Malinine *et al.* 1968: I, no. 22 (SIM 3697).

[87] Malinine *et al.* 1968: I, no. 21 (SIM 3749); Yoyotte 1961: 124, §5.3.

[88] Malinine *et al.* 1968: I, no. 22, 23 (SIM 3697, 3736); Yoyotte 1961: 124, §5.4, 5.

[89] Cf. Ranke 1935: 347, 15: *T3-dj-t-t3-nb.(t)-hn*.

[90] *K3ps-nh3-3s.t* : Ranke 1935: 342, 9.

a king Shoshenq on block Cairo JE 46915.[91] He therefore dates his pontificate after that of Ankhefen-sakhmet B. Stylistically this block is important as the king uses a simple style, Shoshenq without epithets, and his figure has the broad shoulders, narrow waist and low belt found on the plaque of Iuput,[92] and the goddess has the attenuated form, and prominent forward thigh found on donation stelae of Pimay (noted above).

Harsiese H's son, Ankhefen-sakhmet B, is assumed by Kitchen[93] to have been the High Priest of Memphis officiating in the reign of Shoshenq V, by his chronological position, not by any document. Ankhefen-sakhmet B is attested by a statue (Cairo CG 12120[94]) which he dedicated to his father, both carrying the titles *r-pˁ ḥꜣty-ˁ sm n Ptḥ wr ḫrp ḥmmw n Ptḥ*. Ankhefen-sakhmet B's mother is named as *wrt ḫnr Bꜣ.j.j*.[95]

Working on a conventional chronology, Leahy observed that "there is a hiatus of perhaps a century in our knowledge of the high priests of Memphis between the reign of Shoshenq V and the Twenty-sixth dynasty."[96] The Saite sequence of High Priests appears to begin with Pedipep, to be dated within the reign of Psamtik I.[97] In a recent reassessment of the evidence for the High Priesthood, Jurman too comments on the lack of clear evidence from the 25th Dynasty, although noting that the "Gallatin Head" of a Memphite High Priest[98] is certainly 25th or early 26th Dynasty.

A sister of the HPM Peftjauawybast, Taperet, and a line of her descendants, are documented by a monument (Cairo 36728: see Table 2), originally published by Legrain, republished by Vernus and commented on by others.[99] Taperet, specified as daughter of the *sem*-priest and Chief of the Ma, Pediese, married a grandson of a king Shoshenq-meriamun, who is certainly Shoshenq III, and Queen Tentamunopet: their descendants continued to hold priestly offices at Memphis. Vernus was undecided about the date of monument and

[91] Jurman 2009: 128, 134, figs. 3–4.

[92] As noted by Fazzini 1997 and Jurman 2009.

[93] Kitchen 1986: 194, 487.

[94] Borchardt 1925: 110–111, pl. 17.

[95] Ranke 1935: 89, 13.

[96] Leahy 2006: 175 n. 20.

[97] De Meulenaere 1985.

[98] Cooney 1953, 14, no. 68, pls. 42–44; Jurman 2009.

[99] Vernus 1976; see e.g. Yoyotte 1961: 124, §5.6; Kitchen 1986: 343; Leahy 1992b: 149.

was clearly influenced by the generational link with Shoshenq III and Pimay: his parameters were the reigns of Shabaqo, Taharqo to Psamtik I.

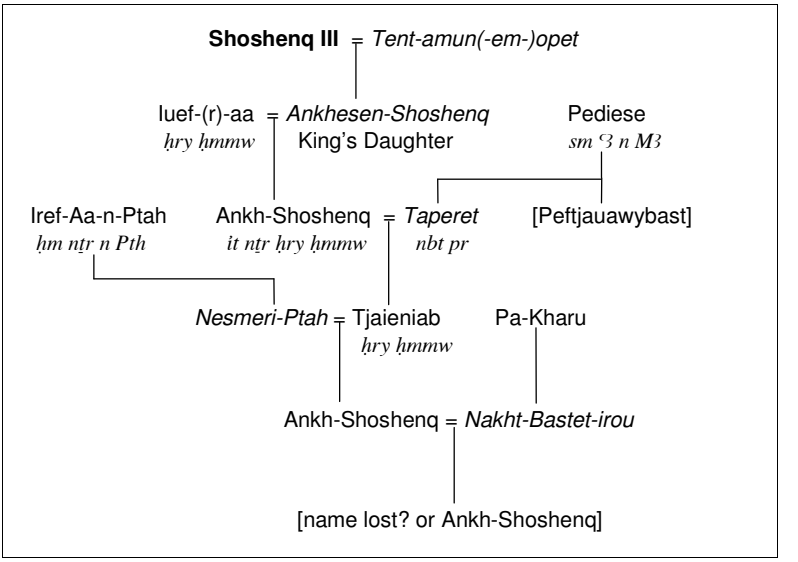

Table 2.
The family of the monument Cairo 36728.

The descent from Osorkon II, combined with the evidence of the Apis and other stelae, thus places HPM Peftjauawybast firmly in a genealogical and relative historical context (Table 3).

The Shipping Masters Pediese and Sematawytefnakht

The family of the "Masters of Shipping" (MS) of Nen-nesut is well-known from a range of monuments and the extended narrative of P. Rylands IX.[100] It is clear from P. Rylands IX that the *ꜥꜣ n mr* "Master of Shipping"[101] was responsible for the whole of Upper Egypt from the "southern guard-house of Memphis" to Aswan. He was resident in Memphis or Nen-nesut, and had a deputy who appears to have done much of the travelling from place-to-place.

[100] Griffith 1909; Wessetsky 1962; Traunecker 2008.

[101] Or "Master of Harbours"—Griffith 1909: 78, n. 1.

Although there are clear historical "problems" with the narrative of Rylands IX, MS Pediese i appears to have had his son Sematawytefnakht as his deputy. On his retirement, Pediese i is stated to have nominated his nephew Pediese ii as his successor, but in reality, it appears from the papyrus, Pediese ii acted as deputy to his cousin Sematawytefnakht. The title appears in Assyrian documents of the time of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal as *rab kari* "Master of the Quay".

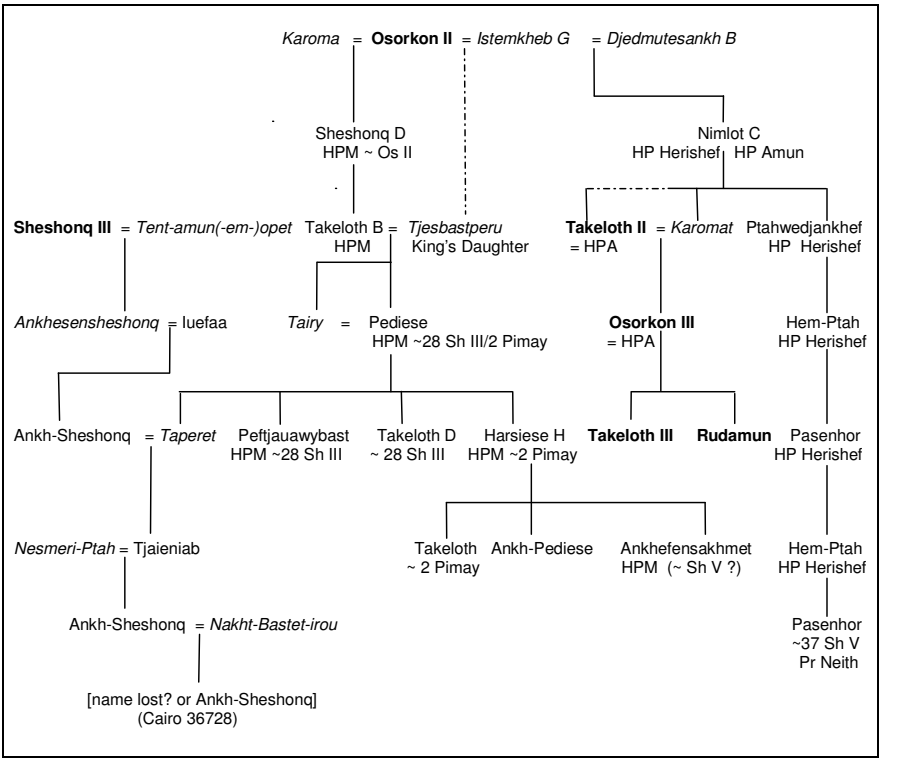

Table 3.
The family of the High Priest of Memphis, Peftjauawybast.

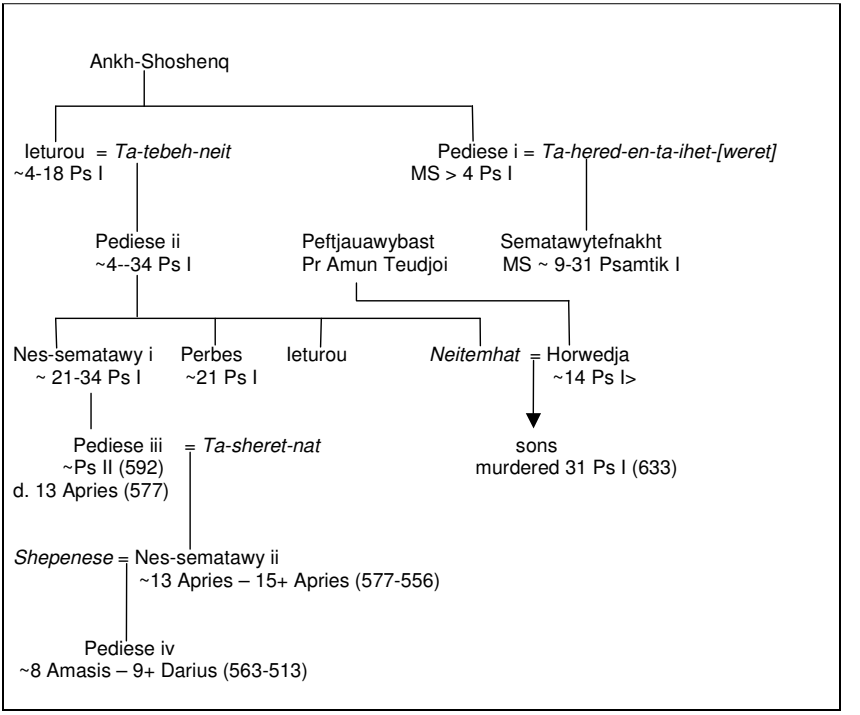

Table 4.
The genealogy of Papyrus Rylands IX.

The progenitor of the family named in the P. Rylands IX was a prophet of Amenresonther (*ḥm nṯr n ʾImn-Rˁ nsw nṯrw*), Ankh-Shoshenq, named as father of Pediese i. Kitchen and Leahy[102] quote the statement of Pediese i in P. Rylands IX (5/19–20)[103]: that he was old by year 4 of Psamtik I (660 BC) and wished to resign his office. The papyrus (9/20–10/1) states that Pediese i died in year 18 (646 BC) of Psamtik I, but Griffith[104] and others have argued that year 8 (656 BC) may be more likely. Kitchen proposes that Pediese i must therefore have become Shipping Master and (High) Priest of Herishef

[102] Kitchen 1986: 234, §§ 198–199; Leahy 1992a: 150, no. 21a.

[103] Griffith 1909: 78.

[104] Griffith 1909: 84, n. 7.

"sometime early in the reign" of Taharqo: he places one—or perhaps two—rulers between Pediese and King Peftjauawybast. Leahy suggests a *floruit* for Pediese in the late eighth and early seventh centuries. This would place Ankh-Shoshenq in the later eighth century.

Kienitz speculated that MS Sematawytefnakht, the son of Pediese i, was descended from King Peftjauawybast,[105] but Kitchen strongly argued against such a connection, although with no evidence other than geographical (discussed below) and chronological assumptions.[106] On the conventional picture for the origins of King Peftjauawybast there is no onomastic link possible with the Masters of Shipping family. However, on the model suggested here there are further names to investigate—as we have argued that the King was identical with HPM Peftjauawybast. The latter's family offers conspicuous onomastic matches with that of the Masters of Shipping. The name of his brother-in-law Ankh-Shoshenq recurs as that of the progenitor of the family of the Masters of Shipping, and that of his father Pediese is one of their "family" names, borne by four officials.

Kitchen strongly argued against a connection between the Masters of Shipping and the family of Peftjauwaybast:

> *"It must be stressed that Somtutefnakht and his father Pediese i were a new "dynasty" in Heracleopolis, stemming from a Theban priest, and had nothing to do with earlier rulers in the north."*[107]

However, Leahy correctly points out that holding a Theban priesthood does not indicate that Ankh-Shoshenq was Theban in origin. Leahy notes that the name Ankh-Shoshenq is predominantly Memphite: only this individual and the father (?) of a priest of Montju, User-Ptah, being certainly associated with Thebes. Otherwise there are 26 certainly attested individuals of this name from the north, mainly from the Serapeum stelae,[108] most of whom were probably descendants of Shoshenq III.

Furthermore, P. Rylands IX itself is remarkably informative on the relationship between the clergy of the Theban temple and that of Amun of Teudjoi. Rylands IX (5/13)[109] tells us that Ankh-Shoshenq was a prophet of

[105] Kienitz 1953.

[106] Kitchen 1986: 403, n. 938.

[107] Kitchen 1986: 236 n. 178.

[108] Leahy 1992b: 149–151, no. 24, 155–156.

[109] Griffith 1909: 77–8.

Amenresonther and that his son Pediese i became prophet of Amun of Teudjoi, with additional priesthoods of Herishef and Sobk in Nen-nesut. Pediese i's nephew, Pediese ii son of Ieturou, became a priest of Herishef, of Sobk of Shedyt, of Amenresonther, of Osiris Lord of Abydos, of Anhur of Tjeny, and of Min (at either Coptos or Akhmim) showing a wide spread of offices in northern Upper Egypt (Rylands IX, 8/10–20—year 20 Psamtik).[110] Pediese ii retired from Nen-nesut, *not* Teudjoi, to his ancestral home in Thebes (Rylands IX, 9/5–6; 9/18–20).[111] By contrast, Pediese ii's son-in-law, the Steward of the treasury of Amun of Thebes, Horwedja, was son of a Peftjauawybast, who had been a priest of Amun of Teudjoi: through Pediese ii's intervention Horwedja received a priestly office in Teudjoi, invoking ancestral claims. At the end of reign of Psamtik II, the "sons" of Pediese ii were priests of Amun at Thebes.[112]

Further evidence for the complex interrelationship between the priesthoods of Thebes and the region of Nen-nesut comes from a statue from the Karnak cachette (CG 486032 JE 38012)[113]: dated by cartouches to the reign of Psamtik I and thus exactly contemporary with the family of Rylands IX. This statue represents Amenirdis son of Khu-Herishef, whose numerous priestly titles include Prophethoods of Herishef King of the Two Lands, of Sobek of Shedyt, of Osiris of Naref, of Hathor of Nen-nesut, and of Edjo of Nebt. Hetep-Herishef, grandfather of Amenirdis, was a priest of Amun-Re King of the gods, suggesting a Heracleopolitan connection or origin, but Theban office. He carried the additional titles of *im.y-is.t* and *ḥsk*. According to the inscriptions, Hetep-Herishef's father, Ankhpakhered was a Vizier, and his grandfather, Osiris-nakht, Mayor, priest of Amun, *wr diw*, *im.y-is.t* and *ḥsk*: neither of these officials is otherwise attested. The titles *im.y-is.t* and *ḥsk* are commonly paired and do occur at Thebes, but in the Late Period are particularly associated with Abydos.[114] Officials with both Theban and Abydene (and Thinite) titles and connections are well documented throughout the Libyan period.[115]

[110] Griffith 1909: 83.

[111] Griffith 1909: 84 and n. 2.

[112] Griffith 1909: 96–97.

[113] Azzam 2002; Josephson and Eldamaty 1999: 74–76, pl. 32.

[114] Taylor 2006: 284.

[115] Leahy 1990: 166–168.

King Peftjauawybast's own son [Pedi-amun-]neb-nesut-tawy may also have held office at Thebes. Installing daughters in religious positions at Thebes (often as Chantresses of the "Inner Abode" of Amun) was a common practice of kings and Chiefs of the Ma in the later Libyan Period; king's sons as priests (and of course High Priests) are also well documented, and it is possible that the practice was widespread. Nen-nesut and Teudjoi had also been seats of the earlier High Priests of Amun and Army Leaders, the Crown Prince Osorkon and his contemporaries and cousins, the junior line of descendants of Osorkon II's son the High Priest of Amun Nimlot C, Ptah-wedja-ankhef to Pasenhor.

These considerations, showing the intimate relationship between the priesthoods of Nen-nesut and Thebes defuse Kitchen's objection that the Master of Shipping Pediese i came from a Theban and not a Herakleopolitan family.

Pediese i's son and successor, Sematawytefnakht, is well documented in the reign of Psamtik I being attested by the Nitoqert Adoption Stela and related blocks from Karnak as active in year 9 (656 BC).[116] Sematawytefnakht is then documented from years 18 to a last attestation in year 31 of Psamtik I (633 BC). On his monuments, Sematawytefnakht states that his mother was a *sꜣt-nsw n ḫt.f* "bodily king"'s daughter' and her name was Ta-hered-en-ta-ihet-[weret]. Kitchen assumes that she was daughter of Nekau I[117]; however, the name suggests that an association with Atfih is a possibility. Pediese i's titles show that the rulership of Nen-nesut extended into the Fayum and onto the east bank of the river, embracing the 22nd nome, which had Ipu (Atfih, *Aphroditopolis*) as its chief city. Is it possible that she was a daughter of King Peftjauawybast?[118]

As noted above, Kitchen states emphatically that the family of Shipping Masters had nothing to do with King Peftjauawybast. However, the fragment of a block statue in Stockholm (NME 81) records a couple named Ankh-Shoshenq and Ta[…] as the parents of the *r-pˁ ḥꜣty-ˁ* Pediese, Prophet and Overseer of Prophets of Herishef, King of the Two Lands; Prophet of Sobek of Shedyt; Prophet of Anubis; Prophet of Hathor of Ipu; *wr m Ntrt*. This Pediese, Griffith thought, was *not* the same as Pediese i of Rylands IX: arguing that the "titles do not at all agree" with those reputedly found on inscriptions of

[116] Kitchen 1986: § 200–201; Morkot 2000: 300; but now note the controversy of dating these blocks (Broekman 2009: 101), although that has no impact on the chronology here.

[117] Kitchen 1986: 236.

[118] As proposed in Morkot 2000: 275.

the reign of Psamtik and recorded in Rylands IX cols 21–23.[119] As recorded there, the titles of Pediese were: First Prophet of Herishef King of the Two Lands; Prophet of Osiris of Naref; Overseer of Prophets of Sobk of Shedyt; Prophet of Amen-Re, the great of bleating (lord of the crag), with his Ennead of Gods; Master of the Shipping of the whole land. Griffith, however, is not alone in assuming that the Rylands "inscriptions" were fabricated or copied/modelled on a monument of Sematawytefnakht. De Meulenaere argued for the identification of the two Pedieses and Ankh-Shoshenqs and Leahy implicitly accepts it.[120]

Because of the presumed chronological divide, no-one has ever suggested that Ankh-Shoshenq, ancestor of the Teudjoi family was identical with Ankh-Shoshenq grandson of Shoshenq III and son-in-law of Pediese HPM. Even with a significant chronological revision, as proposed here, the monumental evidence seems to argue against it. The reading of the name of Pediese i's mother on the Stockholm statue is , *nbt pr T3-w-*(?). Vittmann reads *T3-hj* or *T3t3*[121], but the Memphite monument clearly gives , *nbt pr T3-prt,* as Ankh-Shoshenq's wife.[122] Women's names beginning with *t3* are very common at this period. One could save the situation by proposing two wives both Ta-…, or a faulty hieroglyphic text. However, there are other problems with the titles and place of residence of the family. The titles of the individuals recorded on the niche statue clearly associate Ankh-Shoshenq and his descendants with the temple of Ptah in Memphis, and not with the clergy of Amun at Thebes.[123] Iuf-(er)-aa, son-in-law of Shoshenq III held various priestly offices that were transmitted to his descendants, and there is nothing in this inscription that indicates that they also held offices elsewhere. Again, it could be argued that the niche statue represents only one line and set of offices and is itself retrospective. Equally, the Rylands papyri are clearly an attempt to establish claims to a specific set of offices at Teudjoi, and refer to offices and individuals of several generations and some 200 years earlier.

Putting aside these very reasonable objections to the identification of Ankh-Shoshenq, father of Pediese i of Rylands IX with the like-named grand-

[119] Griffith 1909: 77, n. 7.

[120] De Meulenaere 1956: 251–253; Leahy 1992a: 150, no. 21b.

[121] Vittmann 1998, I: 227; II: 387–88; cf. Ranke 1935: 366, 16.

[122] Vernus 1976.

[123] Vernus 1976.

son of Shoshenq III and his mother with the daughter of Pediese, High Priest of Memphis, what would be the fallout from the above speculations?

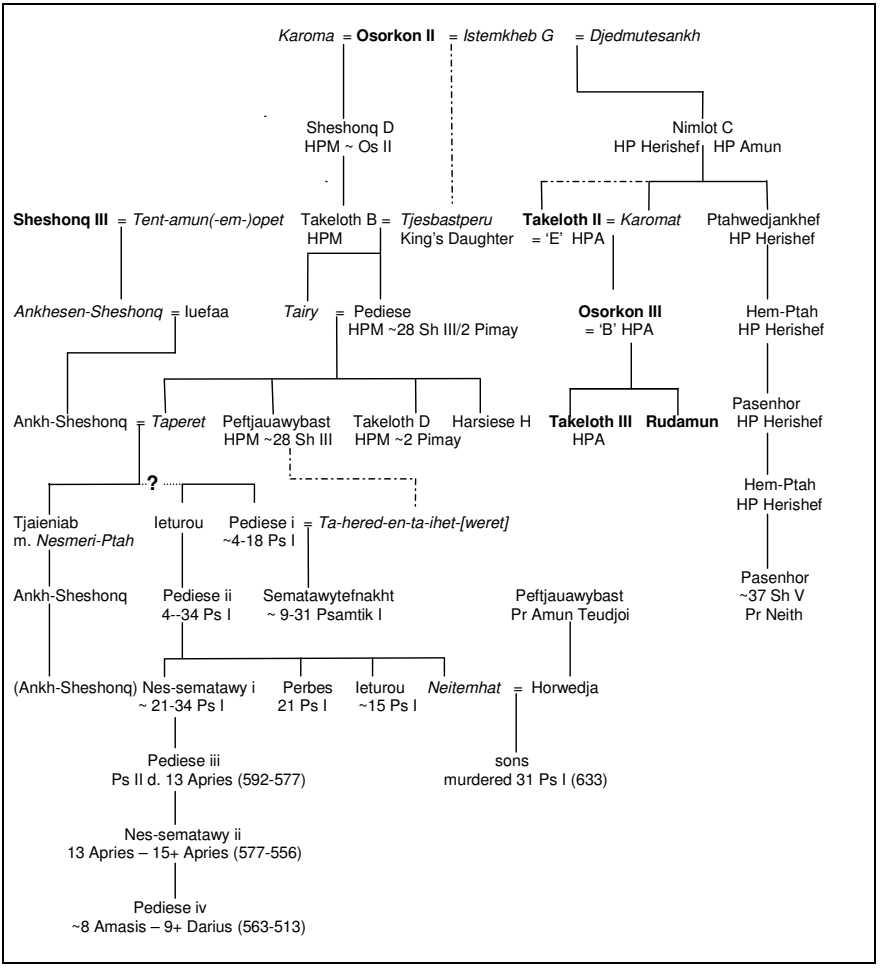

Table 5.
Speculative genealogy linking Peftjauawybast as HPM and as King with the family of the Shipping Master Pediese at Nen-nesut.

1. Pediese i was named after his maternal grandfather the Chief of the Ma and High Priest of Memphis.
2. Pediese i (perhaps) married a cousin, the daughter of King Peftjauawybast (accepting that King Peftjuawybast and the like-named HPM son of Pediese are the same). Even if the cousin-relationship is rejected, it is still possible that Ta-hered-en-ta-ihet-(weret) *was* a daughter of King Peftjauawybast rather than of a Saite ruler.
3. The rulers of Nen-nesut in the later Kushite period, although not styled as "kings" retained most of the powers of Peftjauawybast. The reasons for their diminution in status are hard to discern through lack of evidence; but the fact that Peftjauawybast seems to have had only daughters, and no attested male heir, may well be connected to this development.

The Apis Bulls and their stelae

Leaving aside the question of the later rulers of Nen-nesut, considerable evidence has been reviewed above for a significant lowering in date for HPM Peftjauawubast and his identification with the King of that name from the Piye Stela. How would this square with the evidence from the Apis Bull records on which HPM Peftjauawubast and his family are named as officiating?

The Apis bull buried in the year 28 of Shoshenq III is the first in the sequence that interconnects to those with royal dedications beginning with Psamtik I, and therefore is the starting point for a sound chronology. The Apis stelae tell us that the bull installed in year 28 of Shoshenq III and buried in year 2 of Pami/Pimay was 26 years old. The succeeding bull was buried in year 11 of Shoshenq V, but unfortunately its age was not recorded, introducing a degree of flexibility, but a period between 16 and 26 years is reasonable on the other Apis evidence. The bull installed as its successor in year 11 of Shoshenq V died 26 years later and was buried in that king's 37th year. This sequence of bulls thus provides us with a skeleton chronology for the end of the 22nd Dynasty, covering the reigns Shoshenq III–Pimay–Shoshenq V. The conventional reconstruction of the history of this period, after Kitchen, places the death of Shoshenq III in 773 BC (his 53rd year) followed by the reigns of Pimay (773–767 BC) and Shoshenq V (767–730 BC), with the reign of Osorkon III (787–759 BC) and Takeloth III (764–757 BC) running alongside, the Kushite invasion of Upper Egypt and the conflict with Tefnakht taking place only somewhat later (727 BC). The pontificate of Peftjauawybast in Memphis is thus placed by Kitchen around 798 BC, some seventy years before the reign of Peftjauawybast in Nen-nesut.

We have argued here that the reign of Shoshenq III only slightly precedes the invasion of Piye in the 720s. The most significant fallout to arise from this is a dramatic lowering of the reign of Shoshenq V into the time of the 25th Dynasty, making him overlap with the Kushite Taharqo. The numerous problems associated with the evidence for the Apis bulls in the Libyan and Kushite periods have been well rehearsed, within a conventional framework by Vercoutter, Malinine *et al.* and Kitchen.[124] The overall chronological framework has already been questioned by the present authors and some rough parameters suggested for lowering the sequence known from Shoshenq III–Pimay–Shoshenq V.[125] Here we address the stylistic considerations of the stelae dedicated by the family of HPM Peftjauawybast.

The first stela dedicated by a king, and carrying the detailed biography of an Apis, is that of Psamtik I, but this has precursors in the stelae erected by the High Priests of Memphis in year 28 Shoshenq III and 2 Pimay (see Figs. 1–5). The stelae dedicated by Pediese and his sons Peftjauawybast, Takeloth D and Harsiese H are direct precursors of the later royal stelae, in that they give more details of the burial, installation, and age of the bull than surviving earlier stelae. Although in their general composition the stelae of Peftjauawybast and Harsiese are very similar, there are significant differences in execution and detail.

The stela of year 28 Shoshenq III depicts the three figures facing right, in front of the bull-headed human Apis (see Figs. 1–2). The execution is fair, but not especially formal. The style follows conventions, without attenuated figures or unusual proportions. The leader is Pediese, without any priestly costume, but with the feather of the Chief of the Ma on his head. Next is Peftjauawybast, with leopard skin, and most notably, a close fitting cap. Takeloth D appears as *sem*-priest with leopard skin and curling side-lock.

The two stelae of Pediese and Harsiese H are almost identical, one being slightly less finished and detailed (see Figs. 3–5). They are both notable for the style and proportions of the figures: broad shoulders, muscular triangular torso, but not especially "short" legs. Pediese again wears the distinctive feather of a Chief of the Ma. The robes are fuller than in the Shoshenq III stela, and more reminiscent of 25th-dynasty style. Pediese wears the leopard skin which he does not wear on the Shoshenq III stela. Pediese (and perhaps also Harsiese H) also appears to wear the bull's tail, normally prerogative of a king: this feature is clearly *not* a part of the leopard skin, both in shape and

[124] Vercoutter 1960; Malinine *et al.* 1968; Kitchen 1986.

[125] James *et al.* 1991a: 236–238, 256–257.

the fact that it is attached at the belt. Most significantly, the more finished stela displays the musculature of the legs, a detail that is well-known as a characteristic of "archaising" sculpture of the Kushite period, particularly associated with Taharqo, but found as early as the reign of Shabaqo (the Esna naos[126]). It is also found on the plaque of Iuput, the reliefs of the Heqa-Djet chapel, and on works associated with the Saites.[127]

The figure of the goddess Hathor is also remarkable for proportions that would normally be considered "Kushite": broad shoulders tapering to a narrow waist, with prominent curved forward thigh. These are characteristics not normally associated with earlier Libyan period style. They can be found on Theban monuments such as the funerary chapel of Amenirdis I (erected by Shepenwepet II and therefore ~Taharqo), and in the reliefs of Taharqo's temple at Kawa (probably first decade of the reign). Ultimately the style is related to Old Kingdom style, such as the Sahura reliefs from Abusir. There are slight differences in the goddesses: one has a long torso and low waist, but neither is like the long-legged high-waisted figures of the earlier Libyan period that continue New Kingdom traditions.

It has already been noted that "archaism" appears around the time of the rise of Sais and the Kushite invasions[128]: the Tanite works of Shoshenq III continuing the earlier Libyan style. The stela from Mendes, dated to year 22 of Shoshenq III (Brooklyn 67.118) is stylistically very similar to the Apis stela of year 28. The Harsiese stelae allow us to date the appearance of these stylistic features more precisely: to the 26 years between year 28 Shoshenq III and 2 Pimay. On Kitchen's chronology this would be between 798 and 772 BC —far earlier than art historical discussions have usually suggested. This period is also the time when archaising titularies appear (around the time of the co-regency of Osorkon III and Takeloth III), as well as basiliphorous names.

What is particularly striking about the Harsiese H stelae is the depiction of the goddesses, who are very close in style to figures of the reign of Taharqo, alongside male figures that are more like work of the time of Shabaqo or Shebitqo. This may reflect developments in archaism in the Memphite region.

Crucial to the proposition above would be the attribution of the burial in year 37 of Shoshenq V to a date considerably later than normally considered, during the Kushite period, and requiring that it is the same as a bull buried

[126] Myśliwiec 1988: pl. xxviiia, c; pl. xxixa, b, d; Morkot 2003; 2007.

[127] Morkot 2003: 87.

[128] E.g. Morkot 2003: 88.

in the reign of Taharqo. To offer further precision at this stage is unwise due to remaining uncertainties in 25th Dynasty chronology (i.e. the reign lengths of Kashta, Piye and Shebitqo and therefore the accession dates of these rulers plus Shabaqo), upon which everything else is dependent. In terms of precise calendrical chronology, Depuydt has rightly stressed (even if the theory of Sothic dating for the wider parameters of Egyptian chronology is correct) that the earliest "absolutely dated event" in Egyptian history belongs to the year 3 of Taharqo (688/687 BC).[129]

A new historical context?

The modifications to Kitchen's accepted chronological scheme for this period proposed by Aston, Taylor and others[130] are more concerned with internal relative chronologies than any major lowering of dates. This in itself has lead to the comments on descendants of Takeloth III "outliving" him by two generations—unnecessary if Takeloth himself is lowered by a generation, or more.

Given that the highest regnal year of Shoshenq III is 39, it is possible that the rise of Tefnakht—dated to years 36 and 38—should belong to this king rather than Shoshenq V.[131] Lowering the reign of Takeloth III by 25+ years has a ripple-effect on his linked predecessors, Osorkon III, Takeloth II and Shoshenq III, irrespective of whether one accepts Aston's lengthening of the reign of Osorkon II. Assuming Osorkon III to be the like-named Crown Prince and High Priest of Amun, son of Takeloth II, he can perhaps be identified with the biblical "Pharaoh So" of c. 725 BC—but more certainly with the Shilkanni king of Egypt known from Assyrian records of 716 BC and the Osorkon king of Bubastis from the Piye stela.[132] The absence of a king in Tanis in the Piye list would be explained by an interregnum following the death of Shoshenq III and Saite expansion (the name of Bakenranef is found at Tanis). Most significantly, it means that there was a substantial overlap between the reigns of Osorkon III and Takeloth III and the Kushites. After all, it is generally accepted that the God's Wife Shepenwepet I daughter of Osorkon III adopted Amenirdis I daughter of Kashta, who herself adopted Shepenwepet II daughter of Piye. Shepenwepet I and her heirs were certainly

[129] Depuydt 1995: 52; 2006: 468–469.

[130] Aston 1989; Aston and Taylor 1990; Payraudeau 2004; 2009; Broekman 2005; 2009.

[131] Morkot 2000: 181.

[132] James *et al.* 1991a: 255, 304; Morkot 2000: 128, 193.

alive in the reign of Shebitqo. Assuming that the princesses were installed by their fathers (as the evidence indicates), Kashta would have had some overlap with Osorkon III and/or Takeloth III. If, as argued by some, Amenirdis was installed by Piye, then he must have had some overlap with one or other of those kings (unless we are to assume that the GWA acted politically on her own behalf after the death of both rulers).

Altogether, these significant realignments account for "anomalies" in the material culture and present the "archaising" process in a radical political context following the death of Shoshenq III. Style is a complex issue as it can develop both chronologically and regionally (as already stressed), while our knowledge of regional styles is still limited. Nevertheless, we should be wary of any apparent "lack" of change, or seemingly slow change, which might be the result of imposed chronological reconstructions. In the New Kingdom, for example, styles changed and evolved constantly, and there is no reason to think that did not happen in the Third Intermediate Period. The style, with Old Kingdom precedents, that is discussed here as appearing at the close of the reign of Shoshenq III lasts, on the conventional chronology for well over a century. The revisions suggested—in accordance with the genealogical evidence and funerary material associated with the descendants of Osorkon III—would reduce this significantly, producing an arguably more realistic picture of the development and duration of this stylistic phase. This can be argued in its own right, but should not be treated in isolation from other lines of evidence from which it receives strong support. The genealogical evidence for the families of Osorkon III and Takeloth III (i.e. the "generation jumps") is clearly a problem for the conventional model for this period of Third Intermediate Period history, as the burgeoning literature that touches on it atttests (see above). A third problem, which needs to taken on board with these issues, concerns supposed "gaps" in Egyptian offices[133]; we have highlighted above the conspicuous case of how the presently accepted chronology requires that the extremely important office of High Priest of Amun at Thebes was left vacant for some 40 years.

The essence of our case is that we no longer treat these in isolation, with *ad hoc* "solutions" for each problem; rather, a major restructuring of Third Intermediate Period history would bring harmony to all the strands of evidence. A further line of evidence is provided by the contexts of objects bearing the names of 22nd–23rd Dynasty pharaohs outside of Egypt. In *every*

[133] James *et al*. 1991a: 235–247.

case, when dated by (reasonable) local chronologies, they appear in contexts which are too "late" when compared to the standard chronology.[134]

Most recently Chapman has analysed the evidence for the original context of the Shoshenq stela from Megiddo, and suggested on stratigraphic grounds that it was erected not in the 10th century but the 9th.[135] The identification of Shoshenq I, founder of the 22nd Dynasty with the biblical "king Shishak" who marched on Jerusalem c. 925 BC provides the very lynchpin of Third Intermediate Period chronology. It is through this identification, and reliance on biblical chronology, that the overall framework for the Third Intermediate Period has been set, and *not* by dead-reckoning backwards from the 25th/26th Dynasties.[136] We have set out many reasons why this identification is shaky[137] and it has since been doubted by other scholars.[138]

There is no room here to rehearse the arguments for a radical reconstruction of Third Intermediate Period chronology, already set out by the authors.[139] Nor is there space to present a more detailed chronology for the period in question, i.e. the *floruit* of king Peftjauawybast and his contemporaries. A closer analysis of the chronological evidence from the Apis stelae will have to await further studies. At present we have tried to concentrate on a theoretical working model that attempts to answer some questions about the politics of Late Libyan Egypt, focussing on the material culture and textual evidence relating to one potentially key figure, in order to establish rough contemporaneity (see Table 6 below) as a first step—in what amounts to a proposed paradigm shift in Third Intermediate Period chronology. As a "preview" of our results, the Apis evidence certainly allows variant models. This is partly due to remaining uncertainties in the chronology of the Kushite 25th Dynasty before the reign of Taharqo (see above), but also due to the inconsistent and vague reporting of the (Apis) finds from the Serapeum, hurriedly excavated in the late 19th century, plus difficulties in the readings of certain texts. But one possible

[134] See James *et al.* 1991a: 252–254; cf. Weinstein 1998: 193–194.

[135] Chapman 2009.

[136] James *et al.* 1991b: 230–231; 1992: 127.

[137] James *et al.* 1991a; 1992: 127; 1998: 33–34.

[138] Including Clancey 1999; Manning 1999: 378–380; Chapman 2009: 16; Thijs forthcoming.

[139] James *et al.* 1991a: 220–259; 1992: 127–128; 1998: 32–34; Morkot 2000: esp. 143–144, 165–166, 181, 193; Morkot 2003.

model offering a detailed chronology based on the overall parameters we have suggested is already in press.[140]

High Priest of Memphis	*Bubastite line*	*Tanite kings*	*Kushite/Saite kings*
Shoshenq D	Osorkon II		
Takeloth B	Takeloth II		
(Pediese) Peftjauawybast		Shoshenq III	
Harsiese H	Osorkon III	Pimay	Piye
Ankhefensakhmet	Takeloth III	Shoshenq V	Shabaqo Shebitqo
Takeloth H			Taharqo
Pedipep		Pedubast "II"	Tanwetamani/ Psamtik I

Table 6.
Proposed realignment of late Libyan and Kushite rulers
and Memphite High Priests.

Propositions and conclusions

The arguments presented allow a number of propositions and speculations, not all interdependent:

1. Identifying King Peftjauawybast with the HPM Peftjauawybast: this requires a significant chronological reduction, but this appears to be supported by stylistic features of the Apis stelae, and some genealogical evidence.
2. Identifying King Peftjauawybast with the father-in-law of the Master of Shipping Pediese i, by suggesting that he was father of Pediese's wife, Ta-hered-en-ta-ihet-[weret]. If 3 is accepted Pediese i married a cousin. Even if the cousin-relationship is rejected, it is still possible that Ta-hered-en-ta-ihet-(weret) *was* a daughter of King Peftjauawybast rather than of a Saite ruler.
3. Suggesting that the Master of Shipping Pediese i was grandson of the HPM Pediese, and hence nephew of Peftjauawybast.

[140] Thijs forthcoming.

4. The rulers of Nen-nesut in the later Kushite period, although not styled as "kings" retained most of the powers of Peftjauawybast.
5. The evidence suggests that the beginning of "archaising" features of artistic style, titulary and names characteristic during the Kushite period can be dated to the 26 years between year 28 of the reign of Shoshenq III and year 2 Pimay. The chronological realignment proposed here recommends, from a number of lines of evidence, lowering the start for this archaising style to (approximately) the time of the domination of Egypt by Piye.

Propositions 1 and 2 can stand independently.

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Figure 1.
The Apis Stela of year 28 Shoshenq III
(from Malinine *et al.* 1968, II, pl. VII, SIM 3749).

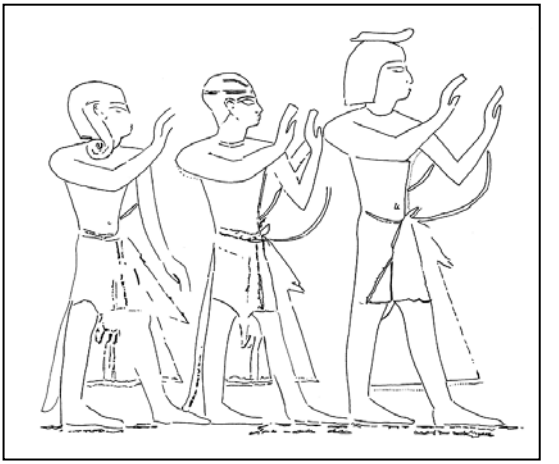

Figure 2.
The figures of Pediese and his sons HPM Peftjauawybast
and Takeloth D from the Apis Stela of year 28 Shoshenq III
(after Malinine *et al.* 1968, II, pl. VII, SIM 3749).

Figure 3.
Apis Stela of year 2 of Pimay
(from Malinine *et al*. 1968, II, pl. VIII, no. 22, SIM 3697).

Figure 4.
Second Apis Stela of year 2 of Pimay
(from Malinine *et al*. 1968, II, pl. VIII, no. 23, SIM 3736).

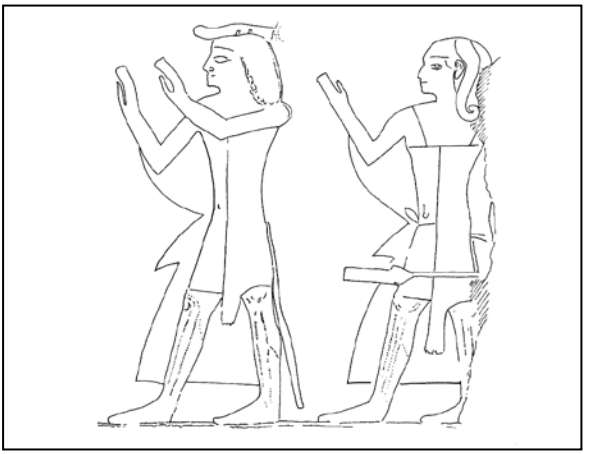

Figure 5.
Rough sketch of the figures of Pediese
and Harsiese H from the Apis Stela year 2 of Pimay
(after Malinine *et al*. 1968, II, pl. VIII, no. 23, SIM 3736).

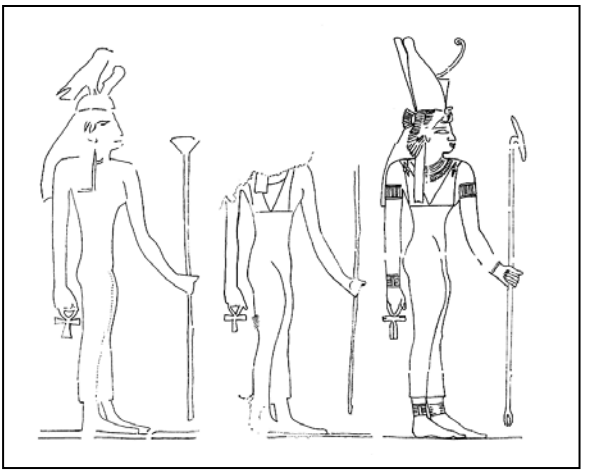

Figure 6.
Left to right: Hathor from the Apis Stelae SIM 3697
and SIM 3736, both dedicated by Pediese and his son HPM Harsiese H, year 2,
Pimay; Anuqet from the Shrine of Taharqo, Kawa
(considerably reduced in scale).

Archaeometric Evidence for the Authenticity of the Jehoash Inscription Tablet*

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Summary: Archaeometric Evidence for the Authenticity of the Jehoash Inscription Tablet
A gray, fine-grained arkosic sandstone tablet bearing an inscription in ancient Hebrew from the First Temple Period contains a rich assemblage of particles accumulated

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in the covering patina. Two types of patina cover the tablet: a thin layer of black to orange iron-oxide-rich layer, a product of micro-biogenic processes, and a light beige patina that contains feldspars, carbonate, iron oxide, subangular quartz grains, carbon ash particles and gold globules (1 to 4 microns [1 micron = 0.001 millimeter] in diameter). The patina covers the rock surface as well as the engraved lettering grooves and blankets and thus post-dates the incised inscription as well as a crack that runs across the stone and several of the engraved letters. Radiocarbon analyses of the carbon particles in the patina yield a calibrated radiocarbon age of 2340 to 2150 Cal BP. The presence of microcolonial fungi and associated pitting in the patina indicates slow growth over many years. The occurrence of pure gold globules and carbon ash particles is evidence of a thermal event in close proximity to the tablet (above 1000 degrees Celsius). This study supports the antiquity of the patina, which in turn, strengthens the contention that the inscription is authentic.

Keywords: Jehoash inscription – Archaeometry – Patina – Gold globules

Resumen: Evidencia arqueométrica para la autenticidad de la Inscripción de Joás

Una tablilla de piedra arenisca de arcosa, de granularidad fina, que posee una inscripción en antiguo hebreo del Período del Primer Templo, contiene un rico conjunto de partículas acumuladas en la pátina que la cubre. Dos tipos de pátina cubren la tablilla: una delgada capa rica en óxido de hierro negro a naranja, producto de procesos micro-biogénicos, y una capa liviana beige que contiene feldespatos, carbonato, óxido de hierro, granos de cuarzo sub-angulares, partículas de ceniza de carbono y glóbulos de oro (1 a 4 micrómetros [1 micrómetro = 0.001 milímetro] en diámetro). La pátina cubre la superficie de la roca así como los surcos y capas de las letras grabadas y, así, postdata la inscripción incisa así como la grieta que corre a través de la piedra y varias de las letras grabadas. Análisis de radiocarbono de las partículas de carbono en la pátina dan un fechado de radiocarbono calibrado de 2340 a 2150 Cal a.C. La presencia de hongos microcoloniales y corrosión asociada en la pátina indica un lento crecimiento a través de los años. La aparición de glóbulos de oro puro y partículas de ceniza de carbono es evidencia de un evento termal en proximidad cercana a la tablilla (arriba de 1000 grados Celsius). Este estudio apoya la antigüedad de la pátina, lo que a su vez refuerza la opinión de que la inscripción es auténtica.

Palabras clave: Inscripción de Joás – Arqueometría – Pátina – Glóbulos de oro

Introduction

Our team of scientists spent some time examining the Jehoash inscription tablet (JI) from the point of view of hard science.[1] Our goal was to determine, based solely on scientific evidence, whether the tablet is a forgery or genuine. Since this tablet represents the only Judahite royal inscription found to date, it is of critical importance to history and Biblical archaeology. The tablet is engraved with an inscription in ancient Hebrew that commemorates the renovation of the First Temple carried out by King Jehoash (9th century BC = 2800 years BP). A similar account of the Temple repairs is also found in II Kings 12. According to Cohen,[2] the translation of the 16 lines of the ancient Hebrew is as follows:

I. Prologue (lines 1–4)

[I am Yeho'ash, son of
A]hazyahu, k[ing over Ju]dah,
and I executed the re[pai]rs.

II. Body of the inscription (lines 4–14)

When men's hearts became
replete with generosity in
the (densely populated) land and in the (sparsely
populated) steppe, and in all the cities of Judah, to
donate silver for the sacred
contributions abundantly,
in order to purchase quarry
stone and juniper wood and
Edomite copper / copper from (the city of) 'Adam,
(and) in order to perform
the work faithfully (=without corruption),—
(Then) I renovated the
breach(es) of the Temple
and of the surrounding
walls, and the storied structure,
and the meshwork, and the winding stairs,
and the recesses, and the doors.

[1] Ilani *et al*. 2002; 2008.

[2] Cohen 2007; 2008.

III. Epilogue (lines 14–16)

May (this inscribed stone) become this day
a witness that the work has succeeded,
(and) may God (thus) ordain His people with a blessing.

According to Cohen[3] the philological and grammatical contributions of the JI to Biblical Hebrew are valid whether or not the JI is authentic. The JI may well be an original text belonging to the First Temple period style. It cannot be proven philologically to be a modern-day forgery. Cohen's opinion[4] is "…if, nevertheless the JI does turn out to be a forgery, then it is a most brilliant forgery." Sasson[5] suggested that the JI could have been an ancient later copy of the original 9th century BC tablet. He demonstrated that copying a stele or an engraved stone inscription was a common act during the ancient times similar to the copying of the holy scrolls.

Analyses of the tablet's epigraphy and philology to date have proven to be inconclusive as to its authenticity.[6] Chemical, geologic and petrographic analyses support the antiquity of the patina, which in turn, strengthens the contention that the inscription is authentic.

The Tablet

The general color of the fine-grained JI tablet (31 x 25 x 9 cm in size) is gray to black.[7] A fissure, less than 0.5 millimeters (mm) in width, runs across the central part of the tablet parallel to the broken upper edge, crossing ten letters in four lines (Fig. 1). The crack fades inward toward the center of the tablet and is almost invisible on its back. The presence of the crack favors the authenticity of the inscription since a modern engraver would have known that incising across this line of weakness would have jeopardized the structural integrity of the tablet. The tablet broke into two separate pieces along this fissure after being taken into custodial care by the Israel Antiquity Authority (IAA). The sudden breakage of the tablet revealed that the top half of the

[3] Cohen 2007; 2008.

[4] Cohen 2007.

[5] Sasson 2004.

[6] Ilani *et al.* 2002; 2008.

[7] Ilani *et al.* 2002; 2008.

fissure exhibits some natural bleaching and incipient patina formation due to weathering whereas the lower part of the tablet exhibits a clearly fresh line of breakage (Figs. 2 and 3).

Analysis shows that the rock tablet is composed mainly of very small unsorted subangular quartz grains and angular to subrounded, unsorted feldspar grains. When we studied the rock in thin section (slices about 0.03 mm in thickness) we found that it is composed of the following minerals: quartz (35%), feldspars (55%), epidote (3%), chlorite (1%), rutile and sphene (<1%), iron oxides and opaques (2–5%). This type of sandstone occurs in Cambrian formations found in southern Israel and in southwest Jordan[8] and was therefore available to ancient stone workers in Judea. Such local rocks are found south of the Dead Sea, in the Timna area and in southern Sinai, mainly in the Amudei Shelomo, Timna and Shechoret formations.[9] In the Temple of Serabit el-Khadem in southern Sinai, hundreds of stelae with hieroglyphic inscriptions from the Middle and New Kingdoms are carved from the arkosic sandstone of the Shechoret Formation (upper part). These rocks are the same type of which the JI tablet is made of. However, Goren *et al.*[10] classify the type of rock as a "graywacke." In geology, rock type often has implications as to the provenance of the basin of deposition in which the rock was formed. Such a definition led them to note that such metamorphic rocks are not reported from outcrops in the southern Levant. Thus, aspersion was cast on the authenticity of the artifact. However, their identification of the rock was erroneous. Thin section analysis of the Yehoash tablet examined also by the petrographer Dr. Arieh Shimron, Geological Survey of Israel, confirmed our original definition[11] of arkosic sandstone.

Many of the incised letters exhibit defects in shape at their edges. These defects are due to the detachment of quartz and feldspar grains during the erosion and weathering of the sandstone.

The Patina

The patina is the outer crust that was formed due to chemical and biological conditions resulting from weathering of the rock and the material interacted and accreted from its burial environment. The patina on the side of the

[8] Bender 1968.

[9] Weissbrod 1987.

[10] Goren *et al.* 2004.

[11] Ilani *et al.* 2002.

inscription is composed of two layers (Figs. 4 and 5). The first thin layer, up to 1 mm thick, is attached firmly to the rock. This film-like black to reddish-brown iron oxide, covers the surfaces of the tablet and the letters. As the rock tablet contains about 5% iron oxides, we believe that the formation of this film may be related to natural geobiological weathering processes. A second layer, lighter in color, beige to ochre and up to 1 mm thick, is found mostly within the letters but also on the surface that was partly cleaned. This light patina covers also the fractures and the middle crack (Fig. 1). It contains silica, feldspar and carbonate minerals that form a texture of interlocking grains supported by carbonate matrix that contains small carbon ash particles.[12] Some pure gold globules of 1–4 microns in diameter were also detected.[13] The patina obviously was formed naturally because the tablet was buried for an extensive period within a tel or soil environment. We can exclude a cave as the site of deposition.

The patina on the surface carrying the inscription is composed of elements derived from the tablet itself (e.g., quartz and feldspar grains) as well as from the environment (dolomite, limestone, carbon ash particles, and gold globules). The patina on the back of the tablet has the same composition but with some silica and carbonate in one place (about 2.5 cm in diameter) near the bottom of the tablet. This siliceous-carbonate material could be an original vein filling within a bedding plane or a joint in the original rock, similar to those found in the clastic rocks exposed in southern Israel and Sinai, and may represent a natural rock fissure along which the rock was detached for further processing as is the case in many quarries. Thus, the remnants of a vein were thought to be the "real" patina by Goren *et al.*[14] The fact that it does not appear on the inscription surface was proof that the inscription was forged.

Moreover, Goren *et al.*[15] suggest that the patina on the inscribed face of the tablet is too soft to be regarded as genuine. However, we propose that the softness or hardness of the patina cannot be used as an indicator of authenticity, especially as we reported that the light patina had been exposed to cleaning. But the biogenic black-reddish patina with the pitting made by microorganisms is firmly connected to the stone (Figs. 2–3).

[12] Ilani *et al.* 2002: Fig. 5.

[13] Ilani *et al.* 2002: Fig. 6.

[14] Goren *et al.* 2004.

[15] Goren *et al.* 2004.

The suggestion by Goren *et al.*[16] that "heated water was used to harden and ensure good adhesion of the patina" seems to us unfounded.

After production and the engraving of the JI inscription, the tablet underwent significant changes by burial processes, especially by cleaning and enhancement after excavation. The surface of the JI, as well as the letters, is covered by continuous black-reddish and beige patina layers (Figs. 4–6). No indications of adhesive materials or other artificial substances that could indicate addition, pasting, or dispersion of artificial patina on the inscribed face of the tablet have been observed.

Age of the Patina

Carbon ash particles are trapped within the patina. Samples of the patina were radiocarbon dated at an age of 2340 to 2150 years ago.[17]

Gold Globules

The gold globules that we detected are minute, usually 1 to 2 microns in diameter and were found in 4 of the 9 samples taken from the patina.[18] The gold is in the form of individual globules of well sorted size (1–4 microns). The distribution of the globules detected by a scanning electron microscope (SEM) is approximately 10 globules per square mm and the total weight of the globules in the patina was calculated to be to less than 0.001 g for the entire tablet.

Microcolonial Fungi

Microcolonial Fungi (MCF) are known to concentrate and deposit manganese and iron and play a key role in the alteration and biological weathering of rocks and minerals. They are microorganisms of high survivability, inhabiting rocks in extreme conditions and are also known to survive in subsurface and subaerial environments. We found long-living black yeast-like fungi that form pitted embedded circular structures of 20–500 microns in size on the patina (inside the letters [Fig. 4][19]). A Nabbatean flint instrument from Avdat, southern Israel, 2,000 years old, shows an identical MCF black red-brown

[16] Goren *et al.* 2004: 14.

[17] Ilani *et. al.* 2008; Table 2.

[18] Ilani *et al.* 2002: Fig. 6.

[19] As well Ilani *et al.* 2008: Figs. 9, 10.

coloration and pitted circular structures as in the JI tablet. These fungal colonies (identified as *Coniosporium* sp. and related species) grow very slowly over dozens to hundreds of years.

Discussion

We found a rich assemblage of different particles within the patina of the JI tablet that contains feldspars, carbonate, iron oxide, subangular quartz grains, carbon ash particles and gold globules (1 to 4 microns in diameter). Goren *et al.*[20] claimed that gold globules were incorporated into the patina by a forger. Gold powder comprised of globules 1–2 microns in diameter does not exist in the modern gold market as suggested by them. Gold globules in today's market are of a wide range and mix of sizes, the smallest diameter being 500 microns. However, gold powder or dust, with an average size between 70 to 80 microns, has an angular shape. Native gold dust from Sardis, Turkey contains irregular flattened flakes with rounded edges, 100–500 microns in size, but not globules. According to Meeks,[21] pure gold globules of 3–300 microns in diameter were found in the production and refining site of Sardis resulting from melting processes. One would expect many gold globules of various sizes to occur in clustered aggregates in the patina if it were of recent origin, but this is clearly not the case. The small amounts detected and its distribution would be difficult to produce within any artificial patina. The occurrence of pure gold globules (1–2 microns) is evidence of the melting of gold artifacts or gold–gilded items (above 1000 degrees Celsius).

Exposures of Cretaceous marine carbonate rocks are abundant in Jerusalem and provide a majority of its building stone. Indeed, well preserved marine carbonate microfossils that were found within the patina were derived from the weathering of these exposed rocks as well as by wind transport. These minute fossils occur in abundance in everyday dust in Jerusalem[22] as well as in the local soils. But, Goren *et al.*[23] claimed that their finding of foraminifera (microfossils) within the patina of the engraved surface of the JI tablet is a proof of a fake patina. We maintain that these microfossils within the patina can be easily explained as a component of a genuine patina derived from the surrounding Cretaceous marine carbonate rocks that are ubiquitous

[20] Goren *et al.* 2004.

[21] Meeks 2000.

[22] Ehrenberg 1860; Ganor 1975.

[23] Goren *et al.* 2004.

in the Judean Mountains. Indeed, their absence within a patina purportedly coming from the Jerusalem area would be suspicious since the entire city is situated upon these marine rock exposures. These microfossils should be as plentiful in the historical past as they are today. We therefore strongly disagree that these microfossils are an indication of forgery.

Goren *et al.*[24] claimed that the engraved marks of the letters are fresh. They said that signs of fresh cuttings and polishing are exposed within the letters. Fresh engraving can be easily revealed by illuminating the tablet with ultraviolet light.[25] However, when the tablet was illuminated with ultraviolet light, there was no characteristic fluorescence indicative of fresh engraving scars. In addition, the biogenic black to reddish patina is covering and firmly attached to the letters with morphological continuity to the tablet surface (Figs. 2, 3 and 6).

Based upon the results of four oxygen isotopic analyses of the carbonate patina, Goren *et al.*[26] concluded that the tablet must be a fake. Yet, of the four samples only two can be related to carbonate precipitation from fresh water. The two enriched ("heavy") $\delta^{18}O$ (capital O is the chemical symbol of oxygen; $\delta^{18}O$ (delta O18) is the measured ratio of the O18/O16 isotopes of the oxygen) values (–1.7 ‰ (per thousand) and–0.9 ‰ (per thousand) PDB = Pee Dee Belemnite standard) of the patina carbonate presented by Goren *et al.*[27] can be attributed to the predominance of a marine carbonate component (upon which Jerusalem sits and its building stone is made). The conclusion that the patina must be a fake is thus drawn upon the basis of the only two depleted $\delta^{18}O$ patina analyses (–8.4 ‰ and – 7.3 ‰) which they compared to the $\delta^{18}O$ values preserved in dated stalagmite caves in the Jerusalem area.[28] They concluded that the $\delta^{18}O$ values of the carbonate patina are too depleted to have been derived from natural meteoric water of the region and therefore claimed evidence of fraud. However, there are ways that isotopically depleted carbonate can be generated and incorporated into a genuine patina. One example is a thermal event. It has recently been brought to our attention[29] that an isotopic study of white crusts that cover limestones that had been burned

[24] Goren *et al.* 2004.

[25] Newman 1990.

[26] Goren *et al.* 2004.

[27] Goren *et al.* 2004.

[28] Goren *et al.* 2004: p. 7 and fig. 9.

[29] Dr. A. Shimron, pers. comm., 2004.

during the destruction of the Second Temple at 70 CE show depleted $\delta^{18}O$ PDB values (–10.7 ‰–13.4 ‰). Therefore such isotopic depleted carbonate values are found in the Jerusalem area.

Lately, the compositions of oxygen isotopes were measured in patinas on several artifacts from officially sanctioned excavations, and they exhibit a wide range of values.[30] The values of the oxygen isotopes not only vary between different geographic locations but vary also in the same location as well as in the same artifact. Discrepancies from stalagmite deposition range up to $\delta^{18}O$ –8 ‰ PDB. It is clear that the use of the oxygen isotope method for the authentication of archaeological artifacts is premature and unreliable. To our knowledge, this method is not used in any lab in the world today.

The formation of a patina on archaeological artifacts is probably produced in a series of sporadic events and is not comparable to continuous growth of stalagmite rings. Thus, it is inaccurate to assume that patina formation is comparable to the formation of stalagmites in a closed system ignoring all interactions with the environment, the microorganisms as well as anthropogenic interventions.

A Scenario for the Tablet's Origin and Formation

The following scenario may place the tablet's stages of development into a historical context. The inscription resembles the Biblical description of repairs of the Temple in Jerusalem by Yehoash, King of Judah, son of Ahaziyahu[31] and the letters "haziyahu" and "Judah" appear in the inscription (Fig. 7). Thus the tablet may be a royal inscription that was placed in Jerusalem at the time of King Yehoash, about 2800 years BP. If this scenario is correct, then both the nature of the patina and the fact that its apparent age is younger than the inscription by 500 years needs to be explained. We propose the following sequence of events.

The tablet may have been emplaced in Jerusalem about 2800 years BP and remained there for about 200 years, during which time the margins of its letters were weathered. When the Temple was destroyed by the Babylonians about 2600 years BP (586 BC), the tablet was broken and subsequently buried in the rubble. After burial, the patina began to accrete on the tablet including carbon fragments. We believe that the apparent age of 2,250 years BP as determined in the laboratory is an average of several pieces of soot (carbon),

[30] Prof. Aldo Shemesh, Weitzman Institute, pers. comm.

[31] II Kings 12:1–6, 11–17.

both younger and older than that age. It also could be a copy of the original of this age (3rd century BC) as suggested by some Biblical scholars.
The presence of the pure gold globules can also be explained within this scenario since gold is not a constituent of the rock tablet nor found within any of the sedimentary rocks in the Jerusalem area. The source of the gold globules may have been gold artifacts or gold-gilded items that existed in Jerusalem at that time. As Jerusalem was burned,[32] some of the gold could have melted in the conflagration, been injected into the air and re-solidified there, to settle later as minute globules on the ground. These globules were later incorporated within the patina that developed on the buried tablet. Another possibility is that these gold globules were incorporated into the patina during the burning of the second Temple in 70 CE.

