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INDEX

N. 13 | 2017

p.03. The Southern Border of Judah: A Cross-Disciplinary Review of Biblical Desert-Dwellers / *Victor Toledo*.

p.16. CEHAO's Collective Research Projects.

p.19. CEHAO Scholarly Participation 2017.

p.23. Antiguo Oriente Vol. 17 Index.



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A Cross-Disciplinary Review of Biblical Desert-Dwellers

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Introduction

According to traditional biblical historiography, a kingdom called Edom existed in Southern Transjordan during most of the first half of the 1st millennium BCE. In all aspects, Edom has been viewed as a comparable state to its northern neighbours: Judah and Moab. For a traveller coming from the north, Edom was the last of the Levantine territorial kingdoms before wandering off into the vast deserts of Arabia; a sort of no-man's land that could support no complex civilization but was the domain of the nomadic "Ishmaelites" and related peoples. While precious information about the southern peripheral cultures can be extracted from the Bible, it describes only the Judahite perspective and therefore must be deemed incomplete and ideologically biased as a historiographic source.

In the last century, the arid margins of the Southern Levant have been thoroughly explored and surveyed; this work has opened the way towards a rediscovery of the Iron Age peripheral peoples through the study of their material culture. Much scholarly attention has been devoted to this topic in the last two decades, inviting the contribution of a wide range of scientific disciplines. To name a few, progress in sequencing and classification of pottery has been complemented with petrography for determining vessel provenance; the many excavated sites have clarified regional settlement patterns; applied sciences have contributed vital information on key topics such as ancient climate,

mining and metallurgy. Pre-existing theories of social anthropology have been readapted in light of the new data, and new ones have been proposed for a more accurate understanding of statehood in nomadic societies. Finally, the revised socio-historical reconstructions of the Iron Age desert cultures have been laid together with critical biblical analysis in order to extract the ideological and intellectual drive behind the authors of the biblical narrative and the complex relationships between the residents of Judahite territory and the desert peoples of the south and southeast.

This paper investigates current scholarship on the most relevant disciplines that have contributed to this last issue, with an emphasis on Judahite self-perception of identity against the diversity of nomadic peoples with whom they came across near their southern border. The first section is a summary of the Genesis narrative aimed at the identification of patriarchs and peoples associated with the desert, the south, or a nomadic lifestyle. When relevant, the reasoning behind their connection with modern place names will be explained. The second section investigates painted pottery traditions of the Southern Levant and Arabia highlighting their vertical (chronological) and horizontal (geographical) continuity. The third section reconstructs the historical and processual *longue-durée* of the southern nomads in light of current cross-disciplinary scholarship. Finally, the fourth section returns to the Bible, to examine the Judahite perception of their southern neighbours

under modern understanding of Old Testament compositional history.

1. Identifying peoples and places

A comment on geographical terms

This paper discusses the arid regions of the Levant and Arabia as an ecologic continuum. “Neutral” geographical terms will be used to differentiate four major arid zones of the Southern Levant that meet in the Gulf of Aqaba: Northeastern Sinai, the Negev highlands, the Arabah valley (sometimes “the Edomite lowlands”), and the Southern Transjordan plateau south of Wadi Hasa (sometimes “the Edomite plateau”). The strip of land that runs along the eastern coastline of the Gulf of Aqaba may be referred to as “Northern Hejaz”, which is within the larger region of “Northwestern Arabia”. “Arabia” and “Arabian” will have no ethnic implications unless specified, and will be used strictly for geographic purposes, encompassing all the Arabian Peninsula up until the modern Ma’an governorate of Jordan. More specific geographic or ethnographic terms will be extracted from Biblical or epigraphic texts and will be discussed in detail.

A synthesis of the Patriarchal story

There are almost no extra-biblical written sources that offer detailed historical or anthropologic insight into the southern desert societies. As for most “states” or “nationalities” of the Iron Age Levant, the only detailed source of information is the account from the Hebrew Bible, a reality that has shaped our understanding of the “Old Testament age” in Syria-Palestine until recent years. It seems fitting, therefore, to begin this revision with a synthesis of the southern peoples’ history as documented in the Bible.

History begins in the distant past, at a time when a few scattered urban centers existed in Palestine (e.g. Sodom, Salem) but apparently no territorial states or hegemonic powers. The indigenous

settlers are referred to as “Cananites” (Gen 12:6), the descendants of the homonymous patriarch of the early postdiluvian days who had received a curse by Yahweh (Gen 9:26). A family of nomadic sheep-herders from the east -but with no explicit affiliation to any nation or state¹ - arrives to Canaan by guidance of their god Yahweh, who is sometimes also referred to as Elohim (Gen 1:1) or El Shaddai (Gen 14:22). The family is headed by Abraham, who is destined to become the patriarch of all Iron Age peoples of the Southern Levant. The book of Genesis, from chapters 12 to 50, is a long family drama of four generations of the Abraham clan. It is important to note that Abraham himself, having arrived at Canaan he operates mainly between Bethel in the north (where he had built an altar to Yahweh), Salem (Jerusalem), Hebron, and Beersheba; in other words, South Cisjordan, later known as Judah.

The first of Abraham’s sons, not by his wife (Sarah) but by an Egyptian servant girl (Hagar), is called Ishmael. From Abraham’s dwelling in Beersheba, Hagar is sent with her child Ishmael to exile into the desert, where “she strayed in the wilderness of Beersheba” (Genesis 21:14). The boy grew up and lived in the desert of Paran and became an archer. While the precise location of Paran is not certain², it seems clear that: 1) it is a desert located off of Beersheba and therefore south, and 2) it is somehow contiguous with the wilderness of Sinai (Numbers 10:12). Some of Ishmael’s twelve sons (Gen 25:12-18) are of interest to this paper; one is called Qedar (קִדְרָר); the Qedarite tribe and/or state is mentioned in many other extrabiblical sources from the late Iron age and post-Iron age (Eph’al, 1982). Dumah (דּוּמָה) and Tayma (תִּימָא) are also sons of Ishmael and are the names of key oases in north-central Arabia on the way to Mesopotamia. The Ishmaelites are later linked with the long-distance camel trade (Gen 37:25) and therefore are nomads.

Abraham’s second son, this time by his wife Sarah, is called Isaac. He would become the forefather of

two peoples: his firstborn Esau would become be the patriarch of the Edomites, and his second son Jacob (who would acquire birthright as firstborn through wit and deceit) the patriarch of the Israelites. Esau left “erets Kena’an” and settled in the land of Mount Seir (Gen 36:6-8) -Seir is described below.

Esau’s firstborn is Eliphaz, and one of his sons is called Teman, who will become one of the eleven chiefs/sheikhs of Edom. Six kings of Edom are mentioned in Genesis 36, of which I mention three for the interests of this paper: Bela son of Beor from the city of Dinhabah, Jobab son of Zerah from the city of Bozrah, and Husham “of the land of the Temanites”. In prophetic books, Teman is mostly equated with, or located within Edom, and Bozrah appears as the main city: “So I will send a fire upon Teman, and it shall devour the palaces of Bozrah” (Amos 1:12, also see Obadiah 1:9). Also relevant is the mention of another Eliphaz, “the Temanite”, in Job 4:1.

