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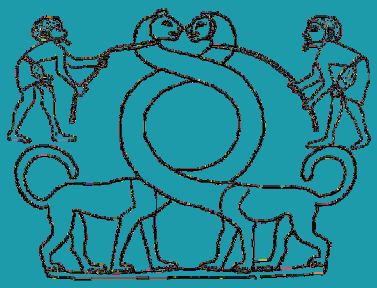

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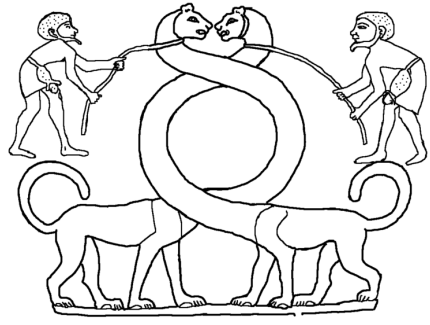

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Negociar la fragilidad en la Mesopotamia antigua: Arenas de contienda e instituciones de resistencia[1]

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Resumen: Negociar la fragilidad en la Mesopotamia antigua: Arenas de contienda e instituciones de resistencia

Es bien sabido que no existe la Mesopotamia en el sentido político del término. La Mesopotamia temprana consistía en ciudades-Estado, en Estados regionales efímeros y en una cultura imperante que hacía de Mesopotamia la Mesopotamia por encima y más allá de las constantes luchas políticas internas en el territorio. El conflicto armado *entre* ciudades y la resistencia a las casas gobernantes y sus objetivos de reglamentar las economías y las organizaciones sociales *dentro* de las ciudades son temas característicos de la historia de la Mesopotamia. Trazamos la historia de la Mesopotamia temprana fuera de los "grandes dominios" de templos y palacios y documentamos los poderes persistentes, especialmente los poderes legales, de las autoridades locales en las ciudades y en el campo. Esta es la sustancia de la fragilidad mesopotámica.

Palabras clave: Mesopotamia – Fragilidad – Regímenes – Políticos – Resistencia

Summary: Negotiating Fragility in Ancient Mesopotamia: Arenas of Contestation and Institutions of Resistance

It is well-known that there is no Mesopotamia in the political sense of the term. Early Mesopotamia consisted in city-states, ephemeral regional states, and an overarching culture that made Mesopotamia above and beyond the constant internecine political

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[1] Este artículo aparecerá en inglés en una publicación del Instituto de Arqueología McDonald, Universidad de Cambridge, Inglaterra.

struggles in the land. Armed conflicts *among* cities and resistance to ruling houses and their goals of regimenting economies and social organizations *within* cities are characteristic themes in Mesopotamian history. We trace the history of early Mesopotamia outside the "great estates" of temples and palaces and document the persistent powers, especially legal powers, of local authorities in cities and in the countryside. This is the stuff of Mesopotamian fragility.

Keywords: Mesopotamia – Fragility – Political – Regimes – Resistance

Los Estados antiguos—o al menos muchos Estados antiguos—eran ironías. Es decir, muchos Estados antiguos no eran Estados en absoluto, al menos no en los términos en que pensamos a los Estados como entidades territoriales que incluían mucha tierra, numerosas ciudades, pueblos, aldeas, granjas, campos agrícolas y huertos. Mesopotamia, por ejemplo, era un territorio de ciudades-Estado. No había ningún Estado territorial mesopotámico, y aquellas ciudades y sus gobernantes que conquistaban a otras ciudades y controlaban gran parte de la tierra y del acceso al agua no duraban mucho tiempo. En efecto, no existía la Mesopotamia en el sentido político del término. Lo que hacía a Mesopotamia la Mesopotamia era una red cultural dominante: una creencia compartida en los mismos dioses, un programa de estudios por el que se aprendía la misma literatura, e incluso una ideología común de que debía haber un Estado territorial mesopotámico.

Además, los reyes guerreros más brutales y más exitosos que declaraban proporcionar justicia para las ciudades que conquistaban y para la gente que gobernaban, y a quienes sus escribas celebraban como si estuvieran favorecidos por los dioses, prepararon el camino para su propia desaparición (a menudo rápida).

¿Cómo explicamos la resistencia a formar un Estado territorial duradero en la Mesopotamia (especialmente en la Mesopotamia temprana en la era de la formación de las ciudades mesopotámicas, de la diferenciación social y económica, de la estratificación y de los logros culturales en la literatura y en el ceremonial)? ¿Cómo podemos explicar que dinastas y dinastías fueran derribados de manera regular? ¿Y cómo damos cuenta de la resiliencia de ciertas instituciones culturales,

aquellas cosas que continuaban haciendo a Mesopotamia la Mesopotamia?

En un espléndido ensayo reciente, Piotr Michalowski (por aparecer) escribe sobre cómo fueron "domesticados" en la tradición historiográfica nativa los reyes que lidiaron con las consecuencias de gobernantes caídos o derrotados y establecieron nuevas dinastías. Michalowski menciona con desconsuelo que "la historia mesopotámica [es] la historia de los reyes, de sus hazañas extraordinarias y de la información anecdótica sobre ellos". Compara esta situación en la Mesopotamia con las tradiciones historiográficas en Europa antes del trabajo del "grupo de Annales" que escribía la historia del mundo por fuera de la realeza. Quizás de manera desconcertante, el ensayo de Michalowski se dedica luego a los reyes: a cómo los reyes mesopotámicos eran extraños en su propia tierra, y a cómo eso favorecía sus hazañas para tomar el poder.

En otro excelente ensayo, la arqueóloga Marcella Frangipane[2] contrasta la formación del Estado en tres regiones de la Mesopotamia. Discute diferentes formas de "integración" en las primeras ciudades en el sur, en el norte de Siria, y en el sur de Turquía; "el control y la coordinación" de las economías urbanas y cómo "resolvían conflictos" los gobernantes y sus burocracias. Su elocuente análisis, sin embargo, no se extiende a la manera en la que titubeaban los sistemas políticos en todas las ciudades de esas áreas, a por qué se quemaban o abandonaban distritos, y a cómo cambiaban las políticas y la economía en sus varias circunstancias geopolíticas. Frangipane escribe sobre una "*amalgama* (la cursiva es nuestra) de grupos sociales" en ciudades y Estados tempranos, pero se abstiene de identificar a esos grupos y sus probables orientaciones sociales y políticas diferentes. Cita a Richard Blanton acerca de que en los Estados había un "monopolio del control del poder por parte de una autoridad suprema" (siguiendo la máxima de Weber).

Este ensayo arriesga otra perspectiva sobre la naturaleza de las ciudades y los Estados mesopotámicos. Al citar dos trabajos recientes que de maneras valiosas analizan críticamente la información disponi-

[2] Frangipane 2017.

ble sobre la naturaleza de los reyes de los primeros Estados, establecemos un acceso a los sesgos de muchos historiadores y arqueólogos. Por ejemplo, la mayoría de las tablillas escritas de la Mesopotamia no se refieren a los reyes y a sus hazañas. Son textos económicos, textos rituales, cartas, documentos legales, y otros materiales no literarios. Gran parte de los proyectos arqueológicos se han concentrado, de manera bastante natural, en edificios magníficos, templos y palacios. Se han excavado áreas domésticas en pocos, aunque significativos, ejemplos y los estudios sobre modelos de asentamiento han identificado sitios más pequeños que estaban conectados a otros mucho más grandes y así se reconstruyeron redes de sitios regionales. Menos atención se les ha prestado a los niveles de destrucción en esos sitios.

En este ensayo no señalamos sólo los sesgos obvios en la documentación de los registros textuales y arqueológicos de la Mesopotamia. Tampoco sostenemos haber descubierto nueva información en tablillas o en la cultura material que complemente, suplemente o modifique nuestra comprensión de las políticas, las economías y las sociedades mesopotámicas. Más bien intentamos delinear, sobre la base de fuentes dispares y sintetizando esas fuentes (con ejemplos selectos), la manera en que las sociedades estaban organizadas por debajo del nivel de los gobernantes y la forma en la que los sistemas sociales interactuaban con el estrato gobernante. Por cierto, cuestionamos algunos análisis que predican sobre la distinción entre sistema político y aquellos grupos e individuos que no estaban sujetos a ese sistema pero que eran también actores cruciales en la implementación de las políticas de los gobernantes. ¿Hay patrones de resistencia a los objetivos de los gobernantes en la Mesopotamia? ¿Cómo se desarrollan esos ejemplos de lucha y resistencia? ¿De dónde provienen las instituciones de resistencia? Examinamos si las antiguas ciudades y los Estados en Mesopotamia estaban "integrados", como sostienen varios autores, y si hay un monopolio de la autoridad legal en ciudades y Estados que proporcione "beneficios"[3].

[3] Frangipane 2017: 14.

Una historia de la resistencia académica a las interpretaciones sobre la naturaleza totalitaria del poder político y económico en la Mesopotamia

La comprensión de que los Estados mesopotámicos eran políticamente centralizados, totalitarios, que administraban economías de redistribución/dominio con un monopolio de la ley, ha impregnado la literatura arqueológica y sociológica sobre los Estados tempranos en general. Este análisis de los Estados mesopotámicos se formó en la primera parte del siglo XX, cuando los asiriólogos consideraban que los primeros Estados mesopotámicos de fines del cuarto y principios del tercer milenio fueron primero Estados-templo y luego Estados-palacio. Se consideraba a los primeros Estados como organizaciones templo/teocráticas y los primeros gobernantes tenían rango sacerdotal. "Estados-palacio" era el término usado para describir el poder real absolutista de los reyes de la Tercera Dinastía de Ur (Ur III) al final del tercer milenio (que siguió al primer Estado territorial de Sargón de Agade, ver abajo). Presentamos aquí una síntesis de la crítica a esas interpretaciones por parte de especialistas en la Mesopotamia. Luego retornamos a nuestro tema principal sobre cómo la organización de la sociedad no puede confinarse a la función centralizadora e "integradora" de los gobernantes (cuyo gran poder y riqueza ciertamente no cuestionamos).