We believe that the tablet underwent seven stages of formation:

1. A stonecutter carved a tablet from local sandstone.
2. The letters were incised.
3. Weathering processes caused the detachment of quartz grains along the margins of the letters.
4. The tablet was fractured on two sides and cracked in the center.
5. A thermal event occurred in which gold was heated to a temperature of more than 1000 degrees Celsius and melted forming gold globules.
6. These globules were sorted and winnowed into the soil near where the tablet was deposited.
7. The globules as well as carbon ash particles from the conflagration were trapped within the patina. Simultaneously, micro-bio-geological processes were responsible for the development of the black reddish microcolonial fungi (MCF) patina and the light beige calcitic patina.

Conclusions

Our analyses altogether support the authenticity of the JI tablet and tablet inscription. All evidence hints to a joint or very close age origin of the production of the tablet and the incised inscription. In summary: 1. The central crack and the upper fracture cut across several lines and letters, 2. The margins of the letters are weathered, 3. Quartz and feldspar grains found within the patina are identical to those found within the rock, 4. The patina that covers the tablet includes carbon ash particles and minute and well-sorted globules of pure gold, a product of melting, 5. The surface pattern inside

[32] II Kings 25: 9.

several cleaned letters is similar to the surface pattern of the tablet showing morphological continuity, 6. The age of the charcoal interlocked within the patina is approximately 2,250 years BP according to carbon dating, 7. We did not find any element related to the use of modern tools, 8. The microbiogenic patina is dense, coating all surfaces as well as the engraved letters, and indicates growth over extended periods of time. Pitting, due to the slow growth of MCF, falls within the time frame of the First Temple Period and, 9. The use of the oxygen isotope method for the authentication of archaeological artifacts is premature and unreliable. To our knowledge this method is not used in any lab in the world today.

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Figure 1.
The "Jehoash inscription" tablet composed of arkosic sandstone with an ancient First Temple Period Hebrew inscription. Note the detail of the tablet showing part of the right side of the prominent central fissure (now broken) transecting the engraved letters. The patina is covering the letters as well as the fissure (the width of the right-hand margin is approximately 15 mm).

Figure 2.
A view of the lower part of the broken tablet along the fissure in Figure 1 (line 8 of the right side including its lower margin). The "shin" from the 9th line can be seen in the upper part. The sandstone is medium gray whereas the patina of the fissure (1/3 of its width) is light gray. A thin black, orange-brown biogenic patina layer attached firmly to the rock covers all surfaces of the tablet as well as the grooves of the letters (the black and brown-patina is 1 mm thick).

Figure 3.
Enlargement of Figure 2. Note the broken part of the lower part of the "lamed" and the lower part of the "kuf." The thin patina composed of biogenic iron oxide is attached firmly to the rock surface and covers the grooves of the letters (the black and brown-patina is 1 mm thick).

Figure 4.
Note the biogenic pitting and black to brown patina formation within the letter "heh" [inverted] caused by black yeast-like fungi on the sandstone of the JI tablet. The patina layers consist of a lower biogenic iron oxide black to brown film above which is a light beige-ochre upper layer (the width of the engraved grooves of the letter is about 1 mm).

Figure 5.
Observe a groove representing a part of a letter and the layers of the patina that fill in and cover the letter as well as the rock surface. The lower patina layer consists of black and orange-brown layers occurring one next to the other. Both are composed of iron-oxide that can be seen on lateral margins of the groove as well as on the surface of the tablet, above which is a light beige-ochre upper patina layer (the width of the groove is about 1 mm).

Figure 6.
Biogenic black to brown patina formation within the letter "tav" caused by black yeast-like fungi on the JI tablet. Note the morphological continuity between the patina on the rock surface and the engraved rock. This iron oxide patina is the product of microcolonial fungi activity during a long period of time (the width of the groove of the letter is about 1 mm).

- - - - - - - - - - - -
חזיהו·מ - - - - - - - -
הדה·ואעש·את·הב - - -
ה·כאשר·נמלאה·נד
בת·לבאש·בארץ·ובמד
בר·ובכל·ערי·יהדה·ל
תת·כסף·הקדשמ·לרב·
לקנת·אבן·מחצב·ובר
שם·ונחשת·אדמלעשת·
במלאכה·באמנה·ואעש
את·בדק·הבית·והקרתס
בב·ואת·היצע·והשבכ
מ·והלולם·והגרעת·וה
דלתת·והיה·הים·הזה
לעדת·כי·תצלח·המלאכה·
יצו·יהוה·את·עמו·בברכה

Figure 7.
The script on the tablet, transliterated to current Hebrew letters.
(After Ilani *et al.* 2002).

Timna Revisited: Egyptian Chronology and the Copper Mines of the Southern Arabah*

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Abstract: Timna Revisited: Egyptian Chronology and the Copper Mines of the Southern Arabah
This article studies the chronology of the New Kingdom Egyptian copper mining in the southern Arabah valley, and particularly Timna, traditionally dated in the 13th–12th centuries BCE. A reassessment is made of the local archaeological evidence and especially of the findings of the Hejazi Qurayya pottery in archaeological assemblages of the southern Levant. It is argued that the chronology of the New Kingdom activities at Timna needs a revision towards lower dates.

Keywords: Timna – Egypt – Qurayya pottery – Chronology

Resumen: Timna revisitada: La cronología egipcia y las minas de cobre del Arabá meridional
Este articulo estudia la cronología de las actividades mineras egipcias del Reino Nuevo en el valle del Arabá meridional, particularmente Timna, tradicionalmente datadas en los siglos XIII–XII a.C. Se realiza una revaloración de la evidencia arqueológica local y especialmente de los hallazgos de cerámica Qurayya, del Hejaz, en conjuntos

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arqueológicos del Levante meridional. Se sostiene que la cronología de las actividades del Reino Nuevo en Timna necesita de una revisión hacia fechados más tardíos.

Palabras clave: Timna – Egipto – cerámica Qurayya – cronología

Introduction (John J. Bimson)

Until the 1960s it was widely believed, following the work of Nelson Glueck, that the copper deposits of the southern Arabah had been exploited during Iron Age II by the biblical King Solomon and his successors. This view was overturned by the results of the Arabah Expedition, begun by Beno Rothenberg in 1959. Within ten years a very different picture had emerged from the work of Rothenberg and his colleagues. The copper industry of the area had been active during three main phases: firstly in the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age periods; secondly under Egyptian control towards the end of the Late Bronze Age and into Iron Age I; thirdly when Roman engineers entered the Arabah in the second century CE. There had been no copper mining or smelting at all in the southern Arabah during Iron Age II. The dating of the second phase was due in large part to the discovery of inscribed Egyptian items associated with metallurgical operations at Timna, in Wadi Mene'iyyeh (now the Timna Valley). These finds fixed the date of those operations firmly to the 13th–12th centuries BC.

In 1980 I questioned the new consensus, pointing out that the Egyptian finds are in tension with other evidence that points to a later date.[1] At that time I could only allude tangentially to the possibility that something might be "seriously wrong with Egyptian chronology".[2] Since then there have been a number of attempts to shorten the conventional chronology of Egypt by varying degrees.[3] Scholars dealing with the history and archaeology of all areas that depend on Egypt for their dates would do well to note the comment of Egyptologist Aidan Dodson: "It is now apparent to a growing number of scholars that the chronological status quo is no longer an option; far less clear

[1] Bimson 1981. Much of that paper is now out of date and the present one should be regarded as superseding it.

[2] Bimson 1981: 144.

[3] See for example: Aston 1989; James 1991; Hagens 1996; Dodson 2000; Thijs 2003, and references there to his earlier articles in *Göttinger Miszellen*.

is any incipient consensus as to what precisely will replace it!"[4] In view of this it is time to revisit the issues.

The present paper begins by briefly sketching the history of the debate between Glueck and Rothenberg. It then focuses on some of the chronological tensions which the new consensus has not resolved, and which point to the need for a shorter chronology for Egypt. Finally it explores how one model for a revised chronology could resolve those tensions.

1. A Brief History of the Debate (John J. Bimson)

The southern Arabah was identified as a copper-working area by J. Petherick as long ago as 1861. It was partially explored by the German scholar Fritz Frank and the American Nelson Glueck in the 1930s, and it was Glueck who became the region's chief interpreter until the 1960s. Partly on the basis of the pottery he found in the area, which he felt was all Iron Age II, and partly on the basis of historical probability, Glueck became convinced that the mines had been exploited from the time of Solomon, in the 10th century BC, down to the end of the Judean monarchy in the 6th century BC.[5]

Glueck's dating of the Arabah copper-smelting sites was closely linked with his interpretation of the site of Tell el-Kheleifeh, which he excavated for three seasons in 1938–1940. Tell el-Kheleifeh lies half a kilometre from the shore of the Gulf of Aqabah, midway between the modern towns of Aqabah and Elat and only a few metres from the boundary between Israel and Jordan. Following a suggestion of Frank's, Glueck identified it with Ezion-geber, Solomon's Red Sea port mentioned in I Kings 9:26, as well as with biblical Elath.[6]

Glueck never published a technical report of his excavations at Tell el-Kheleifeh but he discussed the site and its pottery in several articles. He divided its occupation history into five levels which he idiosyncratically numbered from the bottom up. Only Level IV, the second level from the surface, produced useful dating criteria. A number of Edomite inscriptions, along with pottery which showed strong Assyrian influence, led Glueck to place Level IV in the 7th–6th centuries BC. He dated the preceding levels (I–III) between the 10th and 8th centuries BC. However, his reason for stretching

[4] Dodson 2000: 16.

[5] Note however that Glueck had originally dated the Wadi Mene'iyyeh (Timna Valley) copper workings, on the basis of Edomite pottery, to the 13th–8th centuries BC: Glueck 1935: 138.

[6] Glueck 1940: 92–94.

occupation back to the 10th century was chiefly his conviction that the place had been founded by Solomon. Glueck interpreted one of the structures at Tell el-Kheleifeh as a refinery, and believed that copper from the mines in the southern Arabah (at Timna and in Wadi Amrani) had been smelted there. He also compared some of the pottery he found associated with the Arabah mines with the pottery from Tell el-Kheleifeh.[7]

Glueck's interpretation of the finds at Tell el-Kheleifeh has been radically revised in the light of subsequent studies. In 1982 (42 years after the end of the excavations and 11 years after Glueck's death) the American School of Oriental Research launched a project to reassess all the excavated material from the site. The work was undertaken by Gary Pratico and published in 1993. Pratico's study of the pottery, including some collected during a fresh survey in 1980, showed that none of it was older than the 8th century BC.[8] Hence Tell el-Kheleifeh cannot have been Ezion-geber or any other Solomonic settlement. Pratico distinguished two phases at Tell el-Kheleifeh, the first surrounded by a casemate wall, the second, covering a larger area, surrounded by an offset-inset wall. However, Pratico's revision of the site's phases is unlikely to be the last word on the matter, for when a new excavation was carried out in 1999 by Mary-Louise Mussell, the finds appeared to reverse the order of the two walls.[9] Other revisions to Glueck's interpretation of Tell el-Kheleifeh will be noted below.

The major challenge to Glueck's dating of the southern Arabah copper industry came from the mining sites themselves. In 1959 Rothenberg founded the Arabah Expedition to study systematically the ancient metallurgical operations there. The Expedition soon distinguished three main types of pottery in the region:[10]

> (1) A coarse, handmade pottery which Glueck had called Amalekite ware, assuming it had been produced by the nomadic people named in the Bible as inhabiting the southern desert areas. Rothenberg called it "Negev-type" pottery because it occurs throughout the Negev as well as in Sinai and the Arabah. It is now generally known as Negev or Negevite ware.[11]

[7] Glueck 1967.

[8] Pratico 1993.

[9] Mussell 2000, see pp. 577–578.

[10] Rothenberg 1972: 105–109, 153–162.

[11] For a detailed study of this pottery see Tebes 2006.

(2) A polychrome pottery decorated with geometric designs and sometimes with stylized birds, animals and human figures. This is usually wheel-made, pink-buff ware with a heavy cream-coloured slip, decorated in brown, reddish-brown and black.[12] Glueck had not distinguished it from Edomite pottery, with which it shares several geometric decorative motifs. However, it also differs from Edomite ware, e.g. often including more sophisticated motifs in its decoration and (when a sherd is examined in section) containing numerous visible grits. The origins of this pottery became apparent in 1968 when it was found in abundance at the site of Qurayya in the Hejaz (northwest Arabia), about 70 km NW of Tabuk.[13] The large quantity of sherds, found all over the site, and the ruins of six kilns, showed that this polychrome pottery was manufactured at Qurayya on an industrial scale. Petrographic analysis revealed that the pottery of this type found at Timna had almost certainly come from the Hejaz, probably from Qurayya.[14] Rothenberg originally followed Glueck in calling this pottery "Edomite", but after its discovery in the Hejaz he renamed it "Midianite", northwest Arabia being the territory of the biblical Midianites. However, applying ethnic labels to pottery styles runs many dangers, and Peter Parr's proposal that this pottery should be called "Qurayya painted ware" will be followed in the rest of this paper.[15]

(3) "Normal" wheel-made pottery, some of which was later discovered to be of Egyptian manufacture. The rest seems to have been made locally.[16] During early surveys by the Arabah Expedition, the "Normal" wheel-made ware was the main dating tool. Of the three types this was the most abundant and the only one for which datable comparanda existed in Palestine and neighbouring areas. Shallow, carinated cooking pots with small folded rims and no handles were a particularly useful guide.[17]

[12] While some vessels were handmade (e.g. Fritz 2002: 98), the majority seem to have been thrown on a slow wheel. See Rothenberg 1998: 201; Tebes 2007a: 12.

[13] Parr, Harding and Dayton 1970.

[14] Parr, Harding and Dayton 1970; Dayton 1972; Kalsbeek and London 1978; Rothenberg and Glass 1983: 111–113; Rothenberg 1988: 100–101; Parr 1996; Rothenberg 1998; Tebes 2007a: 12–14. The latter also refers to INAA results.

[15] Parr 1988: 74.

[16] Rothenberg 1988: 101–108.

[17] Rothenberg 1972: 107.

In 1962 Yohanan Aharoni, the Expedition's advisor on ceramic dating and stratigraphy, expressed the view that none of the Arabah pottery should be dated later than the 10th century BC.[18] Subsequently he decided it was all Early Iron Age I in date, from the 12th–11th centuries BC. In 1964, during the excavation of a smelting camp known as Site 2, all three types of Arabah pottery were found together for the first time in a well-stratified context, and Rothenberg reported the discovery as follows:[19]

> *"The fact that ordinary Early Iron Age I pottery, including cooking-pots, was found in a stratified excavation together with the 'Edomite' [later called 'Midianite'] and primitive Negev pottery, enables us accurately to date such pottery, found until now only on the surface. The pottery must be dated 12th–11th centuries BC and nothing later was found in the excavations."*

Glueck was not convinced and stood by his own dating:[20]

> *"The statements by Aharoni and Rothenberg, first that the Iron Age pottery... belonged exclusively to the tenth century BC, and then that this same pottery belonged exclusively to the twelfth and eleventh centuries BC, with absolutely no other Iron Age pottery occurring in Wadi Arabah, are equally in error."*

At this stage in the debate, Glueck was supported by W. F. Albright, who wrote:[21]

> *"Every new discovery of pottery convinces me that Nelson Glueck is right in his chronology and that Aharoni and Rothenberg are wrong."*

These two defences of Glueck's dates appeared in 1969. But their ink was barely dry before that year's excavations at Timna uncovered the remains of an Egyptian temple dedicated to the goddess Hathor. Here all three types of pottery were found together again, and this time they were stratified with inscribed Egyptian finds bearing the cartouches of pharaohs from the 19th and 20th Dynasties. This discovery required even earlier dates for the pottery, in

[18] Aharoni 1962.

[19] Rothenberg 1966: 7.

[20] Glueck 1969: 54. Similarly in Glueck 1967: 23.

[21] W.F. Albright, quoted by Glueck 1969: 54, n. 16.

the 13th–12th centuries BC, and also led to the surprising conclusion that the copper mines had been operated by Egyptian expeditions.[22] Previously there had been no evidence of Egyptian involvement.

Glueck acknowledged the Egyptian finds in the second edition of his book *The Other Side of the Jordan*,[23] but still did not accept that his late dates for the pottery had been refuted. In the same book he once again rejected the dates put forward by Aharoni and Rothenberg, stating that the Arabah pottery should be dated "between the tenth and sixth centuries BC, beginning with the time of Solomon".[24] This was Glueck's last published statement on the matter; the revised edition of *The Other Side of the Jordan* appeared in 1970, and Glueck died in February 1971. Albright, however, accepted the implication of the Egyptian finds. Shortly before his own death in September that same year, he retracted his earlier statements, saying that he and Glueck had both been wrong in their dating of the Arabah pottery.[25]

With Glueck's death and Albright's retraction, the defence of Solomonic and later activity came to an end. There could be no denying that copper mining and smelting did take place in the Arabah at the time of Egypt's 19th and 20th Dynasties, and that all three types of Arabah pottery were associated with this Egyptian activity. On the other hand, the early dates based on the Egyptian finds are in tension with other evidence that points to a later date.

2. Chronological questions (John J. Bimson)

2.1 The economic argument

According to 1 Kings 9:26–28, Solomon carried out important trading enterprises from Ezion-geber on the Red Sea. Gold, almug wood and precious stones are said to have been imported from Ophir via this port (9:28; 10:11). 1 Kings 10:22 adds that every three years the combined fleets of Solomon and Hiram of Tyre, who had helped Solomon establish his Red Sea trading enterprise (9:27), brought back gold, silver, ivory and exotic animals—presumably also via Ezion-geber.

Before the Arabah Expedition had forced a revision of Glueck's dates for the pottery, Dame Kathleen Kenyon stated that, even without pottery evidence,

[22] Rothenberg 1972: 180.

[23] Glueck 1970: 93–94.

[24] Glueck 1970: 73.

[25] Albright 1971: 4.

"it would have been not unreasonable to suggest that the most flourishing period for this exploitation was that of the reign of Solomon. The control of mineral resources provides one explanation for his wealth, for its products supplied export goods to be exchanged for the luxuries we know he imported".[26] Speaking of the time of the monarchy in general, she commented: "The mineral wealth of the district is no doubt one reason for the prolonged struggles between Israel and Edom, for its control was clearly of great economic importance".[27] G. E. Wright made a similar point when Aharoni questioned Glueck's Iron II date for the Arabah pottery, stating that "one would think it very strange if material from that date were not found".[28]

While the economic argument has been dismissed by some scholars,[29] it does have some force (if the biblical traditions are assumed to have historical reference—a contentious assumption in some quarters). The copper mines of the southern Arabah were close to the Red Sea, offering a valuable trading commodity. It would have made little economic sense for the mines to lie unworked when the organization for their effective exploitation existed, and a port with an expanding maritime trade had been established nearby.

2.2 Metallurgical activities at Tell el-Kheleifeh

While Glueck's interpretation of Tell el-Kheleifeh is no longer feasible, the site did produce some evidence of copper working. Glueck initially interpreted a solidly-built, four-room structure as a copper smelter. He thought that holes in its walls had been flues, and that some of the pottery vessels found there were crucibles. He also found signs of fire which he thought pointed to its use for smelting. This interpretation was later overturned by Rothenberg: the pottery vessels were not crucibles but simply crude Negevite cooking pots; the holes in the walls had been left when wooden tie-beams were consumed by fire in the building's destruction. Rothenberg reinterpreted the building as a granary, a view which Glueck accepted.[30] Pratico has since suggested it was actually a stronghold.[31]

[26] Kenyon 1960: 257.

[27] Kenyon 1960: 256.

[28] Wright 1961: 61.

[29] See the objections of Rothenberg 1962: 42, and Muhly 1984: cols. 275–292.

[30] Glueck 1965.

[31] Pratico 1993: 24–25, following Y. Shiloh.

However, Rothenberg's reappraisal did not dispose of all the evidence for metallurgical activities at Tell el-Kheleifeh. While retracting his interpretation of the building as a copper smelter, Glueck emphasised that copper slag had been found at the site.[32]

Six large pieces of slag, and many smaller ones, have been preserved from Glueck's excavations, as well as four large fragments and several smaller pieces of copper ore. The slag is of the fayalite type, produced by the use of an iron oxide flux. In this respect it is similar to the majority of slags from Site 2 and Site 30 (Layers 3–2) at Timna.[33] However, it is unlikely that the slag found at Tell el-Kheleifeh was transported from Timna; the copper content of the Tell el-Kheleifeh slag is relatively high (10%), indicating poorer metallurgical techniques than those used at Timna.[34] Glueck may therefore have been right in thinking that the slag was produced at Tell el-Kheleifeh itself. But if so, this still leaves the question of where the copper ore may have come from.

Copper mines in the Faynan district (in the north-eastern Arabah) were being exploited during Iron II,[35] but these lie some 150 km from Tell el-Kheleifeh; the mines at Timna lie only 25 km from Tell el-Kheleifeh, and those in Wadi Amrani are less than half that distance away. Analysis of the Tell el-Kheleifeh ore samples showed them to be "similar to those in the Timna region".[36] However, this does not prove conclusively that they originated there. Copper ores from the two sides of the Arabah "are very much the same in the isotopic composition of their lead and in their trace element contents. Therefore, no analysis based on these parameters allows us to distinguish unambiguously between copper produced at Timna and Faynan."[37] The proximity of the southern Arabah mines is suggestive but the question must remain open for the time being.

[32] Glueck 1965: 75; cf. 1970: 115. For Glueck's earlier reports of finding both copper ore and slag at Tell el-Kheleifeh see Glueck 1937: 13; 1938: 5; 1940: 93.

[33] Rothenberg 1999: 155 and 160.

[34] Koucky and Miller 1993: 65. For details of slag from Timna see e.g. Rothenberg 1999: 155. Singer-Avitz (2008: 78–79) seemingly overlooks this evidence when she suggests that a hypothetical early settlement at Tell el-Kheleifeh served as a way-station on the copper trade route from Timna in the 12th century BC and that the slags, ore fragments and copper objects had come from there.

[35] Tebes 2007b: 74–77 and literature cited there.

[36] Koucky and Miller 1993: 65.

[37] Tebes 2007b: 74.

2.3 Iron Age II pottery in the Arabah?

In his own surveys of the southern Arabah (at Timna and Wadi Amrani), Glueck reported a number of sherds to which he gave an Iron II date. This was partly on the basis of parallels from Tell el-Kheleifeh Level IV. In the light of recent reassessments of Tell el-Kheleifeh, we should ignore this precise attribution while remembering that none of Tell el-Kheleifeh's pottery is now dated earlier than the 8th century BC (with the exception of a few sherds of Qurayya Painted Ware to be discussed below). Some of Glueck's comparanda from Tell el-Kheleifeh are dated by Assyrian parallels to the 7th–6th centuries BC.[38]

Glueck's dating criteria were overridden by the overwhelming evidence of the Egyptian finds at Timna. Nevertheless, after studying the material from Glueck's Arabah survey for her doctoral dissertation, Aileen Baron reached the conclusion that Iron I and Iron II pottery was represented at the Timna mining and smelting sites.[39] In a subsequent paper she reaffirmed Glueck's view that Tell el-Kheleifeh had "serviced task force sites in the vicinity of copper sources in the Arava", and in a table summarising the archaeology of the Negev, Baron listed Timna as an "Iron I" ("1200–1000 B.C.") and "Iron II" ("1000–586 BC") site.[40] This prompted a reply from Rothenberg, correcting what he saw as a misleading error and insisting that pottery from Timna belonged to the Late Bronze Age. Baron in turn replied to Rothenberg:[41]

> *"The conclusions published in my dissertation were based on the material that was available to me from Glueck's survey. I have since re-examined the material from the Timna Valley (Sites 238, 239, 240A, 317, 495 and 495A). None of the pottery presently in the collection from these sites can be identified as dating to the Late Bronze Period."*

In summary, without denying Rothenberg's claim to have found Late Bronze pottery, Baron insisted that all the pottery available to her was of Iron Age date. Moreover she concurred with Glueck's conclusion that the pottery in his collection from the southern Arabah included Iron Age II sherds.

[38] Glueck 1967: 18ff.

[39] Baron 1978.

[40] Baron 1981, see p. 68 and Table 2, p. 62.

[41] See the exchange between Rothenberg and Baron 1983.

In fact Rothenberg himself subsequently admitted that Egyptian metallurgical activities at Timna had been revived for a short time in the 10th century BC. The evidence for this comes from Site 30, a smelting camp where three strata have been distinguished. The earlier two strata, numbered Layer 3 and Layer 2, contained the same mixture of pottery types as the Hathor temple (with the addition in the earliest stratum, Layer 3, of some Egyptian red-burnished pottery). In other words, these strata seem to belong to the period of Egypt's 19th and 20th Dynasties. Between Layer 2 and Layer 1 was a layer of wind-blown soil, indicating a period of abandonment. Layer 1 differs from those below in its smelting technology and its pottery: it contains no Qurayya Painted Ware, and the Egyptian pottery included some dated stylistically to the 22nd Dynasty (*c.* 945–800 BC). Rothenberg suggests this later smelting activity followed Shoshenq I's campaign into Palestine (*c.* 925 BC), though there is no inscriptional evidence for this.[42]

The Egyptian pottery from Site 30 therefore significantly modifies Rothenberg's earlier dogmatic statements. It also lends credibility to Baron's identification of Iron I and Iron II pottery among Glueck's collection from the Arabah.

3. The time span of the Qurayya Painted Ware (John J. Bimson)

As noted above, the Qurayya Painted Ware (QPW) seems to have originated in the Hejaz. From there it reached the Arabah, Edom, the central Negev and a few sites further into southern Palestine.[43] The QPW from the Timna Valley constitutes the largest corpus of this pottery outside the Hejaz. The majority of sites where it occurs have yielded only a few sherds. The Timna finds are also important for providing the most secure chronological peg for QPW, for in the Hathor temple, where it comprised about 25% of the excavated pottery, it occurred alongside objects bearing the cartouches of 19th and 20th Dynasty pharaohs. It is therefore important to look more closely at the stratigraphy of the Hathor temple (Site 200).

[42] For details see Rothenberg 1980: 208–212, and more briefly in 1999: 160–162.

[43] For a thorough discussion of the distribution of this pottery see now Tebes 2007a; for earlier discussions: Rothenberg and Glass 1983; Rothenberg 1998.

3.1 The Hathor Temple at Timna

Rothenberg believes that the first Hathor temple at Timna was built in the reign of Seti I (1294–1279 BC), because a bracelet bearing that king's cartouche was the earliest dated object found in Stratum IV, the lowest stratum of the temple (the remains labelled as Stratum V being Chalcolithic).[44] However, Geraldine Pinch has argued for pushing the foundation of the temple back from the 19th to the 18th Dynasty. Her detailed stylistic analysis of the numerous votive offerings from the temple leads her to conclude: "On the basis of the objects themselves, I would suggest that offerings were being made at Timna at least as early as the reign of Amonhotpe III".[45] This would mean a temple of some kind was founded before the mid-14th century BC. Rothenberg has resisted this conclusion on stratigraphical grounds.[46] However, the temple's stratigraphy does not seem to pose an insuperable obstacle to Pinch's view. As she points out, the bracelet with Seti I's cartouche from Stratum IV "does not prove that the first phase of the temple dates to that king. All it shows is that the temple was in existence under Seti I".[47] More generally, the stratigraphical context of individual offerings can prove little about when they were brought to the site, for Pinch also points out that evidence from Egyptian shrines elsewhere "suggests that…votive objects might even be preserved and replaced after extensive rebuilding work".[48]

Stratum III marks a major reconstruction of the temple, dated by Rothenberg to the reign of Ramesses II (1279–1213 BC). However, A. R. Schulman, Egyptologist for the Arabah Expedition, prefers to assign this phase to Ramesses III (1184–1153 BC). Pinch accepts Ramesses II as the main builder of Stratum III, but suggests that Ramesses III was responsible for a subphase of this temple.[49] The last datable cartouche from Stratum III belongs

[44] Rothenberg 1988: 275.

[45] Pinch 1993: 67. In light of this it is worth recalling an earlier debate concerning an inscribed building stone from the Hathor temple site. This bears a partially effaced cartouche which K.A. Kitchen, on the basis of a photograph, read as that of a Thutmose (Kitchen 1976). This would have required a foundation date in the 18th Dynasty. However, A. R. Schulman, the Egyptologist for the Arabah Expedition, insists that the cartouche is that of a Ramesside pharaoh (Schulman 1988: 115–116).

[46] Rothenberg, pers.comm., 27 March 2001.

[47] Pinch 1993: 63.

[48] Pinch 1993: 67.

[49] See Rothenberg 1988: 277; Schulman 1988: 145; Pinch 1993: 65.

to Ramesses V (1147–1143 BC).[50] The Stratum III temple was destroyed by an earthquake and and/or rockfall from the adjacent cliffs.

With little or no break, worship at the temple site was renewed in Stratum II. However, the temple was not restored; instead the site was turned into a "Semitic tented desert shrine".[51] There are no signs of Egyptian presence and Hathor was no longer venerated there. Worshippers at the shrine continued to use QPW: "a particularly large quantity" of Qurayya sherds came from Stratum II.[52] The shrine was brought to an end by a further devastating rockfall, after which the site was abandoned until the Roman period (Stratum I). It is not clear how long the tent-shrine had been in use, but Rothenberg considers it to have been "only a shortlived, makeshift establishment".[53] It had almost certainly been abandoned before Egyptians returned to the smelting camp at Site 30 in the 22nd Dynasty, because QPW is totally absent from Layer 1 there.[54]

The finds from the Hathor temple are helpful but not decisive in dating the time when QPW was first produced. While Rothenberg is confident that the temple provides "stratigraphic evidence for the presence of 'Midianite' pottery from the late 14th century to the middle of the 12th century BC",[55] Singer-Avitz points to the disturbed nature of the temple's strata and expresses doubts about this dating. In her view, QPW did not appear until the 12th century BC and may have been in use for only a short period.[56]

The date when the ware went out of use has proved even more contentious. Parr originally judged the 11th century BC to be "the latest date which can be safely assigned to the Qurayya pottery",[57] but he subsequently entertained the possibility that "it may have survived for a greater or lesser span of time into the first millennium".[58] It seems hazardous to conclude with Rothenberg[59]

[50] Schulman 1988: 144–145.

[51] Rothenberg 1988: 277.

[52] Rothenberg 1988: 271–272.

[53] Rothenberg 1988: 278.

[54] Rothenberg 1988: 201.

[55] Rothenberg 1988: 201 and cf. p. 276. Note that Rothenberg has always employed a high chronology for the 19th Dynasty, dating Seti I 1318–1304 BC.

[56] Singer-Avitz 2004.

[57] Parr 1992: 43.

[58] Parr 1996: 214. Cf. his earlier comment in Parr 1988: 86, that the Midianite settlement at Qurayya, where the pottery was produced, may have come to an end around 1000 BC.

[59] Rothenberg 1998: 201.

that the absence of Qurayya sherds from the 22nd Dynasty workings at Site 30 means the pottery was no longer in use by that time (10th century BC?). Its users may simply have left the Timna Valley. As we will see, there is increasing evidence that QPW continued in use into the Iron Age II period.

3.2 Tell el-Kheleifeh again

As noted earlier, Glueck discerned five phases of occupation at Tell el-Kheleifeh, and dated the first to the 10th century BC. But he was only able to produce good dating criteria for what he called Level IV. These included Edomite inscriptions and many items of pottery which showed a strong Assyrian influence: "Both the shape and hard metallic ware of many of them are in clear imitation of contemporary seventh-sixth century BC. Assyrian metal and pottery vessels...".[60]

Among the pottery assigned by Glueck to Level IV were painted sherds which he described as "Edomite".[61] In fact these sherds included some half-dozen which are now acknowledged to be QPW.[62]

In Parr's view these sherds from Tell el-Kheleifeh throw no light on the time when QPW was in use, because Pratico's study revealed "how utterly unreliable Glueck's methods and conclusions were...".[63] The criticism of Glueck's methodology is apt and it is entirely possible that the Qurayyah sherds did not come from Level IV—if indeed such a clear stratum ever existed (there was little real stratigraphy at the site). However, an important point to emerge from Pratico's study is that QPW is the earliest pottery from Tell el-Kheleifeh by several centuries. All other pottery from the site belongs to the 8th–6th centuries BC and later.[64] This leaves the Qurayyah sherds without an occupational context if they belong to a much earlier period.

Even before Pratico's study heightened the problem, there was much discussion of the Qurayya sherds from Tell el-Kheleifeh. Rothenberg has

[60] Glueck 1969: 53. Glueck had previously referred to Level IV as beginning in the 8th century BC (1938: 13; 1965: 86), but by 1967 he had come to the view that it could date "at the earliest" to the late 8th century and "belonged primarily…to the seventh-sixth centuries BC" (1967: 24).

[61] Glueck 1967: 10–15; 1969: 54.

[62] Rothenberg and Glass 1983: 75–76; Pratico 1993: 49–50.

[63] Parr 1988, especially p. 75.

[64] On possible continuation to the end of the Persian period see Bienkowski 2001a, especially pp. 210–211.

repeatedly referred to them as surface finds.[65] In his view they indicate "a pre-Edomite phase of this site", and "clearly signify a road station on the way from the Egyptian/Midianite mines in the Arabah to the mining regions of NW Arabia".[66] However, while Glueck's attribution of these sherds to Level IV may be questionable, there is no evidence that they were surface finds.[67]

Parr has suggested that the Qurayya sherds from Tell el-Kheleifeh "may well have originated in the earliest attested structural phase there, that of the casemate fortress, the date of which is disputed but which may be of the 11th century—a date compatible with that of the [Qurayya] pottery on other grounds."[68] However, this suggestion, like other attempts to give the casemate phase an early date,[69] would seem to be ruled out by Mussell's recent excavation.[70]

As will be noted below, similar arguments have been applied at other sites where QPW has been found in unexpectedly late contexts. The chief reason for resorting to such arguments is that criteria derived from Egyptian chronology (especially, but not exclusively, the finds at Timna) have pushed the manufacture of QPW back to the 13th–12th centuries BC, and it is generally considered unlikely that it continued in use for several centuries.

However, Piotr Bienkowski does think it possible that QPW enjoyed a very long period of use. At Tawilan, in addition to two sherds of QPW found during surface surveys,[71] a stratified sherd was excavated by C.-M. Bennett. This was associated with late Iron II pottery.[72] In fact Tawilan has produced

[65] Rothenberg 1967: 284, n. 88 (in Hebrew), where the view that the sherds were found "outside the excavations" is attributed to Aharoni; also Rothenberg and Glass 1983: 76.

[66] Rothenberg 1998: 207. See also Singer-Avitz 2008: 78–79.

[67] In 1979 I wrote to Miss Eleanor Vogel, who for years had catalogued and preserved Glueck's Tell el-Kheleifeh material in Cincinnati, asking whether the records in her care could clarify the context of the few "Midianite" sherds from the site. She informed me (pers. comm. 12 June 1979) that the extant records did not preserve the find-spots of the sherds; thus while they did not confirm Glueck's statements that they came from Level IV, neither did they lend any support to the claim that they were surface finds. It seems likely that both Glueck and Rothenberg/Aharoni were basing their claims on their presuppositions about the date of this pottery.

[68] Parr 1988: 75.

[69] E.g. Mazar 1993: 397; Levy, Najjar and Higham 2007: 20.

[70] Mussell 2000.

[71] Rothenberg and Glass 1983: 84.

[72] Bienkowski 2001b, especially pp. 261–262.

no evidence of settlement before the late 8th century BC at the earliest, and so its few Qurayya sherds provide a parallel to the situation at Tell el-Kheleifeh.

In discussing the Qurayya pottery from Tell el-Kheleifeh which Glueck dated to the 7th–6th century BC, Rothenberg and Glass comment: "It is hard to accept such a longevity of such a homogeneous pottery, from the thirteenth to the sixth cent. BC, that is, some seven hundred years."[73] This is one reason Rothenberg has preferred to view the Tell el-Kheleifeh sherds as surface finds. In response, and in light of the stratified Qurayya sherd from Tawilan, Bienkowski calls this "a dangerous argument", pointing out that Negevite pottery "had precisely this long time span".[74] However, the comparison is questionable. Negevite pottery is a crude, hand-made ware which occurs not only throughout the Iron Age[75] but also in Early Bronze II and Middle Bronze I and reappears in the Early Islamic Period.[76] Its forms were dictated by purely utilitarian considerations. By contrast, the Qurayya painted pottery combines simple shapes with sophisticated decorations that show a high level of aesthetic appreciation.[77] It does not seem likely that this pottery could remain "exceedingly homogeneous"[78] over several centuries.

But if it is unlikely that QPW was in use for several centuries, it is also methodologically dubious to posit phantom Iron I strata to which sherds can be attributed.

3.3 QPW in late contexts (Juan Manuel Tebes)

Our knowledge of the time-span of use of the QPW in the southern Levant is not extensive. To this day, the only clear archaeological context where QPW has been found is provided by the Late Bronze/Iron I Ramesside activities at Timna. For this reason, QPW has very often been used as diagnostic pottery for demonstrating Late Bronze/Iron I occupation in other areas. This line of reasoning has led in many cases to assumptions that are not properly supported by the evidence. Specifically, the existence of Iron I occupation has been suggested at several sites because of the occurrence of QPW, despite the fact

[73] Rothenberg and Glass 1983: 76.

[74] Bienkowski 2001b: 261.

[75] Pratico 1993: 35–38.

[76] Tebes 2006: 97.

[77] Rothenberg 1998: 201, 204.

[78] Rothenberg 1998: 201; cf. Rothenberg and Glass 1983: 102; Singer-Avitz 2004: 1284.

that the overall archaeological contexts suggest a later dating. This is the case of ʻAin el-Qudeirat and the central Negev Highlands,[79] Tell el-Kheleifeh,[80] Barqa el-Hetiye,[81] Khirbet en-Nahas[82]—these two sites in the lowland area of Faynan in Edom—, and Edom in general.[83] Other scholars, on the other hand, have attempted to backdate QPW occurring in late contexts, arguing that the stratum of the discovery was misidentified by the excavators, e.g., the QPW found in Tel Masos.[84]

Overall, the picture of the chronology of the QPW is one of complete dependence on the dates of Iron I Timna. Yet such a model seems to be at odds with the growing findings of QPW in late contexts in the Negev and Edom.[85] A perusal of the current literature demonstrates the increasing amount of QPW being discovered in 10th–8th centuries BC contexts:

(1) QPW has been found in Iron Age IIA Negev sites (traditionally, the 10th century BC), e.g. the central Negev Highlands,[86] Tel Masos,[87] and ʻAin el-Qudeirat;[88]
(2) Recent excavations in "pre-Edomite" sites of the Faynan area of southern Jordan have unearthed QPW, e.g. at Khirbet en-Nahas (10th–early 9th centuries BC),[89] Barqa el-Hetiye (9th century BC)[90] and Rujm Hamra Ifdan (10th–early 9th centuries BC);[91]

[79] Fantalkin and Finkelstein 2006: 20; Singer-Avitz 2008.

[80] Rothenberg and Glass 1983: 76; Rothenberg 1998: 203; Singer-Avitz 2008: 79.

[81] Rothenberg 1998: 203; Fritz 1994: 114–115.

[82] Levy *et al.* 2004; Singer-Avitz 2008: 79.

[83] Rothenberg and Glass 1983; Finkelstein 1992; 1995: 127–137.

[84] Yannai 1996: 144–145; Herzog and Singer-Avitz 2004: 222–223.

[85] For a more detailed study, see Tebes 2007a.

[86] Cohen and Cohen-Amin 2004: 8*, 141.

[87] Fritz 1983: 87.

[88] Bernick-Greenberg 2007: 140–141.

[89] Rothenberg and Glass 1983: 85; Levy *et al.* 2004: 875–876.

[90] Fritz 1994: 114–115.

[91] Levy *et al.* 2008: 16465.

(3) QPW overlapped geographically and chronologically with true Edomite ceramics, e.g. at Tell el-Kheleifeh,[92] Ghrareh,[93] Tawilan[94] and 'En Hazeva/ Givat Hazeva.[95]

Furthermore, recent radiocarbon dates have confirmed these findings of QPW in periods later than the Iron I:

Khirbet en-Nahas: Calibrated ^{14}C dates indicate occupation during the 11th–early 9th centuries BC. Findings of QPW led the excavator, T. Levy, to suggest earlier dates for occupation in the site, as early as the 12th century BC,[96] although the exact find spots of these ceramics were not provided. Findings of QPW in late contexts at other sites would make Levy's amendments unnecessary.[97]

Barqa el-Hetiye: The excavator, V. Fritz, suggested an 11th century BC date for the local QPW;[98] however, soon after this site was radiocarbon dated to the 9th century BC.[99]

'Ain el-Qudeirat: Here, the opposite case. QPW was found in the "Lower Fortress" (Stratum IV) (traditionally, the late 10th century BC), although some sherds were also discovered in the succeeding "Middle Fortress" (Stratum III) (8th–7th centuries BC).[100] Because of these finds, H. Bernick-Greenberg, who published the site's ceramic assemblage, suggested that the QPW was still in use in the 10th century.[101] Several radiocarbon dates have been taken from Stratum IV, and while two of them fall within the 10th century,[102] another one has provided a surprisingly early date: the calibrated date falls in the early

[92] Pratico 1993: 43, 47, 49.

[93] Hart 1989: 18.

[94] Rothenberg and Glass 1983: 84; Hart 1995: 60.

[95] Tebes 2007a: 16–17; Bowman 2009.

[96] Levy *et al.* 2004: 875–876; Smith and Levy 2008: 81–84, 86.

[97] As already indicated by van der Steen and Bienkowski 2006.

[98] Fritz 1994: 144–145.

[99] Hauptmann 2000: 66 Table 7.

[100] Bernick-Greenberg 2007: 140–141.

[101] Bernick-Greenberg 2007: 143.

[102] Gilboa *et al.* 2009: 89.

11th century, although earlier datings in the 12th or 13th centuries are also possible.[103] Singer-Avitz has offered an interpretation that would solve this dilemma. She argues that the QPW actually comes from Stratum IVc, a substratum with little evidence that antedates the Stratum IV fortress. Moreover, she suggests that this early occupation—and the QPW that originated in it—dates to the 12th century BC.[104] This, in Singer-Avitz's view, would explain the surprisingly early radiocarbon date, which now should be attributed to this early phase of settlement.

The sherd material is sparse but enough has been found in late contexts to support a continuity of the QPW into the Late Iron II.

Although the evidence for ascribing QPW to Iron II contexts is reasonably strong, some caution must be expressed for a number of reasons. First of all, given the similarities between the QPW painted decorations and those in other Late Bronze wares, it has become customary to identify QPW based on their decorative patterns *and* their origin (Qurayya). Although it cannot be ruled out that someday QPW will be found to have been manufactured in Edom or the Negev, examples of QPW found in late contexts have been identified as such because of their decorations but so far neither Neutron Activation Analysis (NAA) nor petrographic studies have been carried out on them. Second, the amount of QPW (in fact, sherds) that has been unearthed in very late contexts is so far very limited. A third problem is the resemblance between some of the QPW decorative patterns with those of the Edomite painted pottery, which could have led the inexperienced eye to confuse both pottery traditions. Fourth, material from surveys supplements the repertoire of QPW in southern Jordanian sites. Because all of these wares were found in surveys out of any stratigraphic context, and given the uncertainties regarding the Iron I period in Edom, it is uncertain whether they belong to the Iron I or Iron II periods. Lastly, some of these QPW sherds might be stray finds, sherds that somehow found their way into later strata.

The above discussion demonstrates that more research is needed on the QPW found in late contexts, particularly NAA and petrographic studies. These investigations may shed new light onto the relationship between the QPW and Edomite ceramics.

[103] Bruins 1986: 112–116; Bruins and van der Plicht 2005: 352, 357; 2007: 488.

[104] Singer-Avitz 2008.

3.4 QPW and the Edomite pottery (Juan Manuel Tebes)

A crucial problem is the alleged relationship between the QPW and Edomite ceramics. The Edomite pottery is a distinctive ceramic group found in the territory of Biblical Edom (southern Transjordan) and in Negev sites of the Late Iron Age. It consists of several ware types, of which the most representative ones are the plain wares, usually kraters and bowls with a denticulated fringe applied around the vessel; bowls with red and black-painted geometric decorations; cooking-pots with a stepped-rim; and vessels, mainly carinated bowls, influenced by "Assyrian ware" pottery.[105] The Edomite pottery is traditionally dated in the late 8th–early 6th centuries BC based on local epigraphic evidence and destruction levels in the Negev, although early antecedents going back to the 10th–9th centuries BC have been recently proposed.[106]

The fact that the decorative patterns of the Edomite painted pottery resemble some of the QPW has led some scholars to speculate about some kind of relationship between both traditions.[107] Stylistically, the Late Bronze/ Early Iron date of the QPW is supported by their elaborate decorative patterns. These decorations, scholars agree, have parallels in the Eastern Mediterranean wares of the Late Bronze Age, especially Bichrome, Minoan, Mycenaean and Cypriot wares, as well as in Iron I Egyptian ceramics.[108] The question is particularly complicated given that the time span separating the Edomite pottery and the Late Bronze/Iron I context at Timna is so long that it seems to rule out any possible contact. However, the apparent lack of a "pre-Edomite" pottery tradition in the Edomite highlands with which the sudden development of the Edomite painted wares can be associated makes a connection with the QPW attractive. As Oakeshott put it, "The decoration in particular causes more problems than it solves as the range of proliferation of painted motifs on the Edomite pottery recalls the Late Bronze Age rather than the later Iron II."[109]

One point that has rarely been addressed is the possibility that some of the decorative patterns of the Edomite pottery were the result of the influence

[105] Oakeshott 1983; Mazar 1985.

[106] Smith and Levy 2008.

[107] Oakeshott 1983: 62; Dornemann 1983: 86 n. 12; Zeitler 1992: 172; James *et al.* 1991: 201–202. Lipiński also considers the possibility that the Iron II Moabite pottery is a later derivative of the QPW (Lipiński 2006: 321–322).

[108] Tebes 2007a: 12.

[109] Oakeshott 1983: 92.

of the contemporary painted Phoenician pottery,[110] which is but another derivation of the Late Bronze ceramic traditions of the Mediterranean.[111] The 10th–9th centuries BC represented the peak of the trade contacts between Phoenicia and Palestine,[112] and it is possible that the distribution of Phoenician wares in Palestine inspired the Edomite potters to imitate their decorative patterns.

An important point is that, typologically, it is very difficult to find similarities in form between the QPW and Edomite ceramics. It should be noted that there is a restricted spectrum of QPW types, which appear predominantly in the form of small table wares and containers. Edomite wares, by contrast, exhibit a wider range of types and variations. Typologically, QPW bowls bear more resemblance to the coarser, hand-made Negevite pottery that was characteristic of the whole Iron Age, than to the finer Edomite bowl types. However, in dealing with parallels for the QPW one should bear in mind that not only has it been found in relatively large quantities only at Timna, but also that in this place it was especially concentrated in the Temple of Hathor, a fact that accounts for the unusually high ratio of small table wares (bowls) and containers (jugs, juglets, goblets) found at the site.[113] Thus, differences between both painted pottery traditions can be attributed not only to a chronological separation but also to the different locations and socioeconomic frameworks in which the "Edomite" and "Qurayya" potters lived.

The main pointers to a putative relationship between the QPW and Edomite pottery are the patterns of decoration. Geometrical designs occur on both wares.[114] Typical QPW decorative motives that are paralleled in the Edomite ceramics include (Fig. 2):

1. Band/s in the rim or immediately below, outside and inside;
2. Radial strokes around the rims of bowls;
3. Small dots between two bands;
4. Vertical lines between horizontal lines;
5. Net pattern;

[110] Oakeshott 1978: 185–185; Mazar 1985: 261.

[111] Schreiber 2003.

[112] Gal 1995.

[113] Rothenberg and Glass 1983.

[114] Oakeshott 1978: 186; Rothenberg and Glass 1983: 67–68; Dornemann 1983: 86 n. 12; Eitam 1988: 325–326.

6. Crosses between two horizontal lines—however those in the QPW are smaller;
7. Triangles between two bands.

However, a number of characteristic QPW decorative traits are consistently absent in the Edomite pottery, such as chevrons,[115] lozenges,[116] arches,[117] semicircles,[118] wavy lines,[119] scrolls,[120] depictions of birds—apparently ostriches—, schematic representations of human beings[121] and camels.[122] And, conversely, QPW does not show the characteristic plastic decorations of the Edomite pottery, particularly the denticulated fringe in the rim or carination.

It is also interesting to assess the fabric and origin of both pottery traditions. A cursory review of the available evidence shows that QPW and Edomite ceramics diverge in fabric and origin. Particularly, it should be noted that the QPW was of coarser manufacture, made on slow wheels and sometimes hand-made.[123]

All in all, I would argue that although QPW and Edomite wares may share some decorative patterns, they are different pottery traditions and should be treated as such. Their place of origin (the Hejaz in the case of the QPW;[124] Edom/Negev in the case of the Edomite wares[125]) and method of manufacture are rather different and express the work of different workshops. That these ceramics show close resemblance to each other should not be surprising in the light of their spatial overlapping as well as their temporal contiguity.

Certainly, other contemporary traditions of painted decoration existed in the Negev and southern Transjordan. I have suggested elsewhere that the

[115] Rothenberg and Glass 1983: Fig. 10.D.

[116] Rothenberg and Glass 1983: Fig. 10.F.

[117] Rothenberg and Glass 1983: Fig. 10.H.

[118] Rothenberg and Glass 1983: Fig. 10.I.

[119] Rothenberg and Glass 1983: Fig. 10.J.

[120] Rothenberg and Glass 1983: Fig. 11.L.

[121] Rothenberg and Glass 1983: Fig. 11.M: II–III.

[122] Ingraham *et al.* 1981: Pl. 79:14.

[123] Kalsbeek and London 1978.

[124] Rothenberg and Glass 1983.

[125] Gunneweg *et al.* 1991.

Edomite painted decorations developed out of the painted vessels that were produced in southern Cisjordan during the Iron Age IIA.[126] For example, a family of small bowls with short black strokes in the rim does occur in Iron Age II Cisjordanian sites, such as Ashdod IX–VIII,[127] Tel Beersheba VI[128] and ‘Ain el-Qudeirat, where they appeared already in Stratum IV and lasted until Stratum II, thus being contemporary with “true” Edomite ceramics.[129] They are also common in the fortress of Khirbet en-Nahas.[130]

3.5 QPW and its relations in Arabia (John J. Bimson)

Parallels have been noted between QPW and another northwest Arabian painted pottery found in large quantities at the site of Khuraybah (ancient Dedan, near modern al-‘Ula). The Khuraybah (or al-‘Ula) pottery belongs chiefly to the 6th–5th centuries BC, though its manufacture may have begun earlier. Peter Parr has speculated on a possible relationship between the Edomite and Khuraybah styles,[131] but even more intriguing is the possibility that the QPW was ancestral to the Khuraybah pottery. There are admittedly some significant differences between the two types: Qurayya designs are more elaborate and include animal and bird motifs which are absent from the Khuraybah pottery. Nevertheless, Parr notes “undoubted similarities between the simpler decorative elements, especially the ladder and trellis patterns”. He goes on:[132]

> *“...If the chronological gap between the “Midianite” [Qurayya] and Khuraybah pottery could be closed, it would be a not unreasonable temptation to see the Khuraybah style as a late manifestation of a tradition in painted pottery first introduced into N.W. Arabia in the Late Bronze Age.”*

[126] Tebes 2009.

[127] Dothan and Freedman 1967: Figs. 36:13, 17; 42:3,5, 6.

[128] Brandfon 1984: Fig. 26:4.

[129] Bernick-Greenberg 2007: 133; Cohen and Bernick-Greenberg 2007: Pls. 11.1:9; 11.24:10; 11.26:4–5; 11.27:16–18; 11.30:16–20; 11.41:11; 11.42:5; 11.50:18; 11.54:15–16; 11.59:10; 11.63:5; 11.92:12; 11.129:5.

[130] Smith and Levy 2008: Figs. 12:2; 13:1–4; 14:1–2; 15:5; 16:1–2; 17:1.

[131] Parr 1982, especially pp. 131–133.

[132] Parr 1982: 132.

However, he sees no way in which "the chronological gap" can be closed. Even if the manufacture of the Khuraybah (or al-'Ula) pottery were to be pushed back as early as the 7th or even 8th century BC, on the basis of its similarities with Edomite vessels, there would still be "too long a gap between this date and that of the Late Bronze Age Qurayya ware to substantiate the view that there was a direct connection between these two pottery styles, despite the obvious formal parallels".[133]

One archaeologist who has tried to bridge this "chronological gap" is Garth Bawden. On the basis of excavations at Tayma (about 150 km NE of al-'Ula), where Qurayya painted ware and Khuraybah/al-'Ula pottery both occur, he argues for a continuous painted pottery tradition in northwest Arabia, spanning both types.[134] However, Bawden's evidence for this continuity has been criticised in detail by Parr, who finds on the contrary "no indication that the al-'Ula style follows the Qurayya style without a break".[135] In fact Parr goes so far as to say: "There is, I believe, a 'ceramic hiatus' in northern Arabia between about the 11th century (which is the latest date which can be safely assigned to the Qurayya pottery), and the 6th century BC, when the second type of pottery may have been in production."[136] Parr's arguments are compelling, but his conclusion is surprising, for, as he admits, the Qurayya ware and the Khuraybah/al-'Ula pottery—both occurring in the same area—stand out as the only examples of painted pottery from Arabia between the 3rd millennium BC and the Islamic period.[137] Once again let us note that the "chronological gap" results from the early date required for Qurayya painted ware by the conventional Egyptian chronology.

4. Applying a Revised Chronology (John J. Bimson)

We could summarise much of the foregoing discussion by saying that Egyptian dating criteria applied to the mining and smelting activities at Timna are in tension with other dating criteria which are independent of Egyptian chronology.[138] I suggest the reason for this tension is that currently accepted

[133] Parr 1988: 77.

[134] Bawden 1983: 37–52.

[135] Parr 1988: 81. See also Parr 1993: 48–58, and in the following note.

[136] Parr 1992: 43.

[137] See Parr 1982: 132.

[138] See also Tebes 2004: 91–104.

dates for the Egyptian New Kingdom are too early. This chronological tension is not confined to the Arabah, but is replicated in numerous cultures around the Mediterranean.[139] Because links with Egypt are used to date the end of the Late Bronze Age and the start of the Iron Age, the currently accepted Egyptian dates have pulled this transition back in time and have stretched the Iron Age as a whole. It is worth emphasising that a range of proposals that would lower the dates of the New Kingdom (Dynasties 18–20) by varying degrees have now been tabled,[140] and that in Dodson's words, "It is now apparent to a growing number of scholars that the chronological status quo is no longer an option".[141]

In the final part of this paper I will apply a revised Egyptian chronology to the finds at Timna to see how far it resolves the tensions noted above. In what follows I will tentatively experiment with the lower dates for Egypt's New Kingdom proposed by James *et al.* in *Centuries of Darkness*.[142] This is one of the more radical revisions, lowering dates for the New Kingdom by about 250 years by compressing the Third Intermediate Period which follows it. Because they are dependent on Egyptian chronology, dates for the Late Bronze Age and early Iron Age are also reduced by this revision.[143]

4.1 Revised dates for Egyptian activity at Timna

Applying the *Centuries of Darkness* revision to the stratigraphy of the Hathor temple produces the following results. If Pinch is correct in arguing that offerings to Hathor were already being made at Timna by the reign of Amenhotep III, we can suggest there was an Egyptian presence there shortly before 1100 BC. Seti I would have reigned *c.* 1050–1035 BC, so the first phase of the Hathor temple would have lasted until then. The next phase (Stratum III) would have begun in the late 11th century BC. Pinch suggests that Ramesses III may have added the pronaos to the Stratum III temple. In the revision, Ramesses III reigns *c.* 937–906 BC and becomes the pharaoh called Shishak in

[139] James *et al.* 1991.

[140] See n. 3.

[141] Dodson 2000: 16.

[142] James *et al.* 1991. For subsequent bibliography on this chronology, see references in Morkot and James in this volume of *Antiguo Oriente*.

[143] An even more radical revision is that of Rohl (1995), which lowers New Kingdom dates by 350 years. This, however, rests on questionable correlations between biblical and Egyptian history and raises more problems than it solves.

the Bible (1 Kings 14:25–26; 2 Chronicles 12:1–4).[144] It is therefore no surprise that he is well attested at Timna. As we have seen, the latest cartouche from the Hathor temple belongs to Ramesses V. The revision would probably place his short reign in the 890s BC. Lack of later Egyptian finds from the temple, and the period of abandonment attested at Site 30, suggest that the Egyptians left Timna during or soon after the reign of Ramesses V.

Rothenberg has to assume a gap of two centuries or more between this Egyptian withdrawal from Timna and the revival of activity under Shoshenq I. However, the fact that the workers of Layer 1 at Site 30 reused some of the structures of Layer 2, and that the Egyptian pottery of Layer 1 was "very similar" to that of Layers 3–2 (but with the addition of vessels dated to the 22nd Dynasty)[145] argues for a shorter hiatus than this. In the *Centuries of Darkness* model, the 21st Dynasty overlaps with both the 20th and the 22nd, leaving only a short gap between the end of the 20th Dynasty and the start of the 22nd. Shoshenq I, the first king of the 22nd Dynasty, reigns *c.* 835–815 BC.[146] Thus the period between Ramesses V (*c.* 890s BC) and Shoshenq I is cut to less than a century, and the time for which Site 30 was abandoned may have been much less than this. The people who adapted the ruined Hathor temple as a "tent shrine" after the time of Ramesses V (Rothenberg's "Midianites") continued to work the mines and smelting camps for an indefinite period.[147] The gap between Layer 2 and Layer 1 at Site 30 might therefore have been around 45 years (*c.* 860–815 BC?).

If the 22nd Dynasty pottery at Site 30 belongs to the years immediately following Shoshenq I's Palestinian campaign (which took place toward the end of his reign), then the renewed Egyptian presence at Timna would have begun in the late 9th century BC. It therefore becomes likely that some mining was still going on at Timna and/or the Wadi Amram when Tell el-Kheleifeh was founded. This would explain the copper ores and slag found at the latter site.

4.2 Lower dates for Qurayya Painted Ware

If Rothenberg is correct in his interpretation of the Hathor temple's difficult stratigraphy, the earliest QPW at Timna dates no later than the reign of Seti I, *c.* 1050–1035 BC in the *Centuries of Darkness* model. However, if

[144] James *et. al.* 1991: 257.

[145] Rothenberg 1999: 161–162.

[146] James, pers. comm.

[147] Rothenberg 1988: 278; 1999: 172.

Singer-Avitz is correct in suggesting that the users of QPW did not arrive at Timna until the reign of Ramesses III,[148] its first appearance there should be dated to the last quarter of the 10th century BC.

As noted above, QPW continued in use after the reign of Ramesses V, whose cartouche is the latest known from Stratum III of the Hathor temple; indeed, "a particularly large quantity" of Qurayya sherds came from the following Stratum II.[149] The fact that no Qurayya sherds were found associated with the 22nd Dynasty workings at Site 30 does not necessarily mean that it was no longer being manufactured at that date (probably late 9th –early 8th century BC in the revised model). It may be that the people who used it had simply left the copper mining and smelting sites by that time.

As yet there is no clear evidence for the time when Qurayya painted ware went out of use. In terms of the 250-year revision it certainly becomes feasible that its use extended into the 8th century BC, where it can readily be seen as an antecedent of Edomite pottery. The earliest Khuraybah/al-'Ula pottery, on the other hand, is unlikely to be as early as the 8th century BC, but we can suggest that this in turn was influenced by the decorated Edomite pottery—a possibility already discussed by Parr.[150] The lower Egyptian chronology would therefore close the current "chronological gap" between the Qurayya pottery and these later decorated wares. An 8th-century BC date for the demise of Qurayya pottery also means that Tell el-Kheleifeh could have been founded shortly before it went out of use, explaining the few sherds found there by Glueck.

4.3 Beyond the southern Arabah

Lower dates for QPW can be applied fruitfully to some related issues further afield. Each of the following deserves a much longer discussion, but the aim here is simply to point out a few implications.

If Tell el-Kheleifeh was not founded until the 8th century BC at the earliest, we must look elsewhere for Solomon's port of Ezion-geber. A likely candidate is the island of Jeziret al-Farun, a few kilometres away down the west coast of the Gulf of Aqabah.[151] The straits between the island and the

[148] Singer-Avitz 2004: 1284.

[149] Rothenberg 1988: 271–272.

[150] Parr 1982: 131–132.

[151] Rothenberg 1967; 1972: 202–207; Flinder 1989: 30–43; Bartlett 1989/1990: 66. Bartlett suggests Tell el-Kheleifeh could still be identified with biblical Elath, a suggestion in keeping

coast provide a sheltered anchorage and the island itself has a natural harbour. Significantly, surveys of Jeziret al-Farun have produced QPW, leading Rothenberg to suggest it served as a harbour for the mining expeditions of the 13th–12th centuries BC.[152] In the *Centuries of Darkness* chronology this pottery would be compatible with occupation in the Solomonic era.

Much lower dates for QPW would naturally affect the dating of occupation at Qurayya itself. They would shrink (if not quite close) what Parr has called the "rather strange gap in the archaeological record of N.W. Arabia that seems at present to exist between the period of the flourishing of Qurayya and that of Dedan…"[153] The revision would also bring the irrigation system at Qurayya closer to its 1st-millennium BC parallels.[154]

As noted above, the Faynan sites of Barqa el-Hetiye and Khirbet en-Nahas are among the sites where QPW has been used to suggest Iron I occupation when otherwise the archaeological context seems to be Iron II. In this way the dating of QPW has played a small part in the heated debate over the age of the Kingdom of Edom. Whether state formation in Edom should be dated to the 10th–9th centuries BC[155] or in the 8th century BC[156] is a debate with many facets, several of which relate to the tensions outlined above and which can ultimately be traced back *via* the dating of the LB/Iron Age transition to the chronology of Egypt. Lower dates for the end of the New Kingdom would not resolve all the issues, some of which involve the interpretation of C14 dates, but they would reduce the conflict over ceramics.