Later in the narrative, at the resolution of the Exodus cycle, when the people of Israel have finished their wandering in the wilderness, they find that their close kin -the Edomites- are already well-settled in the land of Seir. Indeed, just like the second and third generation of Esau’s progeny had produced the eleven tribal chiefs in the land of Edom, also Jacob’s offspring would give rise to the twelve “chiefdoms” or tribes of Israel (Sahlins’s “conical clan model” of chiefdom-level societies, in Levy, 2008:252). When Moses and his people are ready to enter Canaan from Kadesh, there is a king already in Edom who is strong enough to forbid the passage of the Israelites through his land. It is interesting to note that Moses expected the Edomite king to be cooperative, and still treated him with respect when he was not (Gen 20:14-21). The Israelites were not so cautious or gentle with the Amorites of Heshbon north of Wadi Arnon (Num 21:25-31).

Thus, according to the Bible, there was a king ruling over all Edom “before any king reigned over the sons of Israel” (Gen 36:31). In other words, the kingdom of Edom was operative at the Israelite conquest of Canaan, during the period of the Judges, still during the monarchic period, and it ceased to exist during Babylonian rule, suffering a similar fate as the kingdom of Judah³. It is clearly an older state than Israel/Judah, just as Esau was the firstborn and Jacob the second. It is also evident that “the relationship between the two peoples was close but antagonistic” (Levy, 2008:252, also Deut 23:7).

Seir, the Horites, the Shasu, and the location of Edom

Just as the name “Israel” indicates a kin-based mobile nation, rather than affiliation to a certain regime or static territoriality, also “Edom” refers primarily to a tribal people and only secondly to a state or territory. Just as “the land of Israel” had a different name and different indigenous settlers before the coming of the Israelites (“Canaan” and the Canaanites), so did “the land of Edom” before the settlement of the Edomites. According to the Pentateuch (see Gen 36:20, Deut 2:12), the pre-Edomite peoples of Seir are known as the Horites, who in turn are the offspring of a man called Seir the Horite, as in “he from Hor”. Hor ha-Har -Hor the Mountain- is mentioned repeatedly in the Bible, particularly for being the burial place of Aaron the priest and is traditionally identified with Jabal Harun (mount of Aaron) halfway between the Dead Sea and Aqaba on the Transjordan plateau.

Seir is also mentioned in other Ancient Near Eastern sources, such as the Amarna correspondence and documents from Ramesside Egypt (Levy, 2008:251). One ethnic/social group that operates in Seir is featured in the latter source, called the Shasu, a term that probably refers to “pastoral nomads”, in a similar way to the Arabic term Bedouin (Levy, 2008:251).

None of the sources mentioning Seir/Edom are very specific regarding the geographic location, or borders of Edom. Edom is usually understood to be the country located on the plateau east of the Arabah (the “Edomite plateau”, where Bozrah and other Edomite sites are located). If Seir is equivalent to (or an older term for) Edom, then Mt. Seir should apply to all this elevated region, which corresponds loosely with Hor /Jabal Harun. However, other references from the Pentateuch locate Mt. Seir between Mt. Horeb and Kadesh Barnea (Deut 1:2, also see MacDonald, 2011:88-89) and therefore west of the Negev highlands! Other biblical references (the wandering in the desert and the book of Kings) are clearly referring to the region south of the Dead Sea: the Arabah and part of the Negev highlands⁴.

Other tribal patriarchs of interest

One grandson of Esau⁵ -Amalek- is not associated with Transjordanian Edom but becomes the father of a group that dwelled in the Negev, called the Amalekites (Numbers 13:29). They are depicted in the Bible as bitter enemies of Israel and Judah.

Abraham had fathered six other children by a second wife called Keturah. One of them, Midian, will also become patriarch of an eponymous tribe, which is repeatedly mentioned in other books of the Bible as they were involved in many different affairs with the Israelite people. They, like the Ishmaelites, are also associated with long-distance trade, and Egypt is mentioned as a usual destination of their route (Gen 37:28). In another passage (Judg 8:24), the Midianites are explicitly presented as being Ishmaelites. The Midianites are clearly nomads, southerners, related to (or confused with) the Ishmaelites, and are normally in contact with Egypt, the Sinai, Israel, and Moab (Num 22). Tradition locates the land of Midian in the northern Hejaz, but this assumption is not necessarily precise.

Of particular relevance is the fact that Moses, the paramount prophet and deliverer of the Israelite people, lived for a time in Midian and married a

Midianite woman, Zipporah, one of the daughters of Jethro, “a priest of Midian” who was a “Kenite” (see below). It is also in the land of Midian that God, “Elohim”/ “El Shadday” appears to Moses in the form of a burning bush and reveals his name to Moses (Ex 3:14-15): יהוה (yhwh).

Finally, the group called the Kenites is presented as a pre-Abrahamic Levantine tribe in Gen 15:18-19, and is not associated explicitly to any patriarch, but is sometimes connected to the descendants of Cain (having somehow survived the Deluge?). One of the descendants of Cain, called Jabal, was “the father of those who live in tents and raise livestock” (Gen 4:20) -in other words, pastoral nomads. On more than one occasion, individual Kenite characters appear closely related to people that either are Midianites or reside in Midian (e.g. Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses). “Kenites and Midianites, if not the same group, were at least strongly related” (Tebes, 2009:15). Also, descending from the Kenites, the Rechabites are depicted in the Bible as an ethno-religious community, also tent-dwellers, characterized by being friends to the Israelites (as opposed to the Amalekites), and exceptionally faithful to Yahweh; to the extent that they were involved in the rebuilding of the Temple after the exile (Neh 3:14).

Finally, “The Arabs”

“By the roads you have sat for them, like an Arab in the wilderness” (Jer 3:2). The term “Arab” (aravi) is present, but not found frequently in the Bible. It is, however, a common find in Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions, in a variety of vocalizations but same consonantal root. In both contexts, it seems to imply desert dwellers who live in tents. Again, a Bedouin. It is probable that “Arab” is a term that the nomads of the Syro-Arabian desert even applied to themselves at this early stage. The earliest Assyrian inscription found to date with a reference to “Arabs” is from the mid-9th century, but Arabs are regularly mentioned in later inscriptions, from the late 8th and 7th centuries BCE (Eph’al, 1982). Thus, in the Iron

Age biblical and north-eastern Semitic contexts, the term “Arab” designates a social sector or a way of life, and not necessarily a belonging to the Central Semitic (“Proto-Arabic”) linguistic universe (see Al-Jallad forthcoming).

2. The Iron Age painted pottery of the southern arid regions

While the Bronze and Iron Age ceramic sequences of the land of Israel have been thoroughly studied and are currently well understood (see Gitin 2015), the same cannot be said of the southern arid regions. The absence of emblematic “biblical” mounds connected with solidly documented destructive events (e.g. Megiddo, Lachish) has made the task comparatively more difficult in the south. However, many excavations have been carried out in this region and published, and it is only in the last two decades that the data is being systematically collected and analyzed. Most data in this section, unless specified, is a summary of a recent article by Tebes (2013).