En 1960 A. L. Oppenheim escribió un ensayo intitulado "Assyriology – Why and How?"[4] en el primer volumen de la nueva publicación *Current Anthropology.* Éste se reimprimió en su libro, *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization* (1964)[5]. Oppenheim concluyó su ensayo con un llamado célebre y provocativo: "Si las nuevas direcciones que se examinan aquí significan que, llegado el caso, la asiriología se distanciará de las humanidades y se acercará más a la antropología cultural, no derramaré ni una lágrima". Con "nuevas direcciones" Oppenheim se refería a muchas cosas, señaladas por sus secciones sobre "¿por qué no debería escribirse una religión

[4] "Asiriología – ¿Por qué y cómo?".
[5] *La Mesopotamia antigua: Retrato de una civilización muerta.*

'mesopotámica'?" y "¿fuentes históricas o literatura?" Para él, el enfoque humanista sobre la religión y la historia, al menos por parte de los asiriólogos (y de los arqueólogos de la Mesopotamia)—ver la fantástica ilustración de una biblia alemana del siglo XVIII en la tapa de su libro—era una fantasía de los académicos occidentales quienes "jamás consiguieron tratar a las civilizaciones foráneas con ese delicado cuidado y profundo respeto" con que se entrena a los antropólogos. El libro de Oppenheim todavía se lee como un vademécum para la estructura de la sociedad mesopotámica. Entreteje estudios sobre geografía, ecología, zoología, identidad etnolingüística, agricultura, riqueza, propiedad de las construcciones y de la tierra, ciudades y sus áreas, mercados, y mucho más. Nos conformamos, para los propósitos de este ensayo, con sólo mencionar que Oppenheim consideraba que "los reyes mesopotámicos eran cualquier cosa menos déspotas orientales" y que las Grandes Organizaciones (como él las llamaba) de templos y palacios eran cada una de ellas "sistemas de circulación" internos.

Un subproducto principal de la perspectiva de Oppenheim (en nuestra opinión) fue su patrocinio de una joven investigadora en el Oriental Institute de la Universidad de Chicago, Rivkah Harris, quien con el apoyo crucial de Robert McCormick Adams (que tenía cargos tanto en el OI como en el Departamento de Antropología de la Universidad de Chicago) comenzó a estudiar la ciudad de Sippar en el período Paleobabilónico (1894–1595 a.C.). Ella (y sus patrocinadores) eligieron esta ciudad porque no era el asiento de ningún rey poderoso y porque varios miles de documentos privados (es decir, textos no administrativos) habían sido recuperados del sitio (principalmente por excavaciones ilegales). Este proyecto comenzó a principios de la década de 1960 y su libro, finalizado hacia 1971, se publicó en 1975. Harris proporcionó información sobre la ciudad, los ancianos de la ciudad, el alcalde, la asamblea, los mercaderes, jueces, artesanos y especialmente las mujeres *nadītu* que vivían en un "claustro" y participaban en el mercado inmobiliario.

En 1969 y 1971 aparecieron artículos que, en retrospectiva, marcaron un cambio en cómo los mesopotamistas concebían el estudio

de la historia mesopotámica. Estos estudios de D'jakonov (Diakonoff) y de I. J. Gelb, motivaron a estudiantes de posgrado a pensar que podían escribir la historia de la Mesopotamia como la historia de grupos sociales y de instituciones sociales y que los cambios políticos y económicos podían estudiarse, de hecho, tenían que estudiarse, como resultado de las interacciones en la sociedad. Templos y palacios eran parte de la historia, pero no eran toda la historia, incluso podían ser capítulos menores en la historia. Los dos artículos están relacionados puesto que D'jakonov visitó Chicago en 1962–3 y estaba interesado en saber cómo estaban estudiando la economía y la sociedad mesopotámica los académicos americanos. Gelb, quien previamente no se había ocupado de tales cuestiones, al menos como parte principal de su investigación, se puso a investigar la organización social, y eso prevaleció durante el resto de su carrera. En "The Rise of the Despotic State in Ancient Mesopotamia"[6], refutó enérgicamente la noción arraigada[7] que mantenía que los "Estados-templo comprendían prácticamente toda la sociedad sumeria [que era] un sistema de gobierno teocrático". Con sociedad sumeria quería decir las más tempranas ciudades-Estado en Mesopotamia. Principalmente se refería a la ciudad-Estado de Lagash en el período anterior a Sargón de Agade, es decir, aproximadamente antes del 2334 a.C. Calculaba que la tierra en poder de los templos de Lagash era mucho menor a la cantidad total de tierra de Lagash; y, más importante aún, citaba referencias (documentadas luego de manera completa) a tierras comunales vendidas a reyes y a notables, a comunidades patriarcales extensas y al concejo de ancianos. También discutió las "elecciones" populares de los líderes, golpes de Estado y rebeliones. El efecto de este artículo fue galvanizar a los investigadores para repensar la estructura de la sociedad mesopotámica y el curso de la historia.

Gelb, quien en 1967 escribió "Approaches to the Study of Ancient Society"[8], aportó (para un oscuro Festschrift) un artículo que circuló ampliamente, "On the Alleged Temple and State Economies in

[6] "El surgimiento del Estado despótico en Mesopotamia antigua".
[7] Propuesta por A. Deimel (1931); A. Schneider (1920); A. Falkenstein (1954), y otros.
[8] "Aproximaciones al estudio de la sociedad antigua".

Ancient Mesopotamia"[9], publicado en 1971 (pero escrito en 1965, como menciona Gelb). Lo que Gelb sostenía, en esencia y de manera convincente, era que los historiadores habían cometido un error de muestreo. Los templos y palacios, a los que Oppenheim había denominado "Grandes Casas", empleaban escribas para documentar en detalle las actividades de estas organizaciones. La información que condujo a las conclusiones de una economía-templo que lo incluía todo provenía de un templo en una ciudad-Estado, Lagash. Sin embargo, había otros registros, documentos de venta de tierra de varias ciudades, también discutidos por D'jakonov, en los que vendedores "privados", cabezas de grupos tribales, vendían tierras a reyes y a notables. Los testigos de esos documentos recibían cantidades simbólicas de plata como reconocimiento de su membrecía al grupo propietario de la tierra. Presumiblemente, los vendedores jamás se iban de sus tierras, que en última instancia eran propiedad del comprador, sino que trabajaban la tierra y pagaban "impuestos" a los nuevos propietarios. Aunque estos documentos eran pocos, fue un error asumir que la cantidad de documentación—miles de textos de la burocracia del templo—deberían llevar a la conclusión de que los templos eran propietarios de todas las tierras en las ciudades-Estado tempranas.

Gelb también argumentó que hubo un error de muestreo en la interpretación de que había "socialismo de Estado" (lo que Landsberger, en 1943, llamó "Stadtstaatentum") en el período de Ur III, *ca*. 2100–2000 a.C. Tal conclusión se basaba en las decenas de miles de textos que provenían de la enorme burocracia que administraba impuestos y tributos en los sitios de Drehem y Umma. Sin embargo, Gelb notó que en Nippur había un número significativo de textos que documentaban la propiedad privada de la tierra. En trabajos recientes sobre casos legales en el período de Ur III, Laura Culbertson[10] muestra que las decisiones de las cortes las tomaban autoridades locales, no funcionarios judiciales del Estado, aunque las decisiones fueran recogidas por burócratas estatales. De hecho, el ejército de burócratas, ofi-

[9] "Sobre las presuntas economías de templo y palacio en la Mesopotamia antigua".
[10] Culbertson 2009; 2015.

ciales y escribas, así como también la maquinaria militar de los reyes de Ur III, fueron resistidos por ciudades y territorios sometidos y duraron menos de un siglo; su control efectivo, menos de 50 años.

Aparte de los análisis específicos de D'jakonov y Gelb, la mayor contribución de los artículos fue metodológica. Para estudiar historia social, uno debía recoger docenas o cientos de documentos que constituían archivos reales o artificiales (es decir, archivos de tablillas que no se encontraron juntos pero que informaban sobre actividades similares, idealmente con las mismas personas mencionadas en los textos). El objetivo era delinear la historia de los funcionarios, de las ventas o de los procedimientos legales (u otras actividades) y así comprender cómo interactuaba la gente para conseguir, hacer circular o manipular bienes y servicios. Algunos asiriólogos experimentados simplemente no lo comprendieron y criticaron de manera severa a los investigadores jóvenes quienes, bajo la inspiración de Gelb y de D'jakonov, estaban tratando de estudiar aspectos de la organización social y, de esa manera, buscaban inferir la naturaleza del cambio social[11]. La tendencia de investigación histórica, sin embargo, pasó del estudio de las inscripciones reales y de las especiosas afirmaciones de los reyes, al trabajo sobre los fundamentos de cómo se cultivaba la tierra, cómo se construían, alquilaban y vendían las casas y cómo se resolvían las disputas legales. Tales estudios resumían algún trabajo sobre estos asuntos que habían comenzado los académicos en el siglo XX, fundamentalmente como proyectos filológicos. Sin embargo, el objetivo era ahora relacionar el estudio de los documentos económicos y legales con cuestiones de legitimidad y gobierno de ciudades y Estados y especialmente por qué y cómo iban y venían los gobernantes y las dinastías y cómo nuevos gobernantes y dinastías se hacían del poder después de épocas de colapso. Algunos historiadores todavía escribían a la manera tradicional: juzgaban a los gobernantes como exitosos o no, a menudo basados en sus cualidades personales, por la cantidad de territorio que conquistaban y atribuían el colapso a invasores que ponían fin a reyes débiles y a sus dinastías. Una historiadora de la Mesopotamia negó que

[11] Kraus 1977.

alguno de los Estados tempranos (tales como el de los hititas o el de los persas) fuera "inestable"[12]. En las próximas secciones mostraremos que los reyes más "exitosos" sembraron las semillas del fracaso dinástico. También señalaremos las fallas y fisuras que hicieron frágiles a los Estados mesopotámicos tempranos.

La fragilidad en la literatura

Un texto literario del siglo XVII a.C., conocido como la épica de Atra-hasis ("El hombre excesivamente sabio"), explica en detalle cómo una turba de deidades menores, quejándose del trabajo que tenían que realizar para la élite de los dioses, tomó sus palas y antorchas y marchó al palacio de Enlil, el jefe tradicional del panteón del tercer milenio[13]. Temeroso del posible resultado de la rebelión, Enlil siguió el consejo de Enki, el dios de sabiduría, y le ordenó a la diosa Belet-ili que creara a la humanidad para que trabajara para los dioses, mitigando así el trabajo de los dioses menores. El alzamiento fue exitoso.