Part of the debate over state-formation in Edom concerns the date of the fortresses at Tell el-Kheleifeh and En Hazeva (the latter lying further north in the western Arabah). Levy *et al.* believe these fortresses and their pottery should be dated to the 10th–9th centuries BC on the basis of their architectural similarities to the fortress of Khirbet en-Nahas in the Faynan.[157] Opponents of this early date take the contrary view, insisting (in line with the conventional view of the pottery) that Tell el-Kheleifeh and En Hazeva were 8th century

with its 8th-century foundation by Azariah (2 Kings 14:22).

[152] Rothenberg 1972: 203–204. Cf. Rothenberg and Glass 1983: 76–77. Some possible Iron II pottery was also found.

[153] Parr 1982: 133.

[154] Cf. Parr 1988: 83.

[155] E.g. Levy *et al.* 2004; Levy, Najjar and Higham 2007.

[156] E.g. Van der Steen and Bienkowski 2006; Finkelstein and Singer-Avitz 2008.

[157] Levy, Najjar and Higham 2007: 20–21.

BC foundations, and that they provide the dating criterion for the Khirbet en-Nahas fortress.[158]

There is an echo here of Pratico's comment on the casemate fortress phase at Tell el-Kheleifeh, the ground plan of which has good parallels at a number of sites in the central Negev. On the basis of their wheel-made pottery the Negev fortresses have been assigned a date in the 10th or 11th century BC,[159] prompting Pratico to comment: "It is clear that dating of Tell el-Kheleifeh's pottery to the late Iron Age is not consistent with the current dating of the central Negev fortresses to the tenth century BC or earlier."[160] Pratico mentions the possibility that Glueck failed to collect earlier pottery associated with this phase, but Mussell's more recent excavation also failed to find such pottery. More pertinent is Pratico's question: "Have the central Negev fortresses been dated correctly?"[161] The answer is probably "No". If the Iron Age has been over-extended by a falsely high chronology for the LBA, the ceramics which provide the date of the Negev fortresses will have been dated too early. The difference in dates between the Negev fortresses and Tell el-Kheleifeh would be reduced, and perhaps eliminated, by the revision proposed above.

4.4 Radiocarbon dates from Timna

Since the 1970s a number of radiocarbon dates have been obtained for samples from the Timna mines and smelting camps and the site of the Hathor temple. In my 1981 article I tried to show that several of the results then available were evidence of mining and smelting activities during the time of the Israelite monarchy.[162] Subsequently James Muhly criticised my use of a MASCA 1973 calibration curve and argued that the results confirmed Ramesside activity in the 13th–12th centuries BC.[163] Since then more results and new calibrations have been published.

[158] Finkelstein and Singer-Avitz 2008: 17.

[159] See Cohen (1980: 77) for the full range of dates. As well as wheel-made pottery the central Negev fortresses produced examples of the hand-made Negev ware, which Rothenberg also found at Timna. The association of Negev ware with Egyptian finds at Timna led Rothenberg (1972: 180–182) to date the central Negev fortresses as early as the 13th (or even late 14th) century BC.

[160] Pratico 1993: 72; see also his discussion, pp. 29–31.

[161] Pratico 1993: 72.

[162] Bimson 1981: 142–144.

[163] Muhly 1984: 282–283.

Gerd Weisgerber has recently compiled a table containing twenty-two radiocarbon dates from Timna, along with five from Beer Ora, one from Wadi Amram and one from Gebel Shehoret.[164] Leaving aside very early dates which seem to relate to activity in the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze periods, and very late dates relating to Roman and Early Islamic activity, Weisgerber's table contains fifteen dates from Timna which are relevant to the foregoing discussion. These are reproduced below (with location details simplified).

Lab No.	*Location*	*2-sigma calibration*
HAM-207	Mine S 27	1313–914 BC
HAM-208	Mine S 27	1293–968 BC
HAM-210	Mine shaft S 18 (212/1e)	1454–1112 BC
HAM-211	Mine shaft S 19 (212/1g)	928–747 BC
HAM-212	Mine S 28/1 (212/2)	1134–796 BC
HAM-216	Site 30, level 1 of slag dump	1769–1493 BC
BM-1115	Site 2	1132–892 BC
BM-1117	Site 200	1056–810 BC
BM-1162	Site 30, Level 1	769–486 BC
BM-1598	Site 30, Level 1	1054–816 BC
BM-1368	F2	1411–1152 BC
BM-2382	Site 2, Layer 2	1613–1411 BC
GrN-4493	Site 2, Area F	1397–1111 BC
HD?	Site 2	920 +/- 50 BC
Pts 4121	Site 2	1496–1208 BC

While some results are readily compatible with the conventional dates for Late Bronze/Early Iron I metallurgical activity at Timna, some seem too early (HAM-216, BM-2382) and others too late. The late dates are, however, compatible with the lower chronology we have experimented with above, in which Egyptian activity at Timna (probably from the late 18th Dynasty to the early 22nd Dynasty) spans the 12th–8th centuries BC. Because of their range, some dates could be compatible with either the conventional or the lower chronology.

A few of the low dates deserve highlighting. BM-1117 provides a low date for material immediately overlying the Hathor temple (Site 200), in good

[164] Weisgerber 2006: 27, Table 1.

agreement with the lower chronology.[165] The sample for which Weisgerber gives the lab number as simply "HD?" suggests a 10th-century BC date for Site 2, a Ramesside smelting camp contemporary with the Hathor temple. BM-1115 also suggests low dates for Site 2. Seven charcoal samples were taken from mining tunnels at Site 212 (excavated in 1974–1976), where some shafts and galleries contained Early Bronze Age pottery and others contained pottery contemporary with that from the Hathor temple. Two samples (not included in our table) gave dates in the Early Bronze Age. Of the other five (HAM-207, HAM-208, HAM-210, HAM-211 and HAM-212) three have a range that allows compatibility with either the conventional dates for Ramesside activity or with the *Centuries of Darkness* revision, but HAM-211 and HAM-212 match the lower chronology better.

The two samples BM-1598 and BM-1162 are both from Layer 1 at Site 30, the stratum now associated with 22nd-Dynasty activity which Rothenberg suggests began with the campaign of Shoshenq I. Their calibrated dates were previously published by Rothenberg as 1000 BC and 780 BC respectively.[166] The former is a good fit with the conventional date for Shoshenq I, while the latter would fit better with the *Centuries of Darkness* dates for that pharaoh.

Given the vagaries of radiometric dating, and bearing in mind that some of these samples were tested three decades ago when techniques were relatively crude, it would be unwise to attach much weight to the small number of radiocarbon dates currently available from Timna. Unexpectedly early dates (which exist for *both* chronologies) could result from the "old wood" factor—i.e. charcoal may derive from wood that stopped growing long before it was burnt. On the other hand, unexpectedly late dates can be explained in terms of incorrect association and Iron Age re-use of the sites.[167] It is perhaps more relevant to note the low dates recently published by the wide-ranging Early Iron Age dating project, which place the start of Iron IA as late as *c.*1050 BC.[168] The authors note, however, that this result should be treated with caution.

[165] But cf. Muhly 1983: 284, suggesting (*contra* Rothenberg) a long period of "Midianite" activity at the temple site.

[166] Rothenberg 1980: 201.

[167] Cf. Weisgerber 2006: 24.

[168] Gilboa, Sharon and Boaretto 2009: 173–183.

Conclusion (John J. Bimson)

The dates currently given to mining and smelting operations in the southern Arabah produce a number of chronological anomalies and tensions. Taken together these suggest the need for lower dates for New Kingdom Egypt, which would in turn allow a lower date for the Late Bronze/Iron Age transition. An experiment with the revised chronology of James *et al*. showed that the conflicting data are brought into a remarkable degree of harmony by that revision. This does not, of course, prove the correctness of that model, and it is not the only revision to have been proposed in recent years; on the other hand, less radical revisions would not resolve the chronological tensions to the same degree.[169] We recommend a greater awareness of the influence of Egyptian chronology on various dating disputes concerning the cultures of the southern Arabah, Edom and the Negev, and that lower chronologies be seriously considered in future discussions.

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[169] It should be noted that several of the lesser reductions that have been proposed can theoretically be combined to yield an overall reduction of over 150 years for New Kingdom dates (Bimson 2005: 85–86; cf. Porter 2005: 47–48).

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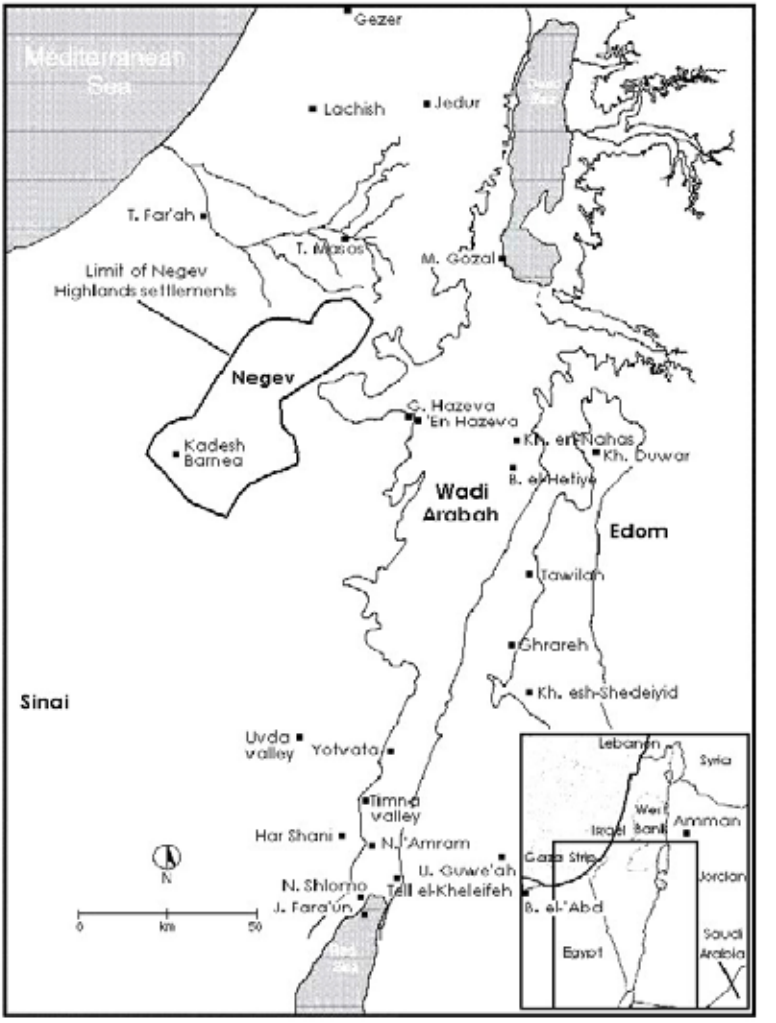

Figure 1.
Distribution of Qurayya pottery in the southern Levant
(from Tebes 2007a: Fig. 3).

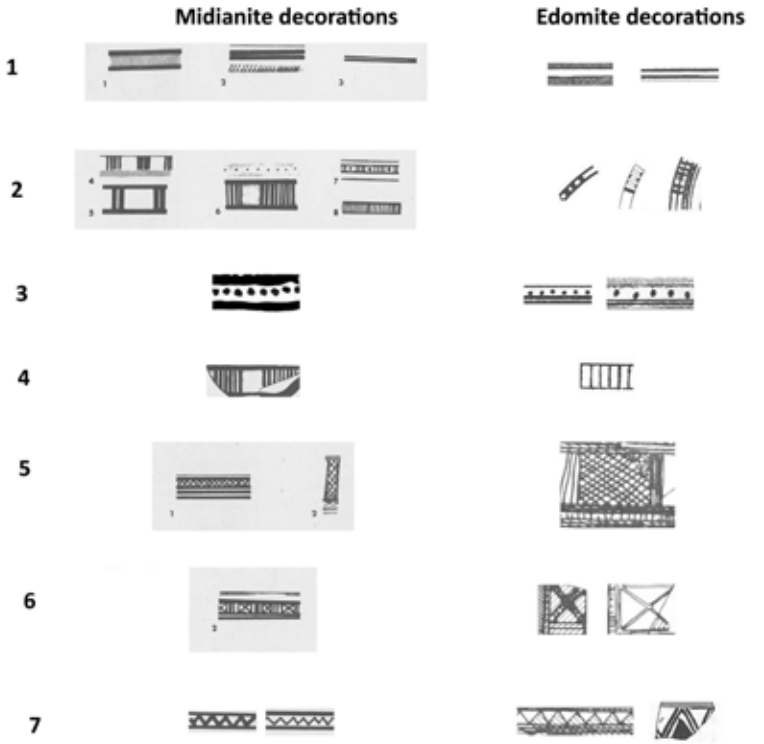

Figure 2.
Similar painted decorative patterns in Qurayya and Edomite wares.

1. Timna: Rothenberg and Glass 1983: Fig. 9.A:1–3; Buseirah: Bienkowski, Oakeshott and Berlin 2002: Fig. 9.12.
2. Timna: Rothenberg and Glass 1983: Fig. 9.A:4–8; Buseirah: Bienkowski, Oakeshott and Berlin 2002: Fig. 9.16.
3. Khirbet en-Nahas: Levy *et al.* 2004: Fig. 6:6; Buseirah: Bienkowski, Oakeshott and Berlin 2002: Figs. 9.25:5, 13.
4. Timna: Rothenberg and Glass 1983: Fig. 6:5; Buseirah: Bienkowski, Oakeshott and Berlin 2002: Fig. 9.30:9.
5. Timna: Rothenberg and Glass 1983: Fig. 9.C:1–2; ʻAin el-Qudeirat: Mazar 1985: Fig. 8.
6. Timna: Rothenberg and Glass 1983: Fig. 9.B:2; Tell el-Kheleifeh: Mazar 1985: Fig. 7:1; ʻAin el-Qudeirat: Mazar 1985: Fig. 8.
7. Timna: Rothenberg and Glass 1983: Fig. 4:4, 6; ʻAin el-Qudeirat: Mazar 1985: Fig. 8; Ḥorvat Qitmit: Freud and Beit-Arieh 1995: Fig. 4.2:17.

ADBIʾILU: AN ARAB AT BABYLON (BM 78912)*

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Abstract: Adbiʾilu: An Arab at Babylon (BM 78912).
An unpublished tablet from the archive of Šumā descendant of Nappāḫu contains a possible Arabic personal name. The treatment of non-Babylonian personal names in this tablet and CTMMA 3 6 from the same archive differs from the treatment of Babylonian names suggesting that the scribe distinguished between the kin-group-affiliated Babylonians and the non-Babylonians who lacked such affiliations.

Keywords: Neo-Babylonian – cuneiform – Arabic – onomastics

Resumen: Abdiʾilu: un árabe en Babilonia (BM 78912)
Una tablilla inédita del archivo de Šumā descendiente de Nappāḫu contiene un nombre personal posiblemente árabe. El tratamiento de los nombres propios no-babilonios en esta tablilla y CTMMA 3 6 del mismo archivo difiere del tratamiento de los nombres babilonios, sugiriendo que el escriba distinguía entre los grupos babilonios afiliados por parentesco y los no-babilonios, que carecían de tales afiliaciones.

Palabras clave: Neo-babilonio – cuneiforme – árabe – onomástica

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The archive of Šumā of the Nappāḫu kin group consists of twelve tablets, most of which are debt notes recording aspects of Šumā's business dealings between 667 and 652.[1] Most of Šumā's documented activities took place at or near Babylon, though one tablet was dated at Nagītu near Borsippa. Šumā was involved in *ḫarrānu* ventures and some of his associates apparently were foreigners if the use of non-Babylonian names is accepted as an indicator of ethnicity. On one tablet, CTMMA 3 6, three of the witnesses are identified with Northwest Semitic patronyms.[2] The scribe emphasized their non-Babylonian identity by expressing their filiations with the writings DUMU-*šú šá* or A-*šú šá* in clear contrast with the witnesses from the well-known Babylonian kin groups Bāʾiru, Šangû-Bābili, and Gaḫal, whose genealogies were written simply with the signs DUMU or A.

Another non-Babylonian personal name present in the archive poses some difficulty. San Nicolò and Ungnad read the partially damaged name as ^{m}*AD-GI*(?)-DINGIR.[3] This could be the Northwest Semitic name Adgi-ilu, Adgi being a Suḫian name for Adad.[4] However, it is likely that the same man appears in line 8 of the unpublished tablet BM 78912, also from the Šumā archive. On this tablet, however, the name is written ^{m}*ad-bi-i-lu*. The best way to interpret this name is to normalize it as Adbiʾilu and understand it as being derived from Arabic *ʾadaba* and *ʾil*.[5] An Arab chief named Idibi ʾilu in the inscriptions of Tiglith-pileser III possessed the same name as the man in VAS 4 6 and BM 78912, raising the possibility that Šumā's witness was also an Arab.[6] In neither BM 78912 nor VAS 4 6 is Adbiʾilu provided with a patronymic or family name in spite of the fact that the other witnesses in the list had family names, an omission which reinforces Adbiʾilu's non-Babylonian identity in the eyes of the scribe.

[1] A total of eleven tablets have been assigned to the archive of Šumā (Jursa 2005: 72 and Van Driel 1989: 113). To these eleven tablets should be added BM 49171 = 1882–3–23, 162 which is published in Strassmaeir 1893: No. 7 and San Nicolò 1951: No. 57. The scribe who wrote BM 49171, Bēl-useppi, also wrote BM 78912 and VAS 4 6 for Šumā. Furthermore, the first witness in BM 49171, Bēl-aḫḫē-erība descendant of the Potter, was also the first witness in BM 78912.

[2] Von Dassow and Spar 1987: 18-19.

[3] San Nicolò and Ungnad 1935: No. 163 n. 1.

[4] Zadok 1977: 48.

[5] Zadok 1977: 208.

[6] Ephʿal 1982: 93, 215-216 and Fuchs 1999: 505.

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Figure 1.
BM 78912 3.5 x 5.0 cm, obv.

Figure 2.
Bottom edge

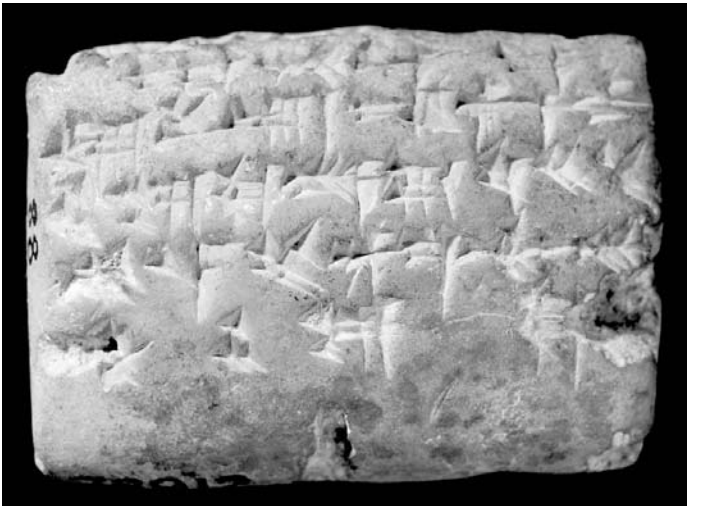

Figure 3.
BM 78912, rev.

obv.	1.	1/3 2 gín kù.babbar *šá* ^{m}*šu-ma-a*
		ina ugu ^{m}*ka-ṣi-ru* ud.20.kam
		šá iti.kin iti *a-na* ugu
		ma-ni-e 10 gín kù.babbar *ina muḫ-ḫi-šú*
	5.	*i-rab-bi*
		lú *mu-kin-nu* ^{md}ag-numun-*ib-ni*
		dumu ^{m}*su-ḫa-a-a*
edge		⌜^{m}⌝*ad-bi-i-lu*
		^{md}en-šeš.meš-su-*ba*
rev.	10.	dumu ^{m}báḫar
		ù lú. šid ^{md}en-*ú-sep-pi*
		tin.tir^{ki} iti.kin ud.20.kam
		mu.14.kam ^{d}giš. šir-mu-⌜gi.na⌝
		⌜lugal⌝ tin.tir^{ki}

(1-5) 22 shekels of silver belonging to Šumā are loaned to Kāṣiru on the 20th day of Ulūlu (VI). Monthly, 10 shekels will accrue per mina upon it.

(6-14) Witnesses: Nabû-zēra-ibni descendant of Suḫāya, Adbiʾilu, Bēl-aḫḫē-erība descendant of the Potter, and the scribe Bēl-useppi. Babylon. The month of Ulūlu (VI), day 20, year 14 of Šamaš-šuma-ukīn, king of Babylon.

Local Exchange in the Southern Levant During the Early Bronze Age: A Political Economy Viewpoint*

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Summary: Local Exchange in the Southern Levant During the Early Bronze Age: A Political Economy Viewpoint
Trade and relations between the southern Levant and other regions of the Near East (mainly Egypt) during the Early Bronze Age (ca. 3,600–2,300 BC) have been the subject of many studies. Research concerning the exchange of local commodities was almost ignored or was discussed in parochial studies, focusing on specific archaeological finds. It is the intention of this paper to present the results of recent research of the exchange of commodities provided by archaeological data from excavations in the Southern Levant with regard to economic theories on the exchange-value of goods and exchange networks. Conclusions regarding the type of society and the forms of government in the Southern Levant during the Early Bronze Age are also presented.

Keywords: Exchange – Political Economy – Early Bronze Age – Southern Levant

Resumen: Intercambio local in the Levante meridional durante la Edad del Bronce Temprano: Una Mirada político-económica
El comercio y las relaciones entre el Levante meridional y otras regiones del Cercano Oriente (principalmente Egipto) durante la Edad del Bronce Temprano (ca. 3,600–2,300 a.C.) han sido el tema de mucho estudios. La investigación con respecto al intercambio de materias primas locales fue casi ignorada o discutida en los estudios locales, enfocándose en hallazgos arqueológicos específicos. Es la intención de este artículo presentar los resultados de investigaciones recientes sobre el intercambio de materias primas provistos por los datos arqueológicos de excavaciones en el Levante meridional con respecto a las teorías económicas sobre el valor del intercambio de bienes y las redes de intercambio. Se presentan también las conclusiones con respecto

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al tipo de sociedad y las formas de gobierno en el Levante meridional durante la Edad del Bronce Temprano.

Palabras clave: intercambio – Economía política – Edad del Bronce Temprano – Levante meridional

Introduction

Exchange is the principal means by which goods circulate and are disseminated between early societies. Exchange, sometimes called barter, refers to a particular type of interchange of commodities in which no money or other medium of exchange is used, although nominal exchange-values existed.

We utilize the term "exchange" in a much wider sense that includes all inter-site interchanges of commodities, including intermediate phases, between production and consumption. Numerous earlier studies have dealt with the subject in diverse regions and from a comprehensive theoretical point of view. However, studies dealing with this subject in the southern Levant have hitherto tended to be limited. They either concentrated on aspects related to particular finds or were restricted to very localized regions.

International connections or contacts between the southern Levant and neighboring regions, such as Egypt, are related to trade and exchange and have been dealt with extensively by scholars for the Early Bronze (hereafter, EB) Age. However, localized exchange within the southern Levant, understood as a system of circulation of goods between sites and local regions (Figure 1) , is a subject that has not been fully addressed for this period, even though it has been the subject of study for later periods. This research attempts to fill this gap in the understanding by providing a synthetic study for the region during the entire EB Age (Table 1).

Period	Years B.C.
EB IA	3,600–3,300
EB IB	3,300–2,950
EB II	2,950–2,600
EB III	2,600–2,300

Table 1.
Chronology of the Early Bronze Age in the southern Levant.

The approach employed in this research was to study the overall process of exchange of commodities, including production and circulation, in an interrelated and dialectical mode. Towards that end, different commodities within the EB were identified and then defined by site, region and period. These commodities included such items as recognizable groups of pottery (i.e. wares), flint and other stone tools, shells, raw materials, and some additional items. They were first studied as specific cases according to site, region and period within the EB Age. They were then considered in terms of socio-economic relations, i.e. exchange patterns evident from them, after which a comprehensive picture for the entire period under discussion was reconstructed.

Theoretical approaches to exchange in prehistory and this writer's methodological approach to the theory of value and commodities exchange presupposes an understanding of finds as commodities according to traditional archaeological patterning, e.g. pottery, flint tools, groundstone tools, metals, archaeobotanical data, fauna, and minerals. A method borrowed from the Political Economy (and mainly Marx's *Critique to Political Economy*) and the Theory of Value[1] has been adopted within the general archaeological framework developed by V. Gordon Childe.[2] This work has also adopted elements from models on archaeological exchange developed by Renfrew[3] and Plog[4].

Exchange Networks

Interpreting patterns of exchange through data from the archaeological record can, at least for certain commodities, be extremely difficult and the results somewhat tentative because of the limitations of the available data.

By investigating the exchange of commodities during the EB Age some important observations may be made. First of all, it may be stated that no centralized or unified network of exchange existed; rather, there were several lines or paths of circulation that at times converged into approaching networks, some of which eventually displayed evidence of regional centralization. The separation of networks is sometimes clearly observable, as that between the north and south-central regions, where little interaction or mutual exchange

[1] Marx 1970; 1993; Rubin 1972.

[2] Childe 1942.

[3] Renfrew 1969; 1975; 1977.

[4] Plog 1977.

is noted. However, some networks actually linked different regions, such as those of the Hill Country with the Shephelah, and those of the Southern Coastal Plain with the Shephelah, so that in different time spans and in associations with different commodities, intercourse between different regions did take place.

Economic aspects of these networks are notable in discernable patterns (Figure 2). They indicate that each branch of production had a defined network of distribution, sometimes associated with related commodities as in the case of Canaanean blades[5] and bitumen (originating from the Dead Sea)[6] in the center and southern regions (see further below).[7] Other patterns suggest sympathetic networks for more than one commodity, such as in the case of Arkosic holemouth ceramic vessels (originating in the Wadi Feinan area)[8] and metal objects from the northern Negev during EB II.[9]

Distribution of Commodities

In particular, an analysis of the networks of pottery distribution showed well-defined patterns. The outstanding characteristic of the pottery distribution networks in most cases is the existence of concentric areas of circulation radiating from core areas where it appears that pottery was produced. In addition, there are some cases of pottery exchange networks in which the distribution of specialized wares remained within a very restricted zone. Such patterns shifted over time; thus, all chronological parameters are important in understanding the networks of pottery exchange during the EB Age. In general, there appears to be a major trend from a general decentralization of production during EB IA (e.g. Gray Burnished Ware)[10] towards regional

[5] Rosen 1997: 46–60.

[6] Milevski, Marder and Goring-Morris 2002.

[7] A similar observation may be made concerning the appearance of Nilotic shells in association with Egyptian pottery. However, the subject on the exchange with external regions is beyond the scope of this study.

[8] Porat 1989; Adams 1999.

[9] Genz 2001.

[10] Wright 1958; Yannai 1999; Goren and Zuckermann 2000.

centralization in EB II (e.g. Metallic Ware), [11] followed by a return to less centralization in EB III (e.g. Khirbet Kerak Ware). [12]

The exchange of Canaanean blades similarly indicates some type of centralization dominated by regional centers (e.g. Har-Haruvim, Gat Guvrin, Tel Halif, Fatzael?) that distributed blades in relatively closed networks.[13] However, the distribution of Canaanean blades differs from that of pottery circulation because it involved several stages through which objects passed between the workshop of the knapper and the end user, who was the agricultural worker who received the blades and sickles (i.e. retouched tools). This type of network circulation could also be relevant for metal objects that may have passed through a number of stations. Presumably they derived from copper sources in the Feinan area[14] and passed through metallurgical workshops before finding their way to the end users. There is, however, a major difference in the locales of these networks. Metal sources only seem to be in the Eastern Aravah, while Canaanean flint segments originated in numerous locales in the center and northern regions. Such examples differ considerably from the pattern suggested by the distribution of tabular scrapers. These specialized tools appear to have been exchanged over long distances from supposed centers of production. Most notably, scrapers gradually decrease in appearance at sites from south to north as the distance from the sources of material is larger.

Simple networks, such as those concerning distribution of raw materials (bitumen, carnelian) and shells were characterized by more direct patterns of exchange. Of course they were also subject to chronological variations. Such commodities of diminutive size and/or small quantity derived from specialized sources and had relatively simple, more or less linear, distribution networks. It is likely that they represent some kind of "down-the-line" model of exchange[15] by which they traveled through successive settlements and regions by subsequent exchanges.

It is difficult to estimate the relative abundance or lack of exchanged commodities per network or region since quantitative data is available in only a few instances. Generally this information is confined to objects such as flint and zooarchaeological and archaeobotanical remains. Nevertheless, attempts

[11] Greenberg and Porat 1996.

[12] Esse and Hopke 1986; Ziv-Esudri, Cohen-Weinberger and Zuckerman 2007.

[13] Perrot 1961; Futato 1996; Shimelmitz, Barkai and Gopher 2000.

[14] Adams 1999; Genz 2001.

[15] Renfrew 1975.

have been made to calculate parameters of absolute or relative abundance of given commodities [16] as a function of distance from sources, weights or quantities of artifacts or raw materials. Such attempts allow for estimates, which may then be further factored with estimates relating volumes of excavated areas to quantities or frequencies of specific commodities.

This work has attempted to take into account the problems of limited data noted above and then consider distances from the sources or between locales of exchange, not just in linear terms, but also by taking into account topographical features that add to the expenditure of energy and costs. These social factors (i.e. energy expended and costs in terms of outlay of resources) were likely to affect entire communities to the extent that their inhabitants were involved in production and exchange of a commodity.[17] Such economically oriented activity would have direct effects on these early societies of the EB Age.

With all the above considerations in mind, it is possible, at least to a limited extent, to address questions on the quantities of different commodities locally exchanged during the EB Age. It is assumed that, in all cases, abundance of pottery types defines core areas, while lesser quantities in more distant zones indicate pottery distributed from core areas. This interpretation seems to be borne out by observations from the archaeological network. In general all morphological types of particular wares or groups of wares tended to be found within core areas, while few variants seemed to have made their way to more distant locales, and those that did were generally the smallest and easiest to transport.

Basalt and ground stone tools seem to be most evenly distributed and they were relatively abundant in relation to distance and weight.[18] Canaanean blades had a restricted area of distribution although distances from the flint sources were not great. By contrast, most metal objects were concentrated in the south-central regions, close to the sources in the Wadi Feinan area, although a few were found in northernmost sites such as Rosh Haniqra and Tel Dan.

[16] Earle and Ericson 1977: 6.

[17] Petréquin and Petréquin 2000: 364–366.

[18] Milevski 2008.

Directionality and Simmetry

Directionality of the networks (i.e. the direction in which commodities flow) is sometimes difficult to establish from the archaeological record. When it could be observed it indicated a diversity of patterns that not necessarily oppose one another, although sometimes it is difficult to follow the circulation outlines of some commodities. The Huleh Valley, the Jordan Valley, the Aravah, and the Central and Southern Coastal Plains acted as the major south Levantine conduits for exchange along a north-south axis in accordance with their geographic parameters. Galilee, the Jezreel Valley, the Central Hill Country, and the Shephelah tended to be regions in which east-west tracks were observed. The Negev and southern regions appear to have fostered exchanged networks showing mixed directionality. In particular cases such as those involving exchange of Canaanean blades, as far as may be understood, there are multidirectional networks, dependent on location of sources, sites and the extent of particular areas in which exchange took place.

Symmetry and directionality of exchange networks during the EB Age show unequal patterns (Figure 3). Exchange networks at this time show unequal patterns that were sometimes symmetrical (i.e. bi-directional with commodities going back and forth between regions) and sometime uni-directional. Several examples indicate the types of patterns. Notably, pottery of northern origin (i.e. Gray Burnished Ware, Metallic Ware and Khirbet Kerak Ware) have been found at southern sites, while virtually no southern pottery (e.g. the Negev wares) have been found in northern sites. Utilization of bitumen for hafting flint tools is well known at south-central sites, and significantly, is unknown at sites in the north.[19] Prestige or luxury items such as shells have a long range of distribution and are found in both southern and northern regions, but these goods do not seem to affect the exchange networks. Flint tabular scrapers that most probably originated in southern areas were brought in small amounts to sites in the north. Although poorly represented there, they provide evidence that some of those objects could be exchanged over long distances. It can also be suggested that these scrapers found their way through networks that were primarily devoted to other commodities.

The only areas that show a degree of symmetry in the circulation of goods are the Jordan Valley, and to a lesser degree, the Aravah. Patterns of exchange in the Jordan Valley underwent change over time with most circulation of commodities occurring during EB I and EB III. The Central and Southern Coastal Plains also illustrate a certain degree of symmetry,

[19] Milevski, Marder and Goring-Morris 2002.

having their connections with the eastern areas of the Shephelah, the central Hill country and the northern Negev. In the cases of the Jordan Valley and the Coastal Plain, there is a predominance of northern products, indicating much stronger links with that region of the country rather than with the south. Lack of symmetry within exchange networks and between others is understood to be the most significant factor for explaining why no centralized or unified network of exchange ever existed in the EB Age of the Southern Levant.

The Galilee, the Huleh Valley and the Jezreel Valley exhibit decentralized exchange of pottery during the EB IA. Judging from the distribution pattern of types (i.e. families) of Gray Burnished Ware exchange was not symmetrical. Main centers of production of Gray Burnished Ware (Family I) appear to have been in the Jezreel Valley and Lower Galilee, while other sub-types were apparently manufactured in centers in Western Galilee and the Huleh Valley. Also asymmetrical are network relations between north and south during EB II. Metallic Ware arrived at southern sites but southern pottery groups of the Negev did not reach the central and northern regions (with the exception of ʻAi). Furthermore there is no correspondence between the appearance of Metallic Ware and the Tel Aphek bowls,[20] although both groups are notable for having common forms (i.e. small carinated bowls).

It must be emphasized that decentralization and diversity over the varied areas of exchange of the Southern Levant during EB are the main characteristics of exchange networks that could be observed. Indeed, the Southern Levant may best be characterized in regards to exchange as a mosaic of regions loosely held together with skeins of far-flung networks that, at certain peak periods of activity, showed evidence of regional centralization. Plog[21] has defined similar phenomena that may also be used to describe the southern Levant in EB I (as was already by Joffe).[22]

Patterns of Exchange during the Early Bronze Age

Early Bonze Age I

In general, the EB I presents the most variegated forms and numbers of networks. EB I exchange networks are the most numerous and varied for the entire EB Age. Some appear in the very beginning of the EB IA. They

[20] Beck 1985.

[21] Plog 1977.

[22] Joffe 1993: 53.

include a system responsible for distribution of tabular scrapers (probably an outgrowth of an earlier Chalcolithic network), one for dispersion of Gray Burnished Ware, one for shell distribution (including Nilotic *Chambardia*) and another (albeit to a lesser extent) for distribution of metal objects involving centers at Wadi Feinan and a workshop/center at Afridar.[23] The distribution of basalt vessels and tools shows some degree of continuity from Chalcolithic times, although the typology of objects and distribution patterns are different. During EB IB the multiplicity of commodities and networks reached its peak. If it were possible to measure the degree of exchange according to Earle and Ericson's[24] parameters, the abundance of commodities in this period could be judged by counting artifacts from the archaeological record. Notable in this period is an increasing number of pottery types and a greater circulation of raw materials (e.g. bitumen, carnelian) and a standardized network of production and distribution of Canaanean blades and tabular scrapers indicating travel over greater distances. This is reflected in another, albeit smaller way in the archaeological record. It is interesting to note that while EB IA yielded higher frequencies of donkey remains, it was not until EB IB that the first representations of these animals in figurines appear, and then mostly in ritual contexts (see further below). This is probably the result of a guild of merchants that came into being only at the end EB I.

Noted increases in exchanged goods from EB IA to EB IB could be the result of population growth during the latter period.[25] However, by EB II there were a decreased number of commodities interchanged that may have also been reflected in reduced quantities of goods (e.g. pottery, metals, agricultural produce, and minerals). These changes may be the result of a reduced number of settlements in EB II that tended to have larger concentrations of population.[26] When interpreting this information there is a likelihood of bias because the reduced numbers of sites may be perceived as evidence of reduced exchange, although quantitatively this may not have been the case, but rather a function of an incompletely understood or preserved archaeological record. It is possible that very large population centers, not extensively excavated, would not have yielded data on this matter. Centralization in distribution of some pottery wares such as Metallic Ware surely reflects this tendency.

[23] Genz 2001; Golden 2002.

[24] Earle and Ericson 1977.

[25] Gophna and Portugali 1988: 20.

[26] Portugali and Gophna 1993: 169–175.

Early Bronze Age II–III

Development of exchange seems to follow the same pattern of ups and downs as urbanization during the EB Age. In Upper Galilee, the Northern Coastal Plain and the Northern Hill Country, a severe crisis occurred at the end of EB II and these regions became and remained almost deserted in EB III.[27] In the Huleh Valley and Lower Galilee the crisis was less severe and some centers continued to exist. In the Jezreel and Jordan Valleys and the Central and Southern Coastal Plains the number of urban settlements was more or less stable during EB II and III. The greatest stability of urban centers occurred in the Shepelah and the Southern Hill Country, with the exception of Arad in the Northern Negev, which ceased to exist by the end of EB II.

One of the changing aspects of the shift from villages to towns and cities, and the development of the exchange between these settlements, must have been the rise of "imports" into these locales. Ziadeh[28] has pointed out that the most changing aspects of material culture lie in the shift from a self-sufficient economy to one based on wage-labor as reflected in domestic artifacts. For instance, traditional pottery from the Palestinian village of Ti'innik (Taanakh) has been largely replaced by aluminum, glass and plastic artifacts. These objects were acquired through exterior relationships.

It is probable that during EB II and III, urban centers acquired ceramic groups such as Tel Aphek Bowls, Metallic Ware, Arkose pottery and Khirbet Kerak Ware that replaced local, coarser wares. From the beginning of EB, metal tools such as axes, adzes and chisels replaced similar flint tools. That process was not the direct result of urbanization but involved evolution of metal production during the Chalcolithic period and the development of exchange networks and a probably distinct division of labor in EB I.[29]

On the basis of the sparse evidence it seems that during EB II and III metallurgical activities were concentrated at only a few urban sites. Genz,[30] however, explain this in two possible ways, suggesting that additional information from other centers is unavailable because it has either not been excavated within these sites or metallurgical activity took place in extra-mural locations. He further suggested the possibility that it was associated with smaller, non-urban centers of population that remain unexplored. Such

[27] Getzov, Paz and Gophna 2001: 41–45.

[28] Ziadeh 1995: 1007.

[29] See Rosen 1996.

[30] Genz 2001.

a reality as noted in the former possibilities may differ substantially from arrangements in the preceding EB I period when metallurgical activities were associated with numerous sites.

Dependent upon the alternate scenarios suggested above, methods and networks of distribution may have been quite varied. One possibility is that in EB II–III, urban centers controlled production and distribution of metals. Alternatively, they may have only had control over distribution, with indirect control of production associated with a large number of smaller producers that obtained materials from the sources.

The exchange of ceramics in EB III differs from that associated with metal. Postulated on the basis of Khirbet Kerak Ware is the existence of several centers of production during EB III.[31] Distribution of this specialized ware suggests decentralized lines of exchange mostly centered in the north, but with some additional evidence of a more southerly distribution. Notably, this is only one ceramic group of the middle EB III period. Unfortunately, we do not have much information about the circulation of other wares in EB III, besides evidence for restricted exchange of pottery from the Dead Sea Eastern Plain, and in general, archaeological records indicating exchange are lesser.

In summary, there is a gradual tendency towards the centralization of exchange along the chronological trajectory of the EB Age. In EB I the number of commodities is greatest as are the number of exchange networks and centers from which they radiate. By EB II they are significantly reduced in number and probably more centralized. By EB III there appears to be evidence that exchange was lessened and non-centralized.

Specialized Commodities

Zaccagnini,[32] in his treatment of gift-giving in the Ancient Near East, has proposed that the value of a luxury item (that eventually could be a gift-item) was a combination of its exchange value in the regular way of other standard commodities plus a symbolic connotation attached to the artifact.

The three luxury or prestige items or valuables that we can point out among the commodities that circulated during EB are ivory, shells and carnelian.[33] It

[31] Ziv-Esudri, Cohen Weinberger and Zuckermann 2007.

[32] Zaccagnini 1987: 58.

[33] Other valuables such as bed models (Beck 1995), decorated bones (Zarrzecki-Peleg 1994) and alabaster objects (Amiran 1970) have not been considered in this research since there is no clear information on their proveniences they are Egyptian imports.

appears that ivory bull's heads were paraphernalia directly related to ruling classes (representing the palace or temple based institutions during EB II–III). These objects appear to fit the definition of valuables known from written sources of the Ancient Near East of the second millennium B.C. that were exchanged within the framework of elite relations between Egypt, Anatolia, Syria and Mesopotamia.[34] However shells and carnelian beads, presumably of lesser worth and more easily obtainable, appear to have been exchanged within the framework of village societies as early as EB I.

Donkey figurines in this study were not interpreted as a simple commodity, but rather as symbolic objects of a cult involving merchants or people linked to the use of donkeys as means of transportation and beasts of burden. In this sense they can also be called prestige artifacts. These figurines may have circulated only among these people, and were therefore not objects of exchange in regular networks.

Gifts or objects of special significance of the figurine type are, unfortunately, not sufficiently observable from available data for patterns of exchange to be ascertained with any certainty. However, some likely hints of this type of specialized exchange may be observed from the discovery of shells from the Red Sea at sites in the Mediterranean coastal plain and vice versa. In addition, some specialized pottery wares may actually have been objects within a system of gift exchanges, although no specific archaeological indicators of such a type of exchange can be discerned. Similarly, it is possible to interpret some patterns of exchange of Gray Burnished Ware during EB IA, exchange of part of the pottery southern groups in the Negev during the EB II,[35] and the exchanged pottery of Bab edh-Dhra and Numeira in EB III as examples of gift-giving.[36]

Merchants and Local Exchange

Merchants

We cannot precisely establish the social existence of middlemen or merchants during the EB Age, though it is probable that they existed as an intermediary social caste. Such status, it appears, would sometimes be related to producers, sometimes independent of them. In all instances it is suggested they were

[34] Zaccagnini 1987: 60.

[35] Porat 1989.

[36] Benyon, Donahue, Schaub and Johnston 1986.

related to the social classes in power, whoever they were (elites or burgeoning rulers in EB I, rulers and their administrations in EB II–III, etc.)

If merchants were part of the communities and settlements where producers resided, they must have been dependent upon the rule of local authorities and upon the ability and willingness of producers of commodities to provision them. If, on the other hand, they resided outside settlements or centers of production (i.e. in separate locales or were itinerant) they would have been a considerably more independent class. Historical examples of such social classes operating within the parameters of the Ancient Near East appear to be found in such groups as the biblical Kenites, Rechabites and Midianites, or artisans living in the "Valley of Artificers" of the Persian period. The term "Canaanite" (meaning a stranger; Is. 23:8; Job 40:30; Prov. 31:24), possibly a synonym for trader during the Iron II, may be another example of this class of middlemen.[37]

In instances where exchange was pursued in restricted circuits, as in the example of pottery exchange between Bab edh-Dhra and Numeira during EB III, it was probably accomplished by producers that controlled temper and clay extracted from the vicinity of some sites. Similarly, populations close to sources of raw materials (copper, flint, rocks, bitumen, etc.) or near the sea (for mollusks and fish, for instance), and those possessing a specific technology (as that of the Canaanean blades) would have been involved with specific aspects of exchange.

EB II and III urban centers with their large populations could have possessed their own group of merchants as in the case of the Ebla palatial economy of the third millennium B.C. [38] or that of second millennium merchants in Ugarit.[39] Such likely analogies suggest that the existence of a cult related to donkeys as beasts of burden was tied to the existence of a group socially differentiated from the rest of the population by its economic activities, i.e. merchants and/or donkey herders.

Cult

The existence of a cult related to donkeys, as represented by donkey figurines with containers[40] (Figure 4:2–5) may have a parallel in later periods

[37] And see Rainey 1996.

[38] Pettinato 1979.

[39] Rainey 1963.

[40] Amiran 1985; Ovadia 1992.

in the region of the Andean Mountains[41] connected with shamanist practices. Donkey burials (sacrifices?) may have begun as early as EB I, but it seemed to have developed during the EB II and III (e.g. Lod, Tel es-Sakan)[42]; however it is not clear if these burials (e.g. Figure 4:1) were done within sacred complexes as in Mesopotamia.

Later developments in the region contrast with the EB reality, suggesting differences, some substantive but which presage developments in trade. A change seemed to have occurred during the Middle Bronze (hereafter, MB) Age and onwards when there were a series of temples on the Coastal Plain and their internal routes, the Jordan Valley and the Aravah.[43] These temples produced relatively large quantities of imports. They probably served as sanctuaries related to trade and exchange, whose deities protected the merchants and their economic activities. Our research assumes that such types of temples were not present in the EB archaeological records because the inter-regional exchange was not so developed as in the MB Age.

The iconography of donkey figurines, seal impressions and bull's heads[44] during EB reflects what Panofsky[45] has called artistic motifs and subject matters representing a "conventional meaning" adapted to social, temporal, cultural and geographic backgrounds. We propose that a significant part of the "conventional meanings" of the iconography of the EB Age allegorizes social groups or social role's activities represented by animals and icons. Thus, donkeys are representative of exchange, the bull representative of governorship, while cultic scenes and buildings in seal impressions[46] are representative of governorship or priesthood. Such iconography reflects a society divided into economic, social and political groups; one in which it may be assumed that traders and/or donkey herders occupied a place in the social order.

[41] Flores Ochoa 1997; Nielsen 1997–1998.

[42] Yannai and Marder 2001; de Miroschedji *et al.* 2001.

[43] Kochavi 2005.

[44] Beck 1995.

[45] Panofsky 1970: 27–29.

[46] Ben-Tor's (1978) Classes I and III.

Local Exchange and the Economics of the Early Bronze Age

Earlier studies have focused on the effects of political and economic changes during the EB Age in the Southern Levant. They have largely drawn on developments and settlement patterns[47] and information from pottery studies.[48] For other areas of the Near East (mainly Anatolia and Mesopotamia) some interesting conclusions for the EB Age have been extracted from the archaeological record and from texts. It has been suggested that in the middle of the third millennium BC the circulation of goods of accessible materials previously produced either by households, or by independent specialists, fell under state control. However, by the end of the third millennium BC, when numerous urban centers were abandoned or considerably reduced in size and population and the number of villages increased[49] there may have been a reversion to less centralized production.

It has pointed out that during times of strong political control elites were provided with subsistence products by non-elite populations.[50] Texts from Mesopotamia, Ebla and Ugarit[51] record movements of animals and agricultural products from the countryside to population centers. In the region of Lagash, archaeozoological data suggest movements of goods to regional centers during the Early Dynastic period (third millennium BC)[52] In Iran at Malyan, during the second millennium BC, animals were probably brought to an urban center from nearby villages.[53]

Could these examples have relevance for the Southern Levant during the EB Age? It appears that while some of the features described above are similar to the phenomena that took place in the Levant, others are very different. According to the present research, urban centers of the Southern Levant register a certain concentration of commodities; however, there were no administrative records to explain on which basis these commodities were acquired and circulated.

[47] de Miroschedji 1989; Joffe 1991; 1993; Portugali and Gophna 1993; Finkelstein 1995.

[48] Greenberg 2000.

[49] Wilkinson 1990: 102–103.

[50] Wattenmaker 1994: 197.

[51] Steinkeller 1992; Pettinato 1981; Heltzer 1976; 1978.

[52] Mudar 1982.

[53] Zeder 1991.

Appropiation of surpluses

It is surmised that urban or urbanized centers of sufficient population could benefit from strategic locations between different regions, as in the case of the *metateros* of Central America.[54] Arad, near the Hebron Hills in the eastern part of the northern Negev and the Aravah route could reflect just such a case, while the Wadi Feinan area of copper production may be a further case. In addition its location could have allowed it to profit from exchange of tabular scrapers, if as is suspected, the Jafr Basin was indeed functioning as a producer of these tools during the EB Age, or if they were contemporaneously produced in the Har Qeren area.[55]

Arad apparently controlled the exchange of southern ceramic wares in the Negev during EB II, although Jericho may have been equally influential because of its special situation.[56] It is notable that almost all of the EB commodities are found in Jericho. Authorities in these urban centers could take advantage of merchant traffic by requesting tribute for transit through an urban center of population or region under its control, or by means of an exchange of commodities (i.e. as intermediaries, perhaps at a point of re-distribution). In all these cases, ruling classes would benefit by extracting some of the value from exchange (i.e. surplus) of commodities.

A second form of appropriation of surplus through exchange occurs when authorities have control over an artisan's production as in the case of potters, knappers, smiths, and so forth. Such workshops could exist within population centers[57] or at smaller settlements. For instance, characteristic pottery wares such as Gray Burnished Ware, Metallic Ware and Khirbet Kherak Ware could have been made at workshops around population centers such as those known at Afula, Tel Dan, Hazor, Bet Yerah and Bet Shean. Flint workshops at Har Haruvim could have been controlled by Megiddo. In the case of Tel Halif it is probable that a secondary workshop could have existed within the EB III city.

A third form considers distribution of ceramic types such as Gray Burnished Ware, "Erani C" pottery,[58] Metallic Ware, and Khirbet Kerak Ware in which two or more networks are involved. Similar distribution

[54] Rathje 1972.

[55] Rosen 1997: 71–75, 105–106; Quintero, Wilkie and Rollefson 2002.

[56] Anati 1962, Dorell 1978.

[57] Cf. Ilan 2001.

[58] Yekutieli 2002.

networks are notable for carnelian objects as well as exotic imports, including Nilotic mollusca and fish remains, and Egyptian and Egyptianized products.[59] Carnelian was concentrated in two or three zones,[60] while *Chambardia* was distributed throughout the Southern Levant.[61]

Although valuables or prestige objects were dispersed in quite different patterns from those observed for utilitarian commodities, nevertheless, their circulation networks may well have been identical. The weight and bulk of prestige items allowed them to be exchanged more easily and over great distances. It is surmised that this was accomplished with extant networks of exchange of utilitarian commodities such as pottery vessels.

Tabular scraper exchange seems to have been a continuation of the Chalcolithic period into the EB Age, while Canaanean blades were distributed through a different system throughout the EB. At the same time, pottery groups developed and changed in almost each sub-period of the EB Age, with different regional centers of production and different distribution networks coming to the fore.

Domestication of the donkey seems to be a factor that not only helped with the procurement of raw materials and the exchange of commodities between distant regions, it must have also lowered the costs of commodities relative to the Chalcolithic period, prior to the domestication of this beast of burden. Accordingly, if herding and ownership of donkeys were the realm of a restricted group of communities or populations in the EB Age, this factor must have benefited the owners of donkeys or given rise to them.

Rulers of the EB communities, whether they represented a village, a town or an urban center, derived economic advantages in the form of the administration of exchanges. It can be suggested that an urban center and its relative wealth was based on profits deriving from the exchange of commodities of other communities passing through its territory. A surplus could only be realized when an "inequality" occurred in the exchange of commodities as a result of differences in the division of labor between one community or region with another; i.e. as a result of the differences in the costs of production and transportation of the commodities between different sites or regions.

[59] Egyptian and Egyptianized pottery is primarily found in the Southern Coastal Plain and the Shephelah. It is rare in the north, although exceptions may be found at Megiddo (Ilan and Goren 2003).

[60] The main carnelian bead bearing sites are Jericho (Kenyon 1960: Figs. 28, 55, 65), Arad (Amiran *et al.* 1978: Pls. 68, 69, 118) and Bab edh-Dhra (Wilkinson 1989a,b).

[61] Bar-Yosef Mayer 2002.

Archaeological remains from settlements dating to the very end of EB I through III seem to confirm part of this phenomenon through the existence of public buildings, some of them characterized as palaces, temples or granaries, and fortification systems, e.g. at Tel Dan, Hazor, Khirbet ez-Zeraqon, Megiddo, Bet Yerah, ʻAi, Jericho, Tel Yarmut, and Arad.[62]

It appears as if two main types of urban centers existed during the EB II–III *vis-à-vis* exchange systems:

(1) Those that took advantage of the sources in their region and had some kind of monopoly on a given production branch (pottery, flint, raw materials, etc).
(2) Those that took advantage of their location near trade routes or passes, acting as intermediary agents between diverse regions.

Low Level Economy

This work suggests that a lack of written documents indicates the degree of exchange remained at a relatively low level. This may have been due to a lack of integration of networks that did not favor exchange in the EB Age of the Southern Levant, nor allowed them to coalesce into a major system as it did in other, more populous regions of the Ancient Near East. Accordingly, unification of medium exchanges was not necessary and the transactions were not recorded.

This situation is reflected in a lack of evidence for the existence of weight-standards, and consequently a local system of weights, while metrology seems to have existed as a system of linear measures.[63] Crucial for understanding any exchange system is an ability to determine concrete values or information concerning its standard system of weights. Such systems are identifiable in objects and in the literature of the Ancient Near East. Legal documents of the Old Babylonian period and the El Amarna Letters offer, amongst other information, testimony to fraud and contamination of precious metals in commercial transactions,[64] emphasizing the importance of such standards.[65]

[62] Joffe 1993: 82–83; Herzog 1997: 42–97.

[63] de Miroschedji 2001.

[64] Zaccagnini 1976: 560.

[65] The *topos* of the merchant that complicates himself with weights in order to cheat appears not only in the Mesopotamian literature (Lambert 1960: 132–133; Finet 1973: 70, § P) but also in the Biblical sources (Lv. 19:35; Dt. 25:13–16; Am. 8:5).

In Mesopotamia, numerical records existed in the form of tokens prior to the advent of cuneiform records,[66] but these kinds of artifacts have not been found in the Southern Levant. By the Uruk period (fourth millennium BC) clay tablets found at Habuba Kabira contained numerical symbols revealing that some aspects of a bureaucratic administration in the Upper Euphrates existed.[67]

Of course it can be suggested that a system of accountability existed based on organic (non-surviving) materials, such as the system of *quipus* in the Inca empire[68] and that writing was not necessary since its invention need not necessarily relate to economic activities.[69] However, as Egyptian and Mesopotamian sources reveal, numerical and administrative registration forms existed from the fourth millennium BC onward, and there is no reason that Southern Levantine populations in contact with neighboring cultures did not take advantage of such practices as the need arose. It is difficult to understand why, given the knowledge of how to utilize clay for fashioning figurines and pottery, Southern Levantines did not use it for record keeping as did their neighbors.

The economic life of the EB Age of the Southern Levant was probably at a level of exchange called "barter", or "the first exchange stage" in Ebla.[70] Urban centers like those of Mesopotamia and Syria exchanged commodities and also utilized weight-measure systems based on metal values. The sole suggestions of administrative local apparatus in the Southern Levant are seals and sealing impressions.[71]

There is no proof for the existence of exchange media such as metals or specific artifacts in the archaeological record of the EB Age of the Southern Levant. Furthermore there is no evidence to support the existence of copper ingots as units of measure as they appear in the later Intermediate Bronze Age. Had they existed, one would expect to have found some evidence for them. Metal hoards are known and appear to be examples of a primitive form

[66] Schmandt-Besserat 1992.

[67] Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 194, Fig.6.9.

[68] Quilter and Urton 2002.

[69] Postgate, Wang and Wilkinson 1995.

[70] Pettinato 1979.

[71] Beck 1995.

of accumulation of values. Flint caches are additional forms, while metals seem to have a more universal character in the production systems.[72]

More important is that there is no indication that land was considered a commodity, i.e. that an exchange of lands existed during the EB Age in the Southern Levant as with the sale of land and houses documented in Mesopotamia during the fourth millennium BC.[73] It has been suggested that land was the main means of production for an economy based on agriculture, and that the historic development of land-property went from tribal to royal and sanctuary properties, until private estates. Heltzer[74] has pointed out that the relation between exchange-values of the land and basic commodities indicate the level of economic development of a country. However, there are other factors that could be involved in the exchange-value as the quantity of population in relation to the cultivated lands: the type of crops cultivated in a given terrain, the geographic characteristics of the country, or the existence of other natural resources. All these factors determine the relative social costs invested in the cultivation of the lands in relation to other activities.

Interestingly, it has been suggested that trade as a broad regional phenomenon in the EB Age Mediterranean world was directed towards the accumulation of wealth.[75] In contrast to previous periods, exchange in the EB Age was characterized by an increase in scale and in kind, especially by the addition of copper and copper objects as another commodity. The addition of this commodity is a qualitative phenomenon and not an addendum of a simple further commodity, since metals were a medium of exchange and accumulation. Some accumulation of wealth seems to have occurred as reflected in public (monumental?) buildings from the end of EB I, EB II and EB III; but the conversion of metals into actual exchange media did not come about until after the end of the EB Age.

It is paradoxical that in the ruralized society of the Intermediate Bronze Age (EB IV), when the EB urban centers collapsed, copper ingots appear in a standardized mode,[76] causing one to consider them as a first means of payment.[77]

[72] And see Rowlands 1971; Philip 1988.

[73] Gelb 1979: 68–73.

[74] Heltzer 1978: 115.

[75] Runnels 1988.

[76] Dever and Tadmor 1976; Cohen 1999: 260–265.

[77] Meshorer 1976.

In summary, the EB Age economy in the Southern Levant seems to have been a loosely organized system of exchange networks with little sense of overall control. A preliminary schematic synthesis of our research on these networks is suggested in Figure 5. Different commodities were exchanged as needs arose and there does not appear to have been any visible equilibrium between different branches of the economic life (pottery production, metal production, flint tool production) of even the most sophisticated societies of the era. These aspects appear to have operated as more or less independent networks in which each commodity may be characterized by its own level of development and sophistication, dependent upon region and chronological niche.[78] This low level of integration is a hallmark of the EB Age economy. Accordingly, there was no need for a single medium of exchange and it was apparently not developed until the MB Age or later. As economic integration did not exist during EB, political unification did not come about until later periods, after such developments in neighboring areas.

It is hoped that a more theoretical work, combined with the use of analogies derived from ethnoarchaeology, will be applied to study of the EB Age in general, and in particular to its economic aspects that are so tied to networks of exchange. It behooves field archaeologists to further develop field strategies that will allow for the broad collection of data that can also be utilized by other social scientists for studies augmenting more traditional archaeological approaches. From such a work it would be possible to derive insights that could be applied to the study of additional periods and regions.

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[78] For a so-called law of uneven and combined development in history see Novack 1974.

[79] Milevski 2005.

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Regions

HV: Huleh Valley
UG: Upper Galilee
WG: Western Galilee
LG: Lower Galilee
CCP: Central Coastal Plain
JV: Jordan Valley
GO: Golan
CHC: Central Hill Country
SCP: Coastal Plani
SH: Shephelah
NN: Northern Negev
JD: Judean Desert
DSEP: Dead Sea Eastern Plain
AR: Aravah
CN: Central Negev
SN: Southern Negev

Sites

1. B. Haemeq.
2. Meona
3. Gamla
4. T. Teo
5. Hazor
6. B.Yerah
7. Q. Ata
8. T. Qashish
9. Yiftahel
10. E. Shadud
11. Affula
12. H. Haruvim
13. Megiddo
14. B. Shean
15. T. Shalem
16. T. U. Hammac
17. T. Megadim
18. E. Assawir
19. T. Aphek
20. T. Dalit
21. `Ai
22. Jerusalem
23. Lod
24. Azor
25. Gezer
26. Hartuv
27. B. Shemesh
28. T. Yarmuth
29. Fatzael
30. Palmahim
31. Gat-Guvrin
32. Lachish
33. T.el-Hesi
34. Nizzanim
35. Afridar
36. T. Erani
37. Site H
38. E. Besor
39. Gat Guvrin
40. T. Sera
41. T. Hebron
42. Arad
43. T. Halif
44. Har Qeren
45. T. Ikhbene
46. H. Avnon
47. T. es-Sakan
48. B. Uvda
49. B. Ëdh-Dhra
50. Numeira
51. W. Feinan
52. M. Shalem
53. Jericho
54. T. Abu Haraz
55. T. Es-Saydiah
56. .Pella

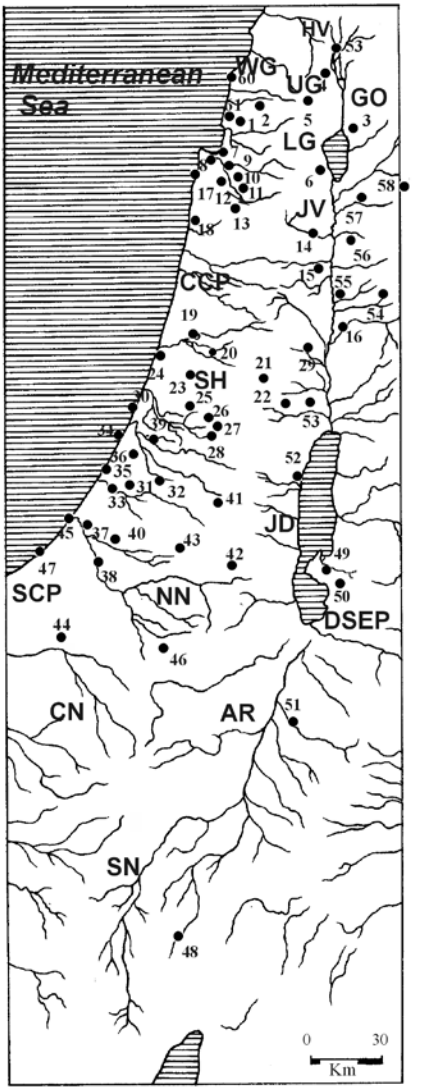

Figure 1.
Regions and sites of the Early Bronze in the southern Levant.