The peoples living in the arid regions of the Southern Levant and North-Western Arabia in the Late Bronze and Iron Age produced a set of different types of ceramics, both painted and non-painted (Tebes 2013:317). From the early days of archaeological exploration of the Southern Levant the different painted pottery traditions have been studied and described separately; but on the grounds of their similar features and geographic contiguity, they are now understood as part of a larger cultural substratum (Tebes, 2013:317). A synthesis of four of these pottery traditions is presented below; a brief typologic description will be followed by petrographic provenance if available, geographic distribution, and evidence for assigned chronology.

Qurayyah Painted Ware/“Midianite” pottery

Description: Mostly tableware, decorated with geometric patterns and occasionally human or bird

figures. Tones of black, red and yellow on cream slip.

Provenance: North-western Arabia, i.e. the traditional area of “Midian”. The only site with evidence of manufacture *in situ* is Qurayyah.

Distribution: Large amounts of vessels were found in the Timna valley (Southern Negev) among the remains of copper mining; but they are found in sites all over the region: Central Sinai, the Negev, Southern Cisjordan, and Transjordan as far north as Amman.

Chronology: At first it was believed to have been produced during the short time span of Egyptian mining at Timna (13th and 12th century BCE), but an increasing amount of Qurayyah wares are being found in later archaeological contexts. The cumulative evidence (relative and absolute) suggests that the main periods of occurrence were the eleventh to ninth centuries BCE.

Tayma / Sana’iye pottery

Note: not to be confused with Teman.

Description: “Local and later version” (Tebes 2013:323) of the Qurayyah ware. Similar decorative motifs and color tones.

Provenance and distribution: It is found almost exclusively at the Tayma oasis and the nearby Sana’iye site, located in further inland from the eastern shore of the Red Sea towards the Nafud desert (northwest Arabia).

Chronology: Contemporary with the latest stages of Qurayyah pottery, and possibly superseded it when it was no longer in use. Radiocarbon suggests between 10th and 5th centuries BCE.

“Edomite”/Busayra Painted ware

Description: bowls with downturned, grooved and denticulated rims. Cooking pots with stepped rim. Carinated bowls influenced by “Assyrian ware” pottery. Decoration in tones of red, orange or black, in geometric patterns.

Distribution: Busayra in Transjordan (Biblical Bozrah) is the site that presents the largest and most diverse concentration of “Edomite” pottery. It is also found in significant numbers in north Negev sites such as Horvat Qitmit, Tel ‘Aroer, Tel ‘Ira, Tel Arad, Tel Beersheba, Horvat ‘Uza, Tel Masos, and ‘Ain el-Qudeirat (Kadesh Barnea) in eastern Sinai. For this reason, and in order to avoid direct links with a biblical ethnicity, an alternate name has been suggested: South Transjordan-Negev pottery (STNP, Tebes 2013).

Provenance: most vessels appear to have been made in the vicinity of the site in which they found, according to petrography of sites in the Negev and western Arabah (Singer-Avitz, 1999:37).

Chronology: No site in Transjordan has provided a full sequence of Iron Age “Edomite” pottery, and it has been nearly impossible to link ceramic finds to stratigraphy due to limitations of the excavation and recording methods (Singer-Avitz, 1999:31-32). However, destruction layers of sites in the Beersheba valley are firm enough to reveal the time frame in which STNP was in use. Tel Beersheba II, Tel Arad VIII, and Tel ‘Ira VII are believed to have fallen in the 701 BCE campaign by Sennacherib, and the 7th century settlement system (Tel ‘Aroer II, ‘Ain el-Qudeirat II, Tel ‘Ira VI, Horvat ‘Uza III) in the early-6th century Babylonian campaign by Nebuchadnezzar II. STNP is found between these two stratigraphic-historical events, and therefore it is reasonable to date it from the late eighth to the early sixth century BCE. However, at Buseirah there is evidence for continued use of STNP even after the demise of Edom in post-Iron age contexts.

Al ‘Ula pottery

The area of Al ‘Ula, is another oasis on the Arabian trade route, which includes the sites of ancient Dedan, al-Khurraybah and Tell al-Kathib. The painted pottery found at the site has a similar decoration to the types described above, and the Busayra ware in particular. There is a clear connection, although the Al ‘Ula pottery seems to

belong to a later period; the 4th or 3rd century BCE, and thus could have been contemporary to the later stages of Busayra ware (Tebes 2013:328).

Conclusions on the Southern painted pottery traditions

Any historical interpretations extracted from pottery analysis must be formulated with caution. It is always problematic to link ceramic traditions with any particular ethnicity, especially if the latter is pulled directly out of the Biblical narrative. Current scholarly consensus understands pottery traditions as social processes rather than specific ethnic groups or political affiliations. Consequently, the “Midianite” pottery does not necessarily belong to a people called the “Midianites”, and the “Edomite” pottery does not necessarily indicate that the “Edomite” people were present at the site. In this case, however, a few solid conclusions can be reasonably drawn from the available data with regard to the painted pottery of the southern arid regions: 1) Painted wares seem to appear mostly in cultic contexts, administrative buildings and burial offerings, which suggests that they may have been regarded as valuable imports (Tebes, 2007). These vessels reflect not the presence of an ethnic group, but rather, a special function or social significance that may have been shared by diverse identities (e.g. different tribes engaged in the same economic venture). 2) A persistent interest in ceramic decoration (with similar characteristics) is present throughout a very large geographic expanse over a long period of time (more than half a millennium). This reflects a very conservative set of cultural traits that is shared by a variety of tribes that were in periodic interaction despite the large and hostile distances.

3. An evolution of nomadic societies of the Southern Levant

When studying ancient nomadic cultures, it is a well-known issue that they are mostly invisible in

their material remains, with the exception of the occasional oasis with permanent occupation, fringe regions that allow dry farming and/or seasonal sedentarism, or short-lived settlements in context of transitory economic activities. For this reason, it seems that the only way to investigate the *long-durée* of ancient semi-nomadic cultures is to follow their material footprint as they appear in separate geographic and chronologic focal points, without losing awareness that the nomads are still there, even when not seen. This section locates the pottery traditions described above, in their anthropologic, archaeologic, and historical context.

Theoretical model of social organization

We start from the assumption that the basic subsistence economy of desert nomads is animal husbandry and the exchange of their animal products at sedentary centers engaged in agriculture. Depending on the changing conditions of international politics, desert nomads would become involved in a variety of secondary activities, often providing workforce or services for an imperial power. Nomadic societies are no longer understood as a static phenomenon, but as dynamic entities able to settle and to organize complex polities without losing connection with their nomadic component. All remain affiliated to the tribe regardless of their economic activity or way of life, thanks to their kin-based tribal structure. It is important to note that kinship is a flexible notion (open to manipulation) rather than a strict follow-up of genealogic continuity (LaBianca, 1999:20-21). The concept of tribe is *segmentary*; that is to say, bonds of kinship are honored both in the immediate household and in the larger-scale tribe (Levy, 2009:158). Those coming from a different tribe are judged as friends or enemies according to the level of kinship that said tribe holds with the own tribe, much in the likeness of the patriarchal genealogies of the book of Genesis.