Los insurgentes humanos luchaban contra sus jefes supremos con resultados variados. Copias de un texto literario narran las revueltas en contra de Naram-Sin de Agade (nieto de Sargón) que reinó en el siglo XXIV. En este caso el rey no sólo aplastó a los rebeldes, sino que, de acuerdo con otra inscripción encontrada en Bassetki (Kurdistán), fue además declarado un dios en contra del cual los rebeldes eran insolentes y estaban indefensos. En las historias oficiales de la Mesopotamia (así como también en las historias de otros lugares) los vencedores tienen el privilegio de inmortalizar sus victorias por escrito. Debido a que el motín en la épica de Atra-hasis ocurrió en un mundo imaginario, los rebeldes pudieron tener éxito de una manera que, en la tradición histórico-literaria, los reyes habrían negado categóricamente. En las "lamentaciones" sobre la destrucción de ciudades (Agade y Ur), los dioses decidieron el colapso de las ciudades por motivos propios.

[12] Kuhrt 1995: 281, 701.
[13] Lambert *et al.* 1969; Foster 2005: 277–280.

En los siguientes ejemplos históricos, exploramos cómo puede percibirse la fragilidad de regímenes fuertes a través de las acciones de resistencia de varios poderes locales y regionales[14]. La resistencia adquiere una variedad de formas. Puede aparecer como oposición palaciega o sacerdotal (como en la época de Urukagina, justo antes de la época de Sargón), o en las bien documentadas intrigas cortesanas; puede estallar como revueltas lideradas por nobles o por las élites de ciudades o reinos subyugados que buscan poder e independencia; y también puede aparecer en el comportamiento menos perceptible pero no obstante efectivo de las instituciones comunales (tales como los concejos y las asambleas) que buscan mantener su autoridad local. Naturalmente, estas estrategias de oposición no son mutuamente excluyentes. Su ocurrencia simultánea puede ser desastrosa para el gobierno central cuando se suman una crisis económica o la incursión de grupos étnicos.

Ejemplos históricos de fragilidad y resistencia

Las ciudades-Estado tempranas

La primera ciudad en Mesopotamia sobre la que sabemos mucho es Uruk, en la parte sur de la región. Su historia en el IV milenio a.C. se conoce a partir de las excavaciones alemanas en dos áreas: el distrito de Eanna, sede de los templos de Inanna (y en las últimas etapas, niveles V, IV a, b y c, de plazas ceremoniales y de un hipotético edificio administrativo) y el llamado Zigurat de Anu. En las últimas etapas del nivel IV se encontraron las primeras tablillas, primero pictográficas y luego cuneiformes, sellos cilíndricos, esculturas, y boles de raciones de a miles. Había una administración de la ciudad, conocida por las tablas de funcionarios en las tablillas cuneiformes encontradas en el distrito Eanna, y líderes municipales, así como también había una clara división del trabajo desde la élite hasta los trabajadores faltos de libertad y los esclavos (lo que puede inferirse de los registros materiales, así como también de los títulos en las tablillas)[15]. El área de la ciudad se

[14] Ver M. Van De Mieroop (2015) para una historia de la Mesopotamia.
[15] Green y Nissen 1987; Civil 2013.

estima en 250 hectáreas (sólo el distrito de Eanna cubre 9 hectáreas) y la población de la ciudad se piensa que era de decenas de miles. La ciudad de Uruk se desarrolló a partir de la época de aldeas humildes, ya que sólo se conocen aldeas (menos de 9 hectáreas) en Mesopotamia antes del 4000 a.C. Así, la evolución de Uruk no fue gradual sino explosiva. El cambio demográfico fue resultado de la despoblación del campo, tendencia que se aceleró en la primera mitad del tercer milenio a.C. La escritura, los sellos, las estructuras monumentales, el arte de calidad y el arte de gobernar fueron invenciones que ocurrieron en el nuevo escenario urbano con sus gobernantes y súbditos[16].

Los arqueólogos y los historiadores se han enfocado en explicar la evolución rápida y transformadora de la ciudad de Uruk. Uruk fue la primera ciudad y la primera ciudad-Estado. Sin embargo, ¿qué les ocurrió a los templos del Eanna, a las estructuras ceremoniales y al primer Estado de Mesopotamia? (también hubo desarrollos urbanos tan o incluso más tempranos que Uruk en el norte de la Mesopotamia, pero son menos conocidos). El nivel III del distrito Eanna fue sistemáticamente arrasado y se colocaron varias instalaciones a fuego[17], presumiblemente para conmemorar el *colapso* del Estado de Uruk IV. Es posible, como ha pensado un arqueólogo, que refugiados de Uruk IV hubieran establecido nuevos puestos de avanzada "urukianos" en Siria e Irán (donde se encuentran rasgos urukianos que se parecen a los de Uruk)[18].

De todos modos, Uruk, la ciudad, no desapareció con la destrucción del Eanna. Uruk tuvo un papel principal en las rivalidades entre ciudades-Estado a comienzos del tercer milenio; Uruk incluso floreció hasta el período helenístico, aproximadamente 3000 años después de su fundación urbana. Quizás podamos comparar la destrucción del complejo de templos del nivel IV de Uruk con la destrucción con fuego del distrito ceremonial de la ciudad de Teotihuacan alrededor del 550 d.C. Teotihuacan fue el coloso de Mesoamérica desde alrededor del 200 a.C. hasta el gran incendio. Rene Millon[19] mencionó que no

[16] Nissen 1988.
[17] Barrelet 1974.
[18] Johnson 1988–1989.
[19] Millon 1988.

había rival de Teotihuacan que pudiera haberla atacado con éxito. Además, *sólo* el distrito ceremonial central de Teotihuacan fue incendiado. Los barrios de Teotihuacan no fueron alcanzados y, de hecho, hoy hay un poblado en Teotihuacan.

No conocemos las circunstancias de la destrucción del distrito Eanna, pero fácilmente podemos pensar que la enorme estructura burocrática del primer Estado de la Mesopotamia fue resistida por la población disidente de Uruk. La presencia de miles de boles para raciones, presumiblemente para los trabajadores que construyeron los grandes templos del distrito Eanna, desaparece después de la destrucción de Eanna.

En la primera mitad del tercer milenio a.C., las ciudades-Estado mesopotámicas luchaban constantemente entre sí. En el ejemplo mejor conocido de guerras baladíes, las ciudades-Estado vecinas de Lagash y Umma batallaban por la franja de tierra fértil que se extendía entre ellas. Los conflictos internos duraron más de un siglo, como lo documentan las inscripciones encontradas en Lagash. Esos textos invariablemente reportan las victorias de los gobernantes de Lagash como así también las presuntuosas afirmaciones que hacían los reyes sobre el apoyo divino[20]. Pero, como lo quiso el destino, un tal Lugalzagesi de Umma conquistó Lagash y también varias otras ciudades sureñas. Su control territorial duró poco, sin embargo, ya que un nuevo rey de Kish, Sargón, lo derrotó y se hizo así de sus conquistas.

El Estado acadio (ca. 2334–2200 a.C.)

Sargón de Acad (o Agade, *ca*. 2334–2279 a.C.) puso bajo su poder a todas las ciudades-Estado enfrentadas del sur de la Mesopotamia. Conquistó territorios desde el río Diyala hasta el Golfo, el corazón de su reino, y luego alcanzó regiones más distantes. Es difícil afirmar cuán efectivo fue su gobierno sobre las ciudades de Irán (ej., Susa) y más al norte del Éufrates (ej., Mari y Ebla). Sargón y sus sucesores trataron de mantener el poder alrededor de 150 años, aunque de manera dispar. La sucesión de cinco reyes de la misma dinastía y su dominio sobre una

[20] Van De Mieroop 2015.

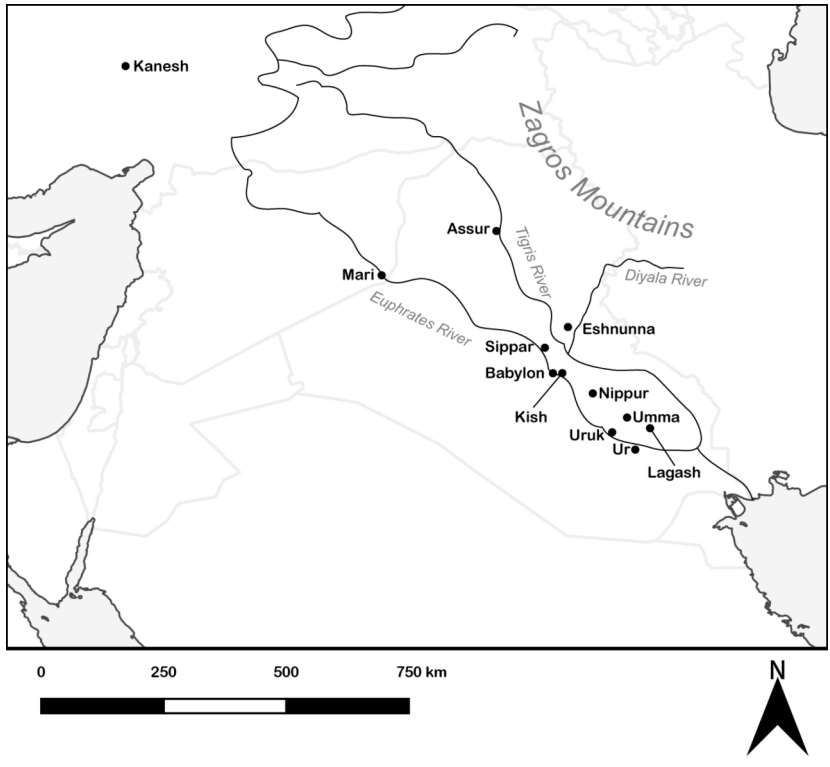

Fig. 1. Mapa con los sitios más importantes mencionados en el texto.

extensión de tierra considerable no tenía precedentes y marcaba transformaciones cuantitativas y cualitativas en la estructura socioeconómica y política del poder. El constructor del Estado territorial (o "imperio") acadio era un usurpador de la corte del rey de Kish. Estableció su residencia en una nueva ciudad, Agade, y conquistó a la oposición local, terminando así las luchas entre las ciudades del centro y sur de la Mesopotamia (en el período Dinástico Temprano, *ca*. 2900–2350). Es posible que la *Lista Real Sumeria*, composición pensada para promover la idea de que una ciudad a la vez gobernaba sobre todo el territorio creando así una unidad cultural, se concibiera durante la dinastía acadia[21].