Key of Networks

1. Pottery: Gray Brunished Ware
2. Pottery: Wares from the Centre and the Jordan Valley
3. Pottery: Metallic Ware
4. Pottery: Southern Wares
5. Pottery: Khirbet Kerak Ware
6. Flint: Canaanean Blades
7. Flint: Tabular Scrapers
8. Basalt
9. Metallurgy
10. Asfalt
11. Red Sea Shells
12. Mediterranean Shells

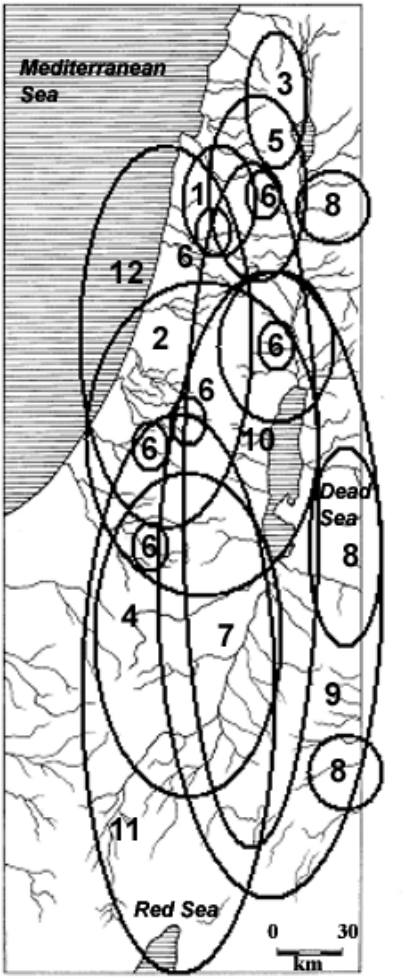

Figure 2.
Commodities exchange networks of the Early Bronze Age in the southern Levant.

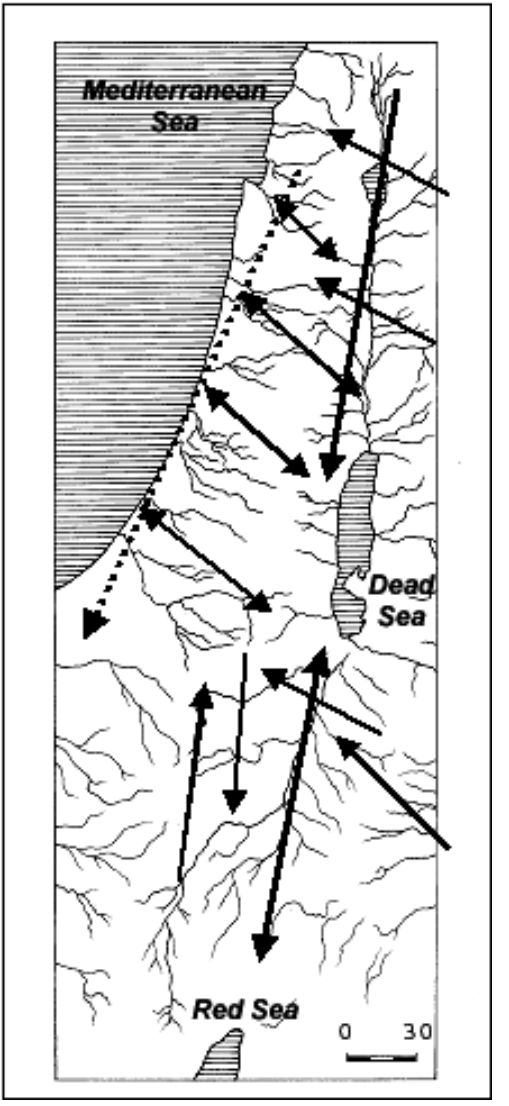

Figure 3.
Directionality of exchange in the Early Bronze Age of the southern Levant.

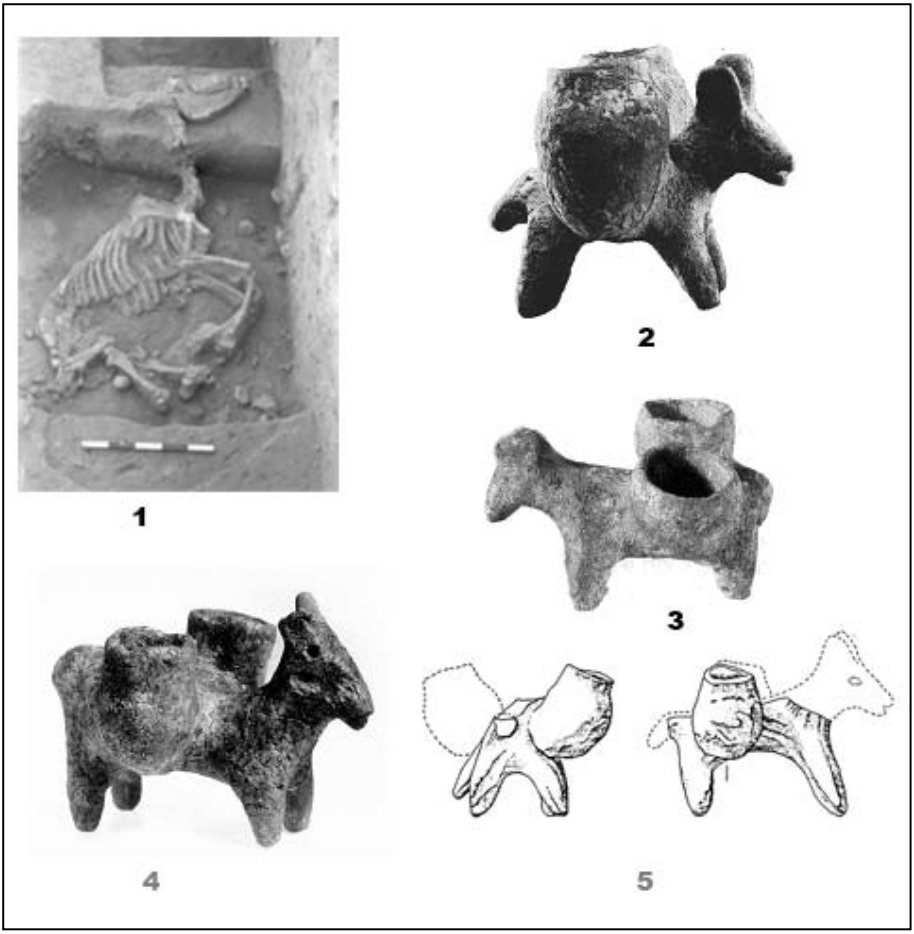

Figure 4.
Donkey remains and donkey figurines of the Early Bronze Age in the southern Levant (Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority). 1. Donkey remains from Lod. 2. Figurine from Azor. 3. Figurine from Barkai junction. 4. Figurine from Bat-Yam. 5. Figurine from Tel Dan (adapted from Greenberg and Porat 1996).

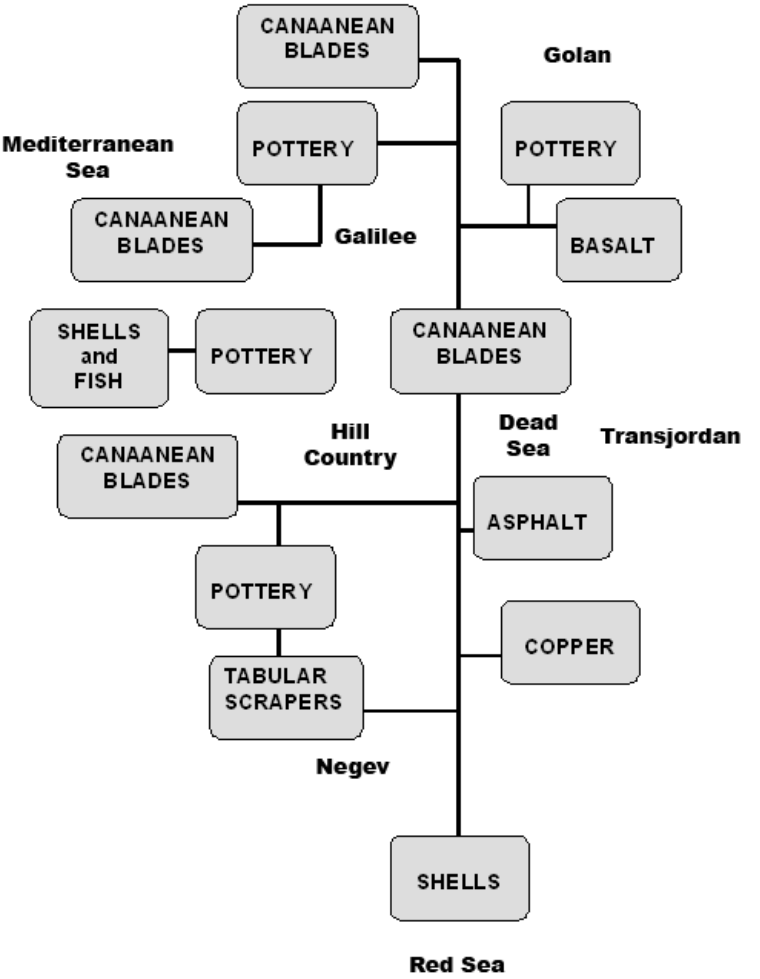

Figure 5.
Schema of the exchange networks in the Early Bronze Age of the southern Levant.

Poner el cuerpo. Mujeres y política estatal en Mari (Siglo XVIII a.C.)*

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Abstract: Putting the Body on the Line. Women and State Politics in Mari (XVIII Century BC)
Women and men are subjects defined both by their physical-natural reality and their socio-cultural environment. In this way they are reified, and many such examples can be found throughout history. We are interested in the situation of women in Ancient Mesopotamia, particularly the daughters of Zimrî-Lîm, king of the city of Mari, the archaeological site of Tell Hariri, modern Syria, during the 18th century BC. Zimrî-Lîm made marriages a policy of the state. He himself married foreign women and married their joint daughters to other important kings as well. This marital policy was another, more extended, way of dominion where women were a nexus between Mari and other states. In this paper, we will analyze the roles which were assigned and developed by royal women from a political level via a comprehensive approach. These women are presented generally as political objects, though, in extreme cases also they were taking forward actions as subjects and by it they were visualized as "the other," the foreigner and, in some cases, the enemy.

Keywords: Ancient Near East – Kingdom of Mari – politics – women

Resumen: Poner el cuerpo. Mujeres y política estatal en Mari (Siglo XVIII a.C.)
Mujeres y hombres se conforman como sujetos delimitados en cuanto a su realidad físico-natural pero también según su entorno socio-cultural. Ello da lugar, muchas

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veces, a la cosificación de los individuos y la historia nos brinda variados ejemplos. En relación con esto, el caso concreto que nos interesa indagar se sitúa en la antigua Mesopotamia del siglo XVIII a.C. y se refiere a las hijas de Zimrî-Lîm, rey de la ciudad de Mari, actual sitio arqueológico de Tell Hariri en Siria. Este monarca se vinculó en matrimonio con mujeres extranjeras y unió a sus hijas a reyes foráneos. Tal política matrimonial formaba parte de una más amplia política estatal de dominio, donde la entrega de una mujer forjaba un nexo entre Mari y otros estados. Nuestro objetivo es analizar los roles asignados y desarrollados por esas mujeres de palacio desde el plano político a través de una mirada relacional. Ellas nos son presentadas generalmente como objetos políticos, aunque, en casos extremos también llevaban adelante acciones como sujetos y por ello eran visualizadas, por sus consortes como un "otro", un extranjero y, en algunos casos, hasta como un enemigo.

Palabras clave: Antiguo Cercano Oriente – Reino de Mari – política – mujeres

Formas políticas y lazos familiares

El cuerpo humano se constituye en una dialéctica entre lo objetivo (la anatomía, lo físico) y lo subjetivo (la sociedad, la cultura). Lo subjetivo actúa desde el constreñimiento a un contexto histórico-cultural que nos moldea como productos sociales. En tanto, a través de lo objetivo, al ser entes materiales podemos poner en práctica lo subjetivo[1]. Entonces, el cuerpo se conforma como limitante pero a la vez delimitado por su contorno físico y su entorno tanto natural como socio-cultural. Hombres y mujeres son "demarcados" por esos "límites". Ambos se socializan- mucho más antaño pero el coletazo llega hasta nuestros días- en culturas patriarcales[2]. Ello opera de una manera

[1] Ver Lozano Estivales 2001.

[2] Precisamos el concepto de patriarcado a través de dos autores, Lerner (1990) y Stern (1999). La primera, aunque lo acota a las sociedades antiguas, esboza una definición general cuando plantea que: "(…) es la manifestación y la institucionalización del dominio masculino sobre las mujeres y los niños de la familia y la ampliación de ese dominio masculino sobre las mujeres de la sociedad en general. Ello implica que los varones tienen el poder en todas las instituciones importantes de la sociedad y que se priva a las mujeres de acceder a él. *No* implica que las mujeres no tengan ningún tipo de poder o que se las haya privado por completo de derechos, influencia y recursos (…)" Lerner 1990: 340–341. En tanto, Stern (1999: 42–43) especifica de una forma más minuciosa al patriarcado cuando dice que es: "un sistema de relaciones sociales y valores culturales por el que: 1. los varones ejercen un poder superior sobre la sexualidad, el papel reproductivo y la mano de obra femeninos; 2. tal dominación confiere a los varones servicios específicos y estatus social superior en sus relaciones con las mujeres; 3. la autoridad en las redes familiares se confiere comúnmente a los ancianos y a

especialmente restrictiva para las mujeres y su corporalidad. Las cualidades físicas que determinan a la mujer y el lugar que le es asignado socialmente, la instalan como subordinada. El cuerpo de la mujer es el primer componente que pasa de ser el contenedor de un individuo a ser el objeto de un tercero. Ella puede consentir o resistir (activa o pasivamente) al mandato impuesto[3] en las sociedades patriarcales. Así, "Bajo la superficie de las divisiones formales del poder entre los sexos, las mujeres han contado también con sus propias formas de poder, a menudo de carácter informal; un poder (…) de varios tipos, bien sea por participar del poder de los hombres, por tenerlo frente a otras mujeres, o por hacer valer su condición de mujeres. (…)"[4]. Un ejemplo de esto lo encontramos en el antiguo Cercano Oriente y es el de las mujeres de la realeza del siglo XVIII a. C.[5] en la ciudad de Mari, sobre las riberas del Éufrates medio en el este de la moderna Siria, actual sitio arqueológico llamado Tell Hariri.

Nuestro eje de análisis recaerá especialmente en las intermitentes pero importantes acciones en el plano socio-político de algunas de las mujeres de la familia del último rey de Mari, Zimrî-Lîm[6] (1775–1761)[7]. Éste, llevó adelante una política matrimonial que tuvo un pilar en la entrega de sus hijas a

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los padres, lo que imparte a las relaciones sociales una dinámica generacional y de género, y 4. la autoridad en las células familiares sirve como un modelo metafórico fundamental para la autoridad social más generalizada. En tal sistema social los privilegios de servicio y de posición basados en el género no sólo marcan las diferencias entre hombres y mujeres, sino también constituyen una base para la alianza, la subordinación y la estratificación entre los varones y entre las mujeres (…)".

[3] "(…) un consentimiento activo no es nunca espontáneo: es también el resultado de una cultura de una formación del individuo. Por otra parte, un consentimiento, siquiera sea pasivo, jamás existe en todos los individuos y en todos los grupos de una sociedad, y no existe sin reservas y sin contradicciones (…)"; en Godelier 1980: 668.

[4] Bock 1991: 53.

[5] En adelante todas las fechas consignadas son "antes de Cristo", a menos que se especifique lo contrario.

[6] Para la notación de los nombres propios y los topónimos seguimos las transcripciones de Charpin 2004, exceptuando a las hijas y a la madre de Zimrî-Lîm para las cuales se siguen la transcripción de Durand en LAPO 18 a menos que se especifique lo contrario.

[7] Tomamos la nueva cronología dada en Charpin y Ziegler (2003) y Charpin (2008b), que reestructuran la anterior de Birot (1978), sumándole cuatro meses y un año completo. De esta forma el año 1775 se consigna como año 0 (cero), 1774 como año 1, 1773 como año 2 que era el año 1' en la cronología de Birot y así sucesivamente hasta el año 1762 año 13, el 12' de Birot. Las circunstancias precisas de la caída de Mari a manos de Hammu-rabi de Babilonia son todavía desconocidas y Zimrî-Lîm desaparece en 1761 (Charpin 2003 y Charpin 2008b).

diversos reyezuelos de la región para sostener alianzas y asegurarse la lealtad de tales reinos. Además él mismo estaba unido a princesas extranjeras. Es así que entre el reino dador y el receptor ellas aparecían como uno de los nexos propiciadores de las alianzas. Pero también podían ejercer acciones como un "otro" disruptor, protagonizando conflictos que desde el plano de lo privado repercutían en el político.

Nos interesa entonces analizar a través de una mirada relacional[8], la función de estas mujeres. Ellas, como dijimos, se constituían como nexos entre su lugar de origen y su nueva morada. Además nos son presentadas generalmente como objetos políticos, aunque, en casos extremos también llevaban adelante acciones como sujetos y por ello podían ser visualizadas por sus consortes como un "otro", un extranjero y, en algunos casos, hasta como un enemigo.

Nexos sexuados

"¿Quién dará testimonio
de lo humillante de este claustro?
me he vuelto hiel
mi sabor es mortal
un odio aterrador
se sumerge en lo hondo de mi alma
mí corazón es de piedra y azufre (...)".

Fadwa Touqan[9]

El descubrimiento del palacio de Mari y con él un conjunto de valiosos archivos epistolares y administrativos, nos ayuda a investigar muchas de las relaciones políticas que se daban en el período paleobabilónico (*ca.* 2000–1600). Además nos posibilitan ver el papel jugado, muchas veces con un tono pro-

[8] "(…) Me parece que deberíamos interesarnos tanto en la historia de las mujeres como en la de los hombres, que no deberíamos trabajar solamente sobre el sexo oprimido, del mismo modo que un historiador que trabaja desde una perspectiva de clase no puede centrarse por entero en los campesinos. Nuestro propósito es comprender el significado de los *sexos*, de los grupos de género, en el pasado histórico. Nuestro propósito es descubrir el alcance de los roles sexuales y del simbolismo sexual en las diferentes sociedades y períodos, para encontrar que significado tuvieron y cómo funcionaron para mantener el orden social o para promover su cambio (…)"; Zemon Davis 1975–1976: 90.

[9] Touqan 2003: 92.

tagónico, por las mujeres de la realeza puestas en circulación entre diversos reinos del antiguo Cercano Oriente.

Uno de esos reinos era el dominado por la ciudad de Mari. Su emplazamiento oficiaba de bisagra, ya que era un límite pero a su vez una articulación entre las tierras occidentales y la llanura mesopotámica[10]. Hacia 1810 toma bajo su mando a Mari, Yahdun-Lîm (*ca*.1810–1794). Aunque los acontecimientos sobre todo su reinado y el fin del mismo son oscuros, se piensa que fue eliminado por su hijo Sûmû-Yamam (*ca.* 1973–1972), el cual subió al trono de Mari por el corto período de poco más de doce meses[11]. El reinado de los mariotas, se vio truncado cuando Samsî-Addu[12] (*ca*.1792–1775), conquistó la ciudad. Unos años más tarde instaló en el trono de la misma a su hijo Yasmah-Addu (1787–1775). Hacia 1775, Zimrî-Lîm, logró expulsar al rey foráneo y se designó como hijo de su antepasado Yahdun-Lîm[13]. Zimrî-Lîm ejerció el poder hasta que Mari cae bajo las manos de Hammu-rabi (1792–1750) de Babilonia. Este último anexionó la ciudad a su reino, acallando para la época, pero preservando para nosotros, los ricos archivos a los que hoy tenemos acceso.

En la antigüedad muchas veces los conflictos bélicos, traían aparejados la apropiación de las mujeres del "harem"[14] del monarca vencido, lo que sim-

[10] Ver Liverani 1995: 299; Kupper 1989: 388–389.

[11] Ver Charpin y Ziegler 2003: 47–49.

[12] Samsî-Addu debe ser considerado como "rey Ekallâteo" (Charpin 2008b: 250–251), aunque se especula que su origen remite a la zona de Acad (LAPO 17: 108). En 1808, conquista la ciudad de Aššur, tres años después de apoderarse de Ekallâtum. Además en la estela del rey Dâduša de Ešnunna se lo menciona como "rey de Ekallâtum". En tanto, al momento en que Mari es tomada por Zimrî-Lîm, los servidores del reinado anterior fueron calificados como Ekallâteos (Charpin 2008b: 250–251). Se desestima, entonces la designación de "interregno asirio" para el reinado de Samsî-Addu y su hijo Yasmah-Addu (Charpin y Ziegler 2003: 1).

[13] Sobre la discusión en torno a la filiación de Zimrî-Lîm como nieto, hijo o sobrino de Yahdun-Lîm, y como hijo de Hadnî-Addu, ver: Charpin y Durand 1985; Kupper 1989; Ziegler 1997; Sasson 1998; Charpin y Ziegler 2003; Durand 2004.

[14] Westenholz (1990) plantea que muchas veces en el intento de organizar los datos que tenemos tendemos a aplicar categorías que nos son conocidas pero que se debe tener en cuenta que los términos específicos de una cultura sacados de contexto no deberían ser utilizados en otra y da el ejemplo de la categoría de *harem.* Esta proviene del árabe y se refiere a espacios de la casa con el acceso prohibido, en particular los cuartos de las mujeres. Por esto dice que la existencia del harem como el lugar de las mujeres debe ser probado más que supuesto, oponiéndose a las afirmaciones de Durand y Margueron (1980) y Durand (1985) que plantean al harem como lugar de reclusión de todas las mujeres menos de las reinas durante el período paleobabilónico. También se puede consultar con la postura del harem como lugar de reclusión;

bolizaba el poder del vencedor[15]. En esta dirección Zimrî-Lîm tomó el harem de Yasmah-Addu y a su reina, Dâm-hurâṣi, como esposa principal[16]. Ello le permitió a Zimrî-Lîm mantener el lazo político con Amut-pî-El de Qaṭna, hermano de Dâm-hurâṣi y sucesor de Išhî-Addu. Pero ésta no fue la única alianza sellada a partir de la entrega y toma de una mujer. Los reyes amorreos[17] podían tener dos esposas principales, que poseían todas las prerrogativas que el título de reina otorgaba[18]. Es así cómo, Zimrî-Lîm, en su segundo año de reinado[19], también tomó como esposa principal a Šibtu hija de Yarîm-Lîm de Yamhad.

Además, el rey mariota, llevó adelante tal práctica de alianza matrimonial con sus hijas. Por lo menos siete de ellas fueron dadas a reyezuelos vecinos: Inbatum, casada con Atamrum, rey de Andarig; Inib-Šarri, con Ibâl-Addu, rey de Ašlakkâ; Narâmtum con Šarraya, rey de Eluhut; Tizpatum con Ilî-Eštar, rey de Šunâ, Hazala con Sibkuna-Addu, rey de Šudâ[20] y Šimatum y Kirû ambas con Haya-sûmû de Ilân-ṣûrâ (Ver Mapa 1).

Glassner 1988. Aunque no acordamos con entender al harem como lugar de reclusión de las mujeres, no encontramos ningún término alternativo que sea tan explicíto y explicativo a los efectos de lo que se quiere nombrar, que sería un conjunto de mujeres pertenecientes al rey. Por ello creemos conveniente denominar como harem ese conjunto de esposas y concubinas de los reyes así como a las mujeres relacionadas con los trabajos y la atención de esas otras. En caso de conflicto armado entre reyes y estados todas ellas eran retenidas por los vencedores. No obstante no pensamos que el término remita de forma directa a un lugar físico que conllevara la reclusión de todas ellas. Aunque se lo puede utilizar para denominar un espacio particular, sin connotación de reclusión, también se lo debe entender como una denominación de un conjunto de mujeres.

[15] Ver Ziegler 1999.

[16] Seguimos a Durand (LAPO 18: 296–297) que identifica a Dâm-hurâṣi con la llamada Bêltum de los documentos de Yasmah-Addu. Ver además: Charpin y Ziegler 2003: 183–184. Dâm-hurâṣi fue entregada en matrimonio a Yasmah-Addu por su padre Išhî-Addu de Qaṭna en 1782 (epónimo Ikkupîya).

[17] Los habitantes de la Mesopotamia aluvional (sumerios y acadios) desde su posición geográfica denominaban "amorreos", es decir "gente del oeste" (*mar.tu* en sumerio, *amurrum/ammurûm* en acadio), a los que provenían de "su" occidente. Mari estaba incluida en esa región.

[18] Charpin 2003: 132; Ziegler 1999: 4.

[19] Charpin y Ziegler 2003: 191–193.

[20] Para la transcripción del nombre "Hazala" seguimos a Lafont 1987. Sobre la unión de esta hija de Zimrî-Lîm solo hay una tablilla inédita la M.8214 (Lafont 1987:116) y dos documentos, el ARM XXIV 65 que menciona un aporte de vino a Mari por parte del rey de Šudâ para los "testigos" llegados a la ciudad por su casamiento y el ARM XXVIII 27 donde el rey de Šudâ

Según Bertrand Lafont[21], Zimrî-Lîm construía su política interestatal dejando en un segundo plano la posesión y los límites territoriales. Lo más importante era el poder de dominación sobre los hombres, para asegurarse una clientela lo más extensa posible. Esto daba como resultado una dominación más efectiva de los territorios. La estrategia era el apoyo a pequeños reinos con los que se relacionaba a partir de un modelo *familiar,* en consonancia con el modelo familiar tribal. De esta forma predominaba el control a partir de los lazos parentales, asegurándose, en algunos casos, una autoridad e influencia mucho más amplia y efectiva. Zimrî-Lîm estaba habituado a ello ya que se vinculaba por parte de padre a la confederación tribal bensim'alita, con la cual se reconocía ya que la pertenencia tribal era definida de forma patrilineal, aunque también estaba ligado a la confederación benjaminita por parte de madre[22]. Esto se presenta como relevante ya que el manejo de lo político en su reino debía ser entendido desde la lógica tribal, dado que gran parte de la población, se congregaba en diversas tribus y confederaciones tribales[23]. Aún así, se debe tener en cuenta que en el período paleobabilónico, y posteriormente, la diplomacia utilizaba comúnmente terminología basada en el parentesco como metáfora para las alianzas políticas. Por ejemplo, Zimrî-Lîm se llamaba "hijo" de Yarîm-Lîm de Yamhad, y Yatar-Ami, de Karkemiš, nombraba como "padre" al rey mariota[24]. Es importante destacar en este punto que Zimrî-Lîm no dejaba el modelo familiar sólo en el plano retórico. La puesta en práctica de ello puede acusarse a partir de la entrega de princesas autóctonas y la toma de princesas alógenas para establecer lazos de parentesco y reforzar conexiones interestatales. Sobre la rama masculina de la familia real durante el reinado de Zimrî-Lîm sólo tenemos la mención de tres hijos denominados con los nombres de sus antepasados de la línea dinástica[25] y que no llegaron a la adul-

le informa a Zimrî-Lîm que luego de la llegada de la hija de este, ha instalado las estatuas de los dioses de Mari.

[21] Lafont 2000.

[22] Sasson 1998: 458–459; LAPO 17: 419; Charpin y Ziegler 2003: 175. Dos de las confederaciones tribales amorreas que formaban parte del reino de Mari eran, los Benjaminitas o "Hijos de la derecha" y los Bensim'alitas o "Hijos de la izquierda", esto es, del sur y del norte respectivamente.

[23] Rovira 2007.

[24] Sasson 1998.

[25] Yagîd-Lîm, Yahdun-Lîm y Hadnî-Addu (Ziegler 1997: 50; Charpin 2003: 135). El primer nombre corresponde al fundador de la línea "Lîm" y el ultimo nombre al supuesto padre biológico de Zimrî-Lîm (Charpin y Ziegler 2003: 44–45).

tez. A ello debe sumarse el hecho de que el rey no tuvo hermanos conocidos[26], que pudieran contribuir al tejido de lazos políticos-parentales.

Las relaciones maritales eran uno entre otros de los soportes de las alianzas. La política sexual, conjuntamente con la guerra, ayudaban a expandir las fronteras y el dominio sobre otros reinos. Así, la relación y la subordinación de diversos territorios se reforzaba por estas uniones. Ellas eran pautadas y cada actor tenía ya asignado de antemano su rol. Las mujeres podían ser tomadas como reinas o como concubinas. El lugar que ocuparían estaba marcado por la procedencia de cada mujer tanto como por su lugar de acogida. La importancia político-ideológica que debía tener el ensamblaje de linajes reales, difería según el estatus de los reinos intervinientes.

Al comienzo de su reinado, con un tiempo de diferencia, el rey de Mari cedió a dos de sus hijas, Šimatum, y Kirû[27], al rey de Ilân-ṣûrâ, Haya-sûmû. Sin embargo, estos matrimonios no aseguraron un buen desarrollo de la relación entre los soberanos. En una carta se le informa al rey mariota sobre agravios que hacia él infirió su yerno por partida doble. En el año 10 [9'] de su reinado, Zimrî-Lîm, y Hammu-rabi de Babilonia concluyen una alianza contra Elam. En este contexto, Yamṣum, representante de Mari en Ilân-ṣûrâ, envía una misiva a su rey, en donde explica como él y otro servidor, trataron de disuadir a Haya-sûmû de rendirse a Elam. Esta comunicación, en unas líneas muestra el reclamo del servidor de Zimrî-Lîm al rey de Ilân-ṣûrâ, dejando entrever la importancia que se le daba al ensamblaje de linajes, ligado con la lealtad:

> *"(...) Sobre tu falta, tú no dices 'es mi falta'. ¿No te das cuenta de que la salvación está donde mi señor posa su mano? Luego de que Šamši-Adad muriera, quedaron 4 reyes fuertes. Y ellos no se han casado con dos hijas de Yahdun-Lim. Ahora, tú te has casado con dos hijas de mi señor. Y tú insultas a mi señor. ¿No sabes que mi señor acabó con los Ešnuneos, un rey fuerte, sin tropas aliadas desde la puerta de Andarig? ¿Por qué insultas a mi señor? ¿No sabes que la lanza de Zimri-Lim y de Hana es fuerte sobre la tierra, en toda ella? (...)"*[28].

[26] Sasson 1998.

[27] Según Lafont 1987: 117 que sigue la cronología de Birot 1978, Šimatum, fue dada en el año 2' y Kirû en el año 4'. En tanto según Durand (LAPO 18: 427–428), la primer hija fue entregada al poco tiempo en que Zimrî-Lîm recupera su trono y la segunda en el año 2' de su reinado (siguiendo también la cronología de Birot 1978), lo que sería el año 3 de la cronología dada por Charpin y Ziegler (2003: 193), año en el cual datan estos autores el casamiento de Kirû.

[28] ARM XXVI 303 en Heimpel 2003: 290. En las fuentes que nosotros traducimos del inglés o del francés, hemos optado por transcribir los nombres y topónimos dados en ellas como lo han

Como vemos en este fragmento, se confería a las mujeres de la realeza importancia en tanto formalizaban lazos políticos. Ello queda claro si pensamos que en momentos como éste, en que peligraba la lealtad de uno de los reyes subordinados, se resaltaba la unión al linaje de Zimrî-Lîm, para demostrar dos cuestiones. Primero, que Zimrî-Lîm, como rey fuerte, posición en que lo instala Yamṣum al rey mariota, había privilegiado a su subordinado entregándole dos hijas en matrimonio. Segundo, se destaca el respeto que Haya-sûmû debía observar por tal privilegio. En tanto para las hijas dadas, además del desarraigo, estas uniones implicaban muchas veces que sus lealtades se encontraran divididas ¿A quién seguir, a su padre o a su marido cuando los intereses se contraponían? En algunos momentos tal dicotomía dejaba en evidencia las debilidades de las alianzas interestatales y la entrega de mujeres, como medio utilizado para reforzarlas. Estas mujeres eran muchas veces las que activaban conflictos o, por lo menos, los hacían salir a la luz. Nuevamente estas dos hijas de Zimrî-Lîm, Kirû y Šimatum, nos pueden ejemplificar tal punto. Desde el año 10 [9'] en adelante Ilân-ṣûrâ se vio dividida entre pro-Mariotas y pro-elamitas, Kirû perteneció al primer bando, leal a su padre y, por lo tanto, blanco del reproche de su marido que se estaba inclinado hacia los elamitas. Una carta de Kirû a su padre, lo informa sobre las amonestaciones que le lanzó Haya-sûmû:

> *"(...) tú [Kirû] hablas (chismosamente) con mis criadas y servidores y haces informes detallados a tu padre, y pones a su disposición noticias de Ilân-ṣûrâ (...)"*[29].

En tanto Šimatum quedó del lado de su marido y en contra de su padre y como consecuencia, de su hermana. En este contexto se la acusa a Šimatum de actos de agresión verbal contra Kirû y Zimrî-Lîm y de brujería contra este último:

> *"(...)Šimatum, la cual dijo palabras insultantes hacia mi señor [Zimrî-Lîm](...)"*[30]

hecho Heimpel 2003; Durand en LAPO 18; Kupper 1998 o Ziegler 1997, según corresponda.

[29] A.2518 en LAPO 18 nº 1229.

[30] ARM XXVI 312 en Heimpel 2003: 295.

> *"(...) Ahora bien, de repente, Šimatum me dijo en la cara "¡Que mi estrella [Zimrî-Lîm] haga lo que él quiera!, pero yo, todo lo que yo quiera, te lo haré!".(...)"*[31].
> *"(...) Sobre las hierbas de brujería que Šimatum envió a mi señor [Zimrî-Lîm] —el asunto es cierto, no es falso. (...)"*[32]

Tales misivas[33], nos descubren una relación de poderes políticos inestable. Ellas tienen como protagonistas a estas dos mujeres, que disputaron en primer lugar una posición de preeminencia en el reino de su consorte[34], y luego un posicionamiento político de cara a los problemas interestatales. Los conflictos de lealtades, entonces, se pueden indagar desde la esfera privada haciendo eco en la esfera política.

Algunas investigaciones pioneras daban por sentado que la causa de la ruptura del vínculo marital de Kirû con Haya-sûmû tenía que ver con la aparente imposibilidad de tener hijos con el rey de Ilân-ṣûrâ, cuestión ligada a lo privado y que repercutiría en lo político en cuanto a sucesión dinástica. Ello contrastaba con los supuestos mellizos que habría concebido Šimatum. Tal afirmación se respaldaba en la siguiente carta:

> *"Acabo de parir mellizos, un niño y una niña; ¡que mi Señor se alegre!"*[35].

Aunque Dossin y Finet restituyen el nombre del remitente como Šibtu, en una nota proponen que a lo mejor podría ser Šimatum[36], la que había dado a luz. Posteriormente, en una nueva traducción, Durand se la adjudicará definitivamente a la esposa de Zimrî-Lîm[37]. Sumado a ello se encuentra otra carta del año 7 [6'], remitida por Šaknum, otro servidor de Zimrî-Lîm en Ilân-ṣûrâ, en donde queda claro que Kirû era la que había dado un hijo a Haya-sûmû:

[31] ARM X 32 en LAPO 18 nº 1228.

[32] ARM XXVI 314 en Heimpel 2003: 297.

[33] Las cartas citadas en las notas nº 29, 30, 31 y 32, no pueden ser ajustadas de forma cronológicamente certera aunque igualmente pueden datarse, a partir del año 10 [9'] (LAPO 18: 429–430).

[34] Sobre la disputa política entre estas hermanas ver la carta de Kirû a su padre ARM X 34+X 113 en LAPO 18 nº 1224, y de Šimatum a su padre ARM X 95 en LAPO 18 nº 1225.

[35] ARM X 26 en LAPO 18 nº 1128.

[36] ARM X: 257.

[37] LAPO 18: 306.

"Además: Kiru sin problemas ha dado un niño. ¡Puede mi señor [Zimrî-Lîm] estar feliz!"[38].

Aunque la maternidad ocupara un lugar preponderante en las sociedades antiguas, tal nacimiento no fue óbice para la disolución del lazo conyugal entre Kirû y Haya-sûmû[39]. Aún así generalmente la valoración de las mujeres se enlazaba con su cuerpo como un "recipiente". En este sentido es que las mujeres son consideradas principalmente por su cuerpo y la función de "acoger el retoño del hombre" en él. A raíz de ello se las considera un "recipiente", "cuerpo/recipiente". Primero, sometido a la decisión paterna y luego a la de su marido y suegro o en su defecto la de su hermano. Ello implicaba el mandato social de poder "cobijar en su vientre y dar a luz" para ser valiosa. En las altas esferas la descendencia dada por una mujer apropiada, definida por su pertenencia filial, equivalía a una continuidad del linaje y a un lazo más fuerte entre las familias intervinientes. Esto se relaciona estrechamente con las solidaridades interfamiliares tan necesarias en esta época, en todos los niveles sociales. Pero, la perpetuación de la autoridad del linaje real muchas veces se encontraba amenazada por el círculo interno de la élite. En éste también se incluían las esposas de menor rango, que secundaban a sus propios hijos para la sucesión. Como nos dice Meillassoux "(…) la mujer constituye el instrumento de la autoridad de los mayores sobre los menores, al mismo tiempo que es el medio de emancipación de estos últimos frente a los primeros (…)"[40].

Ese "cuerpo/recipiente" se connota, además, con lo sexual ya que el sexo en el orden simbólico mesopotámico era terreno netamente femenino[41]. El imaginario sobre el deseo sexual, la belleza, la fertilidad, el amor y el matrimonio, estaba directamente ligado a una valoración económica[42]. Es por ello que eran importantes las posesiones materiales, en especial para las princesas, ya que expresaban su estatus. Luego de la toma de Ašlakkâ, por parte de Zimrî-Lîm en su año 3 [2'], a fines del año siguiente es dada en matrimonio su hija Inib-šarri a Ibâl-Addu, confirmado en el trono de tal ciudad por el rey

[38] ARM XXVI 352 en Heimpel 2003: 312.

[39] Durand (1984: 162–172) propuso que el divorcio se efectuó en el debut año 10 [9'] pero tres años más tarde (Durand 1987) se retracta, postulando que tal datación era demasiado temprana para el suceso, sin dar otra fecha Charpin (ARM XXVI/2: 45) propone el fin de la primera mitad del año 10 [9'].

[40] Meillassoux 1985: 114.

[41] Ver Bahrani 2002.

[42] Ver Westenholz 1992.

mariota. Pareciera ser que esta hija al entrar en Ašlakkâ, no pudo ocupar el lugar de una de las esposas principales[43]. Es en estos momentos en que Inib-šarri le envía una carta a su padre, en donde se puede ver la importancia que se le daba a las pertenencias materiales como demostrativas del estatus socio-político. Un fragmento de esa misiva dice:

> *"Otra cosa: el renombre de mi Señor es muy fuerte, pero yo, aquí, no soy más que un sujeto ignorado: no he recibido ni los dos vasos de lujo (gal[44]) de oro que mi señor me ha enviado al retorno de Ibâl-Addu; él no me ha dado los recipientes ni esos vasos de lujo."*[45].

Como correlato, la ornamentación y el arreglo con joyas ponía en juego el deseo de los hombres. Las joyas representaban tanto la hermosura de la mujer, como el valor económico de la misma. La belleza se reflejaba en los adornos del cuerpo y ello demostraba la valoración de las novias[46]. Suponemos que esto también implicaba una mejor atención hacia la mujer dotada con una mayor cantidad de objetos suntuarios. Ello, en algunos casos redundaría también en beneficios para el reyezuelo, ya que el rango de importancia de la novia lo podía ubicar en diversas posiciones dentro del mapa político de la época.

Pero el haber pautado de antemano los roles que desempeñaría la mujer entregada, no siempre implicaba que todo se desarrollaría favorablemente. En otro fragmento de la misma carta de Inib-šarri, citada anteriormente, ella plantea su desasosiego por el trato que se le da en su nueva morada:

> *"(...) Ahora, he entrado en Ašlakkâ y tengo todavía más motivos de desengaño. ¡La esposa de Ibâl-Addu, ella sola, es reina; y los presentes de la ciudad de Ašlakkâ y de las diferentes ciudades, es siempre esta mujer la que los recibe! En cuanto a mí, él ha emplazado mi residencia en el harem, y me ha hecho mantener las mejillas en mis manos como una pobretona. Siempre delante de la mujer, su esposa, toma su alimento y su bebida.*
> *Siempre, mis ojos lloran; además, mi boca está hambrienta (...)"*[47].

[43] Lafont 1987: 116.

[44] En acadio.

[45] ARM X 74 en LAPO 18 nº 1242.

[46] Ver Westenholz 1992: 387.

[47] ARM X 74 en LAPO 18 nº 1242.

En este fragmento Inib-šarri, hace alusión a su malestar por encontrarse en un rol que no fue el acordado por los artífices de la alianza, su padre y el rey de Ašlakkâ. Según se entiende, ella debía ocupar uno de los tronos de reina pero pareciera que esto no llegó a concretarse. Además se dejan ver las contrariedades que remarca de cara a otra mujer, con la cual se pudo ser una igual, pero que monopolizó el cargo y las prerrogativas de reina. Así fue desplazada en jerarquía la hija de Zimrî-Lîm y relegada al conjunto del harem, con las esposas de segundo rango y demás mujeres, lo cual puso en juego su estatus. Ello también queda expresado en una misiva de Narâmtum. Esta hija de Zimrî-Lîm, fue dada en matrimonio en el año 5 [4'] al rey de Eluhut, Šarraya, según Durand en reconocimiento de su realeza[48], un año después a su ascensión al trono de tal ciudad. Un extracto de la carta dice:

> *"(...) Ahora, aquí, las esposas secundarias del palacio me dicen a coro: `¡Allí, en el palacio de tu padre, no te conocen. No se preocupan por ti! ¿A pesar de eso nosotras te honraremos?' (...) '"*[49].

La comparación de la residencia marital con la paterna tenía una connotación política importante. El trato y la comodidad que tuvieran esas princesas en su nuevo establecimiento indicaban su posición dentro de la jerarquía palacial y entre sus congéneres. Es entonces que el reclamo hacia Zimrî-Lîm tenía su razón de ser en la supuesta desatención hacia su hija, lo que llevaba implícito el desprestigio en la nueva morada.

Más allá del rol que les tocara desempeñar y del lazo establecido entre el dador y el receptor de la mujer, ellas seguían siendo extranjeras en sus lugares de acogida. Así lo marca la sufrida Inib-šarri, a un servidor de Zimrî-Lîm para que se lo comunique a su padre, cuando se ve despojada de un especialista en vinos:

> *"¿No es en un país extranjero en el que vivo?"*[50].

A esta extranjería material se le puede agregar la simbólica incluida en el hecho mismo de ser mujer. Según Balandier "Para el hombre, la mujer es el «otro» más que la compañera que le complementa; y esta alteridad se afirma, y se refuerza, mediante el recurso a sistemas de representaciones, de símbo-

[48] LAPO 18: 454. Ver también Charpin y Ziegler 2003: 203.

[49] ARM X 46 1237 en LAPO 18 nº 1237.

[50] ARM X 78 en LAPO 18 nº 1248.

los, de proyecciones imaginarias y de modelos de conductas"[51]. En sociedades patriarcales, como las de la antigüedad, esta representación tiene una relevancia preponderante. De esta forma se superponen tres planos, el imaginario, la mujer como ese "otro", el social, la mujer como subordinada al hombre y el político, la mujer como nexo y objeto político, como aliada y parte de un poder mayor, en nuestro caso el poder de mando de Zimrî-Lîm. Estos planos son bien ilustrados por Kirû y quedan al descubierto en fragmentos de cartas, los ya citados *ut supra* de la A.2518[52] y la ARM X 32[53] o de la ARM X 31. Estas dos últimas dicen:

> *"(...) estoy sin fuerza; se me ha hecho salir de mi casa; se estima a un perro más que a mi. Mientras me encuentro en una residencia de lujo, soy prisionera y estoy en peligro de muerte. ¡Es esta una cosa de lo cual tu [Zimrî-Lîm] estás informado! (...)"* [54].

> *"(...) De hecho aún cuando yo no soy más que una mujer, que mi padre y mi Señor preste atención a mis palabras: son todas palabras de los dioses que envío a mi padre (...)"*[55].

La alteridad entonces se encarna en estas mujeres que están vinculadas estrechamente a la percepción de lo externo. Extranjeras en ese nuevo reino a donde fueron enviadas por su padre para formalizar las alianzas políticas. Como alógenas pueden, en ocasiones conflictivas, revestir la imagen de enemigo. El lugar del enemigo es un espacio a conquistar. La mujer se encuentra entonces en esa encrucijada de ser la dominada, la conquistada, pero a la vez es ese "otro" diferente, imagen prototípica también atribuida al extanjero/enemigo. Durante el año 7 [6'] del reinado de su padre, Inib-šarri se encontraba en Mari por la celebración de unas fiestas religiosas, aunque Durand plantea que éste era un pretexto para poder salvarse de los maltratos de su marido[56]. Igualmente Ibâl-Addu, va hacia Mari y retoma el camino hacia Ašlakkâ con

[51] Balandier 1975: 38. Este autor conjuga planteos teóricos generales y ejemplos etnográficos, generando conclusiones sobre la problemática universal de "la mujer como un otro peligroso para el hombre".

[52] Ver nota 29.

[53] Ver nota 31.

[54] ARM X 32 en LAPO 18 nº 1228. Las cursivas son nuestras.

[55] ARM X 31 en LAPO 18 nº 1223. Las cursivas son nuestras.

[56] LAPO 18: 463.

su mujer, la cual fue instada a ello por su padre. Este último episodio es objeto de una carta de Inib-šarri a su padre y en ella queda claro el equivalente que traza la mujer de sentirse ella misma tratada como un "enemigo":

> *"Dile a mi Señor [Zimrî-Lîm]: así habla Inib-šarri, tu sirvienta*
> *Hace poco, mi Señor me había dado las siguientes instrucciones: '¡Vamos! ¡Haz poner en marcha tu casa! ¡Te aseguro que la decencia lo demanda! ¡Cúbrete con tu velo y parte!' He aquí las instrucciones que me había dado mi Señor.*
> *Ahora bien, yo, respondí así a mi Señor: 'Una vez que él [Ibâl-Addu] haya dejado atrás el Habur, dejará detrás eso que ha dicho a mi Señor.'[57] Ha confirmado el propósito que yo le había dicho a mi Señor. Cuando hubo alcanzado Tarnib[58], hubo dicho: "Ahora que tú te has reencontrado con tu Señor, vamos! ¡Que tu Señor te haga pues entrar en Ašlakkâ! Entonces, él me ha hecho entrar en Nahur[59] en mi apeadero.*
> *Luego, el día que dejé a mi Señor, me privó de alimento y de bebida caliente. ¡La sucesión de acontecimientos se ha vuelto peor que antes! Acepto que mi Señor continúe en su silencio, pero entonces, ¡que me vuelva a llevar! ¡Mi resentimiento es más grande que nunca! De hecho, ¿no es este punto un ultraje personal que él me hace? Ahora bien, ¿Ha tenido, Ibâl-Addu, el mismo atrevimiento contra el enemigo de mi Señor? (...)"*[60].

Queda claro como Ibâl-Addu agravia a Inib-šarri de manera rotunda y sin matices como solamente se debería hacer con el enemigo. Muchas veces

[57] "…eso que ha dicho a mi Señor", se trata de la carta ARM XXVIII 68, de Ibâl-Addu a Zimrî-Lîm, pidiéndole el retorno a Ašlakkâ de Inib-šarri que se encontraba en Mari, y que dice:

> "Dile a mi Señor: así habla Ibâl-Addu, tu servidor:
>
> ¿Por qué mi señor ha retenido a Inib- šarri? Si Itûr-Asdû debe venir, que mi señor la envíe con Itûr-Asdû. Yo haré partir a aquella mujer [la primera esposa de Ibâl-Addu] hacia Hummatum, y ella (Inib-šarri) regirá plenamente su trono y su país (…)".

[58] Ciudad, que "(…) se encuentra como una ciudad en ruinas (o de poca importancia) sobre el curso superior de uno de los wadis permanentes de llegada desde el curso del Habur al pidemonte Norte-Oeste del Taurus donde se encuentra la misma Ašlakkâ y, sin duda, en la puerta misma del reino (…) LAPO 18: 469.

[59] Ciudad del Ida-Maraṣ.

[60] ARM II 113 en LAPO 18 nº 1244.

las nociones de extranjero y enemigo se fundían y confundían. Bottéro[61] nos precisa "(…) La noción de "extranjero" (aḫû, *bar* en sumerio) no tenía validez más que en el plano lingüístico, económico y político; y esos «extranjeros» no eran objeto de oposición, aversión o rechazo más que en la medida en que, por conflictos fortuitos de intereses más o menos efímeros, eran considerados, *hic et nunc*, como "enemigos" (*nakru*; en sumerio *kúr*) y combatidos como tales (…)" Es así como Inib-šarri, que se sentía extranjera en el reino de su consorte, como lo dice en la carta ARM X 78, pasa a presentarse ella misma comparándose con un "enemigo", como en ARM II 113, por "conflictos fortuitos" como nos marca Bottéro.

Pero no todas las relaciones entre los reyezuelos y las hijas de Zimrî-Lîm revistieron un tono de enfrentamiento y penuria. Aunque no podemos dejar de lado las buenas intenciones y hasta el amor, era prioritaria la prosperidad propia. Para lograrla se necesitaba el bienestar, tanto del reino donde se residía como del rey al que estaban unidas. Tizpatum, casada con Ilî-Eštar, rey de Šunâ, supuestamente en el año 8 [7'] de Zimrî-Lîm[62], envía una carta a su padre ante el inminente ataque elamita del año 10 [9']. Esta misiva permite visualizar como se pusieron en juego la suerte y el prestigio de los actores involucrados en los momentos de conflictos bélicos. Nos muestra además las supuestas pautas implícitas, que se daban tras las alianzas rubricadas con un matrimonio, como el envío de tropas cuando uno de los reyezuelos y su reino estaban en peligro:

> *"Di a mi señor [Zimrî-Lîm]: así habla Tizpatum, tu sirvienta*
> *Si realmente mi Señor ama la ciudad de Šunâ y a su servidor Ilî-Eštar, que envíe aquí rápidamente una tropa de 100 hombres y a uno de sus servidores de confianza, y que salve la ciudad y a su servidor. ¡Sino, el enemigo va a apropiarse de la ciudad!*
> *De hecho, por mi fe, espié al hombre [Ilî-Eštar] diciendo: '¡Vaya! ¡Él [Ilî-Eštar] es el esposo de una hija de Zimrî-Lîm; pues él está a la escucha de Zimrî-Lîm!' ¡Que mi padre y Señor haga caso de ello!"*[63].

El poder que podían llegar a detentar estas mujeres se denota a partir de las misivas que instalan cuestiones de estado en cartas que podríamos entender como privadas. Ellas se apropiaban así del recurso de resguardar o transgredir los límites de las normas políticas establecidas. Por ello sus consortes

[61] Bottéro 2001: 122.

[62] Ver LAPO 18: 458.

[63] ARM X 98 en LAPO 18 nº 1239.

trataban de vulnerar la trasgresión de estas mujeres si no era de su conveniencia. Un medio para ello era prohibir la comunicación con la familia de origen de la mujer. Esto servía para resguardarse del traspaso de información, que como vimos le reclamaba Haya-sûmû a Kirû, en la carta A.2518. Otro vívido ejemplo del control ejercido por los esposos sobre estas mujeres lo da Narâmtum en una misiva, que no podemos fechar, a su padre Zimrî-Lîm:

> *"Di a mi padre y Estrella: así habla Narâmtum, tu hija:*
> *¡Me he enterado! ¡Además, engendré despecho!*
> *¡Las noticias de la salud de mi padre no me llegan! ¡Vaya! ¡Mi corazón no puede más!*
> *¡Desgraciada de mí! ¡Es preciso que mi padre me escriba!*
> *Y después, es preciso que se informe sobre mí: ¡no soy libre en mis movimientos, tanto que no puedo escribir a mi padre!"*[64].

Y nuevamente es Inib-šarri la que escribe un reclamo parecido, en otro fragmento de la carta ARM X 74, donde se queja de su mala situación en Ašlakkâ:

> *"Él [Ibâl-Addu] acaba de reforzar su guardia sobre mí"*[65].

La correspondencia de estas mujeres en general revela poco sobre sus personalidades pero deja traslucir cómo podían llegar a influir o participar de una manera subrepticia o manifiesta[66] en cuestiones de estado. Es a partir de ello que al ser identificadas como ese diferente, ese otro, esas extranjeras y/o "enemigas", puede vinculárselas a una definición de reino. Reinos en los que las lealtades familiares pesan tanto como las políticas y hasta las definen porque son en sí mismas políticas. Esto queda gráficamente expuesto en la noción de "casa"[67] como linaje o "dinastía"[68] y que se relaciona con lo dicho más arriba sobre la usanza de términos que implicaban cosanguineidad para

[64] ARM X 44 en LAPO 18 nº 1235.

[65] ARM X 74 en LAPO 18 nº 1242.

[66] Sobre las ingerencias manifiestas de Šibtu, esposa de Zimrî-Lîm ver: LAPO 18: 304–347 y las de Addu-durî, madre de rey este rey, ver: LAPO 18: 273–295.

[67] Casa (é en sumerio- *bītum* en acadio) significa "unidades domésticas de producción" (Gelb 1979). Estas unidades podían ser desde familias, nucleares o extensas, hasta las "grandes organizaciones" templos y palacios (Oppenheim 2003: 105–118). Véase también Liverani 1995: 100.

[68] Charpin 2004: 130.

referirse a los demás reyes. Como corolario y síntesis de la importancia que tenía la entrega de una mujer en matrimonio para exteriorizar un pacto netamente político, citaremos una fuente de la cual no tenemos el remitente. En ella los ancianos de una ciudad expresan que Zimrî-Lîm debe rubricar una alianza con la entrega de una de sus hijas, en este caso una niña, a un niño devenido en rey[69], al cual protege. Tal carta es muy significativa por las "imágenes empleadas" como nos dice Charpin[70].

> *"Esta casa es tu casa desde siempre. El fleco sissiktum de esta casa está unido a tu fleco-sissiktum. En este momento, nuestro señor ha hecho prestar un juramento por los dioses a sus servidores en estos términos: "¡Instalen al heredero en el trono!" Ahora, venimos de emplazar al heredero, tu hijo, en el trono. Hace falta que coloques tu mano sobre tu hijo. Sostendremos el fleco de tu vestido. Entrega a una niña, hija tuya, al niño, hijo tuyo, a fin de que esta casa sea tu casa exactamente como antes."*[71].

Lo político y lo familiar se cruzan y se entrelazan. Dejan expuesta a alguna mujer que actuó de nexo, de aliada y de cómplice, o en ocasiones de rival en su lugar de acogida. Sea cual sea su posición no pudo escapar de ser ese otro en conflicto y en juego.

Relaciones políticas como relaciones familiares. Algunas consideraciones finales

> *"(...) no hay modo de separar la política —relaciones de poder, sistemas de creencias y práctica— del conocimiento y de los procesos que lo producen; la historia de las mujeres es por tal razón un campo inevitablemente político (...)".*
>
> Joan Scott[72]

Los individuos son formados en el disciplinamiento que implica la vida en sociedad. Esto se ve atravesado además por clivajes de clase y género, entre

[69] Según Ziegler 1997, que sigue a Durand, no era extraña la entronización de lo que nosotros consideramos como niños. No sabemos cuál era la edad promedio en que alguien pasaba a ser adulto. Según Durand, Samsî-Addu fue entronizado a los 12 años de edad. Ver Ziegler 1997.

[70] Charpin 2003: 195.

[71] A.3838 en Ziegler 1997: 56.

[72] Scott 1993: 87–88.

otros muchos. Pero creemos que el caso tratado, las hijas de Zimrî-Lîm y su papel político, pone de relieve que ciertas mujeres pueden actuar para subvertir algunas ataduras. Llevaron adelante prácticas como ese "otro" ajeno, cuando rivalizaban con sus consortes, aunque amparadas por ese "nosotros masculino" del lado de su padre. Pero también, más allá de ser connotadas por su cultura patriarcal, se opusieron a circunstancias de opresión y menosprecio y operaron, o al menos alzaron la voz, de manera disruptiva.

La interrelación entre lo estatal y lo familiar emerge a través de la trama que se deja entrever en las cartas de las hijas de Zimrî-Lîm. Sus cuerpos, simbolizaron la "fecundidad" del reino[73]. "Fecundo" en autoridad, en un poder de dominación. Un poder que se armaba modelado en las relaciones familiares básicas (matrimonio, paternidad). Se imbricaba simbióticamente entonces lo político y lo doméstico.

El beneficio de ello se revelaba a partir de ser puestas en circulación. Los diversos roles que jugaron en el mapa político unían territorios y autoridades con su sola presencia. A partir de las cartas podemos vivenciar ciertos aspectos de su cotidianeidad, generalmente ardua, aunque seguramente no tanto como la de otras mujeres de posiciones menos privilegiadas.

Indagar entonces las acciones de tales mujeres es llegar a inmiscuirnos un poco más en ese lugar en donde se cree que la mujer como actor social se desvanece. Esas acciones plasmadas en palabras son las que estas antiguas damas y todas sus congéneres, marcaron, aunque las demarcaran. A raíz de sus mensajes entendemos que plantaron bandera con sus vivencias cotidianas, a las cuales hoy nosotros podemos acercarnos.

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[73] Ver Jelin 2002.

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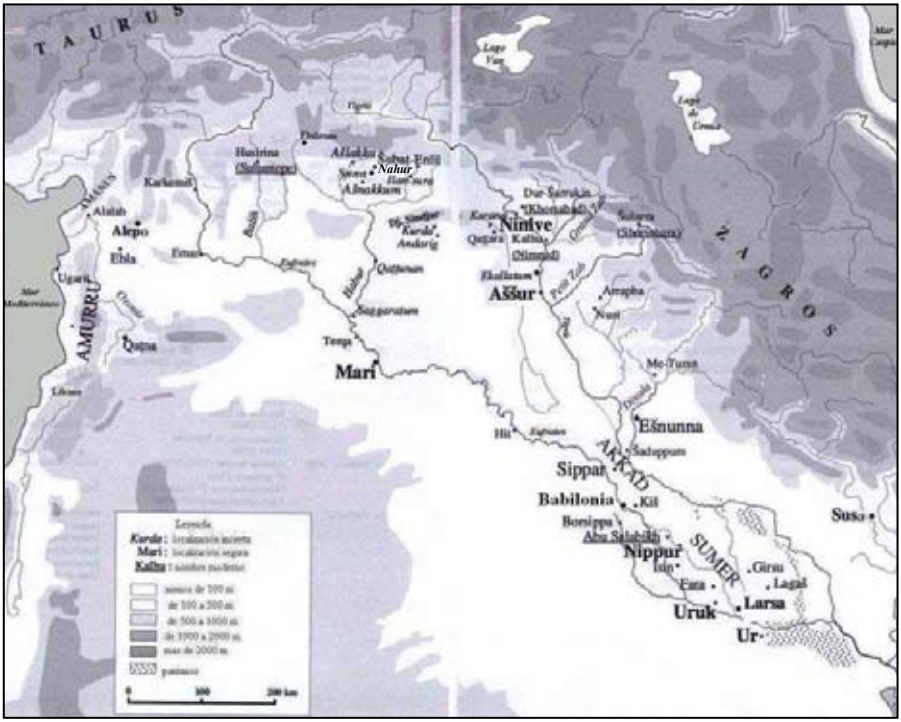

Figura 1.
La Mesopotamia Antigua
(mapa tomado de Charpin [2008], modificado y traducido).

Bronze and Iron Weapons from Luristan*

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Summary: Bronze and Iron Weapons from Luristan
The 30,000 km^2 province of Luristan is situated in western Iran and encompasses the upper valleys of the Zagros Mountains. Even today, local tribesmen inhabit Luristan with their settlement patterns similar to ancient times. Several scientific excavations in the Luristan region have uncovered evidence that this particular region was a major attraction for human settlements from the Paleolithic era onwards. In Ancient Iran, the existence of rich mines together with discoveries made by innovative and inventive artisans spurred the growth of the metalworking culture as an art and a skill among early human communities in Ancient Iran. The art of Luristan can be described as the art of nomadic herdsmen and horsemen with an emphasis on the crafting of small, easily portable objects, among these a number of bronze daggers, swords and other weapons. Throughout its history, Luristan was never an ethnic or political entity because Luristan has been occupied by various tribes and races, throughout its history. Next to Elamites, other tribes who inhabited Luristan were the Hurrians, Lullubians, Kutians, and Kassites. As local tribesmen of Luristan were illiterate, information about their history can only be partially reconstructed from the literature of their southern neighbors: the Elamites and Babylonians. Luristan smiths made weapons for both civilizations. The region was later invaded by Assyrians and finally the Iranians settled the area and absorbed the local tribes. Following an accidental find by the local inhabitants in Luristan in 1928 CE, a number of unlawful diggings reveal a number of metal objects made of bronze and iron that showed a high level of craftsmanship. These objects were offered for sale on the art market with fancy names to hide their origin. The subsequent scientific excavations several decades after the initial discovery provided fascinating information about the culture of Luristan. The metalworking art of Luristan spans a time period from the third

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millennium BC to the Iron Age.[1] The artifacts from Luristan seem to possess many unique and distinctive qualities, and are especially noteworthy for the apparently endless, intricate diversity and detail that they characteristically depict. The bronze artifacts found in or attributed to Luristan can be each be classed under five separate heads: a) arms and armor, including swords, dirks, daggers, axes, mace heads, spearheads, shields, quiver plaques, protective bronze girdles, helmets; b) implements related to horsemanship, including decorative or ornamental objects for horses as well as bits and snaffles; c) items for personal adornment and hygiene, including anklets, bangles, bracelets, finger rings, earrings and tweezers; d) ceremonial and ritual objects, including talismans, idols, pins, anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines; and e) utilitarian objects comprising various vessels and tools, including beakers, bowls and jugs.[2] The scope of this article is limited to a discussion of the bronze and iron weapons made in Luristan. The techniques used for making bronze weapons in Luristan included: casting with open molds, casting with close molds, and casting with lost wax process. For metal sheets used for quiver plaques and bronze protective belts, the hammering technique was used. Edged weapons made in Luristan can be classified into: a) daggers, dirks, and swords with tangs; b) daggers, dirks, and swords with flanges; and c) daggers, dirks, and swords with cast-on hilts. Next to bronze, iron was also used for making weapons such as the characteristic weapon from this area, the iron mask sword.