Late Bronze and early Iron Age mining

One of the first economic specializations to emerge in the southern arid regions was copper production in the Timna valley, which was orchestrated by Egyptian authority (Ramesside period) but operated mainly by local nomads; that is, North Hejazis (“Midianites”) and Negevites, not necessarily to be understood as two separate peoples. Local nomads also had a participation on the logistics of transport (Tebes, 2008:23-27). Around this time (13th-12th century), in synchrony with the decline of Egyptian hegemony in the Southern Levant, pastoral nomads of Cis- and Transjordan (north of the Dead Sea) begin a process of settlement that continues onto the 10th century (Finkelstein, 2013:22), based on animal husbandry and agriculture. Also, in the late 12th century and early 11th, total freedom from hegemonic powers allowed “opportunistic” desert groups to begin a copper production industry of their own. This is most evident in the Wadi Faynan region some 120 kms north up the Arabah (Levy *et al.*, 2014:982), but there is now evidence for continued metallurgical activity in Timna during the Iron Age (Martin and Finkelstein 2013:8). The Arabah mining and smelting industry became the main copper source for the Southern Levant in the 11th and 10th century (Martin and Finkelstein, 2013:8), and it is a possible explanation for the “Iron I Moab” settlement phenomenon south of Wadi Mujib (Finkelstein and Lipschits, 2011).

Copper production in the Arabah reached a peak in the early Iron IIA (late 10th and most of the 9th century). This is associated with a sedentarization process in the Arad/Beersheba valley and Negev highlands⁶, areas which were practically never settled before. This settlement phenomenon is regarded by many scholars as an independent political entity with its administrative hub at Tel Masos in the Beersheba valley⁷.

It is not clear whether this “western” system was a direct result of Egyptian redirecting of copper flow

to the west (after the campaign of Pharaoh Sheshonq in the second half of the 10th century, as suggested by Finkelstein 2014:96) and the need to feed the copper workers, or a spontaneous rural phenomenon under favorable climate that only later became engaged in the Arabah copper production. Both the “Edomite” plateau (Southern Transjordan) and the Jerusalem-Hebron highlands in Southern Cisjordan remained sparsely settled during the early Iron Age IIA (Martin and Finkelstein 2013:9-10, Finkelstein, 2013:44). Thus, the Tel Masos polity could only have made commercial relationships with the “Philistine” Shephelah and coastal plain.

The Arabah copper industry declined at the end of the 9th century and ceased completely in the early 8th century; around the same time the rural settlements in the Negev highlands were abandoned, and the “Tel Masos” desert entity seems to have disintegrated, even if settlement in the Beersheba valley did not wholly disappear. The late Iron IIA sees a new settlement phase in southern Palestine with well-planned monumental sites such as Lachish IV, Tel Beersheba V, Arad XI, and Beit Shemesh IIA (Herzog and Singer-Avitz, 2004:228), probably orchestrated by a Jerusalem elite.

Emergence of long-distance caravan trade

The earliest references to caravans of traders with exotic commodities and of Arabian participation in the Levantine resistance to Assyrian incursion are from the 9th century (Singer-Avitz, 1999:5). This is also the time that we have the earliest evidence of camel domestication (Sapir-Hen and Ben-Yosef, 2013). Therefore, it seems that the 9th century, aside from industrial-scale copper production (and probably as a result of the social organization driven by copper production), saw the emergence of a second economic specialization of the southern nomads, at a time when the producers/suppliers of luxury items in South Arabia had also begun to flourish. The second half of the 9th century also sees the expansion of a Jerusalem chiefdom towards the

Shephelah and towards the Beersheba valley to the south, with Lachish stratum V and Beersheba stratum V as fortified, well-planned administrative centers, respectively (see Finkelstein, 2001, Sergi, 2013). This nascent state, which can be safely identified as the biblical kingdom of Judah, became the southernmost political entity west of the Jordan valley precisely at the time when the luxury trade from South Arabia was in the interest of every monarch in the Near East, and probably a major cause of Assyrian involvement in the west.

The evidence from Kuntillet 'Ajrud

Kuntillet 'Ajrud is an Iron Age archaeological site located on the Darb el-Ghazza road, just southwest of the Negev highlands. Both pottery typology and radiocarbon analysis (Finkelstein and Piasetzky, 2008) locate its single-period occupation between the end of the 9th century and the first half of the 8th century BCE (Iron Age IIB). Ceramic parallels were established with Hazor VI, Samaria IV, (including “Samaria Ware”), Arad X-IX, Lachish III, and Ashdod VIII. (Meshel 2012), and petrographic provenance of most vessels were Judah/Shephelah, Northwest Negev, and Samaria highlands. Not a single sherd of Negevite ware was found, which is noteworthy considering that they are present in all sites south of Beersheba (Meshel 2012:67), suggesting maybe, that no nomads were allowed at the site.

Many inscriptions were unearthed, in Hebrew and Phoenician script, which included: 1) Many theophoric names related to YHWH (Yahweh). 2) references to two “versions” of the deity Yahweh; one “from Teman” and one “from Samaria”. Note that the name Teman is related with Esau/Edom as described in the first section of this paper. Also, among these inscriptions, the female deity of Asherah appears in association with Yahweh (his consort?). The deities Baal and El are also mentioned. 3) Texts that appear to be blessing formulas, proverbs, or and/or poetry; many feature the name YHWH. Among other finds of interest, there were textiles, the majority of which are linen,

and some drawings with human and animal motifs (Phoenician traditions mixed with Midianite motifs? see Finkelstein, 1992:163). All of these finds have led scholars to believe that Kuntillet 'Ajrud had a cultic/priestly function, not so much associated with the nearby Negev nomads but with the more distant "Northern Israel" kingdom with capital in Samaria. Its location on the Darb el-Ghazza road has led to the reasonable suggestion that it was a sort of caravanserai, or tribute-collecting waystation. Although it is very likely that Northern Israel had an involvement in the early Arabian trade, Kuntillet 'Ajrud is not the site that proves this.

Whether or not any sedentary state (such as Northern Israel through Kuntillet 'Ajrud) somehow profited from the Arabian trade of the first half of the 8th century, the northern (Negev-Arabah-South Transjordan) reach of the trade appears to be mainly in charge of an ethno-social nomadic group that is architecturally almost invisible. This group could very well be the successors of the "Early Edom" tribal polity that had been in charge of copper logistics not long before. These nomads could have sold the imported luxury items right at the Philistine or Judahite town markets during the early 8th century. The only site to show convincing evidence of connections to the immediate and distant south is Judahite Beersheba III-II (as "Gateway" town of the Arabian trade, Singer-Avitz, 1999), which is dated to the last half or last third of the 8th century.