[21] Más recientemente G. Marchesi (2010: 233) y B. Foster (2016).

Los proyectos de los reyes acadios confrontaban la fragilidad de su reino. Todos ellos, desde Sargón a su bisnieto Shar-kali-sharri, realizaban numerosas campañas militares. Controlaban los territorios previamente conquistados e intentaban incorporar otros nuevos al Estado de Acad. Se implementaron medidas administrativas importantes para mantener la cohesión del reino, desde el establecimiento de gobernadores por todo el reino por parte de Sargón hasta las regulaciones de su nieto Naram-Sin sobre las técnicas contables y administrativas y las reformas burocráticas. Los seguidores leales y su apoyo se aseguraban por medio de las asignaciones de tierras. Un famoso monumento, conocido como el obelisco de Manishtushu, registra la adquisición de 3450 hectáreas de tierra arable. El rey *compró* los campos ancestrales a varios cientos de hombres, engrosando así los dominios reales y recompensando a sus propios hombres. Para asegurarse el favor divino, se construían templos y se le ofrecía el botín de guerra a los dioses. En un acto sin precedentes dirigido a vincular su dinastía con los antiguo santuarios, Sargón designó a su hija como sacerdotisa del dios-luna en Ur y Naram-Sin nombró a tres de sus hijas como sacerdotisas en Nippur, Ur y Sippar.

Ninguna de estas estrategias, sin embargo, fue suficiente para asegurar el reino y superar las fragilidades. Aunque no se reportaran incidentes en los 56 años del reinado de Sargón, los problemas surgieron durante sus sucesores. Es posible que los dos hijos y sucesores de Sargón, Rimush y Manishtushu, hubieran tenido muertes violentas en conspiraciones palaciegas[22]. Las rebeliones estallaron en Sumer y Acad (sur y centro de la Mesopotamia) bajo el gobierno de Rimush y Naram-Sin. Las revueltas en contra de Naram-Sin, documentadas en textos literarios y en otras inscripciones, han sido caracterizadas como los eventos más dramáticos de su reinado. Los levantamientos ocurrieron en el corazón del reino, con un nuevo líder de la cercana ciudad de Kish aliado con otros líderes. Otro rebelde de Uruk se alió con otras ciudades del sur. Todas estas revueltas fueron aplastadas y el hijo de Naram-Sin, Shar-kali-sharri, cuyo nombre significa, irónicamente, "rey de todos los reyes", gobernó durante 25 años antes de que el Estado de Acad

[22] Foster 2016: 8, 10.

colapsara finalmente bajo sus efímeros sucesores. Un oficial militar tomó el poder en Lagash, otro hombre gobernó en Susa, y pueblos Guti del área de las montañas Zagros (que limita con Iraq e Irán) saquearon algunas ciudades. En este punto, la *Lista Real Sumeria*, que de manera monótona documenta a un rey después de otro, pregunta "¿Quién era rey? ¿Quién no era rey?"[23].

La Mesopotamia sur y central (ca. 2000–1155 a.C.)

Durante la mayor parte del segundo milenio los Estados territoriales fueron pocos y no duraron mucho tiempo. Hasta su colapso hacia alrededor del 2000 a.C., el Estado de Ur III había controlado e impuesto tributos sobre un vasto territorio, desde Asiria hasta el Golfo, incluyendo también regiones al este del río Tigris. Después de la caída de Ur emergió una constelación de reinos independientes, cuyas fortunas estaban inextricablemente entrelazadas. La fragmentación política y las disputas territoriales caracterizaron los dos siglos siguientes. Ishbi-Erra, un general en el ejército de Ur, tomó el poder en la ciudad de Isin, expulsó a los elamitas de Ur, estableció una dinastía y dominó gran parte de la región. Más al sur, la ciudad de Larsa se volvió influyente cuando en 1897 el rey Abi-sare atacó Isin, desafiando así su supremacía. Larsa, sin embargo, experimentó un período de inestabilidad política con gobernantes de diferentes linajes; luego una familia, posiblemente de ascendencia elamita, ganó poder y gobernó durante unas siete décadas. Rim-Sin, el segundo y más importante monarca de esta nueva dinastía, puso fin a la rivalidad entre Isin y Larsa cuando capturó Isin en 1793. Su victoria fue considerada tan importante que denominó a los restantes treinta años de su reinado con este evento ("primer año después de que el rey derrotara a Isin", "segundo año después de que el rey derrotara a Isin" y así sucesivamente).

En la Mesopotamia central, en el valle del Diyala, Eshnuna se había desprendido de Ur y conquistado ciudades previamente independientes del área, tales como Nerebtum, Shaduppum, y Dur-Rimush,

[23] Jacobsen 1939.

convirtiéndose en uno de los Estados poderosos de principios del siglo XVIII. Al noroeste de Eshnuna, en Assur, después de la caída de Ur, los gobernantes locales tomaron el título "gobernadores del dios Assur" (ver abajo sobre la política y la economía paleoasiria). En la cercana ciudad de Ekallatum, Shamshi-Adad heredó el trono de su padre y conquistó Assur. Luego estableció su asiento real en Shubat-Enlil e instaló a su hijo mayor en el trono de Ekallatum y al menor en el trono de Mari. Al momento de su muerte en 1776, Shamshi-Adad controlaba toda la región norte de Babilonia, aunque su reino de la Alta Mesopotamia se desintegró poco después de su deceso. Sobre las márgenes del Éufrates en Siria, Mari no había estado bajo el control directo de los reyes de Ur III, aunque las dos ciudades tenían contacto diplomático. Yahdun-Lim, quien hacia mediados del siglo XIX había comenzado una nueva dinastía, fue asesinado en una conspiración palaciega y su hijo no lo sobrevivió por mucho tiempo. Shamshi-Adad luego estableció su control del área y puso a su hijo como rey de Mari. Siguiendo la caída del Reino de la Alta Mesopotamia, Zimri-Lim, un pariente de Yahdun-Lim, se convirtió en el nuevo rey de Mari y en uno de los contrincantes más poderosos en la arena política. En Babilonia, una dinastía local gobernaba desde principios del siglo XIX y, aproximadamente un siglo más tarde, en 1792, Hammurabi subió al trono. Otras ciudades como Uruk, Kish y Sippar tuvieron sus propias dinastías durante la época anterior a Hammurabi. El reino de Elam en el actual Irán y el reino de Yamhad en Siria también competían por el poder en esta época.

Las interacciones políticas entre varias ciudades independientes en el período anterior a Hammurabi eran complejas. Había arreglos diplomáticos y espionaje, casamientos reales, intrigas cortesanas y asesinatos. Los jefes amorreos, que encabezaban linajes separados, se aliaban y se traicionaban entre sí en sus intentos por tomar el poder en ciudades venerables en un desconcertante caleidoscopio de poderes cambiantes en las ciudades y en el campo. Las élites urbanas, tanto las tradicionales como las nuevas, resistieron la dominación de los reinos vecinos, aunque muchos de ellos, individualmente o en concierto con aliados ambiciosos, fueron tratando de imponer su propia superioridad

sobre sus vecinos. Así, por ejemplo, Yamhad y Eshnuna atacaron simultáneamente a Samshi-Adad antes de su muerte en 1776. En la década siguiente, Hammurabi de Babilonia se hizo prominente. En 1766 Elam, en alianza con Babilonia, Mari y posiblemente también con Larsa, atacó a Eshnuna. Luego, Eshnuna ayudó a Hammurabi de Babilonia cuando en 1764, junto con Mari y Aleppo, él derrotó a Elam. En 1763 Hammurabi derrocó a Rim-Sin de Larsa, saqueó Eshnuna en 1762 y, por último, se volvió en contra de su aliado Zimri-Lim de Mari y conquistó aquella ciudad en 1761. Así, en unos cinco años, Hammurabi logró reunir a toda la Mesopotamia central y sur bajo su gobierno en Babilonia. Su único oponente era el reino de Yamhad (en la actual Aleppo), ubicado demasiado lejos en Siria como para ser una amenaza directa.

Las victorias de Hammurabi fueron debidamente mencionadas en el prólogo de su famoso "código de leyes", escrito hacia el final de su reinado[24]. El prólogo de su código exhibe una lista de unas 25 ciudades, las joyas de la corona, que el soberano gobernaba, todas en territorio babilónico, excepto Mari y Tuttul al noroeste y Assur y Nínive al norte. Las victorias de Hammurabi, declara, estaban respaldadas por las respectivas divinidades tutelares de las ciudades conquistadas. Aunque uno de los epítetos de Hammurabi, "sofocador de rebeliones", resume de manera elocuente las conquistas del rey, su autoridad sobre sus territorios no duró mucho.

Las revueltas estallaron en la primera década del reinado de Samsu-iluna, el hijo y sucesor de Hammurabi. En el noveno nombre de año, el rey afirma haber derrotado al ejército de los kasitas, un grupo etnolingüístico documentado por primera vez en registros archivísticos registrados alrededor del siglo XVIII. En contradicción con su afirmación de haberlos derrotado, los kasitas fueron empleados como mercenarios de los reyes paleobabilónicos y establecieron también sus propios campamentos armados en los campos babilónicos[25]. En el décimo nombre de año de Samsu-iluna, el rey menciona su victoria sobre

[24] Roth 1995.
[25] Richardson 2005.

Idamaras (una variante tiene el ejército de Eshnuna), Emutbal, Uruk e Isin. La afirmación sugiere que las insurgencias habían ocurrido más o menos simultáneamente en todo el reino. En una de sus inscripciones reales[26], el rey también sostiene haber asesinado y enterrado a Rim-Sin II (un rebelde de Larsa), haber ejecutado a 26 insurgentes y haber derrotado y degollado a Iluni de Eshnuna. De los 28 rebeldes que menciona el rey en su inscripción real, los registros administrativos documentan a los siguientes líderes: Rim-Sin II (Larsa), Rim-Anum (Uruk), Daganma-ilum (Kazalu/Mutiabal), Ilima-ilum (Nippur), Iluni y Munawwirum (Eshnuna)[27]. Las revueltas fueron aplastadas, pero la fragilidad del Estado germinó. Hubo signos de dificultades económicas, institucionales, militares y ambientales, y las ciudades del centro y del sur fueron abandonadas (por un tiempo). Los últimos reyes de la dinastía de Hammurabi de Babilonia, sin embargo, gobernaron hasta el 1595, aunque con reducida hegemonía, básicamente en los alrededores de Babilonia.