Keywords: Luristan – casting methods – bronze weapons – iron weapons

Resumen: El bronce y las armas de hierro de Luristán
La provincia de Luristán, de 30.000 km^2, está ubicada en el oeste de Irán, extendida a lo largo de los altos valles de los Montes Zagros. Aún en la actualidad, habitan en Luristán tribus organizadas en patrones de asentamiento similares a los de la antigüedad. Las excavaciones científicas realizadas en la región de Luristán han revelado un atractivo particular en lo que respecta a los asentamientos humanos desde el período Paleolítico en adelante. En el antiguo Irán, la existencia de minas ricas en metales así como los descubrimientos realizados por artesanos creativos e innovadores, impulsaron el desarrollo de la cultura metalúrgica como un arte y una habilidad entre las primeras comunidades humanas. De este modo, el arte de Luristán se puede describir como el arte de los pastores nómadas y los jinetes debido al énfasis puesto en la elaboración de pequeños objetos fácilmente transportables, entre los que se encuentran un número dagas, espadas y otras armas de bronce. Sin embargo, Luristán nunca constituyó una

[1] Ayazi 2008: 9.

[2] Ayazi 2008: 14.

entidad ni étnica ni política, puesto que estuvo ocupada por diversas tribus y razas a lo largo de su historia. Así, nos encontramos con que, junto a los elamitas, habitaron otras tribus en Luristán como los hurritas, los lullubi, los kuteos y los kassitas. Al no tener los miembros de las tribus locales de Luristán escritura, la información sobre su historia sólo puede ser parcialmente reconstruida a partir de la literatura de sus vecinos del sur: los elamitas y los babilonios, para quienes los herreros del Luristán confeccionaban armas. Posteriormente, la región fue invadida por los asirios y, finalmente, se establecieron en la zona los iraníes, quienes absorbieron las tribus locales. Un hallazgo fortuito por parte de los habitantes locales de Luristán en 1928 reveló una serie de excavaciones ilegales en las que se descubrieron diversos objetos de metal——de bronce y de hierro——que demostraron poseer una artesanía de alto nivel. Estos objetos se pusieron a la venta en el mercado de arte con nombres de fantasía para ocultar su origen. Las excavaciones científicas realizadas varias décadas posteriores a aquel descubrimiento inicial proporcionaron información interesante sobre la cultura de Luristán. El arte realizado con el metal de Luristán se extiende desde el tercer milenio a.C. hasta la Edad de Hierro. Los artefactos de Luristán parecen tener numerosas cualidades únicas y distintivas y son especialmente notables por la terminación, la diversidad y los detalles intrincados que los caracterizan. Cada uno de los objetos de bronce encontrados o atribuidos al Luristán puede ser clasificado en cinco apartados distintos: a) las armas y armaduras, como espadas, dagas, puñales, hachas, cabezas de maza, punta de lanza, escudos, placas carcaj, fajas protectoras de bronce, cascos; b) instrumentos relacionados con la equitación, la inclusión de objetos decorativos y ornamentales para los caballos, así como trozos y filetes; c) artículos para adorno personal y la higiene, incluyendo pulseras, brazaletes, pulseras, anillos, pendientes y pinzas; d) objetos ceremoniales y rituales, incluidos los talismanes, ídolos, alfileres antropomorfos y figurillas zoomorfas; y e) los objetos utilitarios que comprenden varios vasos y herramientas, incluidos vasos, cuencos y jarras. El alcance de este artículo se limita a la discusión de la medalla de bronce y armas de hierro hechos en Luristán. Entre las técnicas utilizadas para la fabricación de armas de bronce en Luristán se incluyen: colado con moldes abiertos, fundición con moldes de cerca, y con el proceso de fundición a la cera perdida. Para las chapas de metal utilizado para las placas de bronce carcaj y cinturones de protección, se utilizó la técnica del martillado. Las armas blancas hechas en Luristán se pueden clasificar en: a) puñales, dagas y espadas con espigas; b), puñales, dagas y espadas de bridas; y c) puñales, dagas y espadas con elenco-en la empuñadura. Junto al bronce, el hierro también se utilizó para la fabricación de armas como la espada de la máscara de hierro, que era el arma característica en esta zona.

Palabras clave: Luristán – técnicas de fundición – armas de bronce – armas de hierro

Location and geographical area

Luristan[3] is a province located in western Iran, and its territory extends over an area of approximately 30,000 km^2. The terrain of Luristan consists of the upper valleys of the Zagros Mountains, bordered by Nahavand to the north, by Kermanshah to the northwest, by the Seymareh River to the west, by Khuzestan (ancient Elam) to the south and southwest, to the east by the Dez River separating Luristan from the Bakhtiari territory, and the mountains overlooking Malayer and Boroujerd to the northeast.[4] The Zagros chain of mountains is made up of a number of smaller ranges running parallel beside each other, in a northwesterly to southeasterly direction. The imposing Kabir Kuh range interjects itself between Luristan and Mesopotamia to the south and separates Luristan into two areas: the Pish-e Kuh (that lies directly east of the Kabir Kuh) and the Pusht-e Kuh.[5] The topography of Luristan is flat, and the area is one of open plains intersecting with the treeless highlands of the Zagros Mountains.[6] In antiquity, Luristan was more populous than it is currently, and the province was extensively cultivated. However, its arable soil is no longer being farmed.

To date, local tribesmen continue to inhabit Luristan, and their settlement patterns appear very similar to those that probably existed in ancient times. Local tribes today use two respective areas as winter and summer pasturages. These areas are termed "Garmsir", the temperate, lowland winter pasture area to the west, and "Sardsir", the location of the summer settlements.[7] As a result of similar seasonal migration patterns followed by the inhabitants of Luristan in ancient times, there are two different types of archaeological settlements in the region. The settlements in the cool, highland region of Eastern Luristan are relatively small. These were probably villages or tented encampments that were erected in the locus of small citadels temporarily as a result of seasonal migration. By contrast, the settlements in the warmer, lower plains of Western Luristan were both larger and more permanent. It is most probable that the primary metal workshops were situated inside these larger settlements, as

[3] The correct spelling for the region in Persian would be Lorestān and not Luristan as Sadegh-Behnam and Koh rightly put it; however, I will keep to the version "Luristan" since it is widely used in the Western literature.

[4] Ayazi 2008: 10.

[5] Ayazi 2008: 10.

[6] Moorey 1974a: 22.

[7] Sadegh-Behnam and Koh unspecified date: 2.

during the Bronze and Iron Ages, metal industries were closely supervised and centrally controlled. Due to the migratory patterns of life in Luristan, metal products would have been carried regularly into the eastern highlands. It is to be noted that most metal industries in the Bronze and Iron Ages, especially those industries that produced very elaborate artifacts relied upon the patronage of a small minority from among the ruling class. The affluent ruling elite seem to have consisted of warrior horsemen who were buried with their weapons and harness trappings.[8]

The way of life and art of Luristan

The art of Luristan can be characterized as the art of nomadic herdsmen and horsemen. Nomadism accounts for the emphasis on the crafting of small, easily portable objects, such as arms, bridle bits, harness rings, and other utensils, all of which were finely decorated. The manufacturing of these objects took place in the period between 2500 BC and 650 BC. Both men and women were buried alongside various artifacts, and the graves of men also contained bronze daggers, swords and other weapons. It is not established with certainty that the entirety of Luristan art has a nomadic character as formerly proposed by many scholars, as there is ancient documentary evidence of conflicts between nomads and farmers. The craftsmen and smiths probably lived in the towns from which the nomads fetched their provisions.[9]

In Luristan, traditional heritage and beliefs appear to have been resilient and enduring. However, Luristan tribesmen were also influenced by the currents of trade, migration, and brigandage. The Luristan tribesmen themselves were illiterate. Hence, it is necessary to reconstruct their history from the literature of their powerful southern neighbors. The specific sources for their history are the records of the Elamites of Khuzestan who had their capital at Susa and the civilization of the Babylonians in Southern Iraq. These powerful urban civilizations were in constant conflict with each other, and, at times, they hired Luristan mercenaries from the Zagros Mountains. The mountain tribesmen of Luristan not only served as mercenaries, but were in the habit of pillaging and plundering the cities on the plains when they were in a vulnerable or weakened state. The Elamites' and Babylonians' written records mention little about these Zagros tribesmen, due to the infrequency of any contact they had with them. The existing period reports on these

[8] Moorey 1974a: 26–27.

[9] Ayazi 2008: 16.

tribesmen are both cryptic and abusive. It would appear that at particular moments in history, the Babylonians and Elamites shared close ties with these Zagros tribesmen. The evidence for this is the discovery of some bronze weapons from Luristan that are inscribed with both Babylonian and Elamite kings' names.

There was a successful campaign against Elam that was waged and which penetrated into the Zagros Mountains. The Babylonian Empire toppled the Elamite Empire one thousand years later, and established strong ties with Luristan. Strong economic ties meant that the local smiths of Luristan were involved in the production of metalwork for foreign patrons between 2500 to 1200 BC. This metalwork is indistinguishable from its Elamite and Mesopotanian counterparts. After the 2nd millennium BC,[10] a general pattern of animal (zoomorphic) decoration began to appear on the cast bronze weapons produced in Luristan, and this feature became a distinguishing characteristic of the local style of Luristan. Thus, animal motifs, in the form of engravings on blades and handles, are typical of Luristan bronze arms. The bronze artifacts, some of which are engraved, that have been unearthed from Luristan are remarkable for the quality of their craftsmanship. In particular, the horse trappings, harness ornaments, weapons and standards cast from bronze are of a very high quality. The elaborate cheek pieces of horse harnesses are sometimes decorated with either ordinary animal figures, such as horses or goats, or extraordinary, mythical animals, such as winged, human-faced bulls. It is interesting that a lion's head motif appears as a decorative feature on many axe-heads. The open lion's maw forms the base of the axe head, and the blade is attached to this; the lion is a symbol intended to give the weapon the strength of the most powerful beasts of the animal kingdom. The earliest bronze weapons, particularly daggers, axes, and adzes, share many similarities in form to Mesopotamian artifacts of the 3rd millennium BC.[11] Often, weapons from Luristan bearing shaft holes carried several spikes, and these were sometimes further embellished with additional animal heads, protomes, or even complete zoomorphic figures. It was commonplace for the blade in such weapons to project from a lion's head or some other zoomorphic form.

Unfortunately, most of the surviving artifacts from the Elamite civilization are small items scattered over various locations, and there are few pieces in outstanding condition. Elamite smiths also used animal ornamentation on their arms. The territory of Luristan was under the control

[10] Moorey 1974a: 24.

[11] Sadegh-Behnam and Koh unspecified date: 7, 13.

of Elamite armed forces for most of the 2nd millennium BC, and this situation continued up until the last decade of the 12th century BC, when the army of the Babylonians inflicted a military defeat on the Elamites——a defeat of such magnitude that Elam was unable to recover from it for 300 years.[12] The effect of this on the material culture of Luristan was very significant. The smiths of Luristan were able to relax their previous habits, in the absence of the oppressive proximity of the Elamite occupiers. Consequently, a culture of innovation and experimentation flourished, and the repertoire of the Luristan smiths expanded in the period between 1150–1050 BC (the Iron Age I). From this time onwards, as iron began to be used for the first time in the Middle East, there is evidence that smiths from Luristan exhibited a growing level of skill in their ability to work iron. Luristan benefited from the decisive defeat of Elam insofar as it was relatively independent during the 11th and earlier 10th centuries BC. Never, there was a strong Babylonian political influence on Luristan during this time. The ties between the Babylonians and Luristan were so close and important that local smiths often crafted daggers and arrowheads with Babylonian royal inscriptions upon them. Luristan's relative independence was preserved until Iranian tribes invaded the region. During Iron Age II–IIIB, meaning from 1000–700 BC, when, in Northwestern Iran, the Assyrian Empire expanded west towards the Mediterranean and east towards Luristan, the local Luristan aristocracy patronized an exceptionally productive group of smiths. It is those smiths who were primarily responsible for the richly decorated bronze artifacts from Luristan. However, the patrons of these bronze objects themselves are unknown, as is the origin of the material wealth they depended upon to supporting the Luristan metalworking industry.[13]

Never at any time during the last three millennia BC was Luristan an ethnic or political entity. Its inhabitants had relations, through warfare and trade, with neighboring civilizations, such as the Sumerians, Assyrians, Babylonians, and Elamites, in the period from 3rd millennium to 2nd millennium BC. The Scythians (a nomadic, pastoralist group of Aryan tribes) moved into the region from the 8th to 7th century BC.[14] Excavations at a shrine in Dum Surkh have brought to light iconography on some bronze artifacts, which show that the Elamite influence in at least Southern Luristan from 725 to 700 BC experienced a brief revival. However, due to the demise of Elam at the hands of the armies of Assyria in the middle of the next century, this period of

[12] Moorey 1974a: 24.

[13] Moorey 1974a: 25.

[14] Grotkamp-Schepers and Joerißen 1997: 16–17.

Elamite revival was short-lived. A little over a generation later, the Assyrians were defeated by the Babylonians and Medes in unison. The resulting vacuum of power in Luristan was thus filled by Iranians who arrived from the south and west. The local tribal aristocracy of Luristan lost its political authority after the Medes and their associates created a capital in Hamadan and succeeded in establishing an increasing degree of Iranian political unity. The Luristan smiths accordingly lost their rich, local patrons and the access to raw materials they had previously enjoyed. There are sufficient bronze and iron artifacts from the Achaemenian period to prove that these objects share little or no legacy with the workshops of Luristan. There was a severe crisis in Luristan's metal industry at some time during the 7th century BC, and as a result its uniqueness and independence suffered demise. Throughout their period of activity, the smiths of Luristan were responsible for creating a broad range of bronze items that were deposited in the region's cemeteries from about 2600 to 650 BC.[15]

The origin of the Luristan tribes

Luristan has been occupied by various tribes and races, throughout its history. Elam, which means literally "elevated land", was an inhabited region from the 8 millennium BC onwards. The Elamites dominated and controlled southern, south-western, and western Iran for 2200 years. They managed to successfully establish their kingdom by consolidating the southwestern territories of Iran including Simash. The Elamites were allied with the inhabitants of Simash, who inhabited the Luristan region.[16] The Elamites' language shared some similarities with Caucasian languages, and did not belong to either the Indo-European or Semitic branches of language. In the early part of the third millennium BC, the Elamites established their kingdom in southern Zagros and on the Khuzestan plain. Thereafter, they were able to successfully preserve their Elamite identity for thousands of years, resisting assault and extinction at the hands of powerful rivals such as the Sumerians and Assyrians. The existence of the Elamite Kingdom as an independent political entity ended with the capture of Elam, its capital, by the Assyrians.[17]

[15] Moorey 1974a: 28.

[16] Ayazi 2008: 11.

[17] Ayazi 2008: 11.

Other inhabitants of the Luristan region, apart from the Elamites, included various tribes, such as the Hurrians, Lullubians, Kutians, and Kassites[18], who were all related to the Elamites. Initially, Luristan was settled during the 3rd millennium BC by the Asiatic mountain tribes, the Lullubians and Kutians.[19] The Lullubians were associated with the Zagros Mountains, and inhabited a very large proportion of the mountains and foothills of Zagros, from the upper Diyala towards the northwest up to Lake Urmia. It is likely that the Kutians occupied lands to the east of the Lullubians. The term Kutians was first used to refer to a particular ethnic group that lived in the Middle East during the third and second millennium BC. Then, in the first millennium BC, the term Kuti began to be used to refer to all Urartians, Manneans (a branch of Hurrians in northwestern Iran), and Medians. The language of the Kuti and Lullubi tribes is related, to an extent, to the group of Elamite languages that was widely used in the entire Zagros region.[20] Northern Mesopotamia, parts of Syria and the whole Armenian plateau were settled by the Hurrians, who were native to Zagros, in the 2nd millennium BC.[21]

According to Akkadian texts, the Kassites, a people of Asiatic origin, were also present in Luristan from the beginning of the 2nd millennium BC. However, the earliest reference to the Kassites can be found in texts dating to 2400 BC from the time of Puzur-Inshushinak, the powerful king of Elam.[22] The Assyrians termed the Kassites' land the Kassi, and the Kassites were the most important mountainous tribes of Zagros. The region today known as Luristan was a mountainous region upstream of the rivers with valleys, including the land of Elam. The Kassites, as a mountain tribe, were engaged in pastoralism, and used a language closely related to the Elamite language.[23] Until recently, some researchers believed that the Kassites were an Indo-European tribe. However, this view was not supported by conclusive evidence. It has also been proposed that the Kassites were Asiatics, and that they were neither Indo-European nor Semitic. This would imply that they were an ethnic group of Caucasian or Caspian origin that settled in the

[18] Ayazi 2008: 11.

[19] Ayazi 2008: 12.

[20] Ayazi 2008: 12.

[21] Ayazi 2008: 12.

[22] Ayazi 2008: 12.

[23] Ayazi 2008: 12.

southern Azerbaijan territories before the migration of the Arian tribes into the Zagros valley.[24]

Various other tribes also settled there at the end of the 2nd millennium, soon followed by yet more tribes at the beginning of the 1st millennium BC. At the beginning of the 9th century BC, the Assyrians embarked on military campaigns into the Zagros region. In the 8th and 7th centuries BC, the Cimmerians and Scythians invaded the region, taking their passage south of Lake Urmia. The area was later occupied by another wave of Iranian tribes that settled there. These included the Medians, who settled near Malayer at the Nush-i-Jan Tepe citadel that had its heyday from 725–550 BC, and in and around adjacent sites. Inside this timeframe, the most characteristic artifacts date to the 12th century BC, and the most intensive production took place from the 9th to the 7th century BC. As a matter of fact most bronze artifacts kept in the National Museum of Iran are dated to 10th century BC. Iranian tribes finally made incursions into the Luristan region at the end of the 8th century BC, from the north or north-east. Over the next fifty years, the Iranian tribes influenced the whole region and absorbed most of the local tribes of the region.[25] A united kingdom of Media emerged at the end of the 7th century BC while the Assyrian Empire slowly collapsed, and allied with the Babylonians to crush Assyria. Cyrus the Second, the King of Ashan, revolted against the Median Empire only 70 years after its inception, and annexed its land to the Achaemenian Empire over which he had complete dominion.[26]

Clandestine diggings and controlled archaeological excavations in Luristan

There have been incidents over the course of history, of excavations having been carried out clandestinely by the local population, and this makes exact dating and classification of the bronze objects difficult. Not a single one of the tombs from which many typical bronzes were had been excavated in the proper, scientific way. The ancient bronze of Luristan was discovered following an accidental find by the local inhabitants there in 1928 CE. Following this, there was a spate of unlawful excavations, which led to considerable pillaging in the eastern part of Luristan in Iran. Many of the stolen and pillaged pieces found their way onto the art markets. In fact, most of the Luristan bronze

[24] Ayazi 2008: 12.

[25] Moorey 1974a: 28.

[26] Ayazi 2008: 12–13.

artifacts in the western world came from illegal excavations. Due to the unlawfulness of their procurement, the diggers would usually disguise the true origin of these objects by making false representations as to their real origin. They would claim that the objects were found in diverse locations, such as Nihavand, Luristan, Amlash, Talesh, and Azarbaijan. These attributions are not always completely false, but tend to be oversimplified. The two major errors that give cause for error in identifying the provenance of the artifacts are as follows: firstly, ancient Luristan, Amlash, and Talesh comprised a much larger landmass than either modern Luristan, the small territory of Amlash, or the single mountain that is today's Iranian Talesh; secondly, due to the fact that the name "Luristan" was known to western collectors, on purpose, many bronze objects from other places were marketed as Luristan bronze when they were not.[27] Several decades after the initial discovery, the first scientific excavations took place, supplying for the first time some fascinating information about the culture of Luristan. Pillaging in 1950 CE led to the discovery of the western part of Luristan, which had been isolated until shortly before the Second World War. Following this, the Belgian Archeological Commission undertook scientific excavations based on a reliable chronology, from 1965 to 1979 CE. The evidence from these excavations show that the so-called Luristan bronze items belong to various different categories according to the time period in which they were made, and exhibit differences in style that necessitate a more precise classification. The items excavated by Vanden Berghe date back to various periods between 2600 BC and 700 BC.[28]

During the Iron Age I period, all metal tools were made from bronze, and iron was used only for a few ornaments. It is almost impossible to date these articles, many of which are held by museums and private collections, with precision, due to the fact that they are the product of opportunistic looting rather than disciplined archaeological excavations. However, some weapons bear inscriptions with the names of Babylonian and Elamite rulers upon them, and can be dated to the last two centuries of the 2nd millennium BC. Not one of the weapons bearing such inscriptions were sourced from legitimate archaeological excavations.[29]

[27] Calmeyer 1964: 1.

[28] Schippmann 1973: 71.

[29] Medvedskaya 1982: 68.

Making Bronze Weapons

Bronze is a metal alloy, constituted from copper along with small amounts of other metals, usually zinc, tin, or arsenic. When these impurities are added to copper, copper becomes less malleable, and thus suitable for the construction of sharp and hard items, such as tools and weapons.[30] In Iran, the most well-known and oldest copper artifact is a copper bead that was found from the Ali Kosh site, on the Deh Luran Plain. This item dates to around 6750–6000 BC.[31] Usually, bronze consists of copper and tin in the ration of nine to one respectively. The tin, or other alloying metal, serves to greatly increase the hardness of the resulting material. Another advantage of tin as an alloying metal is that tin allows a lower smelting temperature to be used, and this allows the metalworker to conserve valuable heating fuel for the furnace. In addition, bronze when liquefied is much easier to pour into casts than simple copper.[32] The oldest bronze artifacts containing tin as the alloying metal were found in Susa, and these items date back to some time from the late 4th millennium to early 3rd millennium BC.[33]

The vast number of bronze artifacts excavated from Luristan graves indicates that the most important use of metal and metalworking in ancient times was the production of weapons and tools. Most of these objects were weapons, found in the graves of persons who held an elevated social status as warriors. By contrast, tools were used continually until they expired from wear or damage, at which time they would be melted down again in order to recycle the bronze.[34] The activity of metalworking in Luristan was closely supervised and under the control of a central authority, and acquired its unique character at some time in the period from the mid-3rd to the end of the 2nd millennium BC. During the last two centuries of the 2nd millennium, there was an increase in the production of weapons and vessels compared to previously.[35] Most of the objects in the West Persian bronze collections are tools and weapons. The earliest dated objects from the 3rd millennium BC were weapons and tools furnished with socket holes. It is to be noted that the socket is a more

[30] Moshtagh Khorasani 2006: 49.

[31] Ayazi 2008: 16.

[32] Moshtagh Khorasani 2006: 49.

[33] Ayazi 2008: 17.

[34] Moorey 1974a: 33.

[35] Sadegh-Behnam and Koh unspecified date: 9.

secure way of attaching the object to a wooden haft than having a tang. These weapons developed into a plethora of different forms in the 2nd millennium BC, and the numerous new forms and were used until 800 BC at least. These objects include axes and adzes (an axlike tool with a curved blade), pick axes, daggers and dirks, spears, swords, helmets and shields.[36] Arms and armor were produced differently. Weapons were usually cast, and armor parts were made by a hammering process. Quivers and shields were constructed of hammered metal, and belts were adorned with metal plaques.[37]

The techniques used by Luristan craftsmen to create bronze weapons were highly sophisticated. They used a wide variety of surface finishes: repoussé work, chasing and engraving. The fact that the mountains of Luristan are particularly rich in copper and tin, which are required for making bronze, was a significant advantage to the metalworking industry, that would cast both simple copper and the stronger copper-tin alloy (bronze). Experiments with arsenic and copper, resulting in a less successful type of bronze alloy, were also undertaken by the smiths of Luristan. Between different types of artifact, the tin-bronze alloy varied considerably. For example, there was a standard quotient in the proportions of tin, in tin-bronze swords and daggers. Other items that were not intended for use as arms, for example standard-finials and pins, did not have to be as strong as the weapons, and accordingly contained higher ratios of tin.[38] The typical composition of a bronze alloy is as follows:[39]

Copper	90%
Tin	8%
Lead, iron, nickel, and arsenic	2%

The source of the metal that was used by the smiths of Luristan is as yet uncertain. The copper may have been sourced from the region of Anarak (in the central province of Isfahan). In the areas where the copper was sourced, iron may also have been mined.[40] In the 2nd millennium BC, transportation of tin took place in a direction from east to west through Iraq and Syria.

[36] Ayazi 2008: 15.

[37] Ayazi 2008: 15.

[38] Moorey 1974a: 31.

[39] Grotkamp-Schepers and Joerißen, 1997: 16.

[40] Moorey 1974a: 32.

However, the original source within Iran of the transported tin remains highly uncertain. It is possible that it may have been derived from the region of Khorasan, which lies to the east of Luristan some considerable distance away.[41]

There are two classes into which the method of producing bronze weapons may be categorized: a) casting (*rixtegari* in New Persian) (see picture 13: a cast bronze horse bit from Luristan) and b) hammering (*čakoškāri*) (see pictures 10 and 11: a protective bronze belt from Luristan made via hammering).[42] The technique of bronze casting lends itself to the production of a wide range of different weapons. Unlike ferrous weapons, bronze weapons were not forged but had to be cast.[43] Blades were cast by first creating a mold, from sandstone or clay or bronze, in the form of the item to be manufactured, into which liquid, alloyed metal was later poured. Later, when the metal had cooled and hardened, the mold was broken open and the rough-cast weapon was taken out. Following this, the stock of the rough-cast metal was reduced, filed and polished until the weapon obtained its final shape. The method of casting can be summarized as a process of creating metal artifacts by pouring liquid, hot metal into a mold, usually of baked clay or stone, that had been prepared previously.[44]

In Luristan, the casting of bronze methods was variable but generally fell into one of three different categories:[45]

(a) Open molds *(qāleb-e bāz)*: this is where the mold is covered during the casting process. This is known as the one-piece mold, and is one of the simplest and earliest known casting techniques (picture 1: a tanged dagger made in an open mold; picture 2: a flanged dagger made in an open mold). The method involves the use of simple molds of clay or stone, and was used to make swords and daggers that had flanges along the blade. The metal object is cast, then hammered and annealed (annealing involves reheating the metal to make it soft and malleable).

(b) Close (bivalve) molds (*qāleb-e baste* or *do kafe*): this involved making a mold from two halves that were joined together. Molds constructed using this method had one or more channels in them, through which the liquid metal would be poured. Bivalve molds lent themselves to the manufacture of axes,

[41] Moorey 1974a: 32.

[42] Ayazi 2008: 19–20.

[43] Grotkamp-Schepers and Joerißen, 1997: 15.

[44] Ayazi 2008: 19–20.

[45] Ayazi 2008: 19–20.

adzes, spearheads and other socketed weapons. The shaft hole was made by placing a solid core inside the mold. The molten bronze would solidify around this core when it was poured into the mold, and created a space in the weapon for the insertion of the shaft. The unadorned weapons, especially the axes, adzes and picks, were made using simple clay or stone bivalve molds with a core inserted into them to form the socket for the shaft (pictures 4 and 6: axeheads made in close molds).[46]

(c) Lost wax (*cire perdue*) casting *qālebgiri bā mum gomšode*): this technique involved first sculpting an object in wax. Then, sometimes, a core of sand or clay was inserted into the way to provide a hole for a shaft in the finished item. Next, the mold, with a hole in it for pouring the liquid metal, would be encased in clay and hardened by baking. Following this, liquid hot metal was poured into the mold, and the wax would melt away. After the metal cooled, the mold was broken away and the casting retrieved. A variation of lost wax casting involved creating a model of the finished item in wax, then covering it with clay. The clay was baked after it dried, and the wax was heated and poured out of the mold through a hole. The liquid bronze was then poured into this mold. After the solidification of the bronze, the mold was shattered and the bronze artifact taken out. It is probable that the lost wax method was used for only the most intricate parts of the handle, and not for the whole weapon. It is highly probable that the smiths used another method, called the cast-on method, to attach the handle to the blade. The cast-on technique was a two-stage process whereby the blade was made in one mold and the grip made in another mold that was cast directly onto the blade's tang. The blade, usually made of bronze but sometimes of iron, was always made first, in the cast-on method. The hilt was then constructed and placed over the tang, gripping it securely.[47] Usually, an extra mold was made for the grips, which were cast separately. In many instances, the cast-on method was used to cast the grips directly on to the blade (picture 3: a Luristan dirk with a cast-on hilt made with lost-wax process. The Luristan smiths were highly skilled and particularly adept at the *cire-perdue* or lost-wax process technique. They would also engrave intricate details onto the wax mold, before casting.[48] The lost wax method has the advantage of allowing a great deal of depth of morphological and decorative detail in the final casting (picture 5: a bronze axe head with animal figures from Luristan made with lost-wax process; picture 8: A knobbed bronze macehead from

[46] Moorey 1974a: 31.

[47] Moorey 1974a: 31.

[48] Moorey 1974a: 31.

Luristan made with lost-wax process; picture 9: a spiked bronze macehead from Luristan made with lost-wax process). Applied wax coils were used, as evidenced by the existence of sinuous ridges on some pieces (picture 7: Another spiked axe head from Luristan with sinuous lines). Additionally, the existence of punched circles and linear decoration show that a cutting method was also deployed, probably on a harder wax than was used usually.

Čakoškāri (hammering) comprises an additional technique that was used by the smiths of Luristan and western Iran to construct bronze items. This technique involved taking sheets of metal and metal, hitting them with a hammer, and annealing them (heating and reheating for malleability) from time to time. The technique of hammering was also used to produce the "work hardening" effect, in the final stages of the manufacture of bronze weapons, to give them harder edges.[49] Sheet metal objects were made by taking large cast sheets of copper and bronze, and then hammering and annealing them. It is possible to observe two different categories of surface decoration on many bronze items: repoussé (worked from the back of the visible surface) (see picture 12: a bronze quiver plaque from Luristan with a repoussé figure of a winged man holding two ibex by their feet) and tracing (worked from the front of the visible surface).[50]

Different types of Edged Weapons from Luristan Made of Bronze and Iron

In order to classify the edged weapons or Luristan and western Iran accurately, a uniform measurement unit is required in order to define which items are daggers, which are dirks and which are swords. There is confusion and contradiction at times, when it comes to classifying items according to these categories. Moorey[51] bases his definition on Gordon, and states that daggers are edged weapons not greater than 36cm in length, that dirks (short swords) are between 36cm and 50cm in length, and that swords are edged weapons greater than 50cm in length. This classification system has been adopted for the purposes of this article. Edged weapons can be further categorized into various groups as follows: a) daggers, dirks, and swords with tangs (see picture

[49] As the edges of bronze weapons cannot be hardened via tempering as would be later the case with steel blades, the smiths of bronze weapons developed a method of hardening the edges of bronze blades. The method is called "work hardening" and involves extensive hammering of the edges of bronze blades.

[50] Moorey 1974a: 31.

[51] Moorey 1971: 66.

1: a tanged bronze dagger from Luristan), b) daggers, dirks, and swords with flanges (see picture 2: a flanged bronze dirk from Luristan), and c) daggers, dirks, and swords with cast-on hilts (see picture 3: a bronze dirk with a cast-on hilt from Luristan).[52] Edged weapons with tangs are the simplest form, and this basic type was hardly altered in the period when bronze was the most important material for the construction of weapons. The retention of this basic type with so few alterations makes precise dating of such items impossible. In this category, the bronze daggers, dirks, and swords exist only as bronze blades, and have lost their perishable handles over the course of time.[53] In Luristan, the daggers and dirks up to the second half of the 2nd millennium BC were simple bronze or copper blades with tangs, attached by rivets to a handle made of a degradable organic material. However, in some rare cases the handles were metallic, and have survived.[54]

Around the 14th century BC, the smiths of Luristan responded to influence from the West by beginning to construct blades and hilts cast together in one mold. These new items often had flanges along their hilts, so that wood, bone or metal inlaying could be inserted. Typically, examples of bone inlaying were cut so that the hilts had winged or "ear-shaped" pommels.[55] Pieces of bone or limestone inlays still survive on some pieces[56] Some of the surviving daggers, swords and dirks with flanged hilts still bear the indentations on each side, that were intended to hold the inlays securely in place. Those daggers and dirks that bear the names of monarchs of the Second Isin Dynasty comprise a significant milestone in the chronology of the development of these types of daggers and dirks. Examples of dirks inscribed in similar ways are held in various collections, such as a dirk in the Holmes collection with a Marduk-nadin-ahhe inscription, a dirk in Toronto inscribed with the name Marduk-sapik-zeri, and another dirk with a probable inscription for Enlil-nadin-apli in the Foroughi collection.[57] Some of these items carry inscriptions in Assyrian, which allow them to be dated. The period between the 12th and the 10th century

[52] See Grotkamp-Schepers and Joerißen 1997: 18, Medvedskaya 1982: 68.

[53] Medvedskaya 1982: 68.

[54] Moorey 1974b: 23.

[55] Moorey 1974b: 23.

[56] Lebedynsky (1992: 50) shows a bronze dagger from Luristan from 1000–800 BC, notes the empty spaces that were meant for bone scales on the grip, and says that this was the prototype for using bone and horn for grip scales in the region in later periods.

[57] Moorey, 1971: 70–71.

BC account for a few pieces, although the majority belong to the period between the 8th and 7th centuries (Iron Age III). Hence, despite the fact that the Bronze Age dates from the 3rd millennium to 1300 BC; most of the Luristan bronze objects come from the Iron Age period, from 1300 to 600 BC.[58] The use of bronze at such a late period was limited to the production of precious objects such as ceremonial weapons, jewelry, jars, and horse trappings. The strongest influences on Luristan bronze were Assyrian, Hittite, Hurrian, and even Scythian. However, in addition to those, there are many Persian forms of the Sialk A and B styles that are present among the Luristan bronze pieces.[59]

At the Klingenmuseum (Blade Museum) in Solingen, there is an inscribed dirk 45.5cm in length. This item lacks inlays but, interestingly, carries inscriptions on its forte. The inscriptions on this example differ from the many examples from the 1300–1200 BC period, insofar as they are written in Old Persian cuneiform instead of old Babylonian.[60] The name of the Achaemenian King, Darius, is partly legible on this blade.[61] The authenticity of this short sword has been verified by Eilers from the University of Würzburg. It is likely that this short sword was a gift from King Darius to one of his officers in change of a contingent of Luristan auxiliaries serving in the Persian army. Eilers also states that the inscriptions in Old Persian cuneiform make this weapon unique, as this type of inscription was not known to have been prevalent on any swords from the Archaemenian period. The inscription also indicates that this type of weapon, unique to the Luristan tradition, remained in use even up to the Archaemenian period. There is a possibility that the blade was not inscribed when it was made, but that the inscriptions were added some 600 or 700 years later.[62] The handle inlays on many of the flanged hilted daggers and dirks from Luristan have been lost. Usually, these inlays would have been made of wood, although there are some examples of limestone and bone inlays. There are some pieces of limestone or bone close to the blade hilt, on some examples.[63]

[58] Grotkamp-Schepers and Joerißen 1997: 17.

[59] Wulff 1966: 10.

[60] Uhlemann 1967: 18–20.

[61] Moorey (1971: 71) also points out this dirk and states that the status of this dirk, bearing the name of Darius in Old Persian cuneiform signs on one side and illegible signs on the other side, remains uncertain.

[62] Uhlemann 1967: 18–20.

[63] Moorey 1971: 74.

There is a type of flanged dagger or dirk, cast in one piece that has a heavy, penannular rib. The rib was cast onto the blade itself, gripping the midrib between its open ends. A study into the technology of this weapon has revealed that in some cases, the blade, flanged hilt and pommel were all cast together, while the penannular guard was most likely cast on separately to provide strengthening at the critical juncture of the hilt and the blade.[64] The most likely origin for this type of dirk is from the north.[65] This type of dirk first appeared in western Iran near the end of the Late Bronze Age, and the technique for their construction was retained and used for the first iron dirks.[66]

Later developments included the exact replication of the inlaid hilts in bronze, with the hilt made separately and cast directly onto the blade.[67] This class of dagger, dirk and sword has an ear–lobed bronze pommel. It is clear that the ear-lobed bronze pommels mimic the earlier all——bronze flange——hilted daggers and dirks that had been constructed in separate parts, with bone hilts secured in place with rivets and flanges (see picture 3).[68]

Bronze hilts began to be cast directly onto iron blades from the start of the 10th century BC, and it is interesting to note that the first iron daggers directly imitated their bronze predecessors in their basic shape.[69] Several daggers, dirks and swords from Luristan can be seen to have bronze hilts cast directly onto iron blades. There is clear evidence of there having been a closely linked series of workshops in Luristan at some time during the 9th and 8th centuries BC, which produced iron swords. The iron swords produced in these workshops have clear links with their bronze predecessors, inheriting their style and morphology.[70] It has been suggested by some researchers that cast bronze would have been unsuitable for long weapons due to the fact that long cast bronze blades tend to break easily.[71] Nevertheless, there are extant

[64] Moorey 1971: 73.

[65] Moorey (1971: 73) states that a magnificent example in gold of this type of dirk was found in clandestine excavations at Kalardasht in Northern Iran. For a picture of this piece, see Huot 1965: 196. Huot (1965: 223) states that the handle inlays of this example are missing and that this piece stems from Kalardasht in Mazandaran from 900 BC.

[66] Moorey 1971: 74.

[67] Moorey 1974b: 23.

[68] Moorey 1971: 74.

[69] Moorey 1974b: 24.

[70] Moorey 1974b: 24.

[71] Grotkamp-Schepers and Joerißen 1997: 21–22.

examples of durable long bronze weapons. However, the inherent strength advantages of iron led to Luristan metalworkers experimenting with iron as a material for making new weapons. It is to be noted that the procedure for working with iron is considerably different from working with bronze. Firstly, iron had to be sourced from natural iron ore. This necessitated a process of smelting to extract the iron from the rocky iron ore material. This meant that the existence of smelting as a technology was a prerequisite for constructing iron weapons. It has been postulated by some researchers that iron had cost and availability advantages over bronze, and that this accounted for why it originally supplanted bronze as a preferred material for the construction of weapons. However, in due course iron proved itself more durable than bronze, and lent itself to taking a sharper edge. Initially, kilns were used to smelt the iron. After being filled with a charcoal and iron ore mix, the kiln was ignited, and bellows were employed to pump air inside the kiln. The melted bloomery iron was retrieved from the base of the kiln. At this stage, the raw bloomery iron still contained a significant amount of slag. The deposit of bloomery iron was split into small pieces after cooling, and these fragments were taken to be heated up over a furnace, and forged into bars. Forging caused the transformation of the brittle bloomery iron into wrought iron (with a carbon content of 0.5% to 0.25%) by reducing the amount of carbon in the iron.[72] The wrought iron was worked by smiths, who forged iron objects by hand. This process involved frequent heating, and this carburized the wrought iron, causing it to take on the characteristics of mild steel.[73] The distinction between iron and steel was not clear, for several centuries.[74] It has been posited by some researchers that the earliest known crucible steel blade originates from Luristan.[75]

The iron swords, daggers and other blades found at the Djub-I Gauhar site in Luristan can all be classed into three categories of double-edged weapons: a) blades with straight cutting edges and a simple, ovate cross-section (this accounts for most of these weapons); b) weapons where the blade has inverted cutting edges (this accounts for one of the blades found there); c) weapons with signs of having a midrib (this class accounts for two of the weapons

[72] See Grotkamp-Schepers and Joerißen 1997: 22.

[73] Moorey 1974a: 32.

[74] See Grotkamp-Schepers and Joerißen 1997: 22.

[75] See Feuerbach 2002: 229.

found at this location).[76] The tangs on all of the blades found at this site have cross sections that are either round, rectangular or square, or that devolve from round to square. Remarkably, some of the tangs are very sturdy; for example, one is 1.6 cm thick. Among this collection there is a sword 52 cm in length that has indentations in the grip, to fit the wielder's fingers, that was mounted with wood. When this piece was excavated, around 20 bronze nails lay beside the grip, and it is clear that these would have been used to decorate the handle and pommel. Towards the blade, the grip's shape transforms into a very large cone-shaped tang that culminates in a disc of bronze.[77] This indicates quite clearly that the smiths of the period combined bronze and iron in the construction of weapons. It has been proposed by some researchers that round tangs lend themselves more readily to the mounting of disc-shaped or spherical pommels. However, there are some examples of weapons, including a piece from Chamahzi Mumah, with round tangs that terminate in crescent-shaped pommels. From the Chamahzi Mumah weapon, it is to be noted that any other shape would have been unsuitable for this type of tang, as it would have been more difficult to affix and may even have rotated around the tang.[78] On this specimen, the grip would likely have been made of a perishable material, such as wood, bone, or ivory. When the blade was excavated, three bronze nails lay next to the upper portion of the blade. These nails may have been used to decorate a scabbard or they may have been a part of a scabbard suspension system.

The blades found at Djub-i Gauhar possess the same characteristics as those iron blades currently held at the Gul Khanan Murdah in Luristan, and they may have served to function in many different respects, for example a utility knife may also have been used as a spearhead or a dagger. There is great variation in length between the blades from Gul Khanan Murdah, and these pieces are double-edged, with round or square tangs. Interesting features can be observed on two short swords, one 35 long and the other 38 cm long, from this collection. The grips on these items are very large, and square in cross section, and have an iron rivet with a bronze disc and elevated rim, indicating that there would have been additional mountings on the grip, forming a handle. These features are clear evidence that the mounted grip was perpendicular to the blade.[79] This feature is not commonplace, and is only found on a particular

[76] See Haernick and Overlaet 1999: 25.

[77] See Haernick and Overlaet 1999: 25.

[78] See Haernick and Overlaet 1999: 25.

[79] See Haernick and Overlaet 1999: 166.

set of multi-piece iron swords. This group of swords is characterized by their decoration: they all feature bearded men and lions on their hilts, and they are all believed to have originated from Luristan. Although the reason for this peculiarity remains uncertain, it reinforces the view that these swords originate from the Iron Age II–III period. There are several iron swords from Luristan that are highly ornamented, and which have indentations along the grip, and round-disc-shaped pommels that sometimes feature lions and human heads.[80] However, none of these swords were unearthed in scientific excavations.[81] This type of sword has been termed the "iron mask sword" (see picture 14: the handle of an iron mask sword from Luristan).[82] These were constructed of various iron parts——the blades are composed of different iron sections and set perpendicular to the hilt. There is also a wide, flat midrib that runs along the whole length of the blade.[83]

Two raised rings divide the rectangular hilt into three sections. Two bearded heads stand out from the flat disc pommel, and there are two crouching lions on either side of the guard. The human heads are characterized by round, protruding eyes, large noses, small, horizontal mouths, beards and small lumps of hair on the forehead. There is also a flange with three steps, at the juncture of the pommel with the hilt. The lions also have bulbous eyes and the same pattern of hair.[84]

The technology and complexity of these compositely assembled swords represents the most advanced level of expertise in weapon-making of antiquity. Each sword was constructed very carefully from various pieces, and the number of different parts varies between different swords.[85] There is seamless continuity in these swords; such that it is extremely difficult to see where the parts join together. They were assembled by way of inserting the blade, which was constructed separatedly into a cavity in the hilt, and then adding two hit rings. The disc pommel was affixed to the tang, and a flange was added to hide the joint. Finally, the human heads and crouching lions were attached to the guard and pommel. The parts locked together tightly into grooves, and it is likely that a process called sweating (involving heating) was

[80] See Haernick and Overlaet 1999: 25.

[81] See Muscarella 1988: 352.

[82] See Amiet 1976: 36, plate 43; Muscarella 1988: 352.

[83] Muscarella 1988: 349.

[84] Muscarella 1988: 349.

[85] Muscarella 1988: 350.

used to fit them into place. On some pieces, there are rivets that hold together the different parts of the hilt, but these are not present universally. On some of the pieces, the blade and hilt are constructed of one single piece.[86] There is evidence that weapons were sometimes made of eight, nine, eleven or fifteen pieces.

The fact that the blade is set perpendicularly to the handle gives rise to some uncertainty regarding these swords. It has been suggested by some researchers that a weapon designed in this way would have been unsuitable for use in combat, and have surmised that they served a purely symbolic function. Other researchers have suggested that these weapons were meant to be used both as utilitarian implements and as weapons, while yet others have suggested that another inlaid section would have been added to the hilt to allow these weapons to be held in a more conventional manner. It is clear from the embellishments that these swords were intended to express a particular messages, perhaps a military or religious rank or ethnic identity, or a mix of all three. Following tests carried out in scientific laboratories, it is now clear that each sword was hand forged in it all of its constituent parts, and no parts were cast. It is likely that the practice of casting was reserved for detailing.[87]

Radiocarbon dating has revealed that two of these swords, currently held at the Musée Royaux d'Art d'Histoire (Royal Museum of Historical Arts) in Brussels, were made at some time during the 1st millennium BC.[88] In addition, two iron swords from the Royal Ontario Museum and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology were subjected to mass spectrometry radiocarbon dating, and the outcome of this test was that they had been made at around 1094 BC +/- 60 years. This would have been the time of Iron Age I (1200–1000 BC), and the results were a surprise to archaeologists and researchers, as the prevailing opinion until that point was that these daggers or swords came from the period of Iron Age III (ca. 800–550 BC).[89] However, it is important to note that this type of test is only capable of determining when the iron was first smelted, and not the date of construction of the metallic objects. Accordingly, it is possible that the swords may have been made of recycled iron. If other items in this category are subjected to the same testing, there will be sufficient

[86] Muscarella 1988: 350.

[87] Muscarella 1988: 351.

[88] Stöllner, Slotta and Vatandust 2004: 692.

[89] Note that Moorey (1974a: 19) classifies the Iron Age III as 800–650 BC.

evidence to know whether this type of weapon can be classed with the earliest iron objects of western Iran[90].

Conclusion

This article has provided a general overview on the analysis of some bronze and iron weapons from Luristan. Luristan is a province located in western Iran and it has been occupied by various tribes and races, throughout its history, such as the Elamites, the Hurrians, the the Lullubians, the Kutians, the Kassites, and the Medians. To date, local tribesmen continue to inhabit Luristan, and their settlement patterns appear very similar to those that probably existed in ancient times. Local tribes today use two respective areas as winter and summer pasturages.

The art of Luristan can be characterized as the art of nomadic herdsmen and horsemen. In Luristan, traditional heritage and beliefs appear to have been resilient and enduring. However, Luristan tribesmen were also influenced by the currents of trade, migration, and brigandage. The artifacts from Luristan in Iran show an exceptional quality and knowledge of weapon making. Unfortunately, many illegal excavations and considerable pillaging took place after the initial discovery in the eastern part of Luristan in Iran, and many pieces were sold on the art markets. The majority of bronze objects that are known as Luristan bronze in the West actually came from illegal excavations. The first scientific excavations took place in the decades after the initial discovery, providing satisfying information about a fascinating culture. The vast number of bronze artifacts excavated from Luristan graves indicates that the most important use of metal and metalworking in ancient times was the production of weapons and tools. Weapons were usually cast, and armor parts were made by a hammering process. The techniques used by Luristan craftsmen to create bronze weapons were highly sophisticated. Different methods of the casting of bronze weapons were used in Luristan that can be classified into three major categories: a) open molds (*qāleb-e bāz*), b) close molds (*qāleb-e baste*), and c) Lost wax (*cire perdue*) casting (*qālebgiri bā mum gomšode*). Additionally, they used a wide variety of surface finishes: repoussé work, chasing and engraving. There are different types of bronze and iron weapons from Luristan that can be classified based on their shape, function, and methods of casting. There are still lots of promising studies which need to be conducted on numerous artifacts from this region. A thorough study and classification of all weapons from Luristan that are kept in the National

[90] See Pigott 2004: 354.

Museum of Iran in Tehran, Museum of Khoramabad in Khoramabad and other Iranian museums should provide a new insight into understanding of these weapons. Some of these weapons stem from controlled excavations and could provide a very useful basis for further research of weapons from Luristan. Although many of these weapons can be classified in the categories provided by Medvedskaya,[91] there are some new forms and shapes that require a new classification. Although there is some metallurgical analysis on some weapons from Luristan, further, metallurgical analysis of the blades of bronze weapons should reveal whether Luristan blades have a higher content of tin in the edges in comparison to their body as is the case in Chinese bronze weapons. This sandwich technique makes a blade with a hard edge in comparison to the soft body. A technology that was later used in making folded steel weapons in China. Although most steel blades were made via crucible steel process in Persian history, folded steel was also made[92]. New archaeological excavations by Iranian archaeologists over the recent years have shown that other regions in Iran also show remarkable funds of weapons which need to be classified and studied so that they can be placed in their proper historical context.

All pictures are courtesy of the Cultural Institute of Bonyad in Tehran.

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[91] Medvedskaya 1982.

[92] See Moshtagh Khorasani 2006.

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Figure 1

Figure 2

Figure 3

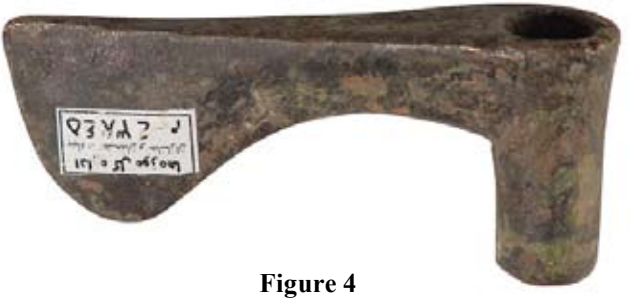

Figure 4

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Figure 11

Figure 12

Figure 13

Figure 14

Los Manuscritos del Mar Muerto y el Nuevo Testamento. El Nuevo Moisés: algunas prácticas de la Ley*

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Summary: Scrolls from the Dead Sea and the New Testament. The New Moses: Some Practices of the Law
In this article, I would like to focus on issues related to the interpretation of the Law of Moses and to highlight the points of view of two Teachers: The Lord of Justice or authentic doctor of the Essenes-Qumranians and Jesus, the New Moses who speaks about Christians' Mountain. As everyone knows, one central topic of the Jewish religion is the observance of the Mosaic Law. That is why it is essential to know wheather these two Teachers agree or disagree regarding the interpretation of the Law. On the other hand, the numerous controversies of Jesus with the scribes, Sadducees and Pharisees, doctors of the Law in the Gospels, are already well known. We will briefly reassess their points of view on some points that even nowadays capture our interest: divorce and adultery, love to the other and the observance of the Sabbath. Then, I will review the Jewish practices in one and other movement, practices that are important to understand Jesus' action to situate his mission, which affect the space and time of the Incarnation and Redemption: exorcism, a practice that makes the Lord's life public; calendars, which regulate everyday Jewish religious life; and the Jewish capital punishment of cruxifiction. These are all the points that the Qumran scrolls have particularly clarified and renewed.

Keywords: Dead Sea scrolls – New Testament – New Moses – Jewish religion

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Resumen: Los manuscritos del Mar Muerto y el Nuevo Testamento. El Nuevo Moisés: algunas prácticas de la Ley
En este artículo, querría detenerme sobre algunos puntos de la interpretación de la Ley de Moisés y subrayar los puntos de vista de dos Maestros: El Maestro de Justicia o doctor auténtico de los eseno-qumranitas y Jesús, el Nuevo Moisés que habla sobre la Montaña. Como todos saben, la observancia de la Ley mosaica está en el centro de la religión judía. Entonces es esencial saber si estos dos Maestros están de acuerdo o divergen en la interpretación de la Ley. Por otra parte son conocidas las numerosas controversias de Jesús con los escribas, los saduceos y los doctores de la Ley fariseos. Pasaremos rápidamente revista de sus posiciones sobre el divorcio y el adulterio, el amor al prójimo y la observancia del descanso sabático, todos puntos que aún hoy nos conciernen. En un segundo momento, daré un vistazo sobre prácticas judías en uno y otro movimiento, prácticas que no carecen de interés para comprender la acción de Jesús y situar su misión, ya que afectan el espacio y el tiempo de la encarnación y la redención: los exorcismos, una práctica conocida que abre la vida pública del Señor, los calendarios en uso en su tiempo que regulan la vida religiosa judía de todos los días, y la pena capital de la crucifixión en el judaísmo. Estos son todos puntos que los manuscritos encontrados en Qumran han particularmente esclarecido y renovado.

Palabras clave: rollos del Mar Muerto – Nuevo Testamento – Nuevo Moisés – religión judía

En otro estudio sobre los manuscritos del Mar Muerto y el Nuevo Testamento[1], traté de localizar a la persona de Jesús como el Mesías esperado en virtud de la esperanza mesiánica de la época, especialmente en el eseno-qumranita de Qumrán, ahora mejor conocido por el descubrimiento de los manuscritos, donde está la expectativa central. Y, también allí, comparo el papel percibido por el Maestro de Justicia de la Comunidad con la misión de Jesús, preparado por Juan el Bautista, mostrando a Jesús como Mesías, rey y sacerdote, en lugar de una pálida figura del Maestro de Justicia, como algunos podían haber pensado en primer lugar. También presento una creencia importante de aquella época, comparando la creencia en la vida futura en los dos movimientos, resultado de una larga maduración de la sabia reflexión sobre la justicia divina, como un premio o castigo eterno después de la muerte. Esta misma esperanza se encuentra en la enseñanza de Jesús y los escritos del Nuevo Testamento.

[1] Puech en prensa.

La Ley

Los esenios y los fariseos, de creencias comunes, se distancian sobre varios puntos en la observancia de la Ley. Los primeros acusan a los segundos de ser "buscadores de aligeramientos", de deformar la Ley de Moisés, supremo legislador. *Mateo* presenta a Jesús como el Profeta que promulga con toda autoridad su ley nueva en la montaña, como un nuevo Moisés.

Se nota, al pasar, que el Sermón de la Montaña es introducido por una serie de nueve bienaventuranzas, ocho de tipo corto, en tercera persona, seguidas de una novena de tipo largo en segunda persona para introducir los discursos que siguen. Esta introducción parece retomada del género macarismos atestiguada por primera vez en hebreo en un manuscrito de *Bienaventuranzas* (= 4Q525) donde se encuentra esta misma disposición: ocho macarismos de tipo corto y uno de tipo largo. Yo he podido mostrar que las dos estrofas de cuatro macarismos como el noveno cuentan el mismo número de palabras, y lo mismo sucede en griego en Mt 5,3–12. Esta disposición de las palabras que no puede deberse al puro azar, debería rehabilitar la antigüedad o la prioridad de la composición mateana sobre la lucana que rompió esta estructura de una punta a la otra, reduciendo las nueve bienaventuranzas en cuatro, todas de tipo corto, y agregándole cuatro maldiciones para guardar las dos estrofas de cuatro macarismos, pero, esta vez, en segunda persona (Lc 6,20–26)[2]. Sin

[2] Ver Puech 1998: 122–128 y Puech 1993, pero ahora también incluyo la novena bienaventuranza de *Mateo* 5,11–12 que forma una tercera estrofa del mismo largo, es decir 36 palabras repartidas así: v. 11 = 7 + 9 = 16, y v. 12 = 11 + 9 = 20 (con *hyparchontas* de muchos manuscritos), de la misma manera en que están repartidas en las estrofas precedentes. Así, parece que Mateo ha conocido y conservado la presentación y la formulación semítica y primitiva de este género literario palestinense que Lucas ha deformado distribuyendo de otra manera las nueve bienaventuranzas reducidas a dos estrofas de cuatro bienaventuranzas de tipo corto (tres de tipo corto y la de tipo largo de Mt 5) y cuatro maldiciones de tipo corto, [es decir, dos estrofas de cuatro], y suprimiendo los semitismos típicos, el primero de los cuales es *'nwy rwḥ* «los pobres de espíritu», expresión conocida únicamente en los textos qumranitas para designar a los pobres que viven en el lote del Espíritu Santo o de la Luz, «los que tienen sed de justica», etc. *Lucas* se dirige a lectores que no tienen una cultura veterotestamentaria y semítica tan pronunciada. Esto refuta la posición del círculo *Jesus Seminar* que busca comprender la enseñanza de Jesús sobre el trasfondo de la filosofía greco-romana, en especial el cinismo, desjudaizando la figura de Jesús. No aventaja en nada sostener una fuente 'Q' hipotética, reducida a un esqueleto reconstituido no sin esfuerzo que, sobre la base de *Lucas*, no debería incluir más que cuatro bienaventuranzas, tres cortas y una larga, conjunto que *Mateo* habría interiorizado particularmente agregando palabras y complicando las secuencias para llegar a nueve bienaventuranzas! Estos exégetas parecen ignorar los antecedentes semíticos de Palestina que prueban la existencia de este género literario y de sus esquemas, y que atestiguan el vocabulario presente en la construcción mateana, ver recientemente incluso Fleddermann

duda el manuscrito de las *Bienaventuranzas* (4Q525) queda en un plano sapiencial y moral, mientras que las bienaventuranzas del evangelio tienen un carácter moral y escatológico en vistas del reino.

¿Es sorprendente, entonces, que *Mateo* continúe con las palabras sobre "la sal de la tierra y la luz del mundo?" Los discípulos de Jesús, no los esenios, son los verdaderos hijos de la Luz a los cuales Jesús enseña con autoridad la Ley Nueva, la Ley de Moisés reconsiderada: "ustedes saben que ha sido dicho... yo les digo..." Entre los casos de *Mateo* que siguen los macarismos en el Sermón (Mt 5,13-48): "no matar, no cometer adulterio, no repudiar a la esposa, no jurar en falso, no enfrentar al que hace mal y amar al prójimo", sólo tres casos van a ser comparados con las enseñanzas esenias, el homicidio, de hecho, no encuentra dificultades.

a. El divorcio y el adulterio

Como *Malaquías* (2,11–16), Jesús se pronuncia contra el divorcio que se opone al plan divino de la creación (Gn 1,27 y 2,24), pero con una excepción: "excepto el caso de fornicación" en la tradición de *Mateo* (Mt 5,31s et 19,3–8, ver Dt 21,13–23,1; 24,1–4), inciso ausente en Mc 10,2–12 y en Lc 16,18, e incluso en 1Cor 7,10–11. ¿Ha cambiado Jesús la Ley por una nueva interpretación mientras que los fariseos autorizan el divorcio invocando Dt 24,1? Estas dos posiciones se encuentran ya, en gran medida, en textos qumranitas[3]. El *Documento de Damasco* (= *CD*) IV 19–V 2 escribe[4]:

> *"[19]...los constructores de murallas...[20]...son atrapados en dos puntos en la lujuria tomando dos[21] mujeres en su vida, mientras el principio de la creación es: "hombre y mujer él los creó". V[1]Y los que entren el arca: "entraran en el arca de dos en dos". Y respecto al príncipe escribe: [2]"No multiplicará el número de sus mujeres".*

2005: 275–335. Para un abordaje diferente, ver Flusser 1988: 102-114, haciendo referencia a 1Q*H*[a] XXIII 15–16 (= *Rollo de los Himnos*), y también, Flusser 1988: 115–125. Este autor estima que Jesús en esto hacía deliberadamente alusión a la doctrina y a la literatura esenias. En cuanto al punto de la doctrina me parece al menos discutible, mientras que las influencias literarias son probables o provienen de un fondo semítico palestinense común.

[3] Ver Broshi 2006: 467s.

[4] Ver también 6Q15 1. La composición final del *Documento de Damasco* es un poco más tardía que la del *Rollo del Templo*, ambas composiciones son esenias a pesar de lo que se ha podido decir.

Luego de haber recordado al príncipe "no multiplicar el número de sus mujeres" (ver Dt 17,17), *CD* V 1–11 condena el incesto y las uniones ilegítimas siguiendo a Lv 18, Ex 20,14 y Dt 5,18 sobre el adulterio. Poligamia (siguiendo Lv 18,18) y segundas nupcias luego del divorcio o de la separación *de facto*, viviendo el otro cónyuge, son también condenadas[5] como lo indicaba ya el *Rollo del Templo* (= 11Q*RT*) LVII 15–19 a propósito del rey:

> *"[15]...no tomará mujer entre todas [16]las hijas de las naciones, sino en su propia familia la tomará, [17]en el clan de su propio padre. No tomará otra mujer más, pero [18]ésa sola será con él todos los días de su vida, y si ella muere, tomará [19]otra en su propia familia, en su propio clan"*

Esta disposición a propósito del rey[6] deriva, probablemente, de la influencia de la ley levítica impuesta al sumo sacerdote (Lv 21,14)[7]. Esta regla estricta se aparta de la permisividad farisea que autoriza al rey a tener hasta dieciocho mujeres (*Misná, Sanedrin* II 4), o que permitía el divorcio por motivos de in-

[5] El sufijo plural "durante su vida" está ciertamente en masculino, pero en hebreo tardío y qumranita (ver Joüon, Muraoka 1991: 551 § 149b, y Qimron 1986: 62), el sufijo masculino puede ser usado para un referente femenino. En efecto, el sufijo masculino referido a los constructores no tendría sentido, porque un hombre no pude casarse sino durante su vida! La precisión sería inútil y se esperaría en su lugar la mención de la viudez o de un divorcio, que no es el caso. Las dos explicaciones que vienen a continuación tomadas de Gn 1,27 (ver Mc 10,6 et Mt 19,4) y 7,9 muestran bien que aquí se ha considerado la sola vida de pareja (Noé y su esposa y los tres hijos de Noé con sus tres esposas). Esta interpretación se refuerza con lo que sigue, que pide al príncipe no multiplicar el número de sus mujeres, a ejemplo de David; se trata siempre del numero de esposas mientras éstas vivan, no de la vida del hombre o del príncipe. La ley válida para el príncipe lo es en mayor razón para cualquier otro rango inferior. Por esta condena de la poligamia, son también condenados el divorcio y las segundas nupcias cuando el conyuge vive que desemboca de hecho en una poligamia, da que el vínculo del primer matrimonio no puede ser disuelto en la concepción esenia y en la de Jesús.