The Kingdom of Edom

It is only by mid-8th century that Transjordan Edom shows a significant increase of settled activity. According to most scholars, the kingdom of Edom only existed between the late 8th and first half of the 6th century (Beit-Arieh, 1995:303); that is, throughout the time that the region was under the yoke of the Assyrian empire. Assyrian cultural influences in Edomite architecture and pottery have been pointed out extensively in excavation reports and related literature. Thus, the emergence of the

kingdom of Edom has been linked to "the beneficial political and economic effects of the *pax Assyriaca*" (Bienkowski and van der Steen, 2001:24). To some extent, it seems that the copper industry (and Assyrian interest in it?) was a key factor in the early state formation of Edom, but it was the Arabian trade of luxury goods that really favored the Busayra elite under the auspice of Assyrian authority (thus connecting the trade from Arabia towards the Beersheba valley and Gaza; Singer-Avitz 1999)⁸.

The main sites (e.g. Buseira, Tawilan, Umm el Biyara) are located east of the Arabah, on the South Transjordan plateau; however, the "Edomite" material culture is also present in sites west of the Arabah (e.g. Horvat Qitmit, Tel Malhata, Ein Haseva). While this has been interpreted as evidence for Edomite "hostile incursions" or domination of the Negev in the 7th century (for example Beit-Arieh in Bienkowski and van der Steen 2001:25-26), most scholars now concur on the model proposed by Bienkowski and van der Steen: "not a monolithic nation-state; it was a kingdom composed of largely independent tribal groupings held together by bonds of cooperation and allegiance to a supratribal monarchy, a combination of settled agricultural and pastoralist life." Pastoralist groups "continued to move and interacted with other groups from Arabia, the Negev, and the west, especially in the fertile Beersheba valley" (2001:40-41). In this view, "nomads can become city dwellers without this interfering their nomadic identity and tribal kin" which is kept "even in the context of residential stability" (Thareani, 2015:192).

If we seek to somehow delineate the ethno-cultural sphere that defines an "Edomite people", two elements are of particular interest to the discussion: the existence of an Edomite dialect and script, and the worship of a "national" deity (just like Yahweh is known to be the god of Israel). In the case of the former, paleographic evidence is limited, but sufficient to say that an Edomite cursive script of the

7th-6th centuries is recognizable. However, there is no linguistic evidence (to date) to claim that the Edomite dialect is different from Cisjordan Hebrew (Vanderhooft, 1995). Regarding the national -or at least royal- cult, the Edomite kingdom has a deity called Qos/Qaus, and its presence in scripts (as the standalone divine name or in theophoric personal names) found within the Edomite heartland is a diagnostic criterion to establish that said text is “Edomite” (Vanderhooft, 1995:138-139).

4. Back to the Bible: the perspective of late-monarchic Judah

It is universally accepted in modern biblical criticism that the final redactions of the Torah and other Old Testament books took shape in the Babylonian and Persian periods. A variety of pre-existing texts and traditions were in existence since earlier periods but were skillfully edited and combined at this later stage so as to present a continuous and coherent narrative. While there is still much debate with regards to the precise roles of each source and redactor, there is wide agreement that the so-called Deuteronomistic history was not composed before the 6th century, and therefore portrays at the earliest a late-7th century cultural and political reality, even when describing past events. This socio-historical reality can be summarized in three points that are of interest to this paper: 1) Both Judah and Edom are fully developed states with centralized administration, diversified economy, and high literacy. 2) Both kingdoms are vassals of the Assyrian empire. 3) Both kingdoms were in contact with nomadic activity in the desert fringe, where peoples of mixed and flexible tribal affiliations and cultural traditions (say, Judean, Edomite, Arab/Ishmaelite; or any unnamed tribal polity or “Bedouin chiefdom”) were in permanent interaction with each other. All these groups shared economic interests and created a communal code that enabled coexistence (see Thareani, 2015)⁹.

The Deuteronomistic traditions began with the reforms of King Josiah of Judah in the second half of the 7th century. It is the state ideology of this period that will make an impact on all subsequent literary editions and compositions of biblical books. This ideology can be summarized as follows: 1) The Judahite state represents all of the “people of Israel” including the peoples and traditions that were brought from the destroyed Northern Kingdom (“Dan to Beersheba” as territorial aspiration). 2) The people of Israel, and the Davidic kings, have a unique bond with their national god, Yahweh. 3) Yahweh takes residence only in the Jerusalem temple and therefore all other cultic places are considered idolatrous. Among the post-exilic redactions of biblical text, many traditions from the pre-Deuteronomistic era can be identified. Both biblical analysis and archaeology can testify a time when Yahweh was not only “one of many” divine alternatives in the royal and domestic cults of Samaria and Jerusalem, but also, perhaps, a deity originally worshipped in tribes and territories *outside* the land of Israel. If this is the case, if Yahweh is an “imported” cult, then it seems that a very well-argued theory is the Midianite-Kenite hypothesis, which suggests that the cult of Yahweh may have been imported from the nomadic world of the Sinai/Negev/South Jordan/North Hejaz sphere of interaction. This would explain the many biblical references to Yahweh having come from Sinai, Paran, Teman, and/or Seir, and the reference to YHWH of Teman among the Kuntillet ‘Ajrud finds¹⁰.

Conclusions

The Iron Age I settlers of the Cisjordan highlands, mostly recognized as “the early Israelites”, had been pastoral nomads before the great waves of settlement, not unlike the later settlers of the southern desert-fringe (Finkelstein and Na’aman, 1994). In fact, it seems that even during stable and sedentary times, their tribal structure allowed their nomadic sector -an essential component of Near

Eastern society- to remain within the same boundaries of identity as the sedentary sector, and hence the passage from sedentary to nomadic and vice-versa was dynamic and flexible. During the formative period following the retreat of Egypt (12th, 11th century BCE), pastoralist “Bedouin” tribes were not likely to travel outside their regular seasonal wanderings. But production and trade of the Arabah copper became a key factor in the early cooperation between tribes and the exchange of cultural and cultic traditions, such as -perhaps- the cult of Yahweh. An early Yahwistic cult by peoples who worked in metallurgy is a growing theory in latest scholarship (see Amzallag, 2015). Pre-state tribes of southern Palestine, such as Judah and Simeon, were at this point more acquainted with southern “non-Israelite” peoples (early Midianites?) and frequented *their* cult centers before establishing stronger bonds (real or fictitious) of kinship with the north highland entity that had been the first to take the name “Israel” (Blenkinsopp, 2008:147). If Yahweh was a southern deity, the cult had probably been introduced at Samaria already in the 9th century, even if the northern kingdom never reached full monolatry¹¹.

By the 7th century, it is evident that the kingdom of Judah had become engaged in a very dynamic interaction with a variety of nomadic tribal groups at their southern border, which by now had a complex social organization. Having to participate in such an important enterprise as the trade of luxury items (to comply with Assyrian demands) Judahites were naturally acquainted with the different “Bedouin” tribes and knew them by their family names, who their sheikh was and where he dwelled and whether he was to be trusted or not. Thus, each tribe could be classified in a larger confederation of tribes, and -according to their mutually perceived friendship or enmity- in different tiers of kinship bonds, which is ultimately documented in the Genesis genealogies, based on pre-priestly material. Thus, all Biblical ethnonyms of nomadic peoples probably reflect late 8th and 7th century realities. By this point (7th

century), the “Edomites” (nomadic or not) were already a recognizable foreign ethnic group living and/or trading within or close to the borders of Judah. The “not so hostile” narratives about Edom and Esau can be dated to pre-exilic traditions, while the negative depictions are mostly found in exilic and post-exilic prophetic literature, after Edom was partly blamed for the Babylonian invasion (“betrayal of a brother”, see Tebes, 2011:247-248).