Además de las intrigas y de las revueltas cortesanas, formas de resistencia tradicionalmente documentadas, las tablillas de la primera mitad del segundo milenio a.C. nos permiten trazar, por primera vez en la historia de la Mesopotamia, las actividades de instituciones comunales cuya autoridad podía superponerse con el poder real y limitarlo. Las ciudades y aldeas incluían una red de autoridades locales, tales como el jefe de la ciudad, los ancianos, la ciudad, la autoridad del puerto, y la asamblea[28]. Estas instituciones estaban involucradas en la resolución de disputas y litigios varios, en la administración de fuerza de trabajo, en la distribución y a veces también en la venta de inmuebles, y en la recolección de tributos, entre otras cosas. Actuaban como bisagras que articulaban a la corona con la sociedad. Muestran además la colaboración entre el Estado y los poderes locales, así como también tensiones por el control de los recursos locales. A diferencia de la directa oposición militar de líderes rebeldes y sus ejércitos, las acciones de las autoridades locales exhiben una compleja variedad de resistencias cotidianas.

[26] Frayne 1990: 384–388, RIM IV E4.3.7.7.
[27] Seri 2013.
[28] Yoffee 2000; Seri 2005; 2016.

En las historias tradicionales, los reyes de la Primera Dinastía de Babilonia continuaron gobernando durante 155 años después de Hammurabi. El colapso del Estado es muy debatido y poco conocido. El golpe final supuestamente provino de una incursión hitita. En 1595 Babilonia fue saqueada y el "débil" rey Samsu-ditana fue derrotado. Mucha gente abandonó sus ciudades.

El subsiguiente vacío de poder lo llenaron líderes kasitas (de varios linajes aliados) que establecieron una dinastía en Babilonia. El comienzo de este nuevo período en la historia babilónica es incierto. En 1475 el rey Ulamburiash derrocó a una Dinastía del País Mar en la parte más austral y pantanosa de Babilonia, cuyos líderes estaban en el poder desde el siglo XVIII. Más tarde se autodenominaron "Reyes del País del Mar"[29]. Estos territorios australes fueron derrotados por gobernantes kasitas quienes, hacia el siglo XIV, controlaron toda Babilonia. Fueron considerados, en la correspondencia del Amarna, como uno de los miembros del "Club de los Grandes Poderes" junto con Asiria, Mitani, los hititas y Egipto[30].

Ciertos incidentes tuvieron lugar entre Babilonia y Asiria después del asesinato del rey kasita Karahardash en una rebelión. Assuruballit de Asiria, el constructor del Estado "Asirio Medio" (ver abajo) y abuelo del soberano fallecido, invadió Babilonia e instaló un rey títere en el trono de Babilonia (*ca*. 1332). Alrededor de un siglo después, otro monarca asirio, Tukulti-Ninurta I, invadió Babilonia y derrocó a Kashtiliashu IV (*ca*. 1225). Tukulti-Ninurta I (ver abajo) gobernó Babilonia brevemente por medio de reyes títeres, hasta que una revuelta en Asiria lo destituyó. Los kasitas intentaron regresar al poder, pero incursiones elamitas finalmente acabaron con la dinastía kasita en 1155.

[29] Dalley 2010.
[30] Liverani 2000.

Concejos asirios, nobles, economía: Estados descentralizados, los roles cambiantes de reyes en la Mesopotamia norte (ca. 2000–1200 a.C.)

Antes de que Shamshi-Adad (Samsi-Addu) fundara su "Reino de la Alta Mesopotamia", Asiria incluida, a principios del siglo XVIII, una dinastía nativa gobernó la ciudad de Assur y los territorios vecinos en la margen oriental del río Tigris durante cerca de 200 años. A excepción de unas pocas inscripciones edilicias recuperadas de un templo, casi toda la documentación de este período proviene de los archivos de mercaderes encontrados en la ciudad de Kanesh en Anatolia central (Turquía asiática). Sintetizamos los asuntos económicos de los mercaderes[31] pero en particular enfatizamos la naturaleza de la autoridad en Kanesh y Assur.

El sistema comercial paleoasirio (*ca.* 1920–1750) puede reconstruirse a partir de la recuperación de unos 23.000 documentos mercantiles escritos en tablillas de arcilla de unos 500 mercaderes asirios. La mayoría de los mercaderes asirios vivía en el Área Baja (Lower Town) de la ciudad de Kanesh (moderna Kültepe) junto con los "nativos" de Anatolia (pertenecientes a varios grupos etnolingüísticos). El *karum* de Kanesh no era en sí mismo el Área Baja, sino la asociación institucional de mercaderes asirios. El palacio del gobernante anatolio de Kanesh estaba ubicado en la ciudadela de Kanesh. Los mercaderes asirios estaban políticamente subordinados al príncipe anatolio a quien le pagaban impuestos.

Los mercaderes asirios movían toneladas de estaño y textiles de alto valor desde Assur a Kanesh. Vendían esos bienes en los mercados de Anatolia (a través de cerca de una docena de enclaves comerciales asirios menores) por plata y oro, que eran relativamente abundantes en Anatolia. Los textos asirios permiten elaborar un cuadro del emprendimiento basado en iniciativas privadas, del comportamiento basado en el riesgo y en la búsqueda de ganancia, de la libre flotación del capital, de los cheques al portador y otros rasgos "modernos" similares[32]. Esta imagen refuta completamente las nociones antes sostenidas[33] de comer-

[31] Ver Larsen 2015.
[32] Yoffee y Barjamovic 2018.
[33] Polanyi 1957; Finley 1973, y otros.

cio organizado por el Estado, precios fijos, y mercaderes que eran agentes estatales.

Hay sólo una única mención al "palacio" de Assur, la base de los mercaderes, quienes viajaban más de 1000 kms para llegar a Kanesh, establecían residencia allí y se casaban con mujeres de Anatolia (habiendo dejado a sus esposas asirias en Assur). Vivieron en Anatolia durante tres generaciones. El sistema comercial asirio estaba basado en comunidades de agentes privados que mantenían instituciones legales y financieras independientes de la sociedad en la que se establecían. En la propia Assur, que era mucho más pequeña en tamaño que Kanesh, el gobierno consistía en una oligarquía que estaba vinculada a la especialización comercial de la ciudad. Los gobernantes se autodenominaban "administradores" de la deidad estatal. Tanto en Assur como en Kanesh, había asambleas de "grandes y pequeños hombres" que decidían asuntos legales, especialmente entre los mercaderes que se peleaban por entregas de bienes y por sociedades a largo plazo que combinaban recursos financieros[34]. Los beneficios obtenidos con el comercio de larga distancia eran enormes, pero durante este período los comerciantes dependían de la naturaleza fragmentaria de la escena política. El surgimiento de Estados centralizados en los siglos XVII y XVIII a.C. efectivamente acabó con el comercio que dependía del movimiento de bienes, del pago de sobornos a los jefes locales a lo largo de las rutas y de los impuestos adeudados al palacio en Kanesh. Es importante notar que el comercio organizado de manera privada requería un nivel de intervención y apoyo estatal. El Estado, sin embargo, era en sí mismo una especie de gobierno colectivo en el que los mercaderes desempeñaban sus roles. El Estado facilitaba el transporte por medio de la construcción y el mantenimiento de caminos, puentes, puertos y posadas y a través de la negociación de tratados con potentados locales.

El tamaño pequeño de sistemas de gobierno como el de Assur significaba efectivamente que el mismo grupo de individuos compartía roles como agentes, financistas y legisladores. Todos los actores esta-

[34] Barjamovic 2011.

ban estrechamente vinculados en términos de parentesco, lo que significaba que el sistema podía estar fundado sobre la confianza mutua en lugar de la competencia. Toda la ciudad-Estado de Assur puede verse como una entidad corporativa en competencia externa con un número de unidades políticas organizadas de manera similar. Las instituciones gobernantes, cuyos miembros estaban en gran medida involucrados en el comercio, dejaban el manejo de los negocios en manos de emprendimientos privados, de firmas familiares.

No escapará al lector de las historias de la Mesopotamia que esta imagen del gobierno de la ciudad-Estado no es la que se lee en las historias económicas en las que los mercaderes se consideraban agentes estatales y las ciudades no eran centros de producción, exportación e importación. Ahora bien, es cierto que Assur durante el período Paleoasirio pudo no haber sido típica de otros Estados Mesopotámicos, como algunos han dicho. Sin embargo, los ejemplos sesgados de la documentación permiten un cierto escepticismo de aquellos escépticos. En la Asiria antigua las tablillas provienen en casi su totalidad de los archivos privados de los mercaderes. Sabemos poco sobre el funcionamiento del palacio o los templos en la ciudad de Assur. Compárese esta muestra con las tablillas del III milenio, que provienen abrumadoramente de los archivos de los templos y del palacio. En esas ciudades tenemos referencias ocasionales a las asambleas, a los concejos y a los mercaderes y tenemos claros hallazgos arqueológicos de bienes distantes. ¿Quiénes eran los mercaderes? ¿Cómo comerciaban? ¿Cuán importante era el comercio en las ciudades del III milenio? Los nuevos estudios están reuniendo evidencia dispar para las economías mixtas y están prescindiendo de ideas más viejas que obligaban a elegir entre el control público o privado del comercio.

Después del período Paleoasirio, desde *ca*. 1700 al 1356 a.C., hubo una consolidación de los Estados territoriales en la Mesopotamia y luego se produjo el colapso de esos Estados, lo que dio como resultado una proliferación de Estados más pequeños con cantidades variadas de autoridad real y tácticas militares. En 1356, Assur-uballit de Asiria (ver arriba) consolidó un nuevo Estado asirio (en el período lla-

mado “Asirio Medio”), repelió exitosamente a los poderes locales y emprendió aventuras en el sur de la Babilonia kasita. Tales hazañas de reyes exitosos culminaron durante el reinado de Tukulti-Ninurta (1233–1197). El rey, como lo representa un poema épico, decidió derrotar al monarca babilónico (kasita) quien, como él mismo afirma, violó las obligaciones del tratado. Los dioses, sostiene, apoyaron su campaña, saqueó Babilonia y se llevó la estatua de Marduk, el dios principal de Babilonia, a Asiria[35].