[6] El paralelo con el caso del rey para la elección de la esposa en vista de la pureza dinástica evidentemente no vale para el israelita que no está obligado a tomar esposa en su clan, y el *Rollo del Templo* enumera las prohibiciones al final del manuscrito, LXVI 11–[LXVII 4] = 4Q524 15–22 1–10, ver Puech 1998: 103 ss. Pero el *Rollo del Templo* explicita la prohibición del divorcio para el rey.

[7] No se debe olvidar que en esta época el sumo sacerdote asmoneo era también rey o cumplía el cargo. La fecha de composición que he situado entre 135 y 125 a propósito del ejemplar más antiguo del *Rollo del Templo* (4Q524), ha sido mantenida y apoyada por Elledge 2004. El *Rollo del Templo* no es una composición puramente utópica, sino una reacción contra las prácticas deformadas del presente apelando a los verdaderos principios que deben guiar y regir al Templo y su culto en los tiempos futuros, en la espera del Templo escatológico que Dios creará en los tiempos de la bendición (XXIX 9).

decencia o impudicia (Escuela de Shammai) o por cualquier motivo (Escuela de Hillel), (*Misná, Gittim* IX 10).

Entre las instrucciones que el *Documento de Damasco* da al intendente (CD XIII 12–18 a completar con 4Q266 9 iii 4–10)[8], figuran casos matrimoniales donde el divorcio ha podido ser pronunciado:

> *"[16]... y lo mismo para el que toma mujer, [17][la guiará con] consejo y lo mismo para el que se divorcia. Edu[cará sus hijos e [18]hijas con espí]ritu de humildad y una caridad condescendiente. No debe guardar rencor contra ellos [19][en un comportamiento violento a causa de] sus faltas ni con el que no está ligado por jura[mento [20]personal según] su[s reglamentos".*

Si el caso de "los constructores de murallas" y del rey dan, uno y otro, la posición esenia condenando la poligamia asimilada a la fornicación y el matrimonio en segundas nupcias después del divorcio, en vida del cónyuge, que arrastran al pecado (= adulterio), este último pasaje que reglamenta el comportamiento del "intendente" (*mbqr* que será el *episcopo* en la joven iglesia), reconoce, sin embargo, la posibilidad del divorcio o separación *de facto* entre los esenios casados, no qumranitas, siguiendo a Dt 24,1–4. Lo mismo sucede en el *Rollo del Templo (*LIV 4–5) a propósito de los juramentos siguiendo Num 30,10:

> *"[4]Todo voto de una viuda o de una repudiada, todo lo que la comprometa personalmente, [5]serán válidos para ella conforme a todo lo que salga de su boca".*

Por su parte, Pablo, apelando a una orden del Señor (1Cor 7,10–11), reconocía la posibilidad de separación por parte de la mujer y también de una reconciliación con su marido, pero se oponía al nuevo matrimonio (en vida del cónyuge), así como al divorcio por parte del marido.

Como la Ley de Moisés, el *Rollo del Templo* prohíbe el divorcio en caso de violación, asimilado al rapto de la joven virgen (Dt 22,28-29), dado que la violación ha creado ya el vínculo del matrimonio, y que no se puede tener dos mujeres a la vez durante la vida[9] (la misma idea en 1Cor 6,16). Lo mismo en

[8] Ver Baumgarten, Milik 1996: 70–71.

[9] Ver Puech 1988: 103 ss.: 4Q524 15–22 1–2 = 11Q*RT* LXVI 8–11:

> "…[8]Si un hombre seduce a una joven [9]virgen con la que no está de novio pero que podría ser legalmente la suya, y se acuesta con ella [10]y es sorprendido, el hombre que se acostó

otro manuscrito (4Q*Ordenanzas* – 4Q159 fragmentos 2-4 8-10) que sigue Dt 22,13-21 pero cambiando el orden de las cláusulas :

> *"[8]Si un hombre difama a una virgen de Israel, si habla el día de su matrimonio, mujeres de confianza [9]la examinarán, y si no ha mentido en este tema, ella será ejecutada, pero si ha atestiguado falsamente en contra de ella, él será deudor de dos minas [10]y será despedido para toda su vida".*[10]

Es claro que la pena de muerte aquí está ligada a la mentira de la mujer, ya que ella estaba ligada ya o casada con un hombre, haciendo una sola carne con la primera pareja[11]. La culpable es adúltera y punible de muerte según la Ley.

En los dos casos, se precisa la prohibición a casarse de nuevo, combinado con la imposibilidad de divorcio en el caso de violación. Pero el divorcio o la separción *de facto* (sin volver a casarse en vida del conyuge) debía ser autorizada en otros casos (impudicia, adulterio?), como resulta de algunos pasajes citados más arriba (*CD* XIII 12–20, y *Rollo del Templo* LIV 4–5), mientras que el rey no lo podía de ninguna manera.

En este tema —con el acuerdo pleno de las fuentes— Jesús toma una posición diferente e incluso opuesta a la práctica de la mayoritaria corriente

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con ella, dará al padre de la joven cincuenta siclos de plata y ella será [11]su mujer, porque él abusó de ella. No podrá repudiarla en toda su vida".

Para una lista de uniones prohibidas, entre las que figura el caso de Herodíades denunciado por Juan Bautista, ver Puech 1988: 103–108. Esta prohibición alcanza al caso general de divorcio (en vistas a volver a casarse).

[10] Ver Allegro 1968. Con Dt 22,29 y *RT* LXVI 10, este pasaje somete al marido a una penalidad pecuniaria. Pero en el final difiere del *Rollo del Templo*, en que no hay una prohibición explícita de repudiarla en toda su vida (esto debe ser supuesto dados los preceptos de la Ley), sino la exclusión del grupo: pasaje a leer así: *wšlḥ kwl ymyw*. Lo que sigue lleva *kwl* [*'yš*]*'šr*[ ]*lhšwt 't y*[, "Todo[hombre]que[…]olvidando .[..". Brin 1997: 239–242, es el primero en haber notado este final divergente, en lugar de restauraciones imposibles propuestas anteriormente. Este despido ¿hay que compararlo con la exclusión de *CD* – 4Q270?

[11] Ver Shemesh 1998. Esto alcanza al caso de la joven que tendría mala reputación (prostituta) o que habría tenido una relación sexual en la casa de su padre (una virgen profanada antes de haber sido acordada en matrimonio), o de la mujer que quedó viuda (ver las copias del *Documento de Damasco* – 4Q270 5 y 269 9 // 4Q271 3 10–15), sugiriendo que después de un examen sobre la no consumación de una sospechosa unión precedente realizado por mujeres de confianza, la joven virgen puede casarse, y la viuda sin faltas (= sin convicción de haber cometido adulterio) durante su viudez puede casarse en segundas nupcias, ya que el primer vínculo ha desaparecido con la muerte de su esposo.

judía farisea. Es más estricto que sus contemporáneos, en su posición clara contra el divorcio y el casamiento en segundas nupcias en vida del cónyuge, causas de adulterio[12], en sí mismo condenado por la Ley (Ex 20,14 [y 17], Dt 5,18 [y 21], Mt 5,27 [y 28]), y contra la poligamia (ver la tradición primitiva en Mt 5,31–32; 19,3–9, Mc 10,2–12 y Lc 16,18, y ya 1Co 7,10–11 donde Pablo da un consejo en nombre del Señor)[13]. Los fariseos, conocidos por lo escritos judíos (*Misná* y *Tosefta*) por su interés en la cuestión del divorcio, interrogan a Jesús sobre su legalidad (Mc 10,2–12, ver Mt 19,7–8; 5,31). Si Moisés ha sido llevado a legislar de esa manera, responde Jesús, es a causa de ustedes, pero al principio de la creación, no era así, en el designio de Dios (Gn 1,27 y 2,24), sin acomodamientos de leyes mosaicas ('oposición' entre una orden divina de forma apodíctica, Mc 10,9, y un mandamiento de Moisés de tipo casuístico, Mc 10,11–12, los dos contenidos en la Ley). Es evidente que si el divorcio está prohibido (Mc 10,6–9), el matrimonio en segundas nupcias lo está también, dos puntos íntimamente vinculados, por causa de adulterio, en sí mismo prohibido, lo mismo que en 1 Co 7,11–12. Por el contrario, el divorcio puede estar permitido en ciertos casos, mientras que el casarse de vuelta siempre prohibido. Es también las posición de los esenios opuestos a la poligamia y al volver a casarse después del divorcio, más cercanos a la posición de Jesús en la interpretación de la Ley, ambos invocando los pasajes del *Génesis* sobre la unidad de la pareja humana en el origen. Pablo lo reinvindica también

[12] Si la primera unión ha contraído un vínculo indisoluble, cualquiera otra unión posterior no puede no ser otra cosa que adulterio. Este es también el punto de vista esenio subrayado más arriba, ver la nota 11. Aunque el divorcio parecía legal a los ojos de, al menos, gran parte de la sociedad de la época (Mt 5,31, Mc 10,2–4, ver Dt 24,1), para Jesús el vínculo de la primera unión es siempre válido en nombre del principio de la creación (Gn 2,24, Mc 10,6–8). En el Evangelio (Mt 14,3–4, Mc 6,17–18), el caso del reproche de Juan Bautista a Herodes que había repudiado a su mujer para casarse con Herodíades, la mujer de su hermano, es la causa de su ejecución. La falta de Herodes Antipas consiste no tanto en haberse casado con su sobrina (lo que reprobaban los esenios, ver el *Rollo del Templo*, 4Q524 15–22) sino en haberla tomado de su hermano aun vivo después de haber repudiado a su propia mujer [según Flavio Josefo, *Antigüedades* XVIII §§ 109–112, se trataría de un caso de poligamia, no habiendo sido pronunciado el divorcio, ya que la esposa huyó a lo de su padre Aretas después de haber descubierto el proyecto de divorcio]. Pero también se vislumbra el caso de divorcio, siempre a iniciativa del esposo en la sociedad judía, entregando a la mujer repudiada a un nuevo casamiento adúltero para poder subvenir a sus necesidades.

[13] Mc 10,11–12 como 1Co 7,10–11 consideran el derecho de la mujer a repudiar a su marido, lo que no es una costumbre judía palestinense, sino una práctica que releva otro medio cultural diferente, greco-romano donde la mujer tenía más derechos. Ver también Meier 2009: 95–128 y 163–181, especialemente p. 109–112, pero *ep' autèn* en Mc 10,11 o *autèn* en Mt 5,32 no son necesariamente adiciones cristianas en una sociedad greco-romana.

como una orden del Señor en 1 Co 7,10–11. Pero Jesús es también más abierto que sus contemporáneos oponiéndose a la ejecución de la mujer adúltera (Jn 8,2–11).

En consecuencia, el caso del inciso sobre la fornicación o la impudicia como motivo de divorcio, que no parece remontarse a la enseñanza del Jesús histórico, corresponde al caso previsto en *Documento de Damasco* (4Q270 7 i 12–13 = 267 9 vi 4–5)[14]:

> *"[12]… Y el hombre que se acerque a [13]su mujer para fornicar, lo que no es conforme a la Ley, deberá salir y no volver jamás".*

Este inciso único en *Mateo* (5,32 y 19,8, tal vez también a leer en el inciso de 1 Co 7,11) ¿muestra una influencia de la *halakha* esenia sobre la tradición de la iglesia primitiva palestinenese (ver 1 Co 6,18)? Esto no se puede excluir totalmente teniendo en cuenta las dificultdes jurídicas propias de estas comunidades palestinenses que han debido tener que acoger a los esenios convertidos. En este sentido, las prácticas esenias y las de la joven Iglesia se encuentran muy próximas, ésta habiendo adaptado una cláusula de divorcio ausente, así parece (?), de la enseñanza de Jesús.

b. El amor al prójimo

Para Jesús, el doble mandamiento del amor, amor a Dios y al prójimo (en Mc 12,8–34 y //, según Dt 6,4–5 + Lv 19,18b)[15] es el primer y el más grande mandamiento que resume toda la Ley y los Profetas (ver Mt 22,36–40 // Lc 10,25–28, ver también 1 Jn 4,20 – 5,3). Es una formulación única como tal en el Antiguo y el Nuevo Testamento como también en el judaísmo antiguo[16] in-

[14] Ver Baumgarten, Milik 1996: 163–164 y 110–111.

[15] El arreglo de estos dos mandamientos, el primero y el segundo en este mismo orden (*Deuteronomio* + *Levítico*), pone en práctica la regla hermenéutica que los rabinos después nombrarán *gezéra šawa*.

[16] Comparar *Jubileos* (composition pre-esenia fechada alrededor de 160 a 155 a.C.) 7,20: "[20]… El (Noé) prescribió a sus hijos … a amar cada uno a su prójimo…"; 20,2 y 7 : "[2]El (Abraham) les ordenó guardar el camino del Señor, cumplir la justicia, amarse los unos a los otros, y que sea así en todo, que cada uno se conduzca para con los otros cumpliendo en la tierra la justicia y el derecho …[7]… amad al Dios del cielo y someteos a sus mandamientos". O incluso en la boca de Isaac, 36,4 y 7–8: "[4]Continuad, mis hijos, a amarse entre hermanos, como un hombre se ama a sí mismo, cada uno buscando el bien sobre la tierra. Que se amen los unos a los otros como a ellos mismos …[7]… Sed los que temen el Nombre glorioso y lo adoran, [8]cada uno amando a su hermano con ternura y humildad, y no deseando nada de malo para su hermano".

sistiendo sobre la superioridad de los dos mandamientos del amor sobre todos los otros mandamientos, que los resumen sin anularlos, formulación que sobrepasa los formalismos y jerarquización de los fariseos, saduceos y esenios.

Al "ustedes saben que se dijo: amarás a tu prójimo y odiarás a tu enemigo" (Mt 5,43), —pero Lv 19,18 dice "amarás a tu prójimo como a ti mismo" lo que hay que completar con el pensamiento del piadoso salmista: "Yahvé, ¿no voy a odiar a los que te odian y a despreciar a los que te atacan? Sí, los odio con un odio perfecto, los considero mis enemigos" (Sal 139,21–22)[17]— Jesús responde con el amor a los enemigos, otro mandamiento, completamente nuevo, sin ningún paralelo en otras partes:

> *"Yo les digo: amen a sus enemigos, oren por los que los persiguen... (Mt 5,38–48).*
> *"Amen a sus enemigos, hagan el bien a los que los odian, bendigan a los que los maldicen..." (Lc 6,27–36).*

Estas instrucciones son lo opuesto a la práctica esenia en la *Regla de la Comunidad-Serek* (= 1Q*S*) cuyo cometido es claramente definido:

> *"... buscar a [2]Dios con todo su corazón y con toda su alma, hacer lo que correcto y justo ante Su faz según lo que [3]ha prescrito por Moisés y todos sus servidores los profetas" (1QS I 1–3)*

es decir:

> *"[3]... amar todo lo que ha elegido y odiar todo lo que ha rechazado" (1QS I 3–4).*

en concreto:

En los *Testamentos de los Doce Patriarcas* cuya datación es discutida, y la redacción final, aunque pueda comprender elementos arameos en el inicio, es ciertamente cristiana y posterior al Nuevo Testamento, no se encuentra la formulación del doble mandamiento del amor como primero y segundo mandamiento, superiores a todos los otros, o como resumen de toda la Ley. Ver *Test. d'Isacar* 5,2: "Amad al Señor y a vuestro prójimo" (ver 7,6 "todo hombre", *Test. de Dan* 5,3, *Test. de* Benjamín 3,3-5), y el amor a los hermanos: *Test. de Simeón* 4,7, *Test. de Rubén* 6,9, *Test. de Gad* 4,2.

[17] Ver también Sal 35, y muchos otros pasajes de la Biblia, donde Dios manda odiar y destruir a los enemigos de Israel, Dt 7,1–5.24–25, Jr 15,15 ; 18,21–23 ; 20,11s, etc.

> *"[9]... Amar a todos los hijos de la luz, cada uno [10]según el designio divino, y odiar a todos los hijos de las tinieblas, cada uno según su culpabilidad [11]en la venganza de Dios" (1QS I 9–11)*

e incluso:

> *"[21]...Y tal son las reglas de conducta para el instructor, en el curso de sus etapas, que conciernen su amor y su odio, odio eterno [22]hacia los hombres de perdición" (1QS IX 21–22).*

o *Documento de Damasco* VI 14–21:

> *"[14]...separarse [15]de los hijos de perdición ...[20]amar cada uno a su hermano [21]como a sí mismo".*

Este amor de los miembros de la Comunidad, de su prójimo (*rea'*)-hermano, o de los hombres del partido de Dios y este odio a los hijos de las tinieblas, el partido de Belial[18], resulta perfectamente de las bendiciones pronunciadas por los sacerdotes y las maldiciones por los levitas en la fiesta de Pentecostés: en la entrada en la alianza o en su renovación(1Q*S* I 16–II 18)[19]. Esta es una práctica constante de la comunidad esenia en todas sus composiciones, aun cuando la venganza y la retribución de los impíos son dejadas sólo al juicio de Dios. De todos modos, el esenio no debe tener piedad con los que se desvían del Camino, no debe mostrar buena voluntad hacia ellos, salvo hacia los convertidos (=el prójimo o hermano) (1Q*S* X 17–21, etc.). El concepto de la guerra escatológica, muy presente en los escritos esenios (*Rollo de la Guerra-Milḥamah* = 1Q*M*–4Q*M*), se opone al amor a los enemigos.

Así, para el esenio, el doble mandamiento: buscar a Dios y amar a todos los hijos de la luz pero odiar a todos los hijos de las tinieblas, está en oposición al doble mandamiento del amor ordenado por el Maestro galileo, Jesús: amar a Dios y a su prójimo, incluso su enemigo, ver también Rm 12,14. Estos arreglos y disposiciones completamente nuevos no pueden haber sido formulados sino por Jesús mismo.

[18] Flavio Josefo, *Guerra Judía*, 2 §§ 139–140, resume a su modo este mismo ritual de entrada a la Comunidad: "primero jura practicar la piedad hacia la divinidad, después, observar la justicia respecto a todos los hombres…, odiar siempre a los injustos …"

[19] Esta maldición es el contrapeso exacto de la bendición sacerdotal en Num 6,24–26 : nada de misericordia, nada de perdón ni de paz sino una mirada de cólera para la venganza respecto a los impíos (= los no miembros del grupo).

La parábola del Buen Samaritano (Lc 10,30 ss), la escena del Juicio final (Mt 25,31–46), el abandono de la ley del talión (Mt 5,38–42, Lc 6,29s) o la Regla de oro (Mt 7,12 // Lc 6,31)[20] por ejemplo, muestran bien quién es el prójimo en el pensamiento de Jesús y de la joven iglesia en ese medio judío contemporáneo tan diversificado. Si en *Levítico* (19,18b), el prójimo es el compatriota judío (excluyendo al extranjero residente–*ger*), se sigue que será el judío excluyendo al samaritano, y sólo los hijos de la luz para los esenios. En esto otra vez, la enseñanza de Jesús sobre el amor a todo hombre no puede depender del esenismo, aunque las dos corrientes manden a sus discípulos a ser "perfectos como el Padre celeste es perfecto" o "santos como Dios es santo" o incluso ser "hijos de la luz" tan prudentes como "los hijos de este mundo" (Lc 16,8)[21].

c. El Sabbat

Siendo una de las prescripciones fundamentales de la Ley fundada sobre el descanso de Dios el séptimo día (Ex 20,8–11), la pena capital le espera a quién profane el sabbat, porque el sabbat es sagrado y su observancia es signo de salvación (Ex 31,12–17; 35,2, Nm 15,35–36). Con resultados diversos, los profetas han debido sin cesar recordar su observancia[22]. En la época helenística, los piadosos observantes (*ḥasîdîm*) habían preferido huir al desierto y morir antes que obedecer a Antíoco IV y combatir ese día, mientras que Matatías permitió defenderse el día del sabbat, y los piadosos rebeldes se les unieron en la lucha por sus vidas y sus observancias defendiendo así la Ley (1 Mac 2,29–42; 9,43–49, 2 Mac 5,25–26). En este tema, las opiniones estaban divididas: violar un mandamiento central de la Ley para salvar su vida siguiendo el sentido común. Ciertos piadosos preferían seguir al pie de la letra la Ley

[20] Meier 2009: 551–57, estima que la Regla de oro no pertenece a los *logia* de Jesús, y que, máxima aislada en Mt 7,12 y Lc 6,31, muy difundida en el mundo antiguo, inclusive judío (Tob 4,15, en negativo, etc.), fue insertada en esas máximas morales, mientras que le falta coherencia con las órdenes ético-legalistas de Jesús en esos pasajes.

[21] Flusser 1998: 150–68, que hace de los "hijos de la luz" de este pasaje a los esenios, idea que encuentra apoyo en el uso de la expresión típicamente esenia "mammon de iniquidad" (16,9), estima que Jesús ha conocido a los esenios y algunas de sus composiciones como los *Himnos,...* Aquí Jesús se estaría oponiendo al separatismo económico practicado por los esenios.

[22] Ver Am 8,5, Jr 17,19–27, Ez 20,12 ; 22,8.26 ; 44,44, Is 58,13–14, o incluso Neh 9,14 ; 10,32 ; 13,15–22.

como la resume *Jubileos* (50,6–13): "Cualquiera que realice un trabajo, ayuno o haga la guerra el día del sabbat, debe morir"[23].

Respecto al sabbat, los piadosos esenios observan reglas muy estrictas, más severas que las de los fariseos. El *Documento de Damasco* solo (X 14–XI 18, // 4Q266 9 i 1–4, 4Q270 6 v 1–21, 4Q271 5 i 1–12) puntualiza veintisiete artículos, pero los manuscritos específicamente esenios encontrados en Qumrán, aunque muy fragmentarios, prevén otros más (ver 4Q251 1–2, 4Q264a 1–3, 265 6 y 7 1–2, 274 2 i 1–3, e incluso Flavio Josefo, *Guerra* II § 147)[24].

Aquí un caso con paralelo en los evangelios:

> *"[13]Que nadie ayude a una bestia a parir el día del sabbat. Y si ella cae en una cisterna [14]o en una fosa, no se la puede retirar el día del sabbat…[15]…[16]Pero todo ser humano que cae en un lugar lleno de agua o en (otro) lugar, [17]que no se lo retire por medio de una escalera, una cuerda u otro instrumento" (CD XI 13–14, 16–17 = 4Q270 6 v 17–18,19–20 = 4Q271 5 i 8–9,10–11).*

La aplicación de la ley marca una diferencia entre un animal y un hombre, como lo precisa incluso otro manuscrito, *Reglas diversas* (4Q265 6 5–8):

[23] Ver incluso Jub 2,25–28. El libro de los *Jubileos* que data de alrededor de los años 160 a 155 a.C., toma posición contra la decisión de Judas Maccabeo y de sus aliados, no sadocitas, invocando lo que está escrito en las tablas de la Ley (50,13). 2 Mac 8,24–28 reporta que Judas Macabeo detuvo el combate la víspera del sabbat, ver también 2 Mac 5,24–26 en cuanto al tema del descanso judío en tiempos de guerra, sin embargo los judíos pudieron salir de la ciudad (la distancia no es precisada)! Comparar la conducta de los partisanos de Aristóbulo II que permanecen en la reserva, el día de sabbat, ante Pompeyo preparando el enfrentamiento (Flavio Josefo, *Guerra* I §§ 146–147). *1 Macabeos* reporta una conducta diferente de Judas Macabeo como autodefensa en tiempos de guerra.

[24] Ver Baumgarten, Milik 1996 y Baumgarten, Larson, Lehmann, Schiffman 1999. Ver también Schiffman 1975, o incluso, más conciso, Schiffman 1994: 275–282, Hempel 1998: 187, y Noam, Qimron 2009, que es una nueva edición, reconstrucción y estudio de las leyes del sabbat en 4Q264a et 4Q421a: 1) prohibición de tocar un instrumento de música, tal vez las trompetas del sabbat por los sacerdotes incluso en el ritual sacrificial del Templo (4Q493, líneas 13–14, ver Nm 10,10 y la *halakha* rabínica), 2) de leer y estudiar un rollo (exceptuados los maestros para lectura pública, ver 4Q251 1–2 que prohibe el estudio), y 3) de encender o dejar quemar los carbones para el sabbat (igual que los Caraítas o los Samaritanos, contrariamente a las Escuelas de Shammai y de Hillel, ver también Flavio Josefo, *Guerra* II § 147, que agrega otras prohibiciones). Por comparación, la *Misná, Sabbat* 7,2, clasifica 39 prohibiciones. El *Documento de Damasco*, posterior en casi una generación a *Jubileos*, permite captar la evolución de la *halakha* del círculo de los piadosos en este tema, aun cuando otras prohibiciones aparecen en otros manuscritos lamentablemente con lagunas, y se ignora el número exacto de sus prohibiciones (superior a las 30).

> *"[5]...Que no se retire un animal que cae [6]en el agua el día del sabbat. Pero si es un hombre el que cae en el agua [7][el día] del sabbat, que se le tienda su ropa para sacarlo, no obstante no se puede utilizar un instrumento [8][para sacarlo el día del] sabbat."*

Estas dos formulaciones relevan la misma interpretación rigurosa de la Ley ya en el siglo II a.C.: una formulada negativamente, la otra más positivamente, pero siempre bajo el signo de salvación de una vida humana, quedando a salvo, sin embargo, el carácter sagrado del sabbat que no puede sufrir ninguna derogación, como el portar o utilizar un instrumento.

Ante este rigorismo esenio, que es también el de los piadosos que rechazan combatir el sabbat prefiriendo morir que salvar su vida, la enseñanza y la práctica de Jesús sobrepasan de lejos los aligeramientos introducidos por los fariseos, como lo muestra un relato de curación en *Lucas* (14,1–6):

> *"Un sábado, entró a comer en casa de uno de los principales fariseos. Ellos lo observaban atentamente. Delante de él había un hombre enfermo de hidropesía. Jesús preguntó a los doctores de la Ley y a los fariseos: "¿Está permitido currar en sabbat o no?". Pero ellos guardaron silencio. Entonces lo tomó, lo curó y lo despidió. Y volviéndose hacia ellos, les dijo: "Si a alguno de ustedes se le cae en un pozo su hijo o su buey, ¿acaso no lo saca enseguida el día del sabbat?". A esto no pudieron responder nada."*

La actitud de los fariseos muestra que, algunos de ellos al menos, habían introducido flexibilidades no distinguiendo más entre el caso de un animal y el de un hombre, ni los medios utilizados para retirarlos[25]. Un relato comparable se encuentra en *Mateo* (12,9–14), y si bien están de acuerdo en la interpretación de la Ley, los fariseos quieren encontrar un motivo para acusar

[25] Es difícil saber con precisión si los legistas fariseos distinguían todavía el caso de un animal y el de un hombre, como podría dejarlo entender el tratado *Sabbat* 14,3 que autoriza a alimentar una bestia caída en un pozo para sacarla después del sabbat (¿se trata de una puesta por escrito de una tradición oral más antigua? aunque sin otra precisión; de todos modos una alimentación que supone llevar el alimento ¿no contraviene ya las prohibiciones sabáticas?). En el relato de *Lucas*, Jesús parece en acuerdo con una práctica corriente de la población ordinaria, la sociedad de su época menos estricta, en este caso, que los legistas y doctores fariseos que los esenios calificaban sin embargo "buscadores de aligeramientos". Por otra parte, los fariseos no se planteaban la cuestión del salvataje de una vida humana, sin preocuparse de los medios utilizados, como los esenios.

a Jesús si él opera una curación, considerada como una violación del sabbat[26]. Jesús también subordina el descanso sabático a la vida, pero en un sentido más amplio, incluida la salud del hombre (ver Mc 3,4, Jn 7,23), imagen del Dios viviente:

> *"¿Quién de ustedes, si tiene una sola oveja y ésta cae a un pozo el día del sabbat, no la va a sacar? ¡Cuánto más vale un hombre que una oveja! Por lo tanto, está permitido hacer una buena acción el día del Sabbat" (Mt 12,11–14).*

Este ejemplo permite aprehender los puntos de fricción en la interpretación de la Ley entre la estricta que hacían los esenios y la suavizada de los fariseos, o incluso en discusiones entre las escuelas de legistas fariseos, aun cuando los unos y los otros han buscado allí el camino de salvación[27]. Usando una regla judía de interpretación (*qal waḥômer*), Jesús saca una consecuencia de gran importancia. Ya que el hombre está por encima de la oveja, está entonces permitido hacer el bien el día del sabbat. Este principio está en la base de toda su enseñanza y de su acción, como lo subrayan los evangelios en los

[26] Como Lc 13,10–17 y 14,1–6, Mt 12,9–14 plantea la cuestión esperada de la legalidad de una curación el día del sabbat. Como no se deben hacer ese día lo que son ocupaciones de días laborables, parece bien que una curación entre, de hecho en esta época, en estas categorías de actividades que violaban el sabbat, ver Lc 13,14, Mc 3,1–6 y 1,32 que, en la secuencia del relato, todos los enfermos y poseídos son llevados a Jesús, cuando llegó la noche, después de caer el sol, una vez que el sabbat pasó, lo que muestra que su talento de sanador es reconocido. En lugar de la trampa tendida por los fariseos en Mt 12,14, los dos casos de Lucas presentan a Jesús enseñando en una sinagoga y plantenado la cuestión de la licitud de una curación, como si eso no fuera de suyo. Su enseñanza que no parece responder al comentario esperado de la Escritura (ver nota 24), podría significar que, en este caso donde el acto se une a la palabra, infringía lo que estaba permitido incluso por los doctores fariseos. Una curación en efecto no puede ser asimilada a la salvación de una vida (*piquaḥ nefeš*). Pero seguramente Jesús no utiliza medios para la curaciónes, algún género de plantas medicinales o aromáticas que están prohibidas por *CD* X 9–10. Es difícil seguir hasta el final a Meier 2009: 252–267, 293–297, para quien en ningún relato de milagro de los evangelios sinópticos, el día del sabbat, se remonta al Jesús histórico, y los dos relatos de curación de *Juan* 5 et 9 que se remontarían a Jesús, no tuvieron lugar el sabbat! (Notar sin embargo, cómo en su extensión abundan los matices "probable, posible").

[27] Por otro lado, Jesús adopta y defiende la posición y la práctica "del buen sentido popular": salvar cualquier vida, por una parte y, por otra, hacer el bien, la curación es asimilada a una liberación, ver Lc 13,15, es decir, el deber de oponerse todo el tiempo al poder del diablo bajo todas sus formas, posesiones, enfermedades, etc., además de las ataduras que es necesario desatar o romper.

relatos de curaciones y milagros[28], incluso el día del sabbat. Jesús ha recordado a los judíos un abordaje diferente de la Ley:

> *"El sabbat está hecho para el hombre y no el hombre para el sabbat, de suerte que el Hijo del Hombre es señor también del sabbat" (Mc 2,27–28).*

Esa es la afirmación de su autoridad[29] y del poder de su mensaje, abierto al servicio del hombre y de la libertad del amor cuyas exigencias fundamentales de la Ley anulan, sobrepasándolas, las reglamentaciones que podrían ser un obstáculo. También lisiados, cojos, ciegos están todos invitados al Reino (Lc 14,12–24), mientras que ellos estaban excluidos de la Comunidad así como del Templo, en nombre de la Ley mosaica, por simples motivos de pureza ritual tomados al pie de la letra (*Regla de la Congregación* = 1Q*Sa* II 3–11)[30].

Cuando se pronuncia contra el divorcio, Jesús no está lejos de la posición de los esenios, pero su firme oposición a cualquier forma de juramento lo distingue más[31], como sus posiciones sobre las reglas de pureza ritual y moral[32].

[28] Curaciones y milagros diversos debían formar parte de los beneficios que Dios cumpliría cuando se diera la venida del mesías, ver 4Q *Apocalipsis mesiánico* — 4Q521, 2 ii + 4 12–13, y Mt 11,7 y Lc 7,22.

[29] En Mc 2,27–28, Jesús considera el sabbat como un don de Dios fundado en la creación (como lo hace para la prohibición del divorcio y la poligamia, aquí arriba), y no sólo sobre una ley, cuya observancia debe ser correctamente interpretada. El reposo sabático no es una carga para el hombre sino una liberación. No es un fin sino un medio para el bien del hombre completo. Jesús tiene autoridad sobre la ley del sabbat, porque él es Señor del sabbat como el Dios creador. Aunque los relatos de controversia de Mc 2,23-25 y // son composiciones de los evangelistas, el fundamento de su posición sobre el principio de la creación en *Génesis*, debe remontarse a Jesús mismo.

[30] Ver Barthélemy, Milik 1955: 108–18.

[31] Ver las prohibiones en Mt 5,33–37, las críticas de los escribas y de los fariseos en 23,16–22, y el paralelo en Sant 5,12, el único pasaje de la carta que revoca claramente la ley mosaica. Decir la verdad evita hacer juramentos y perjurios. Sin embargo en la misma vena, 1Q*S* VI 27–VII 4 y *CD* XV 1–4 prohiben también los juramentos donde intervendrían el nombre de Dios o del Señor, la Ley de Moisés y las maldiciones de la Alianza para evitar el perjurio. Pero por otro lado, el esenio se compromete por el juramento en la entrada a la Alianza, *CD* XV 5–XVI 6 // 4Q266 8 i 1–9 // 270 6 ii 5–21 // 271 4 i 10–ii 16 (+), 1Q*S* I 18–II 19, y debe comprometerse también en otros juramentos, *CD* XV 6–12, IX 8–12 // 4Q267 9 i 4–7, 270 6 iv 1–3, con pasajes que discuten de votos que pueden o no ser anulados, ver también Flavio Josefo, *Guerra* II §§ 139–142.

[32] Ver Mc 7 y //. Sobre este tema, ver últimamente Meier 2009: 342–477. Los manuscritos del Mar Muerto contienen numerosos pasajes que tocan las diversas reglas de pureza que no pueden ser estudiadas en esta nota.

El es Señor del sabbat y en lo concerniente a la práctica de la Ley, vuelve siempre al principio primero y fundamental de la creación y de la vida en su origen, mostrándose diferente por eso de esenios y fariseos, hasta en el doble mandamiento del amor que resume y engloba a los otros. En esto no vino a abolir la Ley y los Profetas, sino a cumplirla llevándola a su perfección (Mt 5,17). Así lo comprendieron los autores del Nuevo Testamento presentándolo como un auténtico Maestro judío.

Las prácticas

Si los usos y costumbres encuentran su fundamento en la Ley, ciertas prácticas se encuentran en esto en una relación más difusa. Se presentarán ahora los exorcismos, los calendarios y la pena capital de la crucifixión, temas que los manuscritos han particularmente esclarecido y renovado.

a. Los exorcismos

La invocación del nombre divino es lo central de una fórmula universalmente recibida de rituales de exorcismos de la que un rollo de Qumrán (*Salmos Apócrifos*[a] = 11Q*PsAp*[a]) ha proporcionado buenos ejemplos, los primeros en lengua hebrea[33]. El rollo debía contener "los cuatro Salmos a canturrear sobre los poseídos" mencionados en un manuscrito (*Salmos*[a] = 11Q*Ps*[a] XXVII 9–10)[34]. Mencionemos también los *Cánticos del Sabio* (= 4Q510–511)[35], propiamente esenios, para acompañar el combate que se libra, en el corazón de cada hombre, entre las tinieblas y la luz que, que respectivamente, presiden Belial y Miguel, de donde la imperativa necesidad de invocar el nombre divino YHWH, Dios sanador y señor de la vida. Porque, para un semita, pronunciar el nombre divino, es tener poder sobre la divinidad que, a su vez, tiene poder sobre los dos espíritus, sobre el espíritu malvado como sobre el espíritu de verdad, como lo recuerda la *Instrucción sobre los dos Espíritus* de la *Regla de la Comunidad* (1Q*S* I–IV), y por otro lado, los esenios pasaban por sanadores[36].

[33] Para una puesta al día bastante reciente, ver Puech 2000. Para el *Librito mágico arameo* (= 4Q560), ver Puech 2009.

[34] Ver Sanders 1965: 91–93.

[35] Ver Baillet 1982: 215–262.

[36] Por su parte, Flavio Josefo describe a los esenios como expertos en el arte de la curación y de las propiedades medicinales de las plantas y de las piedras, *Guerra* II § 136. Ver también *Jubileos* 10,1–14.

Los Evangelios y los Hechos de los Apóstoles, reportan numerosas curaciones con o sin imposición de manos[37], como también exorcismos hechos por Jesús, desde el comienzo de su ministerio, actuando por su propia autoridad en tanto que Hijo único de Dios y en igualdad con Dios a quién sólo él llama *Abba* "Padre" (Mc 14,36, Lc 11,2; 22,42; 23,34, Mt 26,39, Rm 8,15, Ga 4,6). Los discípulos que él envía, deben invocar el nombre de Jesús en lugar del tetragrama o nombre divino, Yahvé (Mc 1,23–27; 5,2–20; 9,14.21; 6,7–13 y //, Lc 9,49). Haciendo esto, en lugar de seguir el ritual bien conocido y perfectamente aceptado por los esenios que nos han transmitido algunos ejemplos, Jesús innova reemplazando la inmutable y sacrosanta fórmula de la invocación del nombre divino del ritual, parte esencial para la eficacia misma del rito de exorcismo, por una orden personal que se muestra eficaz:

> *"Espíritu malvado, yo te lo ordeno, sal de ese hombre" (Mc 1,25, etc.)*

Esta innovación repentina y totalmente sorprendente, provoca la reacción esperada de los testigos:

> *"¡Una doctrina nueva, expuesta con autoridad! Manda hasta a los espíritus malvados y le obedecen" (Mc 1,27).*

Sólo Jesús podía por sí mismo cambiar la fórmula sin perjudicar la eficacia que se le atribuía, lo que ningún mago o taumaturgo jamás osó hacer en la práctica multimilenaria del Cercano Oriente antiguo hasta nuestros días.

Si el cristianismo primitivo ha reemplazado el tetragrama o nombre divino por el de "Jesús" o "Señor- *kyrios*", es que Jesús mismo había cambiado la fórmula y dado a los discípulos la orden de expulsar a los espíritus malvados "en su nombre= en el nombre de Jesús". En eso mismo, Jesús traducía en sus palabras, sus actos y sus órdenes una revelación del misterio de su persona y la conciencia que él tenía de su misión. Reemplazando el nombre divino

[37] La curación por la imposición de manos (Lc 13,11–13) es conocida por el *Apócrifo del Génesis* (= 1Q*ApGn* XX 21–23,28-29: Abraham imponiendo las manos al Faraón para curarlo), pero no es una práctica típicamente esenia o judía, como a menudo se escribe; es considerada como habitual desde tiempos antiguos, ver 2 R 5,11: "Yo (Naaman) me dije: Seguramente él (Eliseo) saldrá y se presentará, después invocará el nombre de Yahvé su Dios, agitará la mano sobre el lugar enfermo y librará la parte leprosa", y por la magia asiro-babilónica, ver Dupont-Sommer 1960.

- YHWH por el "yo–*ego*" ¿no se hacía otra vez más[38], igual a Dios, atribuyéndose todas las prerrogativas divinas, el poder sobre los espíritus, el perdón de los pecados, etc.? Así, él mismo podía cumplir los signos y prodigios que Dios debía realizar cuando llegara el mesías[39]. Sólo Dios tiene poder sobre los espíritus que él ha creado y puede expulsar los demonios, así como sólo él puede perdonar los pecados y resucitar a los muertos que son también signos de la "Buena Nueva" esperada.

Tal cambio de fórmula, revelada por los manuscritos, no puede sino remontarse a Jesús mismo. La fórmula en su misma novedad debía traducir su actividad mesiánica y revelar, por ella misma su identidad de Mesías para el judío contemporáneo que conocía y escrutaba las Escrituras, comenzando por sus discípulos, instruidos por él. El descubrimiento de estos textos entre los manuscritos reviste gran significación para la revelación de la persona de Jesús, a través de sus hechos y gestos, y la conciencia íntima que él tenía de su filiación divina, porque la nueva formulación no puede, de ninguna manera, ser creación del cristianismo primitivo, sino que ella debe necesariamente remontarse a uno de los raros casos de *ipsissima verba Jesu* seguros. Se comprenden mejor entonces el origen de la fórmula del bautismo en el nombre de Jesús (Hch 8,16,...) o en el nombre de la Trinidad (Mt 28,19), y la acusación de blasfemo por parte de las autoridades del Templo que lo conducirá a la crucifixión.

b. Los calendarios

En la fijación de fiestas y la organización del culto en general, el calendario ocupa un lugar central. La *Regla de la Comunidad* lo recuerda desde sus primeras líneas (1Q*S* I 8–9,13–15):

> *"[8]... a fin de conducirse ante él perfectamente según [9]las revelaciones concernientes a sus fiestas reglamentarias...[13]... no modificarán en nada [14]alguna de las palabras de Dios respecto a sus tiempos, ni se adelantarán sus tiempos, ni atrasarán [15]ninguna de sus fiestas y no se apartarán de sus preceptos de verdad para ir a derecha e izquierda".*

[38] Ver más arriba la otra fórmula: "El Hijo del Hombre es Señor también del sabbat". Jesús no invoca ni el nombre de Dios ni el de un ángel, o alguna plegaria o fórmula o rito mágico, ni David o Salomón que a menudo eran mezclados en textos de conjuros a los demonios en esta época, comenzando por el anillo de Salomón y las raíces de plantas o piedras. Se trata siempre de su propia autoridad.

[39] Ver Puech 1998: "521.4Q*Apocalypse messianique*": 1–38, fragments 2 ii + 4 lignes 5–14.

El Documento de Damasco (*CD* III 11–15 y VI 11–20) va en el mismo sentido:

> *"III[13]... Dios estableció su alianza con Israel para siempre revelándoles [14]las cosas ocultas en las que se había extraviado todo Israel: sus sabbats santos y sus fiestas [15]gloriosas."*
> *"VI[11] ... Y todos los que han sido introducidos en la Alianza [12]para no entrar en el santuario y encender su altar en vano, cerrarán [13]la puerta, como Dios ha dicho: ´Quién de ustedes cerrará su puerta para no encender el altar [14]en vano (Ml 1,10). Al contrario, deben cuidarse de actuar según la interpretación en el período de impiedad ...[15-18]...: respetar el día del sabbat según su determinación exacta y los días de fiesta y [19]el día de Ayuno según el cómputo de los que han entrado en la Nueva Alianza del país de Damasco, [20]reservar las santas (ofrendas) según sus determinaciones exactas..."*

Los esenios no podían participar del culto sacrificial del Templo mancillado por un sacerdocio ilegítimo y el uso de un calendario en contradicción con los datos revelados.

De hecho, los esenios han respetado el calendario solar sacerdotal de 364 días, del cual hay rastros, en particular, en *Génesis*, Ez 45,18–20, *1Enoc, Jubileos,* los "364 salmos (de David) para el holocausto cotidiano" del rollo de los *Salmos*[a] (= 11Q*Ps*[a] XXVII 6), y textos esenios como *Extractos de las obras de la Ley* (= 4Q*Miqṣat Ma'aśé ha-Tôrah*), etc.[40] Este calendario tiene la gran ventaja de repartir las fiestas en fechas fijas durante el año, sin ninguna interferencia con el sabbat. El primer día de cada trimestre, caía siempre en la noche del martes al miércoles, el día de la creación de las luminarias, el cuarto día (ver Gn 1,14–19). En consecuencia la Pascua, el 14 de nisán, era siempre celebrada por ellos el martes a la noche, y la fiesta de las Semanas o Pentecostés el domingo 15 del tercer mes, lo que evitaba las interminables discusiones de los rabinos legistas y sus divisiones, sobre la fecha de la ofrenda de la gavilla, etc. En cambio, en el calendario luni-solar fariseo de 354 días, las fiestas caen en días de la semana variables y la Pascua puede caer en sabbat como fue el caso en 30 y 33 de nuestra era. Así, el uso de diferentes calendarios en esta época explica perfectamente el *Comentario de Habacuc* (XI 4–8):

[40] Ver Strugnell y Qimron 1994. Además, diferentes testimonios de ese calendario han sido descubiertos entre otros en la distribución del servicio del Templo en veintiséis clases sacerdotales, es decir un servicio de una semana por semestre, o dos semanas por año (= el año de 52 semanas del calendario solar), en lugar de las veinticuatro clases en el resto del judaismo con el calendario luni-solar (1 Cro 24,7–19).

"[4]Esto se interpreta a propósito del Sacerdote Impío, que [5]ha perseguido al Maestro de Justicia para devorarlo en la irritación de [6]su furor en el lugar de su exilio y al tiempo de la fiesta de reposo del [7]día de las expiaciones, se les apareció para devorarlos [8]y para sorprenderlos el día de ayuno de su sabbat de reposo".

Es decir claramente, esenios y asmoneos, no observaban el día de Ayuno (*kippur*) en la misma fecha.

Contrariamente a los esenios que provisoriamente han roto con el Templo mancillado y sus sacrificios, desde su expulsión por Jonatán y los de su partido que cambiaron los calendarios, Jesús sube al Templo para las fiestas y allí enseña. No hay ningún indicio que pruebe que él ha, de hecho, seguido el calendario solar esenio, incluyendo el transcurso de la última semana en Jerusalén para la celebración de una cena pascual el martes a la noche, el día fijado para la Pascua del calendario esenio. Los cuatro evangelios reportan la muerte de Jesús un viernes, el día de la Preparación-Parasceve (Mt 27,62, Mc 15,42, Lc 23,54, Jn 19,31.42), y *Juan* precisa "era el día de la Preparación de la Pascua" (19,14). Habiendo seguido siempre el calendario fariseo, Jesús no puede entonces haber comido la Pascua ese año; y una Pascua anticipada está totalmente excluida. Según los Sinópticos, Jesús tampoco comió la Pascua el jueves, la víspera de su muerte ya que su proceso y su ejecución no pudieron tener lugar en plena fiesta del calendario luni-solar fariseo, el día de los Ázimos, lo que contradice también las indicaciones unánimes de las Escrituras sobre la crucifixión el día de la Preparación[41], y la decisión de las autoridades de quitarse de encima a Jesús antes de la fiesta, como lo remarca también *Juan* (13,28–29) respecto a la interpretación de la salida de Judas en la última cena: *"Algunos pensaban que Jesús quería decirle: 'compra lo que nos hace falta para la fiesta'",* en acuerdo con Jn 13,1–2. Es decir, en la última cena de Jesús con los suyos, la fiesta de la Pascua no había todavía tenido lugar según el calendario de los fariseos.

¿Se puede resolver esta aparente contradicción de los relatos evangélicos? El uso, ahora conocido, de dos calendarios en la sociedad judía de la época, tiene cuenta de los relatos de los hechos: de "dos días antes de la Pascua" en los Sinópticos (Mc 14,1, Mt 26,1) por una parte y por otra parte, los "seis días antes de la Pascua" en *Juan* (12,1) a propósito de la unción en Betania. Los "dos días" corresponden a la fecha de la cena pascual del calendario esenio, el martes a la noche y los "seis días" a la fecha de la Pascua del calendario fari-

[41] También una *baraíta* del *Talmud* de Babilonia, *Sanedrin* 43a, reporta: "La víspera de la Pascua, se crucificó a Jesús el Nazareno".

seo, el viernes a la noche. Para entrar a Jerusalén libremente, sin arriesgarse a ser detenido antes de la hora decidida, Jesús no podía celebrar su comida de despedida con los Doce en Jerusalén sino en el "barrio esenio" de la ciudad santa, en la casa de uno de sus conocidos, allí donde ni las autoridades ni persona alguna sospecharía su presencia ni la de su grupo de obediencia farisea, y esto, especialemente, el día de la celebración de la comida pascual del calendario solar esenio, donde la pureza ritual era ciertamente escrupulosasmente observada. Jesús entra allí de noche, "la noche había llegado", desapercibido y reparado de miradas hostiles, y tiene su comida de despedida con los suyos en una sala ("mi sala… en el primer piso", Mc 14,14–15) aparte de aquélla en dónde el grupo esenio celebraba su comida pascual sin cordero, ya que no podían inmolarlo en el templo mancillado.

El uso de esos calendarios explica oportunamente por una parte, la coloración de ambiente esenio del relato de Jn 13 sobre la comida de despedida: una comida de fiesta realizada recostados, el manto, el ritual de pureza acostumbrado y la pureza interior, "ustedes no están todos puros sin embargo", el plato y el bocado, el diablo-Satán entrando en Judas, y el reino de la noche opuesta a la glorificación del Hijo del Hombre que transparentaba ya, por otra parte, el cuadro pascual del calendario esenio de los Sinópticos con la bendición sobre el pan y la copa (sin cordero pascual) y el canto de Salmos (el *hallel*), y la más antigua fórmula de la tradición recibida por Pablo: "La noche en la que fue entregado el Señor tomó pan..." (1 Co 11,23–26). De aquí no se sigue que la noche de la comida de despedida fuera la del jueves, la víspera de la crucifixión[42], ni la de la cena pascual de su calendario que es el mismo utilizado por el Sanedrín que no podía ser sino el viernes a la noche ese año. Su comida de despedida ha sido celebrada entonces en otra fecha. El Sanedrín ¿habría podido reunirse de prisa, en plena fiesta muy temprano, el primer día de los Azimos, para pronunciar una condena a la pena capital, a ejecutar la mañana misma del primer día de reposo de la fiesta? Esto es realmente

[42] El jueves 13 de nisan como lo creía Renan ([19]1888: 396s): "a la noche, tuvo con sus discípulos su última cena. No fue la fiesta ritual de la Pascua, como se supuso más tarde, cometiendo un error de un día", y muchos otros después de él, recientemente todavía con seguridad Nodet y Taylor 1998: 103 y 115, y Nodet 2009: 101s. A pesar de Nodet, es ahora posible resolver la discordancia cronológica de los Evangelios, máxime que los Sinópticos no indican en ninguna parte que "la Cena, comida pascual" tuvo lugar la víspera de la crucifixión, podría haber sido otro día de la semana, el martes a la noche del calendario esenio!, y el carácter "pascual" no está para nada probado (únicamente en Lc 22,15, nada en *Marcos*, *Mateo*, *Juan* y Pablo!). La formulacón más antigua de 1 Co 11,23 "La noche en que fue entregado…" (= la noche del arresto) no es idéntica a "la noche en que fue crucificado…" (= la noche precedente a la crucifixión), el cómputo comienza a la noche. La comida de despedida no es la comida pascual para Jesús y los Doce.

inverosímil en una práctica religiosa judía tan puntillosa. Por otra parte eso no habría sido "antes de la fiesta", como lo recuerdan Mc 14,2: Mt 26,5 y Jn 13,1.29…, ver incluso los episodios de Simón de Cirene volviendo del campo, la liberación de Barrabás (Mt 27,17–26 y //) visto también en Hech 3,14, y el juicio delante de Pilato en el pretorio el viernes a la mañana antes de la fiesta de Pascua (Jn 18,28). En conclusión, el jueves a la noche no corresponde a la fecha de la Pascua en ninguno de los dos calendarios.

Que el lugar donde Jesús realizó su cena de despedida fue el barrio esenio[43], apartado de los círculos y familias fariseas y saduceas, para escapar a una detención prematura, no es suficiente para probar que esa comida fue, para Jesús y los Doce, la cena pascual siguiendo, esta vez, el calendario esenio, comida pascual que los esenios del lugar comen en un estado de pureza ritual absoluta, en ausencia de no esenios (ver Mt 26,18 "es en *tu* casa" (no contigo), Mc 14,14 "mi sala", Lc 22,11 "la sala"). Este cuadro necesario (barrio esenio y trasfondo de calendario solar de Sinópticos únicamente para este pasaje) para que Jesús no fuera detenido antes de la hora que él había decidido, por las autoridades judías que querían terminar con él antes de la fiesta de la Pascua, explica perfectamente también el ambiente pascual de los Sinópticos con la sola mención del pan y del vino muy conocidos de las comidas esenias (1Q*Sa* II)[44], y el relato de *Juan* sobre la pureza, así como el encadenamiento de los días de la pasión con un tiempo suficiente para que se dé el proceso en forma correcta, según las reglas para una ejecución capital. Los pasajes Mt 26,2 y Mc 14,1–2 (ver Lc 22,1–2 y Jn 11,43) "La Pascua y los Azimos tendrían lugar en dos días" dan las fechas de la Pascua esenia y los pasajes Mt 26,17–19 y Mc 14,12–16 (ver Lc 22,7–13) que dicen "el primer día (de la semana) de los Azimos", donde se plantea la cuestión del lugar y de la preparación de la Pascua, hacen pensar que el grupo de discípulos imaginaba

[43] Se conoce la existencia de ese barrio en Jerusalén con la puerta de los esenios, Flavio Josefo, *Guerra* V § 145, probablemente en el Monte Sión, la antigua residencia del sumo sacerdote—el Maestro de Justicia exilado. Ver Pixner 1976, y más recientemente, Pixner 2006: 318–322, pero con reservas sobre las influencias esenias sobre las familias de Juan Bautista y de Jesús, aunque Jesús haya podido frecuentar también a los esenios en Betania, ver Capper 2006: 486–502.

[44] Flusser 1988: 202–206, supone como totalmente secundaria la cuestión de saber si Jesús siguió el *seder* pascual esenio (pan-vino) o más bien el de la práctica judía común (vino-pan). Pero a partir de ahora es un falso problema, porque él no ha podido comer la Pascua. Hay una diferencia entre la historia, lo vivido en esa comida de despedida, y las formulaciones del rito de la anamnesis litúrgica que conmemora esa última comida en el marco pascual de esos días "el triduo pascual". Ver Haag 1971: 121–129.

comer la Pascua según el calendario fariseo como lo hacía anualmente[45], ver Jn 13,1–2.29, "antes de la fiesta de la Pascua... en el trascurso de una comida... Compra lo que nos hace falta para la fiesta".

Así, Jesús que seguía el calendario fariseo, no ha podido, entonces, comer ritualmente la Pascua con sus discípulos y fue crucificado el viernes 14 de nisán, según este último calendario. La mención de la bebida avinagrada en todos los evangelios (Mt 27,48, Mc 15,36, Lc 23,36, Jn 19,29) remite al *Salmo* davídico 69,22, y la del hisopo en Jn 19,29 remite a Ex 12,22, que hace alusión al sacrificio del cordero pascual. El gesto de los soldados que no quiebran las piernas del crucificado Jesús, contrariamente a los dos ladrones (Jn 19,33.36), es otra alusión clara al cordero pascual de Ex 12,46 y Num 9,12. Se comprende entonces fácilmente la conclusión de Jn 19,36 "para que se cumpla la Escritura". Jesús, "el que han traspasado" (Za 12,10), está bien presentado en los evangelios como el Cordero pascual que muere en la cruz a la misma hora en la que se inmolaba al codero pascual en el Templo, la víspera del sabbat solemne, según el calendario fariseo (ver también 1 Co 5,7). Así, la existencia de estos dos calendarios, todavía en uso en el siglo I como lo han revelado los escritos de Qumrán, explica perfectamente un punto de cronología, desde

[45] Esta manera de ver responde a las objeciones de Benoit 1958: 590–594, o 1961: 259–261, que Jesús habría celebrado habitualmente la Pascua de los círculos sacerdotales tradicionalistas según el calendario esenio y que los Sinópticos habían perdido ese recuerdo. Benoit estima que la unción en Betania es una pieza reportada por *Mateo* y *Marcos*, y que la mención de "dos días" no vale más que para el complot de los judíos y la traición de Judas. Pero se le objetará ¿la traición no está directamente ligada a la comida de despedida? Después agrega: "La única deformación de la tradición sinóptica habría sido dar un carácter plenamente pascual a lo que no ha podido ser más que una evocación anticipada de la Pascua del mañana". Sin duda, es posible. Benoit insiste en que les Sinópticos han conservado un recuerdo objetivo de la última cena la noche del jueves, la víspera de la crucifixión. Pero esta afirmación fuerza la lectura de los textos que no precisan en ninguna parte el día exacto de la semana. Como de ninguna manera puede tratarse de una Pascua anticipada, ni ese día ser el de la Pascua de los círculos sacerdotales tradicionalistas, yo diría más bien que la tradición sinóptica no ha deformado nada sino que ha muy hábilmente vestido esa cena de despedida, que tuvo lugar en la casa de un grupo esenio, con la coloración de la Pascua esenia de ese martes a la noche, la noche cuando el Señor Jesús fue entregado, ya que ese texto no podía decir nada de la Pascua farisea que no había sido celebrada todavía, según el calendario que Jesús seguía anualmente. Sin embargo, aunque Jesús no haya celebrado la Pascua con los esenios del lugar, contrariamente a la tesis de Jaubert, la presentación de esta nueva teología de la Pascua, del Cordero inmolado, tenía todo su sentido en la joven iglesia judeo-cristiana que ha debido acoger bastante pronto en su seno a los esenios ganados para la causa de Jesús. además, esta presentación deja el tiempo necesario a los diversos procesos, y a las diferentes menciones repetidas de "la mañana" (secuencia abreviada de muchas mañanas) en los relatos de la pasión. Para la fecha, ver también Jaubert 1967).

hace tiempo controvertido de los relatos evangélicos tocante a la última semana de Jesús, sin que se deba ver en esto una contradicción de los relatos, ni indicaciones sin ningún valor histórico, como lo pretendieron algunos[46].

d. La crucifixión

Se lee con bastante frecuencia que la crucifixión no era un suplicio judío y que según la Ley mosaica, Jesús tendría que haber sido lapidado. La cruz sería un suplicio romano reservado a los esclavos y aplicándolo a Jesús, se lo trataba como a los ladrones y asaltantes de los grandes caminos. Esto no carece de cierta contradicción. ¿Cómo los sumos sacerdotes que dicen aplicar las sanciones de la Ley mosaica, "según nuestra Ley", pueden condenar a alguien a una pena romana por motivos relevantes exclusivamente para la Ley mosaica, como una pretensión mesiánica y la blasfemia?

Dos cuestiones principales están en el centro del debate. ¿Cuál falta, según la Ley, merecía la crucifixión y quién de los judíos o romanos, decidía esta pena y debía aplicarla? Son puntos de derecho penal muy distintos. No se puede con demasiada ligereza y sin discernimiento, apelar a las tradiciones rabínicas tardías para explicar hechos más antiguos, de antes de la caída del templo, y concluir en una pena por lapidación totalmente teórica invocando siempre la Ley de Moisés. En esta investigación histórica, los manuscritos de Qumrán pueden nuevamente aportar toda su luz.

A primera vista, las fuentes vétero-testamentarias parecen decir nada sobre la crucifixión. Sin embargo, ¿cómo comprender la ley mosaica en el *Deuteronomio* (Dt 21,22–23)? ¿Se trata del ahorcamiento de un cadáver, como se admite ordinariamente según una interpretación rabínica, o de las suspensión/crucifixión seguida de muerte? La tradición textual no es clara, pero la traducción siríaca, las revisiones griegas y los manuscritos de Qumrán suponen todos, la crucifixión seguida de muerte. De hecho, el texto hebreo de Dt

[46] Se explican también el origen del ayuno de los cuartodecimanos, los miércoles y los viernes, días de la detención y de la crucifixión, de los textos de la tradición patrística, como lo ha subrayado muy bien A. Jaubert. No se puede seguir a Schlosser 2002, que se queda en una gran imprecisión sobre la comida pascual, situando esa comida (que de ninguna manera puede ser pascual) en la víspera de la crucifixión, el viernes: arresto de Jesús en la noche, conducido en la noche a lo del sumo sacerdote Caifás, confrontación preparando la acusación a presentar ante el gobernador, la mañana misma después de la reunión del Sanedrín (p. 306–313). Esta secuencia es imposible históricamente, por lo que no se puede afirmar ligeramente que "la contradicción entre Marcos y Juan es irremediable" (p. 53). La solución de los dos calendarios sostenida aquí tiene en cuenta los hechos y los relatos.

21,22–23 parece poder y deber ser comprendido así, con matices consecutivos de dos prótasis y una apódosis:

> *"Si un hombre ha cometido una falta que merezca la muerte y debe ser ejecutado, lo suspenderás/crucificarás del madero. Su cadáver no debe pasar la noche en el madero sino que debes sepultarlo el mismo día, porque un suspendido/crucificado es una maldición divina".*

Esta manera de comprender el texto, subrayando por un lado la gravedad de la falta (primera prótasis) y por otro la decisión jurídica de la aplicación de la pena (segunda prótesis), con la aplicación-ejecución de la pena (apódosis) encuentra antiguo sostén en el judaísmo. El *Rollo del Templo* en las dos copias encontradas en Qumrán (4Q524 14 2–4 y 11Q19 LXIV 6–13), cita este pasaje del *Deuteronomio* explicitando claramente los casos de faltas en cuestión[47]:

> *"[6]...Si [7]sucede que un hombre reporta contra su pueblo y entrega a su pueblo a una nación extranjera, y hace el mal a su pueblo, [8]lo suspenderán/crucificarán en el madero para que muera. Es sobre la palabra de dos testigos o sobre la palabra de tres testigos [9]que él morirá, y son ellos los que lo suspenderán/crucificarán en el madero. Si sucede que un hombre es culpable de un crimen de pena capital y se fuga entre [10]las naciones y maldice a su pueblo (y) los hijos de Israel[48], lo suspenderán/crucificarán en el madero a él también [11]y que muera. Y que su cadáver no pase la noche sobre el madero, sino que deben sepultarlo ése mismo día, pues, [12]son malditos de Dios los hombres suspendidos/crucificados en el madero y tú no mancharás la tierra que [13]te doy en herencia".*

En el intervalo de las dos copias qumranitas del *Rollo del Templo*, un pasaje del *Comentario de Nahum* (= 4Q*pNa* fragments 3–4 i 6–8) alude, muy probablemente, a la crucifixión por traición, hacia el 88 a.C., por el rey-sacer-

[47] Ver Puech 2001a. Los fragmentos del manuscrito 4Q524, rollo que data del final del siglo II a.C., no han conservado más que una parte del texto; le *Rollo del Templo* de la gruta 11, que data del giro de nuestra era tiene un texto completo (traducido aquí), con una variante, ver nota siguiente.