This paper reconstructed the *longue-durée* of Iron Age nomadic peoples of the Southern Levant; first as they became known to us through traditional Biblical narrative, and then under the magnifying glass of modern archaeologic evidence and scholarship. A very large geographic frame was examined, and each material culture or Biblical ethnicity mentioned here deserves its own individual study. May this paper serve as an updated entry-level review of the bigger picture, for academics interested in further exploring this topic.

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Notes:

¹ Although descendants of Sem; therefore "Semites" and tribally related to other Levantine peoples such as Arameans but not with Canaanites, who are descendants of Ham. Abraham is also referred to as "a Hebrew" (Gen 14:13).

² The equation of Paran with the Hejaz region (Mecca) is part of a later Qur'anic tradition that also depicts Ishmael as the patriarch of the Arab tribe, and therefore it is not necessarily accurate with its original location as understood by the authors of Genesis. (Firestone, 1990:65, 205).

³ There is evidence that demise of the kingdom of Edom occurred as consequence of the campaign of Babylonian king Nabonidus around 553 BCE (Tebes 2013:326), which is a few decades later than Nebuchadnezzar's destruction of Judah.

⁴ More on this confusion in Na'aman, 2013:257-258.

⁵ Through Eliphaz and his concubine (not wife!) Timna, daughter of Seir the Horite.

⁶ On the relationship between tribal polities (Edom) and imperial powers (Assyria) see Bienkowski and van der Steen 2001:39-40.

⁷ For a full analysis of the relationship between the biblical patriarch Esau and Iron IIB-C Edom, see Tebes, 2009.

⁸ For a detailed exposition of the arguments that currently support the Midianite-Kenite hypothesis, see Blenkinsopp, 2008, and for a more archaeological outlook, see Tebes, 2016.

⁹ The connection between the Negev settlement system and the copper districts of the Arabah (Wadi Faynan) was demonstrated through petrography (presence of slag-tempered wares) in Martin and Finkelstein 2013.

¹⁰ This "Tel Masos desert polity" has been named by some scholars (Na'aman 2013:261-262) "early Edom", or "Edom in the lowlands".

¹¹ On the appropriation of Yahweh by Israel and Judah, see Römer, 2015.

CEHAO's Collective Research Projects

Elites and the Belief System in the Eastern Mediterranean

Members:

Director: Juan Manuel Tebes

Researchers: Pablo Andiónach (CEHAO), Amir Gorzalczany (CEHAO-IAA), Daniel Justel (Universidad Eclesiástica San Dámaso), Jorge Cano Moreno (CEHAO), Débora Aymbinderow (CEHAO).

The project analyses the belief systems and their socio-historical context in the Eastern Mediterranean in antiquity, from a long-term perspective. It begins with the emergence of a social hierarchy and its impact on the beliefs about death and the afterlife in the Palestinian Chalcolithic (Gorzalczany), to move to the Late Bronze Age, focusing on the elites and religion of Neopalatial Crete (Cano Moreno), as well as in interregional relations between the different societies of the Eastern Mediterranean. The Iron Age constitutes a special juncture for the southern Levant, due to the emergence of the states and the Hebrew religion during this period. The latter is researched by Andiónach, who focuses on Biblical literature. From an archaeological perspective, Tebes focuses on cultural relations between the southern Levant and the Arabian Peninsula, while Aymbinderow deals with the oil industry in Judah in the context of Neo-Assyrian imperialism.

This working group is international - with members working in the country as well as abroad (Gorzalczany: Israel Antiquities Authority; Aymbinderow: Tel Aviv University) – and interdisciplinary, with the contribution of history, archeology and hard sciences (archaeometry, radiocarbon).



Shrine of Hathor, Timna Valley, southern Israel
(Photo by Juan Manuel Tebes).

Landscape, Symbolism and Human-Nature Relationships in Ancient Anatolia

Members:

Director: Romina Della Casa

Researchers: Lindsay Der (University of British Columbia), Lilian Dogiama (McMaster University), Melissa Ricetti (Sapienza - University of Rome).

The *LSAA-CRP* is an international project sprung from the mutual interests of four specialists who conduct research about Ancient Near Eastern historical and archeological materials from an interdisciplinary perspective. Sharing a particular passion for exploring human-non-human interactions, Romina Della Casa, Lindsay Der, Lilian Dogiama, and Melissa Ricetti examine a wide range of materials that shed light on how different Anatolian societies interacted with their environment over the course of several millennia. Therefore, each member of the *LSAA-CRP* focuses on specific materials left by the inhabitants of the archaeological sites of Çatalhöyük, Kültepe (Kaneš) and Boğazköy (Hattuşa). This enables the examination of a wide array of objects, including stone tools, seals, cuneiform tablets, figurines, plastered faunal installations, wall paintings, and plastered reliefs. Accordingly, the varied methodologies carried out by the specialists collaborating in this project extend from the use of systematic statistical and geographic information systems (GIS) to the comparative examination of cylinder seal iconography; from attribute analyses of stone projectile points to a philological approach to cuneiform tablets, and more.

The wide range of materials and approaches carried out by this international team of researchers allows for investigating both the experiences of specific peoples with their surroundings at the micro-scale, as well a broader macro-scale perspective of ancient Anatolian landscapes across the *longue durée*.



Bucrania installation in Building 77 at Neolithic Çatalhöyük, Turkey.

(Photo by Jason Quinlan, Çatalhöyük Research Project).

Kingship and Society in Ancient Egypt

Members:

Director: Roxana Flammini

Researchers: Graciela Gestoso Singer (CEHAO)-
Cecilia Culotta (Universidad Nacional de Cuyo),
Brenda Froschauer (CEHAO).

This project focuses in the relationships established between the Egyptian kingship and the society during periods usually defined as “critical.” Thus, the so-called Intermediate Periods, the Amarna period and Egypt under Persian rule are the historical processes where we shall focus our research. The project is composed by two senior researchers (Roxana Flammini and Graciela Gestoso Singer); a junior researcher (Cecilia Culotta) and an undergraduate student (Brenda Froschauer). Intermediate Periods were often defined as “dark ages,” “revolutionary processes,” framed by “civil war” or “anarchy.” Nevertheless, multiple factors interacted to create a phenomenon – the disintegration of the unified Egyptian state – which has its own characteristics in each disruptive period (Flammini). The Amarna Period receives two topics of research. On the one side, the cultural elements of the gods and goddesses related to pestilence in texts coming

from different backgrounds (Hurrian, Hittite and Egyptian) during the Amka war will be approached to discern the different identities assumed by those deities. To this information, archaeological remains found in Tell el-Amarna related to plague will be added (Gestoso Singer). On the other, the iconographic representation of *ma’at* will be analysed in order to establish the variations it suffered during the transition from the ancient religion to the Aton exclusive worship, through an analysis of the tomb of the vizier Ramose (TT 55) (Froschauer). Finally, the analysis of the writings of Herodotus with regard to the ancient Egyptian kingship will be approached taking into account the contemporary socio-historical scenario, when Egypt fell into Persian rule (Culotta).