Tukulti-Ninurta, sin embargo, enfrentó la oposición local que consistía en los nobles de Assur y sus propios hijos. Su profanación de Babilonia fue considerada impía, como lo fue su comportamiento con los dioses de Babilonia. Además, Tukulti-Ninurta decidió llevar su gobierno a una nueva ciudad, 3 kilómetros al norte de Assur, construir un nuevo complejo palaciego, establecer un nuevo distrito religioso y construir un nuevo sistema de irrigación para sostener a la nueva capital. El comportamiento despiadado y cruel hacia Babilonia, una de las sedes tradicionales de la religión y la intelectualidad, era un severo pecado para la nobleza antigua (“los grandes hombres”), quienes también habían sido privados de ciertos derechos por parte de la nueva administración. Ellos asesinaron a Tukulti-Ninurta. Este no fue el primer asesinato real que se conoce en la historia de la Mesopotamia, ya que Rimush, el hijo de Sargón de Acad (y quizás también su hermano), fue asesinado en una intriga cortesana. Después de varios siglos de debilidad central en Asiria y también de colapso y descentralización de otros Estados en Mesopotamia y a través del Cercano Oriente, surgió un nuevo Estado asirio con reyes militaristas que intentaron controlar toda la región.

[35] Machinist 1976; 1978.

Lucha, resistencia y fragilidades en los Estados de la Mesopotamia temprana

Piotr Michalowski escribe que "tradicionalmente el estudio de la historia [mesopotámica] se ha focalizado en una sucesión de 'pueblos': sumerios, acadios, amorreos, kasitas, arameos"[36] y otros. En la primera parte del siglo XX, esos puntos de vista estaban cargados racialmente: los acadios semíticos degradaron la heroica cultura sumeria. Como mencionamos antes, otra interpretación, bastante determinista, era la de una progresión que iba de los Estados-templo (teocráticos) a los "Estados despóticos" controlados por una burocracia totalitaria del palacio real (en el período de Ur III, *ca*. 2100–2000 a.C.). El colapso del Estado de Ur III (*ca*. 2000 a.C.), en el que la monarquía militarista perdió el control de las regiones cercanas a la capital y de todas sus conquistas extranjeras, estuvo seguido (en las historias tradicionales) de una invasión del grupo étnico "amorreo" y de la instalación de varias dinastías lideradas por reyes con nombres amorreos. Según un documento paleobabilónico, la población de la época consistía en "acadios y amorreos". Michalowski, sin embargo, ha refutado las ideas de una amenaza amorrea a la casa real de Ur y de una invasión de amorreos nómades que superaron a las dinastías locales en las ciudades-Estado. Los amorreos, que en tiempos de Ur III eran guardias de la casa real y también funcionarios en varias ciudades, tomaron el poder en las ciudades por medio de una interacción de luchas tanto con las élites locales como con los líderes de linajes amorreos (identificados), de los que había muchos. Los amorreos ciertamente no eran una horda de extranjeros que se abalanzaron sobre la Mesopotamia.

La imagen de un cambio político en la Mesopotamia temprana es la de la resistencia al control de cualquier rey o ciudad-Estado. Aunque la *Lista Real Sumeria* pueda retratar el ideal de una ciudad gobernando sobre la Mesopotamia, los hechos sobre el terreno eran los de una rebelión armada en contra de cualquier gobernante que intentara establecer su hegemonía sobre las ciudades-Estado vecinas. Esto está

[36] Michalowski 2011: 84.

claro. En la arena doméstica de las ciudades, ciertas formas de lucha son evidentes, pero el cuadro completo es impreciso. Ninguno de los textos existentes provenientes de archivos documenta una revuelta social similar al levantamiento de los dioses "proletarios" primigenios de la épica de Atra-hasis. Pero la resistencia al poder en las acciones de las autoridades locales y en las élites locales (como hemos mencionado, y ver abajo) es clara.

En el período Paleobabilónico, hay una verdadera tormenta perfecta de resistencia al poder. Después del colapso del "imperio" de Hammurabi, que duró sólo los 5 últimos años de su reinado y los primeros años del de su sucesor, se puede reconstruir el siguiente escenario. Primero hubo una revuelta tradicional de las ciudades-Estado que Hammurabi había conquistado. En el octavo año de Samsu-iluna, hijo de Hammurabi, un rey llamado Rim-Sin (el segundo Rim-Sin) de Larsa envió tropas contra el rey de Babilonia. Un archivo de la ciudad de Uruk, que se ocupa de la casa de los prisioneros de guerra, muestra que las revueltas en contra de Samsu-iluna involucraban a los líderes locales de toda Babilonia que trataban de obtener la independencia del gobierno central.

Un posterior levantamiento estuvo liderado por una dinastía del "País del Mar", es decir, una dinastía que surgió en la zona pantanosa más austral de la región. Los gobernantes de esta dinastía fueron capaces de luchar una especie de guerra de guerrilla en contra del disminuido poder de los reyes en Babilonia. En la Mesopotamia central, no lejos de la anterior capital, Babilonia, grupos de kasitas armados establecieron campamentos en las zonas rurales. En Babilonia y en ciudades vecinas todavía bajo su control, los fondos de la corona, desde tributos a impuestos de los territorios conquistados, estaban fallando. Los trabajadores agrícolas de las propiedades reales no pudieron seguir siendo empleados permanentes, sino que fueron contratados como trabajadores temporales[37]. Sin embargo, el palacio requería el permiso del "jefe local" (o alcalde) para solicitar miembros de la comunidad para el tra-

[37] Yoffee 1977.

bajo[38]. Los templos urbanos en este período estaban, de manera similar, desesperados por fondos. Crearon una serie de préstamos en los que el "deudor" tomaba prestado dinero del templo y prometía devolver el préstamo con interés cuando fuera "remediado" por medio de la intercesión de los dioses. Por último, la casi indefensa casa real en Babilonia fue atacada por una fuerza expedicionaria de los hititas de Anatolia. El ejército hitita había lanzado una campaña en el norte de Siria, que era un corredor vital para las comunicaciones con el sur, el este y el oeste. Sin encontrar oposición, el ejército procedió a Babilonia, saqueó la ciudad y se llevó la estatua sagrada del dios tutelar de Babilonia, Marduk.

Mientras que algunos de los libros de texto sobre la historia de la Mesopotamia relatan que los hititas descendieron de manera sorpresiva[38], de hecho, no fue el caso de un Estado babilónico estable e integrado que fuera derrotado por una fuerza armada superior. Babilonia cayó por una variedad de factores: la resistencia de ciudades-Estado locales al Estado territorial creado por Hammurabi, varias "tribus" etnolingüísticas (como se describe a veces a los kasitas) que habían sido atraídas a Babilonia por su riqueza y por las posibilidades de servir como fuerza mercenaria a los gobernantes babilónicos y, en particular, la resistencia dentro de las ciudades-Estado por parte de autoridades comunales/localmente constituidas que actuaban en contra de los gobernantes de sus ciudades.

¿Cuán típico de la lucha y la resistencia para los objetivos de los gobernantes de otros períodos y lugares de la Mesopotamia era este escenario paleobabilónico? Sostenemos que, en tanto por supuesto había diferencias específicas en los medios y las tácticas de resistencia, la fragilidad inherente al gobierno en la Mesopotamia temprana hizo que los patrones de comportamiento paleobabilónicos distaran de ser anómalos. La estabilidad es una especie de ficción histórica, como lo es el poder indiscutible de los reyes mesopotámicos más fuertes. Aunque los reyes ciertamente eran tiranos poderosos y brutales que

[38] Stol 1976.
[39] Postgate 1977: 100; Oates 1979: 84.

construían palacios enormes y proveían a los templos y lideraban fuerzas expedicionarias imponentes, la ironía de tal poder es que condujo a una resistencia sistemática y exitosa.

La incidencia de la guerra que hemos descripto en la Mesopotamia (en el período Dinástico Temprano, a principios del tercer milenio, y en el período Paleobabilónico, a comienzos y a mediados del segundo milenio) era en sí misma un componente crítico de la fragilidad de los sistemas políticos tanto a nivel territorial como local (urbano). La necesidad de enlistar soldados, principalmente como trabajadores de corvea[40] y para la construcción de palacios, templos y murallas, de manera más o menos regular, era un problema para el mantenimiento de actividades agrícolas y de irrigación. No sabemos mucho sobre cómo se requisaban los soldados. Hay documentos sobre la contratación de "sustitutos", ya que los hombres ricos podían pagar para que otros trabajaran y pelearan por ellos. Sabemos poco acerca de cómo se alimentaba a esos soldados[41].

En períodos posteriores (a fines del segundo y en el primer milenio a.C.), a los que no hemos incluido en este ensayo, el ejército asirio derrotó territorios que no pagaban tributo y deportó a decenas de miles de personas al corazón de Asiria[42]. Estos deportados trabajaban en los latifundios de los nobles asirios (a menudo generales del ejército) y en las nuevas capitales como constructores y artesanos.

La enorme cantidad de acciones militares en la Mesopotamia, donde rara vez estaba ausente la guerra, desestabilizaba Estados y les daba poder a quienes estaban en áreas rurales para que tomaran el poder en las ciudades mesopotámicas frágiles.

[40] Steinkeller y Hudson 2015.
[41] Landsberger 1955; Wilcke 1983.
[42] Oded 1979; Wunsch 2013.

Coda

En este ensayo argumentamos que las primeras ciudades y los primeros Estados mesopotámicos eran inherentemente "frágiles". Estaban constituidos por varios grupos sociales y económicos en las ciudades que tenían sus propias estructuras de liderazgo y las ciudades estaban encastradas en áreas rurales en las que las aldeas y el territorio estaban caracterizados por agricultores y pastores. Tanto en las ciudades como en el campo, había miembros de distintos grupos etno-lingüísticos (tales como los amorreos y los kasitas, es decir, gente cuyas lenguas ancestrales no eran el sumerio o el acadio) que interactuaban entre sí en la complejidad de las relaciones de parentesco e interactuaban con otros residentes de las ciudades. Las ciudades originalmente se formaron (en la última parte del IV milenio a.C.) a medida que la gente de las áreas rurales migraba a lo que se transformaría en ciudades. El campo se despobló en este proceso que duró casi un milenio, luego se repobló a medida que se establecieron nuevas aldeas, algunas en relación con las nuevas ciudades, otras como comunidades autosuficientes habitadas por refugiados urbanos. La fragilidad tiene una lógica evolutiva.