[48] Ver Puech 1998: 100–101. La variante de 11Q19 que inserta "(y) los hijos de Israel" proviene de una corrección del copista de 11Q19, que, releyendo su frase, agregó la coordinación que difícilmente se puede comprender como "es decir", comparado con 4Q524. Ha querido distinguir "su pueblo" (= los esenios) del resto de Israel, las otras corrientes religiosas judías (fariseos y saduceos). Tal evolución y distinción marcada es perfectamente posible un siglo después de la más antigua copia 4Q524 (corrijo mi nota Puech 2001a: 53, nota 1).

dote saduceo Alejandro Janeo, de ochocientos fariseos, por haber apelado al seléucida Demetrio III, es precisamente el caso de traición explicitado en el *Rollo del Templo*:

> *"[6]... el ha llenado de presas su c]ueva y su guarida de caza (Nah 2,13b). Esto se interpreta respecto al Cachorro de León furioso, [7][que llenó su guarida de una cantidad de cadáveres ejecutando las ven]ganzas contra los buscadores de aligeramientos, que suspende/ crucifica a hombres vivientes [8][en el madero, cómo se hacía con un culpable de pena capital] anteriormente en Israel, porque del suspendido/crucificado viviente en el madero, ha (de eso) hablado (en la Escritura)"*[49].

Si el *Rollo del Templo* ha cambiado la orden en algunas palabras, ¿ha cambiado otro tanto el sentido de la ley deuteronómica? La nueva formulación ha vuelto más límpido un antiguo giro hebreo devenido en desuso que, entonces, podía comprenderse mal, como lo testimonian, en esta época, las traducciones antiguas, y también ha explicitado los casos de pena capital en consideración: el del informante-traidor y el del tránsfuga-blasfemo.

No se puede concluir demasiado rápido que se trate únicamente del punto de vista esenio, Alejandro Janeo del partido saduceo hacía una misma lectura de la ley mosaica, al menos, sobre este punto. Sin ser más crueles que sus contemporáneos, estos autores esenios no han hecho más que transmitir la ley tal como la habían recibido y aplicarla precisando los casos aludidos por la Ley. En efecto, una suspensión/crucifixión no tiene mucho sentido como pena capital *después* de la muerte del culpable, no hay ninguna necesidad de clavar los pies y las manos de un cadáver, como lo testimonian incluso los huesos de un crucificado encontrados en un osario en el norte de Jerusalén[50]. Respecto a esto, es importante notar que el pronombre acusativo de la frase de Dt 21,22, en "le suspenderás/crucificarás" retoma "el hombre culpable", mientras que la palabra "cadáver" no viene sino después de la mención de la suspensión/ crucifixión en vista solamente de su sepultura ese mismo día. En el caso de colgar al cadáver, se esperaría la orden inversa: "suspenderás el cadáver, no debe pasar la noche...". Así, como en el *Rollo del Templo*, el *Comentario de Nahum* precisa bien que se trata de "hombres vivientes", no de cadáveres y

[49] Corrijo mi restauración demasiado corta del pasaje con lagunas del manuscrito, en la nota Puech 2001: 56–57.

[50] Ver Tsaferis 1970. Para una lectura del patronímico del crucificado, ver Puech 1983: 505s.

que la Escritura trata de estos casos de pena capital, que no puede ser sino Dt 21,22–23.

No se trata, entonces, de una interpretación secundaria y tardía de la ley mosaica, ni de una práctica reciente exclusivamente esenia o saducea sino también farisea, que se remonta a una práctica judía anterior, esto parece ir de suyo. De hecho, el sumo sacerdote aaronita Alcimo, crucificó sesenta judíos piadosos, los asideos partidarios de Judas Macabeo, antes del comienzo del movimiento esenio (1Mac 7,16ss, ver también Flavio Josefo, en *Ant.* XII § 256 referido a crucifixiones de judíos vivientes, bajo Antíoco IV). También el saduceo Alejandro Janeo crucificó a 800 judíos hacia el 88 a.C., mucho antes de la llegada de los romanos con Pompeyo en el 63 a.C., y el sabio pro-fariseo Simeón Ben Shetaḥ[51] 80 judíos (¿probablemente samaritanos?) en Ascalón (Flavio Josefo, *Guerra* I §§ 97, 113 y *Ant.* XIII §§ 380–82) con la precisión, aún allí, de crucificados vivientes bajo los ojos de los cuales se degüellan a sus mujeres y a sus hijos, (*Misná, Saned*. VI 4). Esta práctica judía pre-esenia y asmonea después encontrará aún un apoyo en un *Apócrifo de Leví* (= 4Q541 24 2–5) que reporta respecto a un sumo sacerdote:

> *"[2]No] hagas duelo con sacos [sobre -] y no co[meta]s [faltas que no serían [3]redi]midas, sean faltas o[cultas] tan[to como fuera]n faltas descubiertas y [...].[4]Busca, escudriña y conoce lo que pide el agitador y no lo rechaces por medio del agotamiento y la crucifixión como[pen]a (capital) [no pronuncies] [5]y el clavo no se acerque a él"[52].*

La asociación de los términos "clavo, suspensión/crucifixión, agotamiento" por la tortura de un agitador que el sumo sacerdote estaba tentado de hacer desaparecer, parece designar el suplicio de la crucifixión como coronación de una larga serie de agotamientos físicos tales como la flagelación, apaleamiento, etc., a fin de que el crucificado muera en las horas que seguirán. Además, esta puesta en guardia en alta época helenística puede referirse sólo a una práctica acostumbrada por parte de los sumos sacerdotes, que detentaban el poder supremo después del exilio y explica las crucifixiones en serie de judíos

[51] Simeón ben Shetaḥ es el hermano de Salomé Alejandra, esposa de Alejandro Janneo, pro-fariseo y jefe del Sanedrín (ver el *Talmud de Jerusalén*, *Sanedrin* VI 9,23c).

[52] Ver Puech 2001b: 252–256, y también, Puech 2001a: 59s. La venganza es un "privilegio" divino (ver Dt 32,35 retomado por Rm 12,19, y *CD* IX 5 y Lv 19,18, 1Q*S* II 8–9, X 17–18: "porque a Dios pertenece el juicio de todo viviente y es El quien da al hombre su retribución"), y sólo Dios conoce el fondo del corazón, muchos móviles escapan a los humanos para poder juzgar en toda justicia.

por los sumos sacerdotes Alcimo y Alejandro Janeo y por Simeón ben Shetaḥ, crucifixiones que no se sabrían cómo justificar de otra manera, y naturalmente la de Jesús un siglo después.

Así, se pone de manifiesto que la crucifixión no era una pena exclusivamente romana o helenística, como se ha escrito generalmente, sino una pena judía para judíos. Además, la palabra utilizada (*tlh*) no puede significar "estrangulación, suspensión", como a veces se afirma, sino "crucifixión", como lo ha comprendido correctamente el historiador judío Flavio Josefo a propósito de los casos mencionados (*stauroun*) y las traducciones arameas y siríacas (*ṣlb*) en muchos pasajes. Esta pena es conocida ya en Canaán-Fenicia por una tablilla en medio-asirio (del siglo XIII a.C.) proveniente del rey de Sidón y encontrada en Ugarit (RS 86.2221+) que trata de la "crucifixión de los blasfemos"[53]. Esta práctica "cananeo-fenicia" explicaría también la crucifixión precedida de torturas en los cartagineses[54], de los que los romanos la habrían conocido, así como las prácticas en el antiguo Israel antes y después del exilio y la formulación de Dt 21,22–23.

Estos nuevos textos explican bien el proceso y la condena de Jesús a la pena capital de la crucifixión, tal como son descritos en los evangelios y en Hechos de los Apóstoles: 1) acusaciones de alta traición (pretensión mesiánica – rey de los judíos, Lc 23,1–2 y //) y de blasfemia (pretensión divina, Cristo-Rey, Mc 14,60–64 y //) que merecen, cada una independientemente, la condena a la crucifixión, según la interpretación recibida en la época[55], por los sumos sacerdotes y su consejo, el Sanedrín[56]; 2) la búsqueda de dos

[53] Ver Arnaud 1987–88; 176s, y también, Arnaud 1997: 201, y Arnaud 2001: 270, carta 13, líneas 32 ss y 73s: "Entrénguenoslo; queremos lapidarlo e instalar los maderos y plantarlo sobre los maderos...Porque la ciudad persiste verdaderamente en este propósito de querer lapidarlo y plantarlo sobre los maderos" (la lapidación aquí parece jugar el rolde la tortura, y no de la condena a muerte propiamente dicha), comparar el caso de lapidación de Dt 21,21. El plural "los maderos" designa más bien la cruz que la estaca. Ver también Avishur, Heltzer 2004.

[54] Ver Minunno 2005: 79–93.

[55] Ver Jn 11,48–50; 18,14, Mt 27,1–3. La condenación por traición redoblada de blasfemia no releva el caso de idolatría y entonces de la lapidación como pena capital seguida de la suspensión del cadáver, Dt 13,7–12 et 17,2–7, *Misná, Sanedrin* VI 4. La blasfemia (Mt 26,65) remite ciertamente a Lv 24,15–16 que recomienda la lapidación, pero la interpretación de la pena parece haber evolucionado un poco (ver *Rollo del Templo*). La blasfemia motiva el gesto del sumo sacerdote que rasga sus vestiduras en signo de duelo, ver Schiffman 2006.

[56] Ver Jn 11,7–53; 18,35. Ver también el Testimonium Flavianum, Flavio Josefo, *Ant* XVIII §§ 63-64: "…El Cristo, ese era él. Y sobre la denuncia de los jefes de entre nosotros, habiéndolo Pilato condenado a la crucifixión, no cesaron los que lo habían amado desde el principio…".

o tres (falsos) testigos (Mt 26,59–66), 3) también la implicación de Pilato, el gobernador romano, que por su parte, no encuentra motivos válidos de condena a esta pena capital, en las quejas y argucias de blasfemias y pretensión mesiánica por celos, que persiguen el único fin de salpicar al poder romano en este asunto (Mt 27, 11–26, Mc 15, 9-15, Lc 23,4, 13–24, Jn 18, 38; 19,6,12,16, Hech 3,13–15) y finalmente 4) el descenso de la cruz y la sepultura antes del sabbat solemne de la Pascua en una tumba nueva, ya que por tradición, un condenado no puede alcanzar la tumba familiar antes de la descomposición de la carne de pecado.

Que el Sanedrín tenga el derecho, no sólo de instruir, sino también de condenar a muerte a un culpable según su interpretación de la Ley, lo testimonia una *baraita* del *Talmud* de Jerusalén (*Sanedrín* I 1,18a) que reporta que al Sanedrín se le retiró el derecho de pronunciar condenas a penas capitales, cuarenta años antes de la destrucción del Templo que tuvo lugar en 70. Esto nos lleva al año 30 y no al 6 (deposición de Arquelao), precisamente el año generalmente aceptado para la crucifixión de Jesús. Se sobreentiende que ese juicio injusto del Sanedrín[57], no sin consecuencias graves para el país, y la colisión con el poder romano, están en el origen de la crucifixión de Jesús y del nuevo procedimiento en materia de condena a pena capital. Pero indiscutiblemente, el "affaire" Jesús concernía directamente a las autoridades del Templo y afectaba más a ellos que al poder de Roma. Será lo mismo para la supresión de Santiago en 62.

En conclusión, los manuscritos del Mar muerto que no fueron escritos por cristianos, no han revelado pertenencia de Jesús al movimiento esenio, aun cuando Jesús ciertamente ha encontrado esenios durante sus desplazamientos por Judea, en Jerusalén y principalmente en sus alrededores. Nos dan a conocer el interior del modo de vida y las creencias de una corriente del judaísmo hasta allí conocida sólo por noticias externas, revelando en eso mismo, las caras poco conocidas de judaísmos diferentes en el giro de nuestra

En el *Diálogo con Trifón* (CVIII § 2), Justino reporta una versión parecida relativa a esto: "un cierto Jesús, galileo, lo habíamos crucificado, decían, pero sus discípulos, durante la noche, lo robaron de la tumba en la que lo habían ubicado después de su deposición de la cruz". Ver Jn 11,50–52. Además, Jn 18,31 supone la distinción entre la condena a la crucifixión y la ejecución.

[57] La copia del *Talmud* de Vilnius (hacia 1150) no cae bajo la sospecha de interpolación cristiana y recientemente llevada a Israel, reporta que el Sanedrín procedió a la condena de Jesús y requirió contra él la pena de muerte y la crucifixión según las normas de la *halakhah* (*Sanedrin* 37b), ver Weiner 1992, Weiner 1994: 52–53. Une *baraita* del Talmud, *Sanedrin* 43a, reporta: "La víspera de la Pascua, se crucificó a Jesús el nazareno".

era. Muchos textos esclarecen pasajes de los evangelios por palabras, expresiones, génros literarios, prácticas, conceptos idénticos o muy parecidos en las lenguas locales, hebreo y arameo contemporáneos, hoy mejor conocidos, más próximos como no lo están los libros bíblicos más antiguos. Sobre ciertos puntos, pueden servir de eslabon perdido, mostrando la raigambre del mensaje evangélico en hechos y palabras de Jesús, en este sentido tal o cual práctica, creencia, esperanza o incluso palabras traducidas en griego tienen correspondencias exactas en los manuscritos, en aquella época, en esa misma región.

Los hechos y gestos de Jesús, sus tomas de posición sobre puntos discutidos, cercanas u opuestas las de los legistas de otras corrientes religiosas, esenios, fariseos y saduceos, se explican entonces sin ninguna dificultad y podían ser plenamente comprendidas por sus contemporáneos. Jesús se hizo comprender por sus discípulos y fue también bien comprendido por las autoridades que le tomaron odio, viendo en él a un maestro y un rival, un agitador peligroso para sus instituciones, él cuya enseñanza correpondía bien a las expectativas mesiánicas del momento. Por muchas de sus artimañas ha dejado entrever la conciencia que tenía de su misón y de su persona. También las más altas autoridades religiosas en el Templo buscaban terminar con él antes de una fiesta de Pascua y encontrarlo en falta en sus enseñanzas acusándolo de blasfemia al pretender cumplir las obras de Dios y de traicionar al pueblo vistiéndose de mesías, Hijo de David. Dos acusaciones que merecen cada una la pena capital por crucifixión. Sobre muchos puntos, era más abierto y tolerante que los fariseos, y sobre otros, estaba más cercano a las posiciones esenias, al punto que ha deseado tomar su comida de despedida con los Apóstoles en ese barrio de Jerusalén, a espaldas de los que lo acosaban, y fue necesario un traidor para entregarlo.

Así también, no sería sorprendente que los esenios (no qumranitas) hayan terminado por reconocer en él al Mesías esperado. Esto explicaría mejor los préstamos y similitudes 1) como la puesta en común de bienes en la joven iglesia de Jerusalén, aunque con numerosas transformaciones ya que ésta no es ni obligatoria ni organizada, 2) los juramentos que ligan hasta la muerte del que los hace (por ejemplo Ananías y Safira), 3) la mención de multitud de sacerdotes que obedecen a la fe, al camino... 4) la figura central de Melquisedec en la *Carta a los* Hebreos, 5) sin olvidar la importancia del Cenáculo en ese mismo barrio de la ciudad y 6) la ausencia de mención de esenios en el Nuevo Testamento.

En esta investigación sobre los manuscritos y el Nuevo Testamento, muchos otros temas habrían podido ser presentados, cómo la puesta en común de bienes, la corrección fraterna según la presentación muy cercana de una parte y la otra (Mt 18,15–17 y 1QS V 24–VI 1, CD IX 2–8), el lugar del Tem-

plo y el Templo del hombre que son la Comunidad esenia y la Iglesia[58], la alabanza de los labios, la teología de los dos caminos y el dualismo, joánico en particular, lo puro y lo impuro, "el misterio a venir" (*rz nhyh* — ver Col 1,26s), el *mbqr*—episcopo, la Nueva Alianza... Pero los puntos relevados son suficientes, me parece, para situar bastante precisamente al Mesías Jesús ante los esenios y ante las otras corrientes religiosas contemporáneas.

Si hay algunos puntos en común con el esenismo, hay también una evolución considerable de instituciones, ritos y creencias, con una apertura a todos los creyentes, sin distinción de razas y con la única entrada en el bautismo en el nombre de Jesús, muerto y resucitado. Sumado todo, las diferencias son más importantes que los puntos comunes que se explican por la misma herencia escrituraria y la misma raigambre cultural en el medio judeo-palestinense contemporáneo. Ellas tienden a la persona misma, muy diferente de dos Maestros en el origen de dos movimientos y a la novedad radical de la Alianza Nueva y Eterna en la sangre del Cordero.

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[58] Ver Gärtner 1965, Kuhn 2006.

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Toward a New Synthesis of the God of Edom and Yahweh*

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Summary: Toward a New Synthesis of the God of Edom and Yahweh
This article deals primarily with two things: 1) the history and nature of the Edomite deity Qos, as far as these can be determined from the known archaeological and textual evidence, and 2) the similarities between Qos and Yahweh, the god of Israel, particularly in regard to the theories concerning the origins of the deities. Through the article I will consider some of the recent suggestions concerning the origin of Qos and how this may relate to the origin of Yahweh. I will suggest that both deities originated in the northwestern portion of the Arabian Peninsula and, that ultimately, the mutual origin of the deities accounts for the fact that the Bible makes no reference to Qos as the god of Edom.

Keywords: Edom – Qos – Yahweh – religion

Resumen: Hacia una nueva síntesis del dios de Edom y Yahveh
Este artículo se ocupa principalmente de dos cosas: 1) la historia y la naturaleza de la deidad edomita Qos, hasta donde esto pueda determinarse a partir de la evidencia arqueológica y textual, y 2) las similitudes entre Qos y Yahvé, el dios de Israel, particularmente respecto de las teorías relacionadas con los orígenes de estas deidades. A través del artículo consideraré algunas de las sugerencias recientes concernientes al origen de Qos y cómo esto podría estar relacionado con el origen de Yahvé. Propondré que ambas deidades se originaron en el área noroeste de la península arábiga y que, en última instancia, el origen común de las deidades da cuenta del hecho de que la Biblia no haga referencia a Qos como el dios de Edom.

Palabras Clave: Edom – Qos – Yahveh – religión

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Archaeological and epigraphic data bears witness to the veneration of the now well-known Edomite deity Qos. Interestingly, the biblical record, which frequently mentions Edom, reveals nothing about Qos. The resolution to this problem has often been sought by positing a link between Yahweh and Qos based on both the biblical text and certain extrabiblical evidence. In light of this, it is the purpose of this article to briefly review the archaeological and epigraphic evidence for Qos and to attempt to work toward a new synthesis of the data pertaining to the similarities between the two deities, including their potential mutual origin in the northwestern Arabian Peninsula.

Evidence for the God of Edom

The national Edomite deity is called Qos (pronounced *Qaus* prior to the Persian period).[1] The primary evidence for Qos' status as the Edomite national deity comes from the eighth-seventh century records of the Neo-Assyrian kings Tiglath-Pilesar III, Esarhaddon, and Ashurbanipal. Here two kings of Edom are mentioned—Qaušmalaku and Qaušgabri.[2] These two names from the Assyrian annals are "the earliest firm references to Qos, and they remain the primary indicator of Edomite religion during Iron II,"[3] due primarily to the significant appearance of the theophoric element *qauš*.[4]

Bustenay Oded points out that Qos may have been known among the Shasu tribes—groups of nomads known mostly for troubling Egypt in the Late Bronze Age (the eighteenth-early twentieth dynasties).[5] The Shasu seem to

[1] Garr (2004: 38) points out that the contraction of the diphthong *aw* to *ô* in Edomite seems to have taken place around the time of the Persian period. The vocalization of the divine name *qws* in seventh century Akkadian was *Qauš* (*qa-uš*) and the Egyptian vocalization was *Q3ws*. However, the cuneiform tablet from Tawilan, wherein we find mentioned a person by the name of Qusu-šama' ($^{i.d}$*qu-ú-su-šá-ma-a'*), son of Qusu-yada' ($^{i.d}$*qu-ú-su-ia-da-a'*), demonstrates that by the Persian period, the vocalization was understood to have contracted to *Qûs/Qôs*. Also see McCarter 1996: 36.

[2] The names mean "Qaus is king" and "Qaus is powerful," respectively. Note also that a seal from the excavations at Umm el-Biyara bears the name Qos-Gabr. See Bartlett 1989: 204; Bennett 1983: 9.

[3] Dearman 1995: 123.

[4] Porter (2004: 381–384) points to the significance of the Qos cult to the emerging Edomite polity in the Iron II. Qos was probably viewed within the framework of the familial metaphor of the "house of the father." Thus the veneration of the god would have been significant to the political and economic well being of the polity's inhabitants.

[5] For the primary discussion on the Shasu, see Giveon 1971.

have been associated with Edom.[6] Oded's basis for such an assertion rests in various (clan?) names on the temple of Karnak and Medinet Habu, from the time of Ramesses II and Ramesses III, respectively.[7] The names all bear the prefix *qś*, which for Oded, can only be a reference to Qos, due to linguistic and epigraphic data.[8] J. Andrew Dearman notes that the connection between these prefixes and Qos is plausible but problematic because of their ambiguity and John R. Bartlett declines to discuss them in his monograph.[9] Ernst A. Knauf on the other hand takes them seriously.[10] Despite the potentially problematic

[6] This is based upon the numerous appearances of the word *s'rr*, perhaps Seir. In a list of toponyms from the temple of Amon in Soleb (Nubia), which was copied during the time of Ramesses II (1290–1224 BC) from an older list of Amenhotep III, numerous Shasu tribes are mentioned: *šsw s'rr*, *šsw rbn*, *šsw psps*, *šsw smt*, *šsw yhw*, and *šsw wrbwr*. Ramesses is said to have "laid waste to the land of the Shōsu" and to have "plundered Mount Seir with his valiant arm." Ramesses III is quoted in Papyrus Harris I as saying, "I brought about the destruction of Seir among the Shōsu tribes." See Giveon 1971: 75–76, 100, 134–137. Also important is the section of Papyrus Anastasi IV of Pharaoh Merneptah (1213–1203 BC), where one of his officials notes: "Another communication to my lord, to wit: We have finished letting the Bedouin (Shasu) tribes of Edom pass the Fortress of Mer-ne-ptah Hotep-hir-Maat—life, prosperity, health!—which is in Tjeku, to the pools of Per-Atum of Mer-ne-ptah Hotep-hir-Maar, which are in Tjeku, to keep them alive and to keep their cattle alive, through the great *ka* of Pharaoh…"See Breasted 1969: 259. Cf. Giveon's translation, "Nous avons fini de permettre aux tribus des Shosou d'Edom de passer la fortresse Mernephtah-hotep-her-Maât." Giveon 1971: 132. Bartlett (1989: 77) points out that the use of the determinative in this text for Edom, i.e. "foreign hill country," indicates that the Egyptians knew the place name "Edom" to be a foreign, non-Egyptian name, indicating that term must have been in use in the thirteenth century BC. Moreover, the name may even be older (perhaps 15th century) if the toponym, *i-d-ma* from the list of Thutmosis III (1479–1425 BC) can be taken to mean Edom.

[7] Oded 1971: 47–50.

[8] These references are recorded in Simons 1937: 157–158, 164–169. The names with the prefix *qś* are *q-ś-r-a*, *q-(m?)-ś-p-t*, *q-ś-n-r-m*, *q-ś-r y-b-n*, and perhaps *q-ṯ-i-ś-r* (lines 7, 11, 13, 21, 8). From Medinet Habu *[q]-ś-t-b-r-n*, *q-ś-n-r-m*, *q-ś-[b?]-p-t*, *q-ś-r-a*, *q-ś-ṯ-i-ś-r* (lines 85, 89, 100, 102, 103). Oded makes his case based on the interpretation of the inscription *šsw s'rr* from the time of Ramesses II and the inscription "I brought about the destruction of Seir among the Shōsu tribes," from Ramesses III, that Seir (Edom) had dealings with Egypt in the Late Bronze Age. Moreover, while other scholars (namely S. Yeivin) have argued that the prefix *qś* should be rendered as Kush (Nubia), Oded (1971: 47) notes that Kush is designated in other Egyptian documents as *k(w)š(w)*. In addition to this, the West Semitic כ is not normally designated in Egyptian by *q*.

[9] Bartlett (1989: 202) may allude to these names when he notes, "Possibly we should be looking to the south for the homeland of *qws*, and perhaps to an earlier period than the eighth century BC." See also Dearman 1995: 123.

[10] Knauf 1999a: 674–675.

nature of these prefixes, they are intriguing, as they would imply, if they do refer to Qos, that this deity was revered long before the eighth century BC.[11]

There are numerous references to Qos from the seventh-sixth centuries BC found in Edom and Judah.[12] A fragment of an administrative correspondence from Edom, found at Ḥorvat ‘Uza, preserves the inscription *hbrktk lqws*, “I bless you by (in the name of) Qôs,” which also implies the official status of Qos by the sixth century BC.[13] The site at Ḥorvat Qitmit[14] in the Negev, generally recognized as an Edomite shrine, yielded numerous cult objects and statues in addition to three inscriptions on two sherds and a seal that refer to Qos.[15] Similar finds were discovered about ten years later at En Haseva, though unfortunately, no epigraphic references to Qos were unearthed.[16]

[11] Cf. the recent research of Levy *et al.* (2004: 865–879), who has argued for the potential early statehood of Edom based on the datable material finds, the large amount of slag from copper refinement, as well as a fortress that has been dated to somewhere between 1130–970 BC at the lowest stratum of Khirbet En-Nahas, A4a (A4b being virgin soil). This perhaps supports the view of the early statehood of Edom (making sense of 2 Sam 8:11–14/1 Chr 18:11–13) and if there is any truth to Oded’s interpretation of the inscriptions at Medinet Habu, we may have an indication that Qos was worshipped prior to the eighth-seventh centuries BC among the inhabitants of Edom. Finkelstein (2005: 119–125) interprets Levy’s data differently, contending that, though some of the material of Khirbet en-Nahas is likely datable to the tenth century, all it can tell us, at best, is something of the mining industry of the time, but does little by way of demonstrating any tenth century state formation in Edom. Overall, it should be noted that the prominence of copper production in Edomite territory in the early Iron I cannot be clearly linked to early Edomite statehood. See also Levy and Najjar 2006a: 24–35, 70; Levy and Najjar 2006b: 3–17; Tebes 2006: 9–10; Finkelstein 2008: 13–24.

[12] See nos. 8–28 in Bartlett 1989: 204–205.

[13] See Beit-Arieh and Cresson 1985: 97.

[14] For further discussion on Qitmit see Beck, 1995: 27–208; Beck 1996: 79–81; Beit-Arieh 1985: 201–202; Beit-Arieh 1986a: 72–79; Beit-Arieh 1986b: 28–41; Beit-Arieh and Beck 1987; Beit-Arieh 1989: 125–131; Beit-Arieh 1991: 93–116; Beit-Arieh 1995; Beit-Arieh 1996: 28–36.

[15] Among the pottery fragments, there were six incised sherds in Edomite script, two of which unquestionably bear the element *qws* and one that most likely does. One of these sherds contains the inscription (note that the numbering system is based on Beit-Areih 1995): *blqwshp* (no. 3) and the other: *lqws* (no. 4) written by a different hand. The other inscription (no. 2) bears the letters *lkqw* (perhaps *mlkqws*). Also discovered were two seals, one of which shows a man in a long robe raising his hands in a blessing and the other bearing the inscription, perhaps a name, *swbnqws* (Shub-na-Qos “return now Qos”?). Beit-Arieh and Beck 1987: 19–22; Beit-Arieh 1991: 108–109; Beit-Arieh 1996: 33; Beit-Areih 1995: 258–267, 269; see also the script chart on p. 266; Porter 2004: 384.

[16] For further discussion of this site see Cohen and Yisrael 1995a: 96–102; Cohen and Yisrael 1995b: 223–235; Cohen and Yisrael 1995c; Cohen and Yisrael 1996: 40–51, 65.

Following the fall of Babylon to Persia, there is continued evidence for the reverence of Qos.[17] A cuneiform tablet from Tawilan indicates the continued use of the theophoric element *qws*.[18] Qos' name continued to appear among the Nabateans, in pre-Islamic Arabian (Thamudic and South Safaitic) sources, and some widely scattered references in Greek.[19] In addition to this, the Idumeans are said to have worshipped a deity called Koze, though his relation to the Edomite Qos is not clear.[20] Numerous Aramaic ostraca discovered in Idumea, dating from 361–311 BC, contain a number of personal names that include the theophore *qws*.[21]

Among the Nabateans we find additional evidence for the worship of Qos.[22] A stele found at Jebel et-Tannur dating from either the first century BC or the first century CE, reads, "[stele] which Qosmalak made for Qos, god of *HWRW*."[23] A bilingual Nabatean and Greek inscription of the second-third century CE from Syria records that, "Muaino son of Zabdai has made the eagle in honor of Qos; Moainos Hulaipi son/of Taima, sculptor."[24]

There may also be an intriguing connection between Qos and the primary deity of the Nabateans, Dushara (*Dhu-Šarā* "the One of the Shara [Mountains]").[25] Given the stele mentioned above, one wonders whether Dushara took the place of Qos after the Nabatean infiltration of Edomite territory, or if the two gods were worshipped side by side among the Nabateans. Knauf has made a convincing

[17] See nos. 29–35 in Bartlett 1989: 205–206.

[18] See n. 1.

[19] Bartlett 1989: 206–207, nos. 36–43, 48–60.

[20] See Josephus, *Ant*. XV.7.9. He notes, "Κωζαι: θεον δε τουτο 'Ιδουμαιοι νομίζουσιν..."

[21] See Eph'al and Naveh 1996: 22-91. The names include the following: *qwsyt'* (16, 29, 174, 191), *qs'* (44), *qwsḥnn* (52, 153, 173, 178), *qwskhl* (53, 139, 141, 153), *qwsrm* (72, 85, 120, 133, 154, 186, 194), *qwsmlk* (77, 89, 108, 153, 180, 197, 198), *qwsldn* (78, 174), *qwslnṣr* (81, 122, 175), *'bdqws* (84), *qwsy* (95), *qws'dr* (97, 99, 100), *'lqws* (98, 100, 109, 110, 175), *qwsdkr* (125), *qwsyhb* (132, 134), *qwsgd* (152), *qws'ny* (158, 163, 164), *qwsynqm* (175, 183), *qwsnr* (175, 201), *qwsntn* (176, 177), *rmqws* (179). The texts record transactions of various agricultural products. Note also that ostracon 201 in which the name *qwsnr* appears is thought to by from the first half of the fifth century BC – see Eph'al and Naveh 1996: 10, 92.

[22] Bartlett 1989: 206–207, see nos. 44–47.

[23] Bartlett 1989: 200. A photograph of this stele can be found in Glueck 1965: 438–439.

[24] Bartlett 1989: 200.

[25] The many excavations at ancient Nabatea since the early 1900s have revealed the prominence of the deity Dushara and his consort Atargatis. For an early, but thorough treatment of the religion of the Nabateans see Glueck 1965. See also Graf 1997: 82–84.

case for the assimilation of Qos into the pantheon of the Nabateans, which is reasonable given the overlap between the Edomites and the Nabateans due to their geographical and perhaps cultural proximity.[26] Thus, the primary deity of the Nabateans, Dushara, may be none other than Qos.[27]

Qos, the God of the Storm

Various interpretations have been put forth regarding Qos' nature, and subsequently, his origin. The name of the Edomite deity stems from the Semitic word for "bow," a bilateral root, *qs*, and seems to be related to the Arabic term قوس *qauś*.[28] Qos appears to be a deified weapon of the gods, which may indicate something of Qos' nature as a warrior.[29] The view of the Edomite deity that currently prevails in the field is that Qos, like Yahweh and the Canaanite Baal, was probably a local manifestation of the ancient Near Eastern storm-deity, specifically Hadad (Adad), who is often depicted as playing two major roles: warrior and bringer of fertility.[30] Accordingly, Knauf

[26] Dearman (1995: 124–125) believes Knauf's argument to be plausible, though based on circumstantial evidence.

[27] See Knauf 1999a: 676. The reference could be a shortened form of Qos' title, Qos Dushara, i.e. "Qos the one of the Shara Mountains." The epithet is similar to the one ascribed to Yahweh in Judges 5:5 —"YHWH, the one of Sinai."

[28] Knauf (1999a: 674–677) notes that there is general acceptance of the Arabic etymon (see also Knauf 1984: 93–95 for a fuller look at the etymology of the word). Knauf believes that the bilateral root *qs* first became trilateral with the addition of a *t* in Akkadian, Ethiopic, Canaanite and Aramaic and by the infixed و (*waw*) in Arabic. Given the consistent spelling of the word in Canaanite Edomite, Knauf notes that the word is a loan-word from a language that did not experience the Canaanite shift, perhaps "one of the Proto-Arabian languages of the Shasu-bedouins in southern Edom at the end of the 2nd millennium BC and was borrowed into the Canaanite Edomite of the incipient Edomite state during or shortly before the 8th century." See also Bartlett 1989: 200–204.

[29] In light of this, it is interesting to consider that Esau/Edom is portrayed in Genesis 25: 27a, as a "skillful hunter, a man of the outdoors" (NJPS). A war deity whose name refers to the weapon of the ancient hunter is an appropriate god for the legendary patriarch of Edom. For numerous examples of the deification of weapons and objects in the ancient Near Eastern milieu, see Vriezen 1965: 335–342.

[30] See Knauf 1999a: 677; Dearman 1995: 126; Green 2003: 166–218, 275–280. Green's work represents a thorough survey of the various manifestations of the storm deity in the world of the ancient Near East (on Hadad see also Greenfield 1999: 377–382). Dearman believes suggestive evidence exists that Hadad was venerated by a royal line in Edom. In Gen 36:35–36 we see a person of Esau's line named Hadad ben-Bedad (cf. 1 Chr 1: 46–50) and in 1 Kgs 11:14–22 the Edomite leader who becomes an adversary of Solomon is named Hadad. The

describes Qos as the "syrisch-arabischen Wettergottes."[31] T. Fahd holds that Qos was originally "a war-god, symbolised by the bow, just as Adad berqu, god of the tempest, was symbolised by lighting, and as Dhu 'l-Khalasa, the archer-god of the Arabian pantheon, was symbolised by arrows." However, says Fahd, "After the manner of Dhu 'l-Sharā which eclipsed him, Ḳaws acquired other prerogatives, those of most of the gods of the desert regions, such as the protection of the vegetation by ensuring rain, a prerogative symbolised by the rainbow."[32] This theory has also been expounded upon by Othmar Keel and Christoph Uehlinger, who point to the similarities of the various steppe-dwelling weather deities.[33]

Connections: Qos and Yahweh

Given the plausibility of Qos and Yahweh's role as storm-gods, perhaps local manifestations of Hadad, and the biblical connection between the histories of Edom and his "brother" Israel, the obvious issue wrapped up in this discussion is the question of whether or not there was at any time a relationship between Yahweh and Qos. Early Israelite traditions preserve a vestigial glimpse at the origins of Yahweh. Deuteronomy 33:2 and Judges 5:4 (cf. Ps 68:8) preserve the potentially archaic notion that Yahweh came from Edom, i.e. that his mountain dwelling, Sinai, was located in Edom, or possibly northwestern Arabia.[34]

Nabatean sculpture of Dushara discovered by Glueck at Khirbet Tannur is thought to be an Arabic and Hellenistic appropriation of Baal Shamaim/Hadad (Glueck's designation of the statue is "Zeus-Hadad-Jupiter"). The deity sits enthroned between two bulls and holds a staff that appears to be a stylized bolt of lighting. For Glueck's evaluation of the site, the statue, and a number of photographs, see Glueck 1965: 93–95, 195–209, 620–630.

[31] Noted in Dearman 1995: 126.

[32] "Hence," Fahd notes, "in the nomadic milieu, the name Ḳaws was followed by *ḳuzaḥ* in order to define his specialty." Thus the phrase *qaus Quzah*, "bow of Quzah," became an Arabic idiom meaning "rainbow." Etymologically, the idiom combines the name of the deity Qaus/Qos and the term *quzah*, which refers to a multicolored band. See Fahd 1978: 802–804; Knauf 1984: 93.

[33] Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 140, 182, 382–385.

[34] Scholars generally date these texts to somewhere between 1300 to 1100 BC, and are inclined to do so based on the texts' orthography, language, and content. The passages, which are called poetry on the basis of their parallelism, are very similar in structure to the extant Canaanite literature preserved in the texts from Ugarit, which date from the fourteenth through the thirteenth centuries BC Habakkuk 3: 3–7, Zechariah 9: 14, and Isaiah 63: 1–6 also mention Yahweh in connection with Edom, however these verses, which are likely later compositions, seem to indicate a recrudescence of older traditions. Parker 1997: 1; Albright

Certain extrabiblical evidence may also bear witness to the southern origins of Yahweh. Three of the inscriptions from Kuntillet ʻAjrud contain the words "YHWH of Teman," which may indicate that Yahweh was revered in Edom, specifically in Teman. The date of the inscriptions certainly prevents a direct correlation to the biblical passages listed above, but they may allude to an older vestige.[35] Moreover, the Egyptian toponyms that mention the Shasu Bedouin, who, as we have seen were in some way associated with Edom, contain the tantalizing words *t3 š3sw yhw*, "Yhw (perhaps to be read Ya-h-wi)[36] in the land of Shasu."[37] If there is a reference to Yahweh in these Late Bronze Age toponyms, it might lend support to the older notion of Yahweh's southern origin.[38]

Karel van der Toorn presents an intriguing interpretation of the name "Yhwh," suggesting that the word is based on the root *hwh* "to fall," which has an affinity to the Arabic root هوى "to fall (rain)" or "to blow (wind)."[39] Van der Toorn notes, "In view of the south-eastern origins of the cult of Yahweh, an Arabic etymology has a certain likelihood."[40] Thus, the passages such as Judges 5: 4–5 that indicate Yahweh's ability to provide rain may be based not

1950–51: 1–3; Cross 1973: 100–105; Cross and Freedman 1997: 1–14, 64–81; see also the discussion in Axelsson 1987: 48–65.

[35] The site dates from the ninth-eighth centuries BC. It should also be noted that given the probable caravanserai function of the site and the presence of northern Israelite names, the cult, if any, of YHWH of Teman may have been a branch of the northern Yahwistic national religion and may have no bearing on the biblical references to Yahweh originally hailing from Edom. There has been much speculation on these inscriptions. See Hadley 2000: 115–120; Meshel 1979: 27–35; 1992: 103–109. For a translation of the inscriptions see Dobbs-Allsopp *et al.* 2005: 285–286, 293–297.

[36] See Cross 1973: 61–62.

[37] Cf. Giveon 1971: 27, 73–77. Lawrence Stager (1998: 138) renders this, "Shasu-land of Yhw." There are actually a number of inscriptions that mention the Shasu and *yhw* from the time of Amenhotep III and also one from the Ramesside period under Ramesses II, which simply says *šsw yhw*. Van der Toorn (1999: 911–912) notes that the name *Yhw* in these references is a toponym, however, "a relationship with the deity by the same name is a reasonable assumption; whether the god took his name from the region or vice versa remains undecided." (Cf. also Axelsson 1987: 59–61, 65).

[38] Gösta Ahlström (1986: 57–60) does not believe that the references to *yhw* among the Shasu can be used to verify that Yahweh came from Edom because he finds the region(s) of the Shasu, as seen in the toponyms, to be too vast to indicate one location where Yahweh could have hailed from. This does not rule out the possibility, in my estimation. See also Redford 1993: 269–280; Hoffmeier 2005: 240–245; Stager 1998: 142–149; Blenkinsopp 2008: 139–140.

[39] See *The Hans Wehr Dictionary* 1219b; BDB 218a; van der Toorn 1999: 916.

[40] Van der Toorn 1999: 916.

so much on Yahweh's affinity with a northern coastal deity such as the Ugaritic Baal (though this may have been a factor), but on the inherent character of Yahweh himself indicated in the very meaning of his name.

J. David Schloen also argues convincingly for a Midianite/Arabian origin of Yahwism.[41] Based on his reading of Judges 5, Schloen suggests that the early Israelites were once in league with Midianite caravan traders and that they profited from trade through the hills of Palestine across the Jezreel Valley.[42] Schloen believes the trade route may have been a key factor in the spreading of new ideas (as many trade routes have done all over the world throughout history), not least of these Yahwism.[43] Similarly, many scholars advocate for an Arabian origin of Qos as well.[44]

[41] Schloen 1993: 18–38. According to Stager (1998: 142), "The heartland of Midian lay in the desert of rose-red mountains and plateaus above the great Rift Valley, east of the Gulf of Aqaba in northwestern Arabia." Today this region is known as the Hijaz.

[42] The biblical text suggests that the Midianite confederation included Amalekites and Kenites (cf. Judg 6: 3; 1 Sam 15: 5–6). Halpern (1992: 17–22) discusses the potential role of the Kenites in Israelite "proto-history," namely the connection of the Kenites with Moses via his father-in-law, who is variously called a Kenite (Judg 1: 16; 4: 11) and a Midianite (Exod 2: 18; 3: 1; 18: 1; Num 10: 29). The discrepancy may have to do with the various source documents—the reference in Judges being D (perhaps), the reference to Jethro in Exodus being E, and the reference to Reuel being J (for further discussion see Albright 1963: 1–11 and Blenkinsopp 2008: 131–153). It may also simply be that Moses had more than one wife. Later polemical texts toward the Midianites in P were the result, perhaps, of the Levitical cooperation with the Kenites. The texts in Judges may represent, according to Halpern, an appropriation of actual Kenite claims to Moses. At any rate, it may be that the Kenites, or perhaps more specifically, Kenite/Midianite traders who controlled some of the southern routes between Kadesh and Sinai, were influential to Israel's belief in Yahweh. Fensham (1964: 51–54) points to the potential alliance that existed between Israel and the Kenites based on 1 Samuel 15: 6, which may have in turn been based on an earlier tradition reflected in Exodus 18 of a covenant between Moses and Jethro the Midianite. Gray (1953: 278–283) further notes that it is among the Kenites that we should look for the home of Yahweh. His analysis comes in light of the earlier suggestion of C. Virolleaud that a deity *Yw*, a son of El, mentioned in KTU 1.1: IV: 14, is an early reference to Yahweh.

[43] Schloen 1993: 36. Cf. also the work of Singer-Avitz (1999: 3–75) on the pottery assemblage of stratum II of Beersheba. She points out that the trade route from Arabia to the coastal highway, which passed through Beersheba, played a part in bringing together eastern and western cultures, i.e. Edom, Arabia, and Assyria in the east and Egypt and the southern Palestinian coast in the west. One result of this cultural integration is varying styles in the pottery that reflect the influence of the various cultures. Surely religious ideas would have circulated along these trade routes as well (see Singer-Avitz 1999: 32, n. 12).

[44] Martin Rose (1977: 28–34) and Knauf (1999a: 667) see the god of Edom originally at home among the archaic Arabian tribes who frequented the northern portion of the Arabian Peninsula, i.e. ancient Midian. Dearman (1995: 127), on the other hand, while acknowledging

In light of this information, it seems that the relationship between Yahweh and Edom, and perhaps, though less explicit, Yahweh and Qos, can be explained in three ways. The first explanation is the idea set forth above, that Yahweh and Qos were both manifestations of the Syrian storm deity known from the general milieu of Syria-Palestine, who were endowed with traits indigenous to their local worshippers. This is a viable perspective in the sense that the inhabitants of the steppe were dependent on their deities for rain and defense of their territory from enemies, hence the typical role of the storm-god as warrior and bringer of fertility. The southern origin of both Qos and Yahweh warrants an understanding of these deities as storm-gods, though a connection with the northern storm-deity Hadad, or his Canaanite counterpart, Baal, is not necessary.[45]

The second explanation, espoused by Martin Rose, is that there existed "a pre-Yahwistic period when in the south of Judah, Edomite and Judahite clans worshipped an El-deity who later became, for Israel, Yahweh."[46] This early El-deity, in Rose's view was supplanted among the Edomites by the Arabian Qos, in the wake of an "Arabizing" movement in the eighth century BC, a view which is now generally not accepted.[47] Bartlett, in a response to Rose's article, points out that while an Arab origin of Qos has a certain likelihood, the evidence suggests that Qos was known in Edom before the appearance of the name in the eighth century Assyrian annals.[48] The strength of Rose's

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the previous perspective as plausible, believes that Qos may have either been a local mountain deity in Edomite territory (based on the earlier cataloguing in 1926 of a certain Jabal al-Qaus in the Hijaz) who rose to prominence with the formation of Edom in the Iron II or was known already by the names or epithets of more prominent Syro-Palestinian deities.

[45] There can be no doubt, however, that syncretism with Baal was a factor in certain branches of Israelite Yahwism in later part of the Iron II.

[46] Rose 1977: 31. Dearman (1995: 127) and Bartlett (1989: 198–200) both affirm the potential of this older view of Rose.

[47] While Bartlett (1978: 32; 1989: 202) and Dearman (1995: 127) affirm the idea of an El-deity sharing the worship of the tribes of Judah and Edom, they see no textual or archaeological verification for the northwestern movement of Arab tribes who exerted pressure on the territory of Edom in the eighth century. Bartlett also notes (1978: 30–32) that the inhabitants of the territory of Edom would have had easy contact with the Arab world to its south and east probably for a few thousand years prior to the eighth century. This being the case, Qos (provided that he was an Arabic deity) would have probably been known to the inhabitants of Edom before the appearance of the deity in the theophoric names of the eighth century.

[48] Bartlett (1978: 29–38) correctly observes that it would have been unusual for Qos to appear in a divine name if he was a newly adopted deity among the Edomites. The use of the theophoric

earlier view is the value of the idea of the mutual worship of a deity by both the early inhabitants of Judah and Edom, a perspective I will expound upon further. In addition to this, the view that El was worshipped by early Israel and subsequently merged with Yahweh is well-known.[49] It seems, however, that another explanation of the relationship between Yahweh and Qos can be set forth.

A recent intriguing suggestion put forth for the origin of Yahwism by Nissim Amzallag is that Yahweh was originally an archaic god of metallurgy.[50] Amzallag, building on the older Midianite/Kenite hypothesis, and based on certain clues in the biblical text, sees Yahweh as the patron deity of the metalworking peoples of the south—namely the Edomites, Midianites, and Kenites.[51] Over the course of time Yahwism became a popular religion among the Israelites, but vestiges of Yahweh's earlier role are preserved in the biblical text. For Amzallag, Qos was probably an Edomite epithet of Yahweh, whose name was not often used.[52] The question that remains to be answered by this theory is the role (if any) of the metallurgic deity as a storm-god, and specifically how we are to account for the storm imagery associated with Yahweh and presumably Qos.[53]

In order to build on the conclusions of Amzallag's intriguing theory, I would suggest as a third explanation, that Yahweh and Qos either existed

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element suggests that Qos had existed among the Edomites for some time prior to the eighth century BC.

[49] See Cross 1973: 44–75 and Smith 2001: 135–148 for the primary discussions.

[50] Amzallag 2009: 387–404.

[51] Amzallag notes the following arguments for his theory: 1) Yahweh is associated with Edom in the biblical text, 2) the biblical text preserves vestiges of the role of copper production in the cult of Israel, 3) Yahweh has features similar to other gods of metallurgy such as Ptah of Egypt, Enki (Ea) and Napir of Mesopotamia, and 4) metallurgic deities are often depicted as warriors, fighting against the other gods.

[52] Amzallag (2009: 392) points out that the lack of public disclosure of the names of deities of metallurgy was common and had to do with the initiatory nature of the cult. Amzallag also reminds us that even among the Israelite cult, Yahweh's name was subject to limited usage (cf. Exod 20: 7; Deut 5: 11).

[53] It seems as though the metallurgical deities, at least those cited by Amzallag, are not typically storm-gods. Did the archaic metallurgic deity Yahweh, take on the attributes of a storm deity later via syncretism with other gods such as Baal? What are we to make of Judg 5: 4–5, which seems to include an (early?) attestation of belief in Yahweh as a storm deity? Perhaps a way to explain this last question is to see the storm imagery as secondary to the original text as Cross (1973: 101, n. 35) points out.

side-by-side in a pantheon perhaps,[54] or even as the same storm (or perhaps metalworking) deity, among the tribes of the northwestern Arabian Peninsula. This religious connection likely resulted from ancient familial and economic ties between the tribes of the Sinai, the Hijaz, and the northwestern Arabian Peninsula.[55] These tribal groups would have included the Midianites/Kenites and those who would eventually come to inhabit Judah and Edom.[56]

In light of this, Amzallag may be right that the name Qos was an epithet of the pre-Israelite Yahweh that either was meant to avoid the use of the name Yahweh, as Amzallag suggests, or, perhaps more likely, to denote or symbolize a characteristic of pre-Israelite Yahweh—a hunter/warrior deity who made use of a bow (קשת). Th. C. Vriezen has shown that a common element of many deities in the ancient Near East was the use of a deified weapon that functioned both as a weapon in the hands of the god, as well as a deity in its own right. The weapon could also be a symbol by which the deity was known, i.e. the name of the symbol could be used as a name for the deity.[57]

This final theory is appealing given that certain biblical texts indicate that Yahweh uses a bow as a weapon. A particularly interesting passage in light of the above data, is Habakkuk 3:9. Here the prophet envisions Yahweh coming from Edom to deliver his people, and shaking the pavilions of the land of Midian (vv 3, 7), a recrudescence of the older imagery present in Judges 5. Yahweh marches forth, bow exposed and ready for battle. Other passages include Psalm 18:15 and perhaps Psalm 7: 13. One should note also that the imagery often associated with Yahweh in these texts where he uses a bow is that of a storm-god, especially in Habakkuk 3:9 and Psalm 18:15 and also Genesis 9: 13. These texts, despite their potentially late composition, may preserve a vestige of this early period when Yahweh/Qos was worshiped

[54] Or perhaps worshipped separately among various tribal groups. Indeed Gray (1953: 280) notes that the religion of the Kenites, i.e. proto-Israelite Yahwism, may have exerted an influence on the inhabitants of Edom. The idea has also crossed my mind that the deities may have been conflated in a manner similar to the Egyptian deities. On the idea of an Edomite pantheon, see the helpful discussion in Dearman 1995: 128–131.

[55] Bartlett 1989: 196.

[56] Axelsson (1987: 70–72) and Blenkinsopp (2008: 144–153) point out that the inhabitants of the later territory of Judah may have been related to the Kenites/Midianites either by covenant or actual familial ties (this is discussed further below). For Blenkinsopp, the lack of any mention of Qos in the biblical text is due to the mutual service to Yahweh practiced by the early inhabitants of the Edomite territory, who eventually became the respective kingdoms of Israel and Edom.

[57] Vriezen 1965: 330–353.

among the tribes of the south prior to the formation of the kingdoms of Judah, Israel and Edom in the tenth through eighth centuries BC.

In addition to the texts cited above, there are a number of passages that preserve vestiges of the archaic Yahweh/Qos. The saga of Jacob and Esau, the eponymous ancestors of Israel and Edom, is a primary text for this study. The work of Juan Manuel Tebes is important here because he points out that the biblical tale, while largely a product of the Judahite priestly redactors, must have been based on older conflated stories originating among the tribes of the Negev.[58] These original tribal relationships among the Midianites, Kenites, and proto-Judahites and Edomites, were the matrix within which the Yahweh/Qos deity was worshipped prior to becoming a national Yahweh cult among the Israelites. Thus the story of Jacob and Esau and the connection between Israel and Judah was drawn from the traditions of the complex familial, economic, and religious ties between the Late Bronze/Iron I inhabitants of the south. The story was reworked by Judahite redactors for the legitimization of the "domination of the Judean state over the entire Negev region"[59]

Further biblical texts that may preserve "memories" of the existence of the ancient Yahweh/Qos include those that denote the Israelite/Judahite Yahweh's association with and care for Edomites, a factor which can perhaps be linked to the archaic "brotherhood" of the early southern tribes. In the midst of the oracles against Edom, the prophets Jeremiah and Obadiah point to Edom's status as a land of wisdom (Jer 49: 7; Obad 8).[60] Amzallag correctly notes that

[58] Tebes 2006: 2–30.

[59] Tebes 2006: 30.

[60] Note that the story of the biblical Job appears to be set in Edom, based on the location presented in Job 1:1, ארץ־עוץ "the land of Uz." Uz was located in Edom on the basis of its connection with the genealogy of Esau (Gen 36: 28) and an appearance of it in Lamentations 4: 21 where it is used in parallel with Edom. In addition to this Eliphaz is said to hail from Teman, a location generally thought to be in Edom. Both the name Eliphaz and Teman are in the genealogy of Esau (see Gen 36: 4, 11; and the inscriptions from Kuntillet 'Ajrud). Though slightly more speculative, the account of the mining practices present in Job 28 may also be indicative of the author's knowledge of Edomite livelihood—copper mining. Moreover, the archaic name שדי short for אל־שדי, typically understood in scholarly circles to be based on the Akkadian *šadû* "mountain," might have a more plausible basis on the Semitic root (Hebrew שדי, Ugaritic *šd*, Akkadian *šadû*) according to Knauf (1999b: 749–753). ŠDY refers to an uncultivated field (cf. BDB, 961b "field, land, home of wild beasts"). Knauf connects the title, which then refers to "the one of the wilderness" ("God of the Wilderness" with the addition of אל) to the "lord of the animals"/"lord of the ostriches" motif attributed to the steppe dwelling deities of the northern Arabian Peninsula such as Qos, and potentially to Yahweh, based on the Iron Age iconography. See the discussion in Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 182, 382–385.

wisdom from the perspective of the Israelite prophets would have been tied to Yahweh and not to another deity.[61] In Jeremiah 49:11, the prophet, speaking the words of Yahweh, says in the midst of the oracle of destruction proclaimed for Edom, "Leave your [Edom's] orphans with me, I will rear them; let your widows rely on me!" (NJPS).[62] Deuteronomy 23:8–9 preserves a rule for the admittance of an Edomite into the territory of Israel: "You shall not abhor an Edomite for he is your kinsman...Children born to them may be admitted into the congregation of the LORD in the third generation" (NJPS). This implies that the Edomites, despite their peripheral status in the eyes of the historian, were recognized as linked to Israel.[63]

An intriguing, though admittedly problematic connection between Yahweh and Qos, comes in the chronicler's account of David's entry into Jerusalem with the Ark of the Covenant. Mention is made of one Eytan ben Kushaiah, a Levite kinsman who is among those designated to transport the ark (1 Chr 15: 17).[64] The name Kushaiah (קושיהו) may be a combination of the theophoric elements *qws* and *yhw*, which could yield a translation of "Qos is Yahweh." Various interpretations have been put forth for understanding this name.[65] Vriezen notes that if the name had to do with a confession of faith like the name *Elijah* (אליהו "my god is Yahweh") then it might point to an Edomite who converted to faith in Yahweh; alternatively, it could be a syncretistic.[66] Ultimately, however, Vriezen rejects the interpretation that the name contains a link between two theophores on the basis of the lack of precedent for the combination of two proper names in one in the West Semitic milieu.[67]

[61] Amzallag 2009: 391.

[62] Cf. also Isa 21: 11.

[63] Cf. Bartlett 1977: 2–27.

[64] Cf. the reference in 1 Chr 6: 29. Here Eytan is the son of Kishi (קישי), which is perhaps a shortened version of the name in 15: 17 (see Vriezen 1965: 352).

[65] Block (2000: 42) posits that it may indicate the syncretistic linkage of the two patron deities, and Bartlett (1989: 201) notes that the name might conceal a *qws* name.

[66] Vriezen 1965: 352–353. Vriezen also points to the similar syncretistic combinations of names exist in Mesopotamian and Egyptian literature.

[67] Though in Egypt this phenomenon can be observed (see Vriezen 1965: 352–353).

Yahweh/Qos in Judah and Edom

Having put forth the theory that Yahweh and Qos were worshipped as one deity among the network of the tribal people of the northwestern Arabian Peninsula, people that would eventually become the inhabitants of Judah and Edom, two issues remain. First, it is important to understand how Yahweh became exclusive to Israel/Judah. Second, it is necessary to try to explain the silence of the biblical text on Qos worship among the Edomites. In the brief analysis contained in this section I will attempt to answer these questions in light of the relationship between Judah and Edom presented in the biblical text as well as beyond into the Hellenistic Period.

The biblical text preserves a number of traditions concerning the tribes that eventually made up the "House of Judah," the early kingdom under David (2 Sam 2:4). The traditions are unanimous that David, "a primitive Yahwist"[68] descended from the tribe of Judah.[69] Lars Axelsson and, more recently, Joseph Blenkinsopp have argued that the tribe of Judah was made up of the older southern tribes—namely the Kenites, who were related to the Midianites. The authors point to the connection between the Judahites and the Kenites in the conquest account in Judges 1:16. In addition to this, an important tribe that was connected with the Kenites were the Kenizzites (Gen 15: 19), descendants of Kenaz, who is mentioned in the genealogy of Esau in Genesis 36: 15, 42 (cf. 1 Chr 1: 36, 53). Among prominently featured Kenizzites one finds Caleb (Num 32: 12; Josh 14: 6–15), Othniel (Judg 1: 13), and Jerahmeel (1 Chr 2: 42). Note that David likely came from a clan of Judah that was connected in some way with the Calebites (1 Chr 2: 9–18). The biblical story of David's rise to power indicates David's strategic unification of a certain group of the southern tribes under his leadership.[70] He was then anointed king in Hebron, the place that was said to have been settled by Caleb in Joshua 14: 13–15, in the territory of Judah.

These southern tribal groups united under David were all Yahweh worshippers as far as the traditions in the biblical text are concerned.[71] To

[68] Cross 1973: 210.

[69] Blenkinsopp (2008: 148–149) notes that Judah was likely a geographical reference that was applied to the tribe (cf. Josh 11: 21; 20: 7; 21: 11; Judg 1: 16; 1 Sam 27: 10). Axelsson (1987: 144–145) asserts that even if the name was applied to the tribe of Judah after the time of David, the genealogies (Num 26: 19–22; Ruth 4: 18–22; 1 Chr 2: 9–17, 50–51; 4: 1– 23) presuppose the existence of the early tribes that made up the later "tribe of Judah."

[70] See the discussion in Blenkinsopp 2008: 146–147.

[71] See the discussion in Axelsson 1987: 158–161.

this we should cautiously add the extrabiblical references to *Yhw* among the southern Shasu tribes. In light of the data considered up to this point—that the archaic tribal groups from the south were joined by ancient familial ties and also shared a common religion under the aegis of Yahweh/Qos, as I have proposed above—if these groups were to some degree united under the southern Yahwist David, then the cult of Yahweh and his Qos symbol would have been carried into the religion of the early Israelite monarchy, or more specifically, David's "House of Judah."

It is evident, however, from the biblical literature that the Qos aspect of Yahweh was eventually lost, or perhaps censored, in the official religion of Judah.[72] This can be seen in the fact that nowhere in the biblical text is Qos mentioned in association with the Israelite Yahweh, nor is he mentioned in relation to Edom.[73] This anomaly is perhaps due to developments within Israel, stemming from the formation of the monarchy under David, and the eventual crystallization of the tribal alliances into the polity of Edom. Second Samuel 8:13–14 recounts how David battled with Edom and subjugated them to Judah. Though it is not clear that Edom (or Judah for that matter) was a full-fledged kingdom at this point, it may have been established enough to be

[72] Smith (2004: 124–158) would call this phenomenon the "collective memory and amnesia" of the biblical writers, noting that, "The biblical tradition preserved the vestiges of the older religious situation, but forgot crucial aspects of it." Vriezen (1965: 349–352) calls attention to the potentially purposeful deletion of a Qos reference in Prov 30: 31, a text that might have had an Edomite origin. The line which in its current form in the MT reads: ומלך אלקום עמו may have originally (and more coherently) read: ומלך אל קוס עמו "a king with whom is El-Qos." Thus the loss of Qos in Yahweh worship may have been a combination of censorship followed by "collective amnesia."

[73] The biblical historians, one will notice, reference the gods of some of Israel's neighbors, especially Milkom of the Ammonites and Chemosh of Moab (as well as some of their cultic practices) fairly often, but not once do they mention Qos as the god of Edom. See Num 21: 29; 23: 1, 14, 29; Judg 11: 12–24; 1 Kgs 11: 5; 2 Kgs 3: 27; 23: 13; Isa 15: 2; 16: 12 Jer 48: 7, 46. There is only one clear reference in the Hebrew Bible to the religion of the people of Edom found in 2 Chr 25: 5–24. Here Amaziah, King of Judah, upon returning home from a victory over the Edomites, "had the gods of the men of Seir brought, and installed them as his gods; he prostrated himself before them, and to them he made sacrifice" (v. 14; NJPS). Bartlett (1989: 195) suggests that the Chronicler was unaware of Edom's religious practices since the Edomite state had ceased to exist nearly two centuries prior. Aside from this reference, the only clearly preserved reference to Qos in the Bible is from the Persian period where the name of the deity is suffixed to a personal name of one of the *nĕtînîm* in Ezra 2: 53 (=Nehemiah 7: 55), Barqos (ברקוס). (Among the fourteen *qws* names found from ostraca at Tel Beersheba from the fourth century, one may be restorable to *b[r]qws*. See Bartlett 1989: 200, 205, no. 24.)

a threat in regard to control of vital trade routes.[74] This initial subjugation to Judah may have been a catalyst for the evolution of the ancient Yahweh/Qos religion in the south, and the subsequent restriction of Yahweh to Israel.