Berlin, Neues Museum. (Photo by Roxana Flammini).

CEHAO SCHOLARLY PARTICIPATION

2017

GRACIELA GESTOSO SINGER

IV INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ABOUT THE ANCIENT ROADS. THE AMBER ROADS

"Amber and the Uluburun Shipwreck"

Novo Mesto, Slovenia, April, 20-22

Dolenjski Museum.

ASOR ANNUAL MEETING

"Beyond Amarna: Hoards, Tribute, Gifts, and Exchange of Metals in the Levant"

Boston, USA, November, 15-18

American Schools of Oriental Research.

THE SEA IN HISTORY: I, THE ANCIENT WORLD

De Souza, Ph. & Arnaud, P. eds.

"Development of Maritime Trade in the Egyptian World during the Late Bronze Age".

FORTUNE AND MISFORTUNE IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST. PROCEEDINGS OF THE 60TH RENCONTRE ASSYRIOLOGIQUE INTERNATIONALE UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW, 21-25, JULY, 2014

Drewnoska, O. & Sandowicz, M. eds.

"Fortunes and Misfortunes of Messengers and Merchants in the Amarna Letters".

PROCEEDINGS OF THE XI INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF EGYPTOLOGISTS. FLORENCE, ITALY, AUGUST, 23-30, 2015.

Rosati, G. & Guidotti, M.C. eds.

"Love and Gold in Cross-Cultural Discourse in the Amarna Letters"

EGIPTOLOGÍA IBÉRICA EN 2017. ESTUDIOS Y NUEVAS PERSPECTIVAS

Largacha, A.P. -& Vivas Sainz, I. eds.

"Shaushka, la diosa itinerante"

TRABAJOS DE EGIPTOLOGÍA. PAPERS ON ANCIENT EGYPT 7

"Shaushka, the traveling Goddess"

OLGA GIENINI

XXXVI SEMANA ARGENTINA DE TEOLOGÍA

"Ella lo liberó de su caída. Una relectura de Gn 3 en Sb 10,1-2"

Santa Fe, Argentina, September, 18-21

Universidad Católica de Santa Fe.

EN EL CAMINO DE EMAÚS – ESPERANZA QUE FECUNDA LA HISTORIA

"Is 66 – Una relectura del Libro de Isaías en clave Jubilar".

REVISTA BÍBLICA (2015-2016). HOMENAJE A ARMANDO LEVORATTI

"Un Prólogo cosmopolita. Sobre algunas tradiciones en el Prólogo de Juan".

TEBES, JUAN MANUEL

PUBLIC LECTURE

"Memories of humiliation, cultures of resentment towards Edom and the formation of ancient Jewish national identity"

Melbourne, March 17

Australian Institute of Archaeology.

OLD TESTAMENT GUILD MEETING

Public Lecture "The Jewish Collective Memory on Edom and its Role in the Formation of the Jewish

National Identity in Antiquity"

Hamilton, October 16.

McMaster Divinity College.

AMERICAN SCHOOLS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH 2017 ANNUAL MEETING

Paper presented

Boston, November 15-18.

American Schools of Oriental Research.

FRANKEL + KELSEY: JEWS AND ARTIFACTS AT THE MUSEUM

Presentation
Ann Arbor, November 28
Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan.

DIE WELT DES ORIENTS 47/1

"Iconographies of the Sacred and Power of the Desert Nomads: A Reappraisal of the Desert Rock Art of the Late Bronze / Iron Age Southern Levant and Northwestern Arabia"
<https://www.vr-elibrary.de/doi/abs/10.13109/wdor.2017.47.1.4#.W1bulNlZ9M>

JOURNAL OF NORTHWEST SEMITIC LANGUAGES 43/2

"Desert Place-Names in Numbers 33;34, Assurbanipal's Arabian Wars and the Historical Geography of the Biblical Wilderness Toponymy".
<https://journals.co.za/content/journal/10520/EJC-c59c49ad5>

BULLETIN OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOLS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH 378

Review of: MacDonald, B., 2015. *The Southern Transjordan Edomite Plateau and the Dead Sea Rift Valley. The Bronze Age to the Islamic Period (3800/3700 BC-AD 1917)*. Oxford.
https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5615/bullamerschoorie.378.0225?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents

ANTIGUO ORIENTE 15

Review of: Schmidt, B.B., 2016. *The Materiality of Power: Explorations in the Social History of Early Israelite Magic*. Forschungen zum Alten Testament 105. Tübingen.
<http://uca.edu.ar/antiguo-orient>

NEAR EASTERN SEMINAR SERIES

Seminar
Sydney, March 13.
Centre for Classical and Near Eastern Studies of Australia, University of Sydney.

ARCHAEOLOGY PROGRAM

Seminar
Melbourne, March 16
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, La Trobe University.

UNIVERSITY OF SYDNEY

Endeavour Research Fellowship, Australian Government, Department of Education and Training
Sydney, January-May.
Department of Archaeology, University of Sydney.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

Research Fellowship, Frankel Institute

Ann Arbor, September-December.
Frankel Institute for Advanced Judaic Studies, University of Michigan.

ROXANA FLAMMINI

CICLO DE CONFERENCIAS DEL CEHAO

"La palabra y la acción: el "pájaro del mal" en la Segunda Estela de Kamose"
Buenos Aires, May.
Universidad Católica Argentina.

II ENCUENTRO SOBRE ANTIGÜEDAD TARDÍA Y MUNDO CLÁSICO: PENSADORES Y POLEMISTAS

"Historia e Historiografía: los Períodos Intermedios en la periodización del Egipto dinástico"
Mendoza, August.
Universidad Nacional de Cuyo.

TEXTOS EN LENGUAS ASIÁTICAS: TRADICIONES Y TRADUCCIONES

"Relevancia de los ideogramas en la escritura egipcia jeroglífica"
Buenos Aires, August.
Instituto de Investigaciones Gino Germani, Facultad de Ciencias Sociales, Universidad de Buenos Aires.

XVI JORNADAS INTERESCUELAS/DEPARTAMENTOS DE HISTORIA

"Incidencia de los contextos extralingüísticos en la escritura de las estelas de Kamose"
Mar del Plata, August.
Universidad Nacional de Mar del Plata.

STRANGERS IN OUR MIDST: XENOPHOBIA AND INTEGRATION

Babej, M. ed.
"Strangers in Our Midst: Xenophobia and Integration".

REVISTA BÍBLICA 79

Review: "La violencia and the Hebrew Bible. The Politics and Histories of Biblical Hermeneutics on the American Continent." Semeia Studies 82, Society of Biblical Literature, 2016".
Andiñach, P. & Scholz, S. eds.

UNIVERSIDAD CATÓLICA ARGENTINA

Ph.D. Course: "Taller: El plan de Tesis. Organización temática y práctica metodológica"
Buenos Aires, May.