Este cuadro de sociedades mesopotámicas estratificadas y diferenciadas difiere del fetiche del despotismo oriental (al que un arqueólogo clásico llama "occidentalismo"). Hemos discutido la historia de la demolición de este fetiche en la primera parte de nuestro ensayo.

También hemos discutido ciertos patrones de resistencia en la Mesopotamia en su conjunto y en las ciudades-Estado en particular. La más visible es la resistencia al control hegemónico de las ciudades-Estado. La formación del primer Estado territorial en la Mesopotamia por parte de Sargón de Acad fue rápidamente seguida de rebeliones armadas en contra de los gobernantes. Al final del período de Ur III, las ciudades—una después de otra—dejaron de pagar tributo al último rey de la efímera dinastía, creando una crisis económica en la capital y dejando a Ur vulnerable con sus enemigos locales y extranjeros.

En el período siguiente, el Paleobabilónico, hemos notado una variedad de resistencias al poder, incluidas en las mismas ciudades, las

que estaban conducidas por líderes comunales. Por cierto, en el anterior y altamente centralizado Estado territorial en época de Ur III hemos advertido que los líderes comunales tomaban las decisiones legales, aunque los registros oficiales fueran parte del sistema archivístico del Estado. En el período Paleobabilónico, el famoso "Código de Hammurabi" no se usaba en el sistema judicial que sostenían los jueces locales, los ancianos y las asambleas.

En este ensayo, no nos hemos detenido en varios mantos textuales que han velado las fragilidades de las sociedades mesopotámicas. Hemos notado la dependencia académica—principal pero no únicamente en las generaciones previas—de las inscripciones reales que simplemente glorificaban los logros de los reyes. Esto ha llevado a la versión "fichas con notas" de la historia: los reyes exitosos conquistaban muchos lugares debido a sus habilidades personales; los reyes sin éxito eran inseguros y perdían los territorios que sus predecesores más capaces habían acumulado.

Por último, admitimos que no hemos escrito acerca de las continuidades en la cultura mesopotámica que hicieron posible la "regeneración" de los sistemas políticos mesopotámicos de gobierno dinástico y de ambiciones de crear un Estado territorial, una Mesopotamia en el sentido político de la palabra. Las dinastías de reyes amorreos y kasitas, cuyas lenguas conocemos sólo por los nombres personales, no hicieron que sus escribas escribieran en sus propias lenguas. Más bien, esos gobernantes intentaron volverse mesopotámicos. Bajo su gobierno (y luego, más tarde en la historia mesopotámica del I milenio a.C., que no hemos considerado aquí), los escribas copiaban textos sumerios y acadios que se utilizaban en las escuelas de toda la región, y adoraban a dioses mesopotámicos. Entre otras cosas, estos textos literarios y escolares promovieron el cuadro normativo de que los reyes eran gobernantes absolutos de ciudades estables e integradas, favorecidos por los dioses e instruidos para conquistar a sus vecinos.

Como lo hemos explicado en este ensayo, ese era un sueño imposible.

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Visual Code in the Nahal Mishmar Hoard: The Earliest Case of Proto-writing?

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Summary: Visual Code in the Nahal Mishmar Hoard: The Earliest Case of Proto-writing?

Visual codes including three types of signs (logograms, phonograms and determinatives) are the earliest stage in the development of writing. Until recently, the oldest known visual code identified so far, the early precursor of the hieroglyphs, has been discovered in pre-Dynastic Egyptian context (Tomb U-j, near Abydos, 3320 BCE). An examination of artifacts from the Nahal Mishmar copper hoard (end fifth millennium BCE) suggests the development of a visual code that employs these three types of signs in Southern Levant, many centuries before its earliest expression in Egypt and in Mesopotamia. This visual code is tridimensional, and its encoded messages focus on metallurgical processes and their cultural significance. The implications for our understanding of the Ghassulian culture and the development of writing in the Ancient Near East are discussed.

Keywords: Visual Code – Ghassulian Culture – Nahal Mishmar Hoard – Proto-Writing – Rebus Principle – Proto-Semitic – Cultural Metallurgy.

Resumen: Código visual en el Tesoro de Nahal Mishmar: ¿El caso más antiguo de proto-escritura?

Los códigos visuales que contienen tres tipos de signos (logogramas, fonogramas y determinativos) son los estadios más tempranos en el desarrollo de la escritura. Hace poco, el código visual más antiguo conocido e identificado hasta la fecha, el precursor temprano de los jeroglíficos, ha sido descubierto en el contexto egipcio pre-dinástico (Tumba U-j, cerca de Abidos, 3320 a.C.). Un examen de los artefactos del tesoro de cobre de Nahal Mishmar (finales del quinto milenio a.C.) sugiere el desarrollo de un

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código visual que emplea estos tres tipos de signos en el sur del Levante, varios siglos antes de las primeras expresiones en Egipto y Mesopotamia. Este código visual es tridimensional, y sus mensajes codificados se focalizan en procesos metalúrgicos y su significado cultural. Se discuten aquí sus implicancias para nuestra comprensión de la cultura Gassuliense y el desarrollo de la escritura en el Cercano Oriente antiguo.

Palabras clave: Código visual – Cultura Gassuliense – Tesoro de Nahal Mishmar – Proto-Escritura – Principio rebús – Proto-semítica – Metalurgia cultural.

Introduction

That writing has been widespread for such a long time should not be taken as evidence that its emergence was a commonplace event. In fact, in the whole of known human history there are only four homelands where writing is considered as being elaborated independently of any pre-existing system: southern Mesopotamia and southern Egypt (both at the end of the fourth millennium BCE), China (end of the second millennium BCE) and Mesoamerica (mid-first millennium BCE).[1] The fact that writing emerged so rarely, while figurative representations and symbolism are extensively attested in human cultures from the Paleolithic period,[2] indicates that the essential principle of writing—a mode of communication that combines figurative symbols with representations of phonemes (spoken sounds) integrated into a single code—is far from self-evident.[3]

The principle guiding this singularity is the rebus, in which a reality that is difficult to symbolize is represented by another one which is easier to represent and pronounced quite similarly. Privileging the sound over the concept, the rebus principle is attested from the earliest stages in the emergence of writing both in Mesopotamia,[4] Egypt,[5] China[6] and

[1] Justeson 1986: 440; Woods 2010a; Stauder 2010: 142; Boltz 2000: 1–2.

[2] Grosos 2017: 91–126.

[3] C. Woods (2010a: 18) assumes that "the bond to the spoken word is prerequisite to any definition of writing."

[4] Woods 2010b: 43.

[5] See Kahl 2001: 104. A. Stauder (2010: 141) concluded: "It is precisely on the basis of such ad hoc explorations of the rebus principle, phoneticism, and semantic complementation that the later writing would develop, extending and systematizing their potential."

[6] For W. G. Boltz (2000: 7): "Chinese writing elsewhere, could not get along with just characters

Mesoamerica.[7] Regarding this, C. Woods[8] concluded: "The rebus principle is integral to writing, as it allows the writing of those elements of language that do not lend themselves easily to graphic representation."

Both in Mesopotamia and ancient Egypt, the previously existing repertoire of symbols and figurations is exploited in the earliest forms of writing.[9] However, writing cannot be approached in either case as a spontaneous evolution of representative symbols (seals, tokens, clay envelopes and other modes of registration of goods) that were already used from the 8th millennium BCE to transmit information.[10] The reason is the emergence, in addition to the "classical" symbolic figuration of specific realities (logograms) already attested before, of two new categories of signs: the phonograms (= symbols representing specific sounds); and the determinatives (= symbols used in classifying words) which confer a specific meaning to the signs from the two other categories (logograms and phonograms). These new signs, especially the phonograms, were generated through the rebus principle, in which "the existence of homonyms in the language is exploited in that the sound of one word, most often one with a referent that can be easily drawn, is used to write another word that is pronounced identically or similarly."[11]

If coherent writing systems truly emerged in Egypt and in Mesopotamia during the phase of centralization of political power,[12] this process was apparently preceded by an earlier phase in which the use of the rebus principle was explored without practical applications.[13] In

originating in pictographs, and soon resorted to both rebus and polyphonic use of characters."

[7] J. S. Justeson (1986: 453) assumes that, in development of writing in Mesoamerica, "rebus representation became a basis for generating simple phonetic sign values, sometime prior logograms and sometime via depictive signs that had not previously been in use."

[8] Woods 2010a: 20

[9] Woods 2010a: 19; Stauder 2010: 137; Fales and Del Fabbro 2017: 52–54. E. V. MacArthur (2010: 117) concluded: "Despite the fact that some of the signs that occur were later incorporated into the hieroglyphic system, there is no clear evolutionary relationship between certain pot marks and later, corresponding hieroglyphic signs."

[10] Mattessich 1987; Jasim and Oates 1986: 349; Topçuoğlu 2010: 29.

[11] Woods 2010a: 10.

[12] Woods 2010b; MacArthur 2010.

[13] Concerning the emergence of proto-Cuneiform, F. M. Fales and R. Del Fabbro (2017: 52)

Ancient Egypt, the earliest expressions of proto-writing were identified two centuries before the elaboration of a complete repertoire of hieroglyphs, which took place during the reign of the king Den. About 200 tags (mostly made of bone) bearing sequences of signs in various combinations, were discovered in the funerary complex of Umm el-Qa'ab, near Abydos (Tomb U-j, dated to 3320 BCE), together with ink-inscribed vessels, seals and ceramics.[14] Despite the relative simplicity of these signs, their analysis suggests that all the components of writing (logograms, phonograms and determinatives) were already present, thus transforming them into the earliest form of proto-writing identified so far.[15]

The limited number of signs and conventions found in tomb U-j's tags suggests that the people who inscribed them did not intend to reproduce language or to express a spoken reality accurately. Rather, these inscriptions should be approached as a visual code in which symbols and their phonetic expression are blended in various ways to denote things not easily represented by symbols alone, such as proper names, toponyms, specific processes and concepts.