In the later part of the Iron II, the growing hostility between Judah and Edom may have been a factor in the further distinction between Yahweh and Qos. This hostility seems to have centered on Edomite incursion into the Negev region.[75] By this time we know that the national Qos cult was in place in the Edomite kingdom, given the names of the Edomite kings in the Assyrian annals. Unfortunately, due to our lack of Edomite texts, it is ultimately not clear what became of Yahweh/Qos in Edom. Two scenarios present themselves, the first being that Yahweh/Qos was still venerated among the Edomites and known as Qos. Second, it may be that over time and with the development of Israelite/Judahite Yahwism to the north, Qos, the once divine symbol and weapon of Yahweh, became the dominant deity of the Edomites. Certainly the second possibility seems to be the most realistic option, given the persistence of the Qos cult, with no known Yahweh allusions, in Iron II kingdom of Edom, on into the Persian period, and beyond into the religion of the Idumeans and Nabateans.

[74] Cf. the work of Levy *et al.* 2004: 865–879.

[75] This hostility may have had to do with Edom's alignment, as a vassal state, with the imperial forces of Assyria and then Babylon in the late Iron II. Moreover, Edom's territorial expansion may have played a part in this animosity as they encroached upon the Negev sites in Judahite territory and established shrines such as that at Qitmit (cf. the interpretation of Beit-Arieh 1995: 311–316 and Porter 2004: 389). The epigraphic evidence from the Iron II fort at Tel Arad in the Negev seems to indicate apprehension over a potential Edomite threat (see ostracon 24 in Aharoni 1975: 48–51). It is important to note, however, given the work of Singer-Avitz (1999: 3–75) that the archaeological record points to continued integration of the people of the south due primarily to trade. This has been shown in the eighth century BC pottery assemblage from stratum II of Beersheba in the Negev. Among the ceramics discovered were wares from Judah, Edom, Arabia, Assyria, Egypt, and the southern Mediterranean coast. Beersheba was a major center on the trade route from Arabia. This suggests that during the time of the Assyrian empire, trade flourished among the inhabitants of the south, implying that the relationship between Edom and Judah during this time was at least a neutral, if not a favorable one. This also suggests that with this cultural integration at centers like Beersheba that religious ideologies and theologies continued to blend. Moreover, Finkelstein (1992: 156–170) sees the site at Qitmit less as an Edomite shrine and more as a way station, albeit a cultic one, on the spice route for travelers (cf. also Mazar 1990: 498–499). Bartlett (1989: 142) notes that the situation at Tell Arad between the Judahite and Israelite inhabitants of the area was not purely militaristic but also economic. These factors suggest that the situation between Judah and Edom may have been less critical than the biblical text depicts. Opinions certainly vary on this, however.

At any rate, the later part of the Iron II seems to represent a kind of culmination of the attitude toward Yahweh and his Qos symbol. This is after all the most plausible timeframe for the writing, compiling, and editing of the biblical text under the auspices of the final kings of the Judahite kingdom, a process that continued beyond Judah's downfall, at least into the Persian period. It makes sense, therefore, that the Qos aspect of Yahweh, if present in earlier traditions, would be removed from those traditions in light of the animosity between Edom and Judah. It is not clear, however, whether or not Yahweh and Qos first became distinct among the Edomites or the Judahites. Certainly the process would have been a long and complex one with perhaps very few deciding factors to pinpoint.

As the downfall of the kingdom of Judah loomed on the horizon, the Edomites continued their movement into the Negev.[76] It was likely this situation that led to the accusations in the later biblical prophetic and liturgical literature.[77] Indeed it has been suggested that Edom would have at least needed consent from the Babylonian regime for this continued movement.[78] This, in turn may have led to the prophetic accusation of Obadiah (v 11) to Edom, "You were as one of them," i.e. the Babylonians. Edom, from this point on became, as Aryeh Kasher rightly notes, "the symbol of evil in Jewish consciousness, at least to the end of the Ptolemaic period."[79]

Edom's political status came to an end under the final king of the Neo-Babylonian Empire, Nabonidus (555–539 BC).[80] The archaeological record demonstrates some scant evidence of occupation into the Persian Period.[81] However, the overarching population within the Edomite territory did not increase again until the infiltration of the area by the Nabateans, who established themselves in Petra during the late Hellenistic and early Roman Imperial era (332 BC–37 CE).[82] As noted above, clear evidence of the prominence of Qos

[76] Kasher (1988: 1–3) attributes this movement to pressure from the Arabian tribes south of Edom.

[77] Cf. Ps 137: 7; Jer 49: 7–22; Ezek 25: 12–14, 35, 36: 1–6; Joel 4:19; Amos 1: 11–12; Obad 12.

[78] Kasher 1988: 3. See also Dykehouse 2008.

[79] Kasher 1988: 3.

[80] For a recent study and presentation of the texts relating to Nabonidus' Arabian campaign see Crowell 2007: 75–88. See also Bartlett 1989: 147–161.

[81] See Bienkowski 2001: 198–213.

[82] See Glueck 1965: 3–46; Graf 1997: 82–84; Hammond 1997: 303–306; Joukowsky 1997: 306–308.

during this period, in both the Negev (the area that would become Idumea) and in the former Edomite territory is present.

Following the wars fought by the Maccabees to secure independence from the Hellenistic Seleucid rulers, during which time relations between the Idumeans and Judeans were difficult at best, John Hyrcanus I (135–104 BC), the son of Simon Maccabaeus took hold of the Hasmonean kingdom.[83] Key for this study is Hyrcanus' institution of a massive conversion of the Idumeans to Judaism in order to annex their territory. Hyrcanus appears to have had his eye on the southern roads leading to Gaza, namely, namely the road through Beersheba, which as we have seen was a major location on the trade route from Arabia to the Coastal Highway. The Idumeans were apparently given the choice of exile or submission to circumcision and the observance of Jewish customs and laws.[84] It is evident from Josephus that this conversion meant turning from the worship of other deities, presumably Qos, known to the Idumeans as Koze (κωζαι). Some scholars have pointed out that a number of Idumeans chose exile and migrated to Egypt to continue their traditional worship of Koze.[85] In addition to this there were evidently certain groups of Idumeans who retained their devotion to Koze, but remained in the territory of Idumea. This is particularly evident in Josephus' account of Kostobaros, a priest of Koze, who was appointed by Herod some fifty years after the exploits Hyrcanus I, to be the governor of Idumea.[86]

The institution of Herod as the king of the Jews by Rome in 40 BC. marked a unique development in the history of Judah and Edom. Herod was the son of Antipater, an Idumean official, and a Nabatean noblewoman named Cypros.[87] This is indicative of the unification of the Idumeans and Judeans to a much greater extent than they had experienced in the past. However, the example of Kostabaros demonstrates that Qos/Koze was still revered among some Idumeans even in the midst of the partial assimilation of the religion of the Idumeans to Judaism. The Idumeans either accepted the religion of the Jews, or more likely, blended the worship of Yahweh with Koze. Though

[83] Josephus *Ant.* XIII 8–10; Kasher 1988: 44–78.

[84] Josephus *Ant*. XIII.9.1; XV.7.9. Kasher (1988: 47–78) points out that it is not clear, despite the references in Josephus, that the Idumeans were forced to covert. Moreover, Kasher believes that many of the rural inhabitants of Idumea would have probably been willing to accept Judaism "out of common hostility to the Hellenistic cities and Seleucid rule."

[85] Kasher 1988: 57. Cf. also Bartlett 1989: 206–207, nos. 48–57.

[86] Josephus *Ant* XV.7.9.

[87] Josephus *War* I.8.9; *Ant* XIV.1.3. Also see the discussion in Kasher 1988: 126–131.

this cannot be proven beyond a shadow of a doubt, if there is any validity to the postulates put forth in this essay, then it is extremely interesting to consider the syncretistic blending of two deities, now distinct, but who were once worshipped together.

Concluding Thoughts

In this brief essay we have reviewed the primary material and textual evidence for the veneration of Qos among the inhabitants of ancient Edom (and to some extent, their successors, the Idumeans and Nabateans). We have considered what some scholars have posited about the nature of Qos, theories that are based largely, though not exclusively, on what is known of the desert dwelling deities of the Syro-Palestinian milieu. Finally we looked at some of the theories surrounding the enigmatic connection between Yahweh and the god of Edom, concluding that Yahweh and Qos both originated in the south, were worshipped together as deity and divine symbol, and through various circumstances, ended up becoming the respective deities of Judah and Edom due largely to the political circumstances of these respective groups.

Despite the case that I have attempted to make for the worship of Yahweh/Qos, the presumed relationship between these two important deities will likely remain shrouded in mystery, as will many things pertaining to ancient Edom and the tribal coalitions of the Negev and northwestern Arabian Peninsula. We simply lack the kind of material and textual data necessary to make any solid conclusions. Nevertheless, as Blenkinsopp points out, "in a sense, all our knowledge of the past is hypothetical and probabilistic, and the task of the historian is always that of coming up with a better hypothesis."[88] That being said, it has been my task to take into account the relevant biblical and extrabiblical data at hand and to work toward a new, provisional interpretation by which to understand the relationship between Yahweh and Qos. For it does seem to be the case that a connection between Yahweh and Qos would have existed, given the glimpses in the biblical text of Yahweh's southern origin and the relationship between Judah and Edom as perceived by the biblical authors. It is, therefore, my hope that the hypothesis set forth in this analysis will contribute to a better understanding of the nature of the relationship between these two unique and enigmatic deities of the ancient Near East.

[88] Blenkinsopp 2008: 151.

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Reportes de Excavación/Excavation Reports

The MBA-LBA I Period in the Kourion Region: New Evidences from Erimi-*Laonin tou Porakou* (Lemesos, Cyprus)

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Summary: The MBA-LBA I Period in the Kourion Region: New Evidences from Erimi-*Laonin tou Porakou* (Lemesos, Cyprus)
The evidence from Erimi-*Laonin tou Porakou* within the Kouris valley settlement system can offer further new data to outline a picture of the development trends from MBA to LBA I periods in the Kourion region. As to this area, such a "transitional" phase could be particularly relevant to better understand the development process of the mature LBA II–III urban centers (in Alassa as well as the most recent discovered in Erimi-*Pitharka*). In 2008–2009 a focus investigation (an intensive survey, geo-perspections and excavations) within the Kouris Valley Project has been addressed to the site of Erimi-*Laonin tou Porakou*, which lies on one of the highest hilltops facing southward the Kouris dam. The excavations evidenced a double circuit wall which surrounds the top mound and the lower terrace. The top mound (Area A) has been widely occupied by a complex workshop, directly linked with a storage area. The natural limestone bedrock has been worked out to arrange a system of carved deep basins connected each other by a series of flow channels. Southward from the workshop, a large storage area has been cleared, with a relevant assemblage of big *pithoi* and storage devices. The first lower terrace area (Area B) has been possibly occupied by a domestic quarter; a cemetery area (Area E) has been also evidenced outside the external circuit wall, where a series of five rock-cut tombs (Tombs 228–232) with single chamber and small incoming *dromoi* has been excavated.

Keywords: Kourion area (Lemesos, Cyprus) – Middle Bronze-Late Bronze Age I period – Erimi-*Laonin tou Porakou* – Red-Polished and Black Slip wares

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Resumen: El período EBM-EBT en la región de Kourion: nuevas evidencias de Erimi-*Laonin tou Porakou* (Lemesos, Chipre)
Las evidencias encontradas en Erimi-*Laonin tou Porakou* dentro del sistema de asentamiento del valle Kouris puede ofrecer nuevos datos para delinear un panorama de las tendencias de desarrollo en la región Kourion desde la Edad del Bronce Medio a la Edad del Bronce Tardío I. En cuanto a esta área, una fase de "transición" como esta puede ser especialmente relevante para comprender mejor el proceso de desarrollo de los centros urbanos durante la Edad del Bronce Tardío II–III (en Alassa, así como en la más reciente descubierta en Erimi-*Pitharka*). En 2008–2009 una investigación focalizada dentro del Proyecto del valle Kouris (un estudio intensivo, geoperspectivas y excavaciones) se ha dirigido al sitio de Erimi-*Laonin tou Porakou*, que se encuentra en la meseta a más altitud frente de la presa Kouris. Las excavaciones evidencian una pared de doble circuito que rodea el montículo superior y la terraza más baja. El montículo superior (zona A) ha sido ampliamente ocupado por un taller complejo, vinculado directamente con un área de almacenamiento. El lecho natural de roca caliza fue trabajado para organizar un sistema de cuencas talladas en profundidad, conectadas unas con otras por medio de una serie de canales de flujo. Hacia el sur del taller ha sido despejada una gran área de almacenamiento, con un conjunto relevante de un gran *pithoi* y dispositivos de almacenaje. La primera área de la terraza baja (zona B) ha sido probablemente ocupada por un cuarto doméstico; un área del cementerio (zona E) también ha sido evidenciada fuera de la pared exterior del circuito, donde ha sido excavada una serie de cinco tumbas excavadas en la roca (tumbas 228–232) con una sola cámara y pequeños *dromoi* entrantes.

Palabras clave: Área Kourion (Limassol, Chipre) – Edad del Bronce Medio y del Bronce Tardío I – Erimi-*Laonin tou Porakou* – cerámicas rojas pulidas (Red-Polished ware) y de engobe negras (Black Slip ware)

A new trend of interest for the Kourion hinterland in the Bronze Age can be evidenced in the last years. Two matching aspects have possibly played a peculiar role in the re-evaluation of the regional history before the development of the Greek and Roman city of Kourion. The two coincident aspects we are dealing with can be:

On a wider scale, the general increasing of regional studies dedicated to ancient landscape in Cyprus[1] and the specific definition of theoretical models

[1] See in general Iacovou 2001; 2004. Two main series of research projects can be recorded, as already pointed out by Maria Iacovou (Iacovou 2004: 13) introducing the recent workshop on field survey in Cyprus held in Nicosia; within the first series the *chronologically specific*

for the analysis of control and use of the territory by the cities entities in the pre-classical Cypriote society (in particular the relevant interpretative model elaborated by Maria Iacovou for the Late Bronze and Iron Age periods[2]).

On a regional scale, the development of surveys and excavations projects in the area. As to these ones, a raising activity can be recorded as to the survey works by Stuart Swiny[3] as well as to the new excavations on the site of Episkopi-*Bampoula* by the University of Cincinnati[4] and, most of all, by the excavations in the area carried out by the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus. Here the sites of Alassa-*Pano Mantilaris* and Alassa-*Paliotaverna*, on the upper Kouris river valley, revealed a very important official building and a lower town quarter dated back to the LBA II–III[5]; southward the LBA town of Alassa a series of rescue excavations brought by the Department of Antiquities before the construction of the Kouris Dam, evidenced some huge cemetery areas in the territory of Alassa, Kantou and Erimi villages, dated to a wide chronological range from the late EBA up to the Cypro-Geometric and Cypro-Archaic period[6]. Furthermore, in the last years, new relevant evidences come from the village area of Erimi. Once again rescue excavated plots in the northern extent of the modern village revealed part of a huge defensive wall in the area of Erimi-*Pitharka*, most probably pertaining to the city circuit wall, and an important underground workshop both dated back to the LBA period and lately occupied during the Iron Age[7]; northward in the area of Erimi-

surveys can be included, such as the Lemba Archaeological Project Western Cyprus Survey of the University of Edinburgh, dedicated to the Neolithic/Chalcolithic settlement system in Kissonerga and Lemba areas (Peltenburg 1983; Bolger and McCartney *et al.* 2004), and the French-cypriote survey project of the region of Potamia-*Ayios Sozomenos*, which focuses the analysis of the area in the Medieval Age, from the Arab invasion till the Ottoman rule period (Lécuyer and Michaelides 2004). Within the second series can be differently considered the surveys intended for a diachronic study of a specific region or area. Among these ones the Sydney Cyprus Survey Project, the Canadian Palapaiphos Survey Project, the Sotira valley Project and the Vasilikos valley project (Given and Knapp *et al.* 2003; Sørensen and Rupp 1993; Swiny 2004; Swiny and Mavromatis 2000; Todd 2004) can be recorded.

[2] Iacovou 2007; 2008.

[3] Swiny 1981; 2004; Swiny and Mavromatis 2000.

[4] Walberg 2003.

[5] Hadjisavvas 1989; 1996.

[6] Flourentzos 1991.

[7] Flourentzos 2009; Vassiliou and Stylianou 2004.

Kafkalla a workshop area[8], dated to the LBA, and a wide necropolis, with pit and chamber rock-cut graves mainly of EBA–MBA period, have been also evidenced.

The overall picture of the archaeological evidence from the Kourion hinterland and in particular from the inner area of the Kouris river, the main valley of the region, hinted to carry out a wide survey of the river area, which had not been till now interested by a complete territorial analysis of the ancient landscape.

The survey project of the Kouris river area, as a joint project of the Universities of Florence and Chieti-Pescara, aimed to define the general patterns of the settlement system as well as the chronological sequence of the ancient peopling within the valley area[9].

The survey carried out in 2007–2008, through a cross-linked study of the distribution of surface materials evidence and a focus analysis of the topography, based on the cartography and the satellite/aerial photographs on disposal, within a devoted Multilayers GIS[10], allowed the identification of 14 sites outlining a wide occupation sequence in the valley area from the EBA to the Byzantine and Medieval periods. The chronological range of the ancient peopling within the surveyed area witnesses a relevant continuity in the settlement sequence and an interesting development within the relation patterns among different sites of the valley (settlements, cemeteries, sighting/control points of the river and/or the inner valley road network).

In 2008–2009 a focus investigation has been addressed to the northern site of Erimi-*Laonin tou Porakou* (Figs. 1, 2). The results of the preliminary survey already revealed the peculiar role of this site, located on the middle western bank of the river valley, which lies on an high *plateau* facing southward the modern Kouris Dam, just on the boundary border between Ypsonas and Erimi villages[11]. Its position allows a good view on the river as well as the sea coast, suggesting a possible function as sighting point of the road network system within the valley (Fig. 2).

The investigation on the site (intensive survey, geo-perspections and trial trenches excavation) carried out during 2008 evidenced a double circuit wall system which surrounds the settlement, where a series of ramps and entrances have been evidenced.

[8] Belgiorno 2005; Flourentzos 2009.

[9] Jasink and Bombardieri *et al.* 2008; Bombardieri 2009.

[10] Menozzi and Fossataro 2009; Jasink and Bombardieri *et al.* 2008: 162–165.

[11] Geo-coordinates: 34°42’43.00’’N, 32° 55’23.00’’E.

The settlement sequence within the site area hints to an occupation throughout two main phases. The first and most relevant one ranges from Middle Bronze to Late Bronze Age I period, as attested by the wide percentage attestation of peculiar variations of Red-Polished and Black-Slip wares types within the pottery assemblage[12]; a second phase, apparently following a long-time *hiatus*, is related to a possible re-building of the outer circuit wall during the late-Hellenistic and Roman period[13].

The 2009 excavation season has been addressed to the investigation of three areas of the site (Areas A, B, E) (Fig. 2).

(1) The top mound (Area A) has been widely occupied by complex workshop, directly linked with a storage area (Fig. 3: a). The natural limestone bedrock has been here carefully worked out in order to arrange a proper work place.

The investigated area (which extends 12,5x15 m) revealed in fact an interesting workshop characterized by a series of carved deep basins connected each other by a system of flow channels (WA I–III)[14]. Southward the workshop a large storage area has been discovered (SA I). The excavation allowed to identify a wide area (27 mq.) subdivided in two rooms which extends over the excavations limit of this year (Fig. 3: b). It has been possible to identify two phases of use of this area (Phases A and B). Inside the main room of the storage area a large amount of vessels have been found, under the collapsed debris of the overall structures in stone and mudbricks.

In this phase (Phase A) four big *pithoi* have been displayed, inserted in the floor of the main storage room and surrounded by a series of stones to properly arrange them; next to the *pithoi* a collection of smaller bowls, spouted juglets and medium size jars has been also discovered, all of them collapsed on the floor. We can hypothesize that the bowls and the other small vessels can be used to take out or to add substances to the main contents of the

[12] The difficult definition of a transition MBA–LBA horizon is a debated theme of Cypriote archaeology with a long tradition of study; see already Sjöqvist 1940; Karageorghis 1957; Åstrom 1972; Merrillees 1971. As to the Kourion region in particular, we can refer to the basic works by Ellen Herscher (Herscher 1976; 1981; 1991).

[13] The presence of LBA plain wares and Cypro-geometric or Cypro-Archaic materials from the surface collection of the site is reduced to a single White-Painted jar fragment and few other jar sherds (Jasink and Bombardieri *et al.* 2008: 167–168) and hints to consider the site deserted during the LBA II–III and the Iron Age periods.

[14] The working area (Area A) shows evident similarities, as to the devices and work installations, with the workshop area in Erimi-*Pitharka* and in Erimi-*Kafkalla* (Flourentzos 2009; Belgiorno 2005), as already pointed out (Bombardieri and Chelazzi 2009).

storage *pithoi,* as the presence of a spouted juglet collapsed just on the inside bottom of one of the *pithoi* seems to suggest (Fig. 3: c).

Once removed the floor of the storage main room another level of burnt debris has been discovered, as a proof of a former phase of use in the same area (Phase B); from this level a rich amount of pottery related to collapsed vases has been collected too.

The ceramic assemblage of the storage clearly hints to a Red-Polished ware production of Middle Bronze Age period. A close analysis of the ceramic assemblage of the two phases should offer further good indications about the general dating of the sequence of use and the function of this storage area.

(2) The first lower terrace area (Area B) has been possibly occupied by the domestic quarter (Fig. 2). An area of 19 mq. has been here investigated where the stone foundations of a building have been evidenced. On the inside floor a fire place has been also identified; the collapse debris contained a large amount of Red-Polished ware types, with a meaningful difference from the top mound storage area, as to the typological repertoire. Here the assemblage shows a clear prevalence of small types for food consumption (bowls, small jars mainly), suggesting the definition of a domestic area[15].

(3) A cemetery area (Area E) has been also evidenced outside the external circuit wall (Fig. 4). In 2008 a series of three rock-cut tombs (Tombs 228–230) with single chamber and small incoming *dromoi* has been here found out[16] (Fig. 4: b). The tomb 228 is a multiple burial with the inhumation of three individuals (a male and a female and a child), the nearby tomb 230 is a single male adult inhumation, no bones have been found from the already looted tomb 229[17].

Two new tombs have been discovered this season (Tombs 231–232), located along the lower limestone terrace southward the modern road, which flanks the site area. Both the graves luckily have not been looted; these two similarly show a cave-like single chamber cut in the limestone terrace but without any incoming *dromos* (Fig. 4: a). The tomb 231 is probably an adult inhumation, the smaller tomb 232 can be considered as an infant grave, even if no human skeleton remains have been found from both of them.

[15] A very interesting wall sherd with a pre-firing incised pot-mark comes also from the filling level. A deeper analysis will be carry out by Anna Margherita Jasink and Mauro Marino in a further dedicated study.

[16] Bombardieri *et al.* 2009.

[17] I am grateful to Gabriella Vitullo (*Museo di Scienze Biomediche dell'Università di Chieti*) who carried out the preliminary analysis of the human skeleton remains from the tombs 228–230.

As to the typology, the graves of the area E cemetery show two variations of a standard type single chamber grave, widely documented in the MBA funerary architecture[18], which finds its most striking counterparts in the area, just in the nearby EBA–MBA cemetery area of Erimi-*Kafkalla*, where the excavations by the Department of Antiquities, carried out by Yiannis Violaris, revealed the same type variations, of adult and infant graves, in single cave-like chamber tombs with or without incoming *dromos*.

As to the pottery assemblage from the Area E cemetery tombs, a rich repertoire of standard Red-Polished IV and Black-Slip wares vessels have been found out (Figs. 5, 6). Moreover, it is particularly meaningful the presence within the offering deposit of few vessels which can be referred to an incised decoration pattern typical of the South coast Cyprus pottery production. The variation, already identified by Paul Åstrom (Type VIIIB, 6e)[19], and elsewhere defined as Red Polished Punctured ware[20] or Episkopi ware[21], can be dated back to the end of MBA or the very beginning of the LBA (Late Cypriote IA).

A medium-size globular jug of this type comes from the tomb 228 (Fig. 5: c) and finds similar counterparts from the Late Cypriote IA settlement of Episkopi-*Phaneromeni* (Area A)[22]; similar examples have been also found out in Late MBA tombs from Alassa-*Palialona* and from Pyrgos-Mavroraki[23].

Inside the same tomb 228 a double-handled pointed jar with incised decoration has been also found out (Fig. 5: a), similar to two examples in Red-Polisehd IV ware coming from pit graves in Pyrgos and Ayios Athanasios, near Lemesos[24], which can be dated back to the Late MBA period.

A similar date can be proposed also for the tankard found inside the tomb 230 (Fig. 5: a), even if this production seems diffused in former contexts too, at least from Late EBA or beginning of MBA, as widely documented by the Red-Polished Coarse Tankard production from Marki-*Alonia*[25].

[18] Keswani 2004: 31–35.

[19] Åstrom 1972: 95.

[20] Carpenter 1981: 61–64.

[21] Herscher 1976, 1991; Swiny 1981: 57–58.

[22] Carpenter 1981: Fig. 3.16.

[23] Flourentzos 1991: Pl. XVI: 33**;** Belgiorno 2002: Fig. 5:9; 7: 26

[24] Karageorghis 1971: 358: Fig. 43; 1977: 714: Fig. 10

[25] Frankel and Webb 2006: Fig. 4.46

As to the small finds from the Area E cemetery, two only classes of objects have been here deposited: clay spindle-whorls with incised decoration on geometric, linear patterns and picrolite disk, mostly undecorated (only one case from tomb 231 show an incised decoration on radial motif on outer surface) (Figs. 5: b; 6: b, c).

Furthermore it is interesting to stress out that a range from 3 to 7 decorated spindle-whorls have been found within the offering-goods deposit, with the only exclusion of the infant tomb 232, where next to the ceramic vessels no small object comes from. The strict selection of the two classes of objects has been already documented within the contemporaneous MBA–LBA grave-goods in the area (examples from Episkopi-*Phaneromeni*[26] can be dated back to the LBA I) and, together with the exclusion of the infant graves, seems to suggest a peculiar funerary habit, whose meaning could be further investigated.

In conclusion, the evidence from Erimi-*Laonin tou Porakou* within the valley settlement system can offer further new data to outline a picture of the development trends from MBA to LBA I periods in the Kourion region. As to this area, such a "transitional" phase seems particularly relevant to better understand the development process which leads to the mature LBA II–III urban centers (in Alassa-*Paliotaverna* as well as the most recently discovered in Erimi-*Pitharka*). The basic aspects to be compared in a sketch scheme could be:

(1) The settlements' system within the Kourion area, *i.e.* the *inter-sites relation* patterns among different centers (mainly inner and coastal centers);

(2) The *intra-site relation* among different areas within the sites themselves (domestic areas, workshop areas, cemeteries);

(3) The possible prevalent function of the sites themselves and definitively the range of the activities they could be involved in.

All the three aspects could have been possibly draw up just in the MBA–LBA I period and then progressively developed and improved within LBA II–III. It could be reasonable to consequently interpret the MBA–LBA I phase, as a whole, like a processing stage of tentative adaptations in the Kourion area[27].

[26] Swiny 1986: Figs. 68–73; Fig. 20: S95, S107

[27] Apart from the peculiar case of the Kourion area, a general trend to define the Late MBA–LBA I period as a single phase in Cyprus, for its specific peculiarities, seems more and more accepted and has been elsewhere recently suggested also by Bernard Knapp and Ioannis Voskos in their chronological schema (Voskos and Knapp 2008: 663–664. Middle Cypriote III-Late Cypriote I).

Such a suggestion needs to be evaluated from different perspectives and wait for further data and deeper analyses to be eventually confirmed.

Nevertheless a similar settlement model and comparable inter-sites relations between inner and coastal centers could be actually observed (Erimi-*Laonin tou Porakou*/Episkopi-*Phaneromeni*, as to the MBA–LBA I; Alassa-*Paliotaverna*; Alassa-*Pano Mantilaris*/Erimi-*Pitharka*; Episkopi-*Bampoula*, as to the LBA II–III)[28].

Furthermore, analogous intra-site relations, *i.e.* a co-existence of discrete domestic, workshop and cemeteries area closely displayed within the site area, could be evidenced in MBA–LBA I Erimi-*Laonin tou Porakou* and possibly in LBA II–III Erimi-*Pitharka* too. Such a similarity remains just a possibility at this stage and needs to be verified by an extensive investigation all over the sites' area.

Finally, the scanty evidences for metal-working and other related industrial activities in the area[29], as well as the presence of very similar workshop installation both in MBA–LBA I Erimi-*Laonin tou Porakou* and in LBA II–III Erimi-*Pitharka* and *Kafkalla* hint to hypothesize a prevalence of the same industrial activities related to an agricultural background, a prevalence which could be interpreted as a long-period tendency for the whole area.

Acknowledgments

The work on field have been carried out thanks to the scientific collaboration and the support of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus, in particular the acting directors. Marina Ieronymidou and Maria Hadjikosti, following the

[28] Being the middle Kouris valley area rather not settled in both the phases. See widely Bombardieri and Chelazzi 2009.

[29] Few evidences of metallurgical activity have been recorded from the Kourion area, as to the MBA and LBA periods, if compared with other areas of the island. In 1939 a "hearth area" has been excavated in Episkopi-*Bamboula* by John Daniel; it has been later on described by Benson as containing a metal mould and some crucible fragments (Benson 1970: 34). On the basis of this evidence Weinberg deduces the presence of a small local copper smelting activity in the LC IIB–LC IIC period (Weinberg 1983: 29). More evidences have been recorded from the inner area of Alassa (Hadjisavvas 1986; 1994). Here some slags, copper sulphate ore and bellows, and a fragmentary miniaturistic bronze ox-hide ingot of a type already known from the Horned God Temple area in Enkomi (Lagarce and Lagarce 1986: 67) come from. Nevertheless the complex of these evidences seem basically not comparable with the standard wide diffusion of the metallurgical industry in Cyprus at least from EBA–MBA, as the case of the important industrial site of Pyrgos-Mavroraki near Limassol well attests (Belgiorno and Lentini 2004) and throughout the whole LBA period. See also the general discussion in Bell 2006: 75–82.

same positive cooperation with the Limassol Archaeological District Museum staff, and in particular with Yiannis Violaris. I am also grateful to the former Director of the Department Pavlos Flourentzos, who kindly gave us many interesting suggestions, and to Anna Margherita Jasink, scientific Director of the KVP. The project has been supported by the Institute of Aegean Prehistory of Philadelphia (INSTAP 09 Grant), by the Ente CRF – Cassa di Risparmio di Firenze, the University of Florence and the University of Chieti-Pescara.

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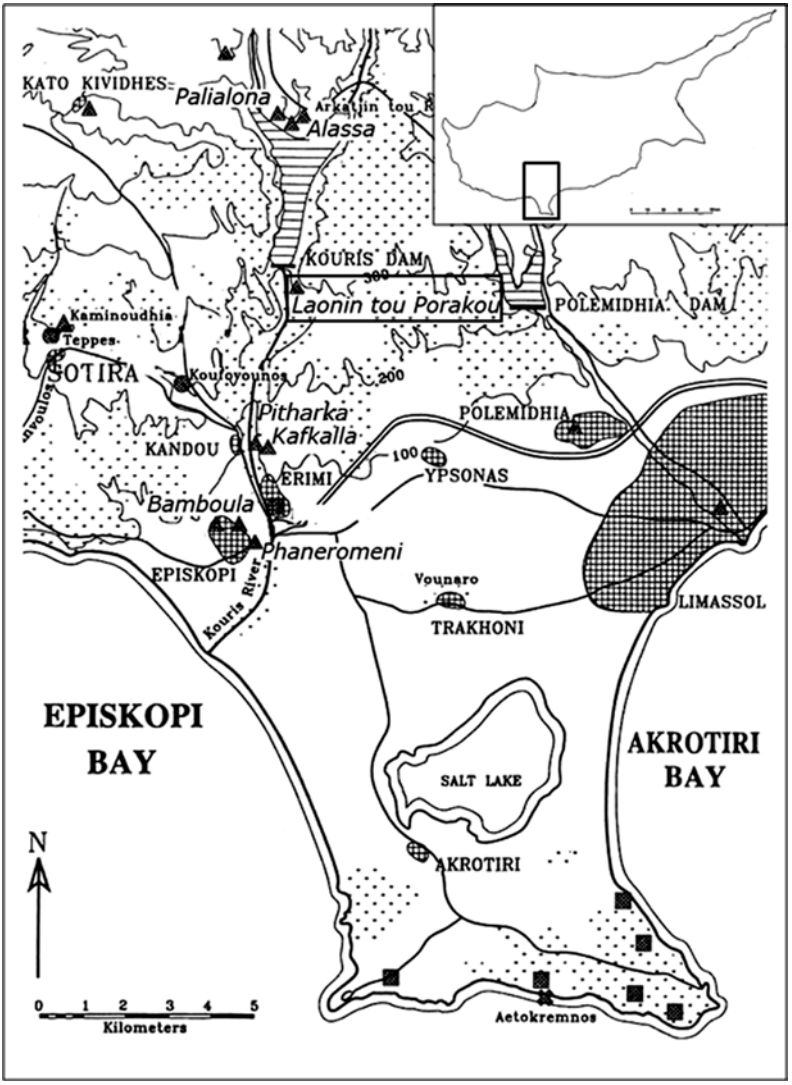

Figure 1.
The Kourion area and the Akrotiri Peninsula.

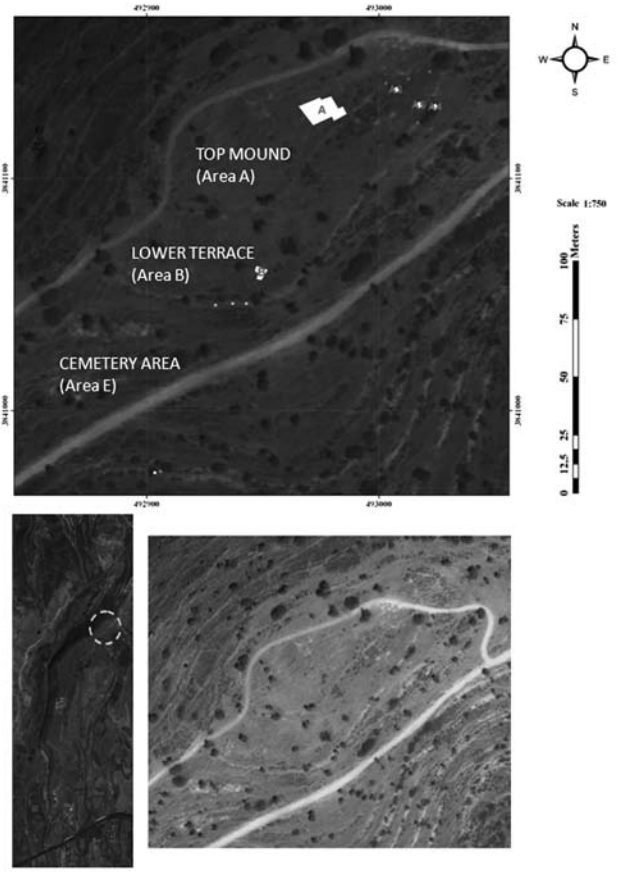

Figure 2.
Erimi-*Laonin tou Porakou*.
Satellite image, aerial view and ortophoto of the site area.

Figure 3.
Erimi-*Laonin tou Porakou*. Area A.

a. The workshop (WA I–III) and storage area (SA I), photo from folk-cliff.
b. The storage area SA I with some of the *pithoi* crushed on the floor (Phase A).
c. The storage area SA I. detail photo of the spouted juglet inside *pithos* 1 (Phase A).

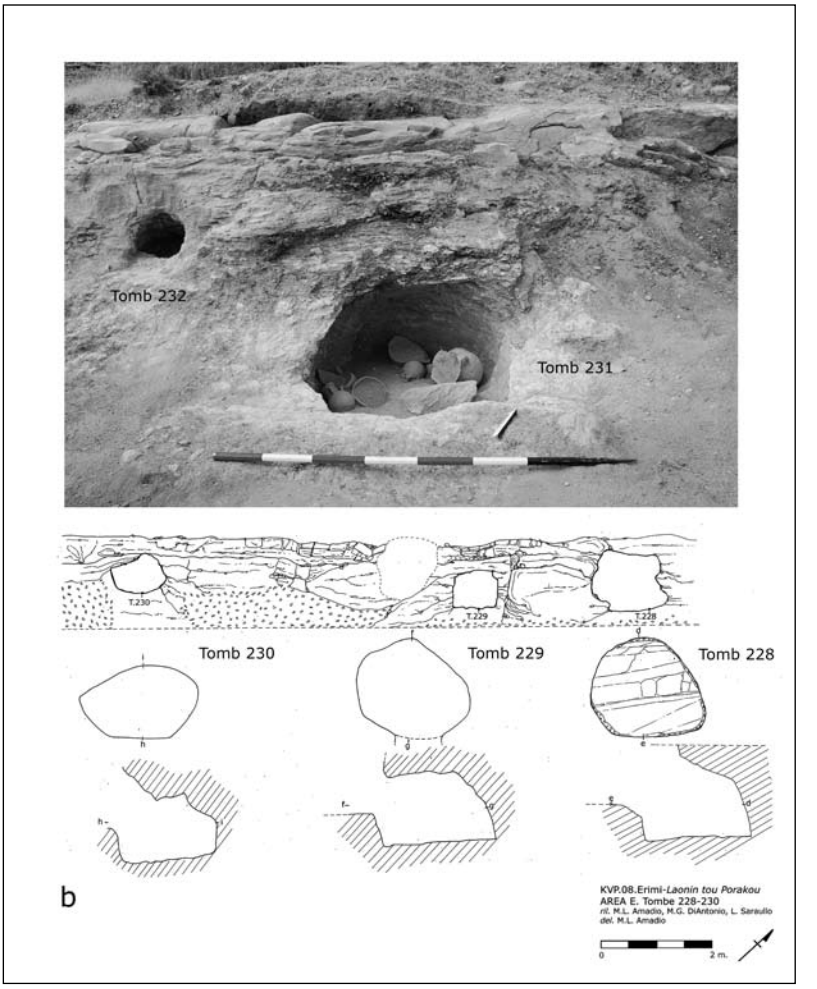

Figure 4.
Erimi-*Laonin tou Porakou*. Area E cemetery.
a. Tombs 231 and 232.
b. Tombs 228–230.

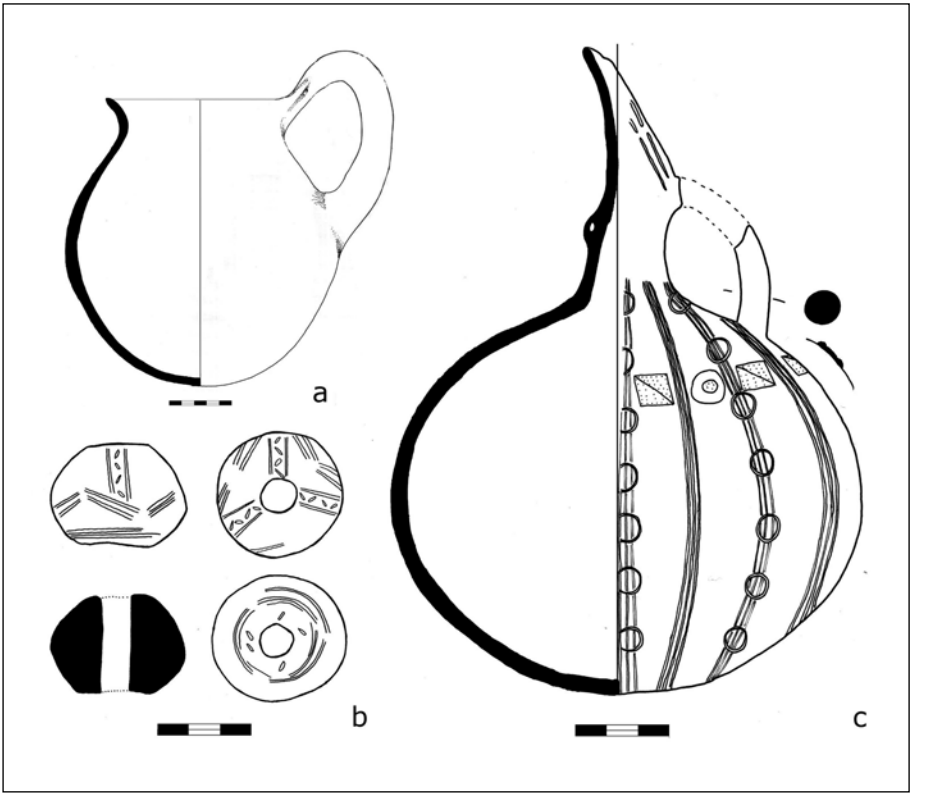

Figure 5.
Erimi-*Laonin tou Porakou*. Area E cemetery.
Pottery and small finds from tombs 228 and 230.

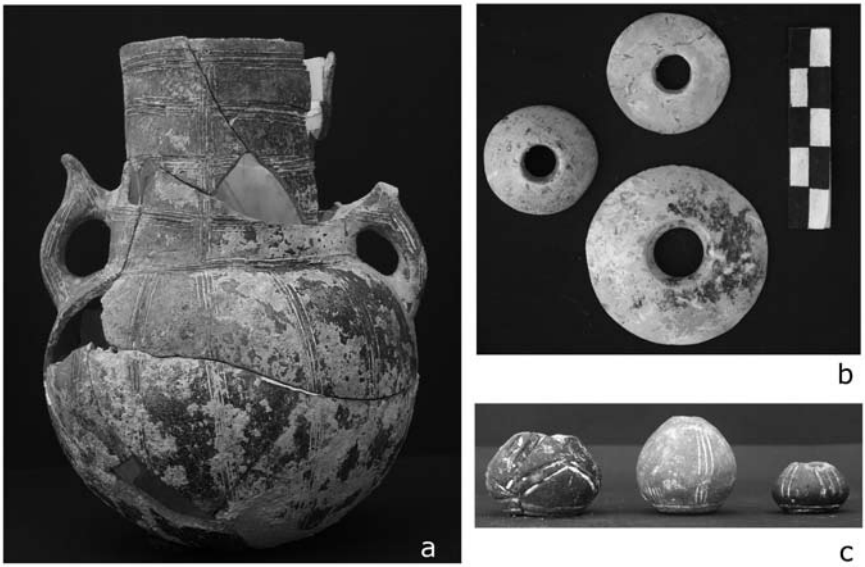

Figure 6.
Erimi-*Laonin tou Porakou*. Area E cemetery.
Pottery, decorated spindle-whorls and picrolite disks
from tombs 228–230.

Reseñas Bibliográficas/Book Reviews

Émile Puech & Farah Mébarki (eds.), *Los manuscritos del Mar Muerto.* Buenos Aires, Editorial Sb, 2009, ISBN: 978–987–1256–65–5. pp. 223 + XCVI, con láminas en color y blanco y negro. U$D 31.49 – $ 120 (Arg.).

Este libro es una traducción al español de la obra de É. Puech y F. Mébarki *Les Manuscrits de la mer Morte*, originalmente editada en francés y agotada desde su publicación en 2002. La obra cuenta con la participación de un grupo de expertos mundialmente reconocidos entre los que se encuentran G. Brooke, M. Broshi, F. García Márquez, A. Steudel y E. Ulrich y está auspiciada por el Centro de Estudios de Historia del Antiguo Oriente (CEHAO) de la Universidad Católica Argentina.

Según indica Puech en el "Prefacio", la obra pretende acercar al lector no especializado a la historia de los manuscritos, desde su descubrimiento fortuito—en 1947 un grupo de beduinos los encontró en una de las cuevas de Qumrán, desierto de Judea, Israel—hasta su adquisición por parte de la *École biblique et archéologique française de Jérusalem.* La causa por la cual se decidió revisar esta nueva edición fue el hecho de poder incluir "correcciones o precisiones necesarias y agregados que tratan de tener en cuenta, en la medida de lo posible, las últimas publicaciones y los estudios aparecidos desde la primera edición, aun cuando el contenido general no ha sido afectado" (p. 13).

La notoria repercusión suscitada en los medios de prensa estuvo estrechamente vinculada con la problemática de la publicación de los manuscritos, lo cual llevó a crear distintas teorías que explicaran dicha cuestión. Esta trama mediática llegó a enunciar una presunta prohibición por parte del Vaticano para publicar el material, causado por el hipotético "cuestionamiento" de la fe cristiana y la historicidad de la figura de Jesús. Sin embargo, Ulrich explica que los manuscritos estarían referidos a una época anterior a la de Jesús porque su datación remonta al período comprendido entre los siglos III a.C. y I d.C. aproximadamente. Por ello, el autor considera que si bien no pueden utilizarse como una fuente viable para comprobar la existencia de la figura histórica más emblemática del cristianismo, estos documentos "nos dan una imagen más auténtica de la Biblia en el tiempo de Jesús" (p. 113) ya que preceden en un milenio a los más antiguos manuscritos hebreos conocidos.

Además, estos documentos resultan valiosos—señala Puech—por sus referencias al judaísmo antiguo en sus diversas corrientes de pensamiento, tales como los fariseos, los zelotes, los saduceos y los esenios. A éste último grupo se lo considera como el probable autor de los manuscritos. Lo integra-

ban judíos tradicionalistas que se opusieron a la incipiente helenización de sus costumbres ancestrales delineadas en la llamada *Ley Mosaica*. El otro grupo que vivía de acuerdo con los principios de esta ley, aunque no rechazó los nuevos hábitos fue el de los fariseos, el cual es más conocido, quizá, por su presencia en el Nuevo Testamento. Los esenios, en cambio, no están mencionados en la Biblia pero su existencia ha sido demostrada por los relatos de autores contemporáneos tales como Filón de Alejandría, Plinio el Viejo y Flavio Josefo, quien podría haber integrado la secta, de acuerdo con su propio testimonio. Así, queda planteado uno de los grandes interrogantes de la obra: porqué, entonces, el texto bíblico no menciona a los esenios. A modo de hipótesis, Puech sostiene que probablemente este grupo haya sido asimilado por los primeros núcleos cristianos.

A continuación, la obra se detiene en la labor epigráfica que atañe a la conservación, la restauración y la traducción de las distintas lenguas en las que están compuestos los textos (hebreo, arameo y griego). Al respecto, los autores señalan que los manuscritos se encontraron en un estado muy fragmentario, lo cual implicó un delicado trabajo de reconstrucción, seguido por su datación, traducción y estudios específicos sobre las diversas temáticas allí incluidas. Esta última tarea hizo propicia la convocatoria de otros especialistas, entre los que intervinieron Steudel, quien colaboró con un estudio sobre el dualismo presente en el pensamiento de los esenios; Ulrich, el cual se refirió a la relevancia que tuvo el descubrimiento de los rollos del Mar Muerto con respecto al conocimiento sobre la Biblia y Brooke, por su parte, permite al lector explorar la cotidianidad intelectual y "científica" de los qumranitas a partir del estudio de las lenguas y las ciencias—entre las que incluye a la astronomía, la astrología, la medicina, la ganadería, la agricultura, la ingeniería, la alfarería y la química—incluidas en los manuscritos.

Finalmente, la obra concluye con un ejercicio de doble comparación: entre las creencias y las costumbres de los esenios y los cristianos, por un lado, y entre los esenios y la vida de Jesús, por el otro. De estos paralelismos es posible vislumbrar, entonces, las raíces judías del cristianismo, confirmadas e iluminadas por los manuscritos, de acuerdo con lo señalado por los autores.

En suma, el libro está compuesto con rigurosidad científica, fruto de la contribución de un prestigioso equipo de especialistas. A su vez, la multiplicidad de abordajes permite la mejor comprensión de la importancia de los manuscritos. Por su parte, los recursos gráficos incluidos en alta resolución y a color enriquecen y complementan el contenido de esta obra.

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GEOFF EMBERLING & KATHARYN HANSON (ed.), *Catastrophe! The Looting and Destruction of Iraq's Past*. The Oriental Institute Museum of the University of Chicago, Number 28. Chicago, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2008, con mapas e imágenes a color. ISBN 1–885923–56–2. U$D 29.95.

Este libro que presenta el *Oriental Institute Museum of the University of Chicago*, y que acompaña la muestra del mismo nombre, se compone de siete capítulos y cuenta con un prólogo a cargo de G. Stein. Al igual que la exhibición anteriormente mencionada, el objetivo de este trabajo es presentar un estado de situación sobre el saqueo de objetos y sitios de valor histórico en el Estado iraquí, a la vez que alertar a la sociedad acerca del daño que estos saqueos producen en el estudio de las civilizaciones antiguas.

Este trabajo cuenta con un excelente apoyo paratextual, compuesto de imágenes a color ilustrando cada artículo, un mapa de Irak donde aparecen detallados tanto los asentamientos modernos como los sitios arqueológicos y una línea de tiempo que antecede el cuerpo de la obra y ordena los eventos más relevantes entre los años 2003 y 2008 en relación al saqueo de sitios arqueológicos y museos. Sin embargo, sólo un capítulo, "Cataloging the Looses", de Clemens Reichel, posee bibliografía, lo cual otorga al lector no especializado, o que simplemente desea profundizar en el tema tratado, la posibilidad de hacerse con material adicional. Lamentablemente, la ausencia de bibliografía en el resto de los capítulos priva al lector de esta oportunidad.

En el primer capítulo, bajo el título "The Looting of the Iraq Museum in Context", M. Gibson analiza el boom de las antigüedades mesopotámicas a disposición de los coleccionistas a partir de la primera Guerra del Golfo, lo cual a su vez incentivó nuevos saqueos. También da cuenta de los intentos realizados por varios investigadores, entre los que se incluye el autor de este capítulo, para prevenir primero, y detener luego, el robo de piezas pertenecientes a la colección del museo de Irak.

A continuación, en "The Looting of Iraq Museum Complex", D. George junto a M. Gibson describen el saqueo del complejo del Museo de Bagdad que se extendió entre el 8 y el 12 de abril de 2003, así como los esfuerzos realizados por aquellos que permanecieron en el museo para impedir el robo de los artefactos puestos a resguardo. Otro aspecto importante de este artículo es la defensa que hacen los autores de las medidas tomadas por el Estado iraquí para prevenir y luego recuperar las antigüedades robados.

En "Efforts to Protect Archaelogical Sites and Monuments in Iraq, 2003–2004", J. Russel lleva a cabo una exhaustiva descripción de los esfuerzos que

se hicieron para preservar el patrimonio cultural iraquí. Russell destaca las medidas tomadas por el *State Board of Antiquities and Heritage* (SBAH) de Irak desde la primera Guerra del Golfo, y la incapacidad de este organismo para continuar con su tarea de protección a consecuencia del colapso del Estado iraquí. Asimismo, el autor resalta la incapacidad de los ejércitos de la Coalición para proteger los vestigios del pasado mesopotámico, con la notable excepción de los carabineros italianos. Sin embargo, a pesar de los esfuerzos realizados, los saqueos continúan y son incentivados por el creciente mercado internacional de antigüedades.

K. Hanson, por su parte, en "Why Does Archaeological Context Matter?", analiza el significado que tiene para la comunidad académica el *boom* de las antigüedades mesopotámicas producto del saqueo de sitios arqueológicos, en la medida que los objetos son extraídos de los sitios asistemáticamente, para lanzarlos al mercado, destruyéndose, en el proceso, su relación contextual. En la medida en que, sin contexto, el objeto carece de "historia", su valor científico resulta nulo y nos encontramos simplemente ante una pieza de mero valor estético o anecdótico.

"Cataloging the Losses: The Oriental Institute's Iraq Museum Database Project", escrito por C. Reichel, da cuenta de la creación del Iraq Work Group con el fin de formar una base de datos on-line que enumere y provea detalles de los objetos robados de los museos iraquíes. El objetivo de este proyecto es dejar registro de objetos de enorme valor histórico a la vez que evitar, o al menos desalentar, el comercio de antigüedades de origen ilegitimo.

A continuación se encuentra "Archaelogical Site Looting: the Destruction of Cultural Heritage in Southern Iraq", de E.C. Stone. Stone lleva a cabo un análisis de los patrones de saqueo en Irak. Stone llega a la conclusión de que los sitios grandes y pequeños están expuestos al saqueo y destrucción a manos de buscadores de reliquias por igual, aunque las actividades ilícitas suelen centrarse en aquellos sitios que pueden producir sellos, tablillas y monedas.

Por último, P. Gerstenblith, en "Legal Aspects of Protecting Archaeological Heritage in Time of War: the Paradigm of Iraq", repasa los marcos legales, tanto internacionales como iraquíes, que tratan de evitar la exportación de antigüedades de origen dudoso. Sin embargo, y a pesar de la existencia de un amplio corpus legal dedicado a la protección de sitios y materiales de valor arqueológico, Gerstenblith destaca la dificultad de aplicar efectivamente estas normas, ya sea porque no han sido ratificadas por todas las naciones o porque su puesta en práctica es ineficiente.

En conclusión, esta obra cumple exitosamente con su objetivo de retratar la situación de los sitios arqueológicos en Irak que están expuestos al saqueo

con la declarada intención de revertir, en lo posible, esta lamentable situación.

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JEFFREY SZUCHMAN (ed.), *Nomads, Tribes, and the State in the Ancient Near East. Cross- disciplinary perspectives.* The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Oriental Institute Seminars, N°5. Chicago, Oriental Institute. 2009, 304 pp., con ilustraciones, mapas y fotografías. ISBN 1–885923–61–9. U$D 24.95.

Este libro es producto de un seminario realizado durante Marzo del 2008 en el *Oriental Institute Museum of the University of Chicago*. El objetivo principal del volumen es presentar y discutir formas de integrar diversas perspectivas e ideas sobre el rol de las sociedades nómadas en el Cercano Oriente Antiguo, desde un enfoque interdisciplinario. La extensión cronológica trabajada es muy amplia, ya que se extiende desde la prehistoria hasta el período islámico temprano. A su vez, el espacio geográfico estudiado es muy vasto, puesto que abarca desde Irán hasta Egipto.

En cuanto a la distribución temática, el volumen está conformado por catorce capítulos que podemos organizarlos en cuatro secciones. En primer lugar, un capítulo introductorio donde se describe el planteo general del libro; posteriormente, los capítulos focalizados en el modo en que se identifican los pastores nómadas y las tribus a través del registro arqueológico y los documentos; en tercer lugar, los trabajos centrados en el estudio de lo que fueron capaces de lograr estas sociedades; finalmente, un capítulo compuesto por un balance del seminario en el que se incluyen distintos aspectos generales de las sociedades analizadas a lo largo del libro.

La introducción está a cargo de J. Szuchman, quien se detiene en la definición de tres conceptos que son: las sociedades nómadas, las tribus y el Estado. En opinión del editor, ninguno de éstos puede ser trabajado por separado—en lo que respecta a los estudios del Cercano Oriente Antiguo—sino que se debe destacar la interacción entre los mismos.

Las dos investigaciones siguientes, con las cuales ingresamos a la segunda parte del texto, se concentran en las sociedades nómadas circundantes a Egipto y a la representación de ellas en la documentación egipcia. En primer lugar, se encuentra la colaboración de J. Barnard denominada “La arqueolo-

gía de los nómadas pastores entre el Nilo y el Mar Rojo", que consiste en un análisis crítico de las fuentes históricas, del registro arqueológico y de la etnografía a partir del estudio de tres grupos asociados usualmente al Desierto Oriental de Egipto: Medjay, Blemnyes y Berja. La autora busca caracterizar estas sociedades y plantear la existencia o no de grupos étnicos, resaltando la importancia del material cultural como principal indicador de la etnicidad. En segundo lugar, R. Ritner se centra en el estudio del estereotipo antiguo egipcio sobre uno de sus vecinos occidentales, los libios, reflejado en las representaciones iconográficas y los documentos epigráficos, desde el período predinástico hasta el Imperio Nuevo.

A continuación, S. Rosen realiza un estudio sobre las interacciones entre las sociedades nómadas y sedentarias en el Negev, desde el Neolítico Tardío hasta la actualidad a partir de las fluctuaciones entre los patrones demográficos, los sistemas de subsistencia, las relaciones de intercambio, los sistemas de asentamientos y el desarrollo del material cultural. Este período de larga duración es analizado a través de un recorrido por cuatro complejos básicos—Timniano, Temprano Complejo Histórico, Complejo Clásico y los beduinos—los cuales tienen un específico esquema social, económico, tecnológico, y diversas adaptaciones ecológicas.

Los capítulos 4 y 5 incluyen estudios de casos más próximos a nuestro tiempo. Así, por un lado, B.A. Saidel se detiene en el estudio del tamaño y del diseño de las tiendas pertenecientes a los campamentos beduinos actuales, ubicados en la zona oeste de Wadi Hisma, en el sureste de Jordán. El autor determina la localización de los campamentos, el número, la variación y disposición de las tiendas, y la presencia de corrales, a través de imágenes identificadas por Google Earth y fotografías satelitales. Por otro lado, E. Van Der Steen, considera la posibilidad de tomar a la etnohistoria y a la etnografía del siglo XIX como modelos potenciales para el estudio de la historia y arqueología del Cercano Oriente Antiguo. La autora analiza como caso de estudio a las sociedades tribales en el Levante desde el período napoleónico hasta la Primera Guerra Mundial, a causa del poder efectivo y el control que tenían estas sociedades sobre aquella región.

En la tercera parte del libro, A. Khazanov realiza una interesante crítica sobre las distintas aproximaciones teóricas que hacen referencia al pastoralismo junto con sus consideraciones personales sobre la temática, para consecutivamente caracterizar éste en el Cercano Oriente durante el período Calcolítico y la Edad de Bronce. A posteriori, A. Alizadeh, analiza las evidencias provistas por los pueblos nómadas del suroeste y sur- central de Irán. Su trabajo tiene tres objetivos: por un lado, demostrar que los valles agrícolas estaban integrados a la economía nómada pastoral y eran dependientes de las

confederaciones pastorales; por otro lado, comprobar que la separación entre pastores y agricultores es una falsa dicotomía; finalmente, recalcar el importante rol de estas sociedades en la formación del Estado. La autora parte del estudio de dos confederaciones pastorales contemporáneas, para luego concentrarse en la historia y arqueología de Mesopotamia e Irán, particularmente en el área de Susiana, desde el 7000 a.C hasta el período proto-elamita.

El siguiente capítulo está elaborado por T. Levy, quien analiza tres procesos antropológicos (etnogénesis, ecología política, sistema segmentario tribal) junto con los trabajos arqueológicos más recientes de la Edad de Hierro en el sureste de Jordan, para desarrollar el rol del nomadismo en la formación de las sociedades complejas en las zonas áridas de Edom. Posteriormente, incluye el artículo de B. Lyonett, "Quiénes vivían en el tercer milenio en las 'ciudades redondas' del noreste de Siria", quien plantea que los grandes asentamientos circulares, considerados como ciudades de poblaciones sedentarias, eran, en realidad, zonas de reunión para los grupos nómadas. Para comprobar esta hipótesis, la autora desarrolla el proceso de urbanización en el noreste de Siria durante el tercer milenio a. C., ejemplificado con los casos de Mari, Al-Rawda y Beydar.

El siguiente estudio es el realizado por A. Porter, quien analiza la ruptura entre las sociedades pastoriles y sedentarias, concibiendo esta separación como una evidencia de la trascendencia del tiempo y el espacio en el Cercano Oriente Antiguo. A esto agrega, que tanto la estructura compleja de la sociedad como el pensamiento y sus prácticas fueron constitutivos de las ideologías del parentesco. Partiendo de estos planteos, la autora se propone como objetivo demostrar cuál es el potencial provisto por las evidencias textuales y materiales para reflexionar sobre las relaciones entre dichos registros y las estructuras políticas, definidas a partir de los ejemplos provistos por una ilustración del segundo milenio a.C. encontrada en los textos de Mari y las investigaciones arqueológicas de los sitios Tell Banat y Tell Chuera. A continuación, se nos presenta la investigación de D. Fleming, el cual parte de la idea de reconsiderar las categorías de tribus, nómadas y Estado en los estudios del Cercano Oriente, debido a que generalmente los mismos se definieron en base a una perspectiva eurocéntrica y no pertenecen a las dimensiones sociales de cada grupo de estudio en particular. Por esta razón, el autor considera, especialmente, los archivos de Mari para estudiar el léxico político y social propio de esta sociedad antigua.

El siguiente capítulo de la tercera parte fue realizado por D. Whitcomb, quien analiza los asentamientos urbanos de las sociedades pre- islámicas del Cercano Oriente, en especial, del sur de Arabia y Siria, para dilucidar el "fenómeno conocido como el *parembole nomadon* o el campamento extra-

muralla de los árabes" (p. 241). El autor señala que este fenómeno usualmente se vio reducido al silogismo simplista que establece que *si existe en el desierto, entonces es beduino*. Sin embargo, Whitcomb observa que en los textos hay referencias sobre la existencia de asentamientos militares al que acudían ocasionalmente las tribus nómadas de Arabia, los cuales terminaron transformándose en ocasiones en verdaderos complejos urbanos. Por tanto, el autor considera que la sedentarización de las sociedades pre-islámicas puede rastrearse a partir de la mención de la *hijra,* que figura en las evidencias epigráficas previas al siglo VII. Así, dada las mencionadas referencias en los textos preislámicos, el autor señala que es una tarea pendiente para los investigadores incursionar en el legado arqueológico de aquella época para encontrar evidencias de los orígenes tribales de la ciudad islámica.

Finalmente, en la última sección, se encuentra el estudio realizado por F. Hole, quien reflexiona aspectos diversos—como el clima, la movilidad, la evidencia arqueológica, la adaptación y centros basados en el pastoralismo, entre otros—vinculados a poblaciones nómadas del Cercano Oriente, en general, y la de los pastores nómadas de Irán, en particular. Entre sus conclusiones el autor, considera que tanto el terreno como el clima son factores fundamentales para la formación de estas sociedades.

En líneas generales, consideramos que a pesar de la diversidad de autores incluidos y la extensión temporal-espacial, la obra mantiene una línea uniforme en cada uno de sus capítulos, contemplando la modalidad propia de cada investigador en una apuesta interdisciplinaria que resulta eficaz. Por tanto, recomendamos la lectura de este libro, puesto que se trata de un novedoso aporte desde el punto de vista de las evidencias epigráficas, arqueológicas y etnográficas así como por la interacción en torno a los conceptos de nómada, tribu y Estado.

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