PABLO R. ANDIÑACH

WORLD METHODIST CONFERENCE

“Exploring the Origin of the Methodist Mission”

Houston, August - November.

Perkins School of Theology, Southern Methodist University.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE

“The Book of Exodus. Among Other Things, an Ethical Proposal for Our time”

Boston, November.

American Academy of Religion and Society of Biblical Literature.

JORNADAS DE HISTORIA EN UCA

“El pecado original no es original: creación de un mito”

Buenos Aires, May.

Universidad Católica Argentina.

WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES. FAITH AND ORDER COMMISSION

“New Religious Movements in Latin America: Perspectives and Challenges”

Johannesburg, June.

South African University in Johannesburg.

CONFERENCE

“Biblia y Psicoanálisis. Un diálogo fructífero con Jacques Lacan”

Buenos Aires, September.

Espacio Modos.

ETICA Y ECONOMÍA: LA RELACIÓN DAÑADA, GLOBEETHICS 43

Calvo, C. ed.

“Crimen y corrupción en las narrativas bíblicas: juicio y esperanza de cambio”.

REVISTA DE INTERPRETACIÓN BÍBLICA LATINOAMERICANA (RIBLA) 75

“Introducción al libro de los Jueces”

REVISTA BÍBLICA 77-78

Coedition with Rostom Maderna, S.: *Homenaje a Armando Levoratti*

SEMINARIO RABÍNICO LATINOAMERICANO

“La santidad del rito y nuestra santidad”,

Buenos Aires.

DUKE UNIVERSITY, DUKE UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

On line class “Life and Testimony of Mons A. Romero”
North Caroline, February.

JORGE CANO-MORENO

1º JORNADAS DE ACTUALIZACIÓN EN INVESTIGACIÓN Y DOCENCIA SOBRE EL CERCANO ORIENTE ANTIGUO

“La Creta minoica o la creación y el derrumbe de paradigmas: una apología”

La Plata, November.

Universidad Nacional de La Plata.

VIII CONGRESO INTERNACIONAL E INTERDISCIPLINAR DE JÓVENES HISTORIADORES: LA ALIMENTACIÓN EN LA HISTORIA

“La producción y consume de alimentos como estrategia religiosa de las elites en Creta Neopalacial”

Salamanca, March.

Universidad de Salamanca.

V CONGRESO NACIONAL GANIMEDES

“Minos “ἐννέωρος”, una traducción controvertida (y sus posibles implicaciones arqueológicas)”

Salamanca, March.

Universidad de Salamanca.

II JORNADAS DE JÓVENES INVESTIGADORES EN ARQUEOLOGÍA

“Las representaciones de arquitectura religiosa en los sellos minoicos”

Madrid, February.

Universidad Complutense de Madrid.

PERSPECTIVAS INTERDISCIPLINARIAS SOBRE EL MUNDO ANTIGUO

Lahan Cohen, R. ed.

“Minos ἐννέωρος ¿una reinterpretación griega de la religión minoica?”

SERVEIS TERRITORIALS DE CULTURA A TARRAGONA

Practice Scholarship

Tarragona, March-August.

BRITISH SCHOOL OF ATHENS AT KNOSSOS

Scholarship to the Postgraduate Course in Prehistoric, Greek and Roman Pottery

Crete, April.

INSTITUTO CATALÁN DE ARQUEOLOGÍA CLÁSICA

Initiation to the research Scholarship (BIR)

Tarragona, June-July.

UNIVERSITAT ROVIRA I VIRGILI

Premi Extraordinari de Final d'Estudis de Màster (Extraordinary End of Course Award)

Tarragona, 2017.

ROMINA DELLA CASA

ISTANBUL UNIVERSITY

Research Fellowship Programme for International Researchers – TÜBİTAK. The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey.

Istanbul, January-March.

INSTITUT FÜR ASSYRIOLOGIE UND HETHITOLOGIE.

LUDWIG-MAXIMILIANS-UNIVERSITÄT MÜNCHEN (LMU)

Katholischer Akademischer Ausländer-Dienst (KAAD).

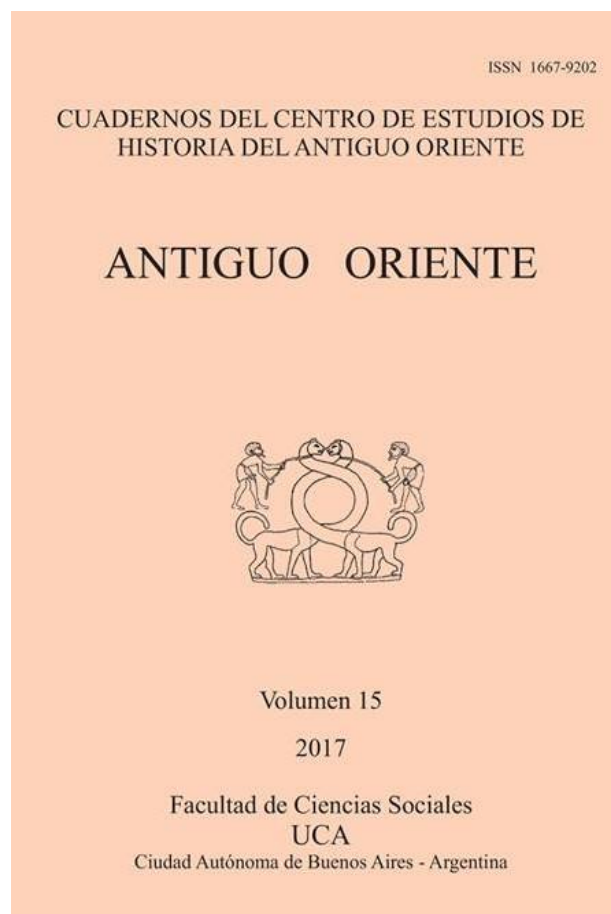
Munich, July-September.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

- In Memoriam Rodolfo Fattovich (1945-2018).
- Towards a Long-term Place Biography of Nahr el-Kalb (Lebanon).
Rocio DA RIVA.
- Les neiges d'antan: "Early Rulers" and the Vanity Theme in Mesopotamian Wisdom Literature and Beyond.
Yoran COHEN.
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Peter JAMES.
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Chaim BEN DAVID.
- Tres puertos egipcios en el Mar Rojo durante el período faraónico: Una reevaluación de la evidencia.
Pierre TALLET.
- Royal Justice or Realpolitik? The Diviner Zu-Ba'la and the Hittites Once Again.
Francisco CÉNTOLA.
- Proyectiles de honda: ¿Tensiones y conflictos en la protohistoria del Próximo Oriente?
Fernando ESPEJEL ARROYO.
- Hornos domésticos e industriales en Tell el-Ghaba, norte de Sinaí, Egipto.
Eduardo CRIVELLI MONTERO, Silvia Alicia LUPO & Claudia Irene KOHEN

BOOK REVIEWS

- ROCÍO DA RIVA, Arqueólogos, etnólogos y espías. La misión de Leo Frobenius en Arabia y Eritrea (1914-1915), 2017.
By **Víctor M. FERNÁNDEZ MARTÍNEZ.**
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