Since visual codes are usually approached as precursors to the development of writing, they are systematically researched in inscriptions made on rock, ceramics, and other plane surfaces. However, when one approaches visual codes as self-sufficient, coherent realities, rather than archaic stages in the development of writing, these preconceptions fall away from the investigation thereby introducing the possibility that unique artifacts combining a series of signs in a specific fashion might also express a tridimensional visual code. This consideration is especially interesting given that the spatiality of an artifact provides the opportunity for protuberances to be combined in more ways than a schematic inscription on a surface will allow.

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assume that "writing was not a constituent factor of the complex bureaucracy of archaic Mesopotamia, rather—at most—one of its developments, as formalization of a series of systems for symbolic notation that were already in place and used for various purposes, from play to ritual and business."

[14] Dreyer 1998.

[15] Kahl 2001; Stauder 2010; MacArthur 2010.

The purpose of this paper is to show that a 3-D visual code including all the characteristics of writing (logograms, phonograms and determinatives) may be identified in the copper artifacts from Nahal Mishmar (southern Levant), about a millennium before the earliest expressions of a 2-D visual code in ancient Egypt and ancient Mesopotamia.

Preliminary Considerations

The Nahal Mishmar Hoard

A hoard of 426 metallic artifacts was discovered in 1961 in a cave from Nahal Mishmar (Southern Levant), wrapped together in a reed mat with ivory and stone artifacts.[16] This finding has stimulated great interest and curiosity, given the outstanding artistic value of the metallic artifacts, the diversity of shapes and uniqueness of many of them (**Fig. 1**). Most of these items (especially the non-utilitarian ones) were produced by means of the lost-wax technique, a process of high technical complexity.[17]

Fig. 1.
Miscellaneous artifacts from the Nahal Mishmar Hoard.

[16] Bar Adon 1980.
[17] Levy and Shalev 1989.

The hoard was initially dated to the first half of the fourth millennium BCE,[18] but subsequent analyses have revealed that it probably belongs to the second half of the fifth millennium BCE (*ca.* 4300 BCE).[19] The origin of the clay employed for the inner ceramic mold denotes a local production.[20] This premise is supported by the finding of similar items in the Ghassulian culture[21] and the metallurgical activity identified in the Beer Sheba valley at the end of the fifth millennium BCE.[22]

The nature, significance, and function of most of the items remain obscure.[23] They were interpreted as prestige artifacts possessed or exchanged as gifts by elite people among the Ghassulian society.[24] Alternately, they were approached as ritual artifacts involved in cults of fertility, life cycle, and wealth, and even as representations of the divine beings who personified them.[25]

The Nature of the Ghassulian Dialects

Investigating the existence of a visual code in the Nahal Mishmar hoard implies first of all that the language spoken by this people may be iden-

[18] *E.g.*, Moorey 1988: 172–174; Tadmor 1989: 250–251; Merhav 1993: 21.

[19] Aardsma 2001; Rowan and Golden 2009: 12–14; Gilead and Gošić 2014: 233–235. F. Klimscha (2017: 110, 113) dates the hoard to the 44th century BCE. Some scholars contest such estimation. For example, A. N. Shugar and C. J. Gohm (2011: 138) assume that "it would be very difficult to push the date of the hoard's deposition earlier than the first quarter of the 4th millennium BCE."

[20] Goren 2008.

[21] Similar items were found in many Chalcolithic sites from Southern Levant (Abu Matar, Bir es Safadi, Givat Ha-Oranim and others). See Levy and Shalev 1989: 355–357; Rowan and Golden 2009: 45. Especially interesting is the finding of similar implements in a foundation deposit of a large building from the Ghassulian site of Shiqmim (Levy *et al*. 1991: 34–35) and in a burial context in Peqi'in (Gal *et al*. 1997: 151).

[22] Shugar 2000; Gilead and Gošić 2014: 226.

[23] As noticed by D. Ilan and Y. M. Rowan (2012: 94), "Most researchers view the treasure as a ritual deposit, though none have attempted a comprehensive reconstruction of the assemblage's symbolic meanings or of the ritual actions that might be involved."

[24] *E.g.* Moorey 1988. Levy 1995: 241. The absence of artifacts similar to those from Nahal Mishmar in other cultures from the second half of the fifth millennium BCE indicates that the copper items from Nahal Mishmar were not produced for trade to distant destinations as "prestige" artifacts.

[25] Elliott 1977; Merhav 1993; de Miroschedji 1993: 216; Ilan and Rowan 2012: 103.

tified, at least approximately. Since only Semitic languages are known in this area, scholars assume that the dialects spoken in the southern Levant during the fifth millennium BCE belong to this family.[26] Others argue that Semitic speakers entered southwest Asia from north Africa during the late fifth or the early fourth millennium, and reached Mesopotamia by the late fourth millennium BCE.[27] Both premises authorize to hypothesize that the people who produced the Nahal Mishmar implements spoke a Semitic language.

The idea that Semitic languages were introduced in Canaan only from the Early Bronze Age (that is, after the collapse of the Ghassulian culture) is also defended today.[28] If so, it remains impossible to examine the hypothetical existence of a 3-D visual code in the Nahal Mishmar implements, because this Ghassulian language, of supposed non-Semitic nature, has left no traces. Few elements invite however to conclude that Semitic languages were probably spoken in Southern Levant long before the Early Bronze Age.

- The lack of common appellation of copper in the Semitic languages[29] suggests that these latter diverged before the age of domestication of metals, that is, before the fifth millennium BCE.
- In light of the outstanding achievements of the Ghassulian metallurgy,[30] the technical lexicon elaborated by this people is expected to survive, at least partly, the collapse of their culture. For this reason, the all-Semitic nature of the metallurgical lexicon in use in Southern Levant during the subsequent periods supports the assumption that the Ghassulians spoke Semitic dialects.

[26] Stieglitz 1993: 264–265; Diakonoff 1998; Dolgopolsky 1999: 2–12; Militarev 2000.
[27] Pat-El and Huehnergard, forthcoming.
[28] Vardi and Gilead 2013; Zohar 1992. This latter opinion is supported by phylogenetic analyses suggesting a differentiation of Semitic languages only from the fourth millennium BCE. See Kitchen *et al*. 2009.
[29] Diakonoff 1998: 213.
[30] Y. M. Rowan and J. M. Golden (2009: 41) claim that: "Though copper first appears during the Neolithic elsewhere in the ancient Near East (Iran and Anatolia), by the Chalcolithic the metallurgical techniques of the southern Levant are on a par with, if not surpassing, those of other contemporary peoples."

- The Southern Levant is not only one of the most ancient homelands of copper metallurgy in the ancient World, but also the hearth of emergence and development of furnace metallurgy from where it diffused at the end of the fifth millennium BCE.[31] Traces of the earliest stages of development of this process in Southern Levant are identifiable in the differentiation of the qayin superfamily of Semitic roots.[32] Again, this feature supports the assumption that the Ghassulians spoke Semitic dialects.
- The smooth transition between the Neolithic and Chalcolithic cultures in Southern Levant[33] suggests that the dialects spoken by the Ghassulians are in continuity with those previously in use during the Neolithic period. The Semitic nature of these latter is suggested by examination of the vocabulary of wild flora and fauna, agriculture and breeding common to Semitic languages. The data support the idea that the earliest Semitic languages differentiated in close association with the gradual emergence of agriculture and breeding in the Levant.[34]
- The transition between Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age was less abrupt in Southern Levant than previously assumed.[35] For this reason, the dialects spoken by the Ghassulian are expected to influence those replacing them. But substantial non-Semitic influence on the Canaanite family of languages is not attested, a feature

[31] Amzallag 2009.
[32] Amzallag and Yona 2017.
[33] Tangri *et al.* 1994. Such continuity between the Neolithic and Chalcolithic populations is also observed in Northern Levant. See Haber *et al*. 2017.
[34] Diakonoff 1998: 217–219; Militarev 2002: 136; Diamond and Bellwood 2003: 601. Even the proto-Afrasian, the stem from which differentiated proto-Semitic (together with the Cushitic, Omotic, Egyptian and Chadic-Berber languages) is now considered by scholars as originating from the Levant, its diffusion following the earliest wave of diffusion of proto-agriculture, in the 9th millennium BCE. See Militarev (2009: 95–96; 2002: 135–136). This premise is also supported by evidences towards a gradual differentiation of proto-Semitic 3-C roots in close relation with the transition from hunter-gatherer to agriculture way of life. See Diakonoff (1998: 218); Agmon (2010); Agmon and Bloch (2013). These findings cohere with recent data revealing a genetic continuity between populations of hunter gatherers and earliest farmers in the Levant. See Lazaridis *et al*. 2016.
[35] Davidovich 2013; Golani 2013; Van den Brink 2013; Roux *et al*. 2013: 64; Klimscha 2017: 109.

pleading towards continuity between the Ghassulian dialects and the Semitic languages spoken from the Early Bronze Age.

- A recent analysis of human DNA from the burial cave of Peqi'in (Northern Galilee, second half of fifth millennium BCE) has revealed the coming of new population in Southern Levant at the Chalcolithic period. However, the data also support the assumption of global population continuity between the Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods.[36] Also the genetic closeness between the Ghassulians buried at Peqi'in and people buried at Sidon during the Bronze Age,[37] together with their geographical proximity, fit the premise of ethnic continuity between Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age rather than the assumption of sudden disappearance of the Ghassulians and their replacement by a new population of Semitic-speaker migrants.[38]

These observations authorize the assumption that Ghassulians dialects belonged to the Semitic family of languages as working hypothesis for the present investigation. If the Neolithic peoples were proto-Semitic speakers, the dialects spoken by the Ghassulians should therefore be considered as forms of proto-West Semitic and even of proto-Canaanite languages.

[36] From their analysis of human DNA from the Peqi'n burial cave, E. Harney *et al*. (2018: 4) deduced that: "the Levant Chl [Chalcolithic] population is descended from a population related to Levant N [Neolithic], but also harbors ancestry from non-Levantine populations related to those of Iran or the Caucasus that Levant N does not share (or at least share to the same extent)." Such admixture may reflect contacts between populations inherent to the prospection, mining and transportation to Southern Levant of rare ores rich in arsenic and antimony originating from Anatolia, northern Euphrates and southern Caucasus (see Shugar 2018) and to the diffusion, in return, of techniques of metallurgy from Southern Levant to these areas and to southern Iran from the early fourth millennium BC (see Amzallag 2009: 504–506 and Fig. 2). This double flux may explain the parallel sudden closeness to South Levantine genetic pool of populations from the Iranian plateau, at the Chalcolithic period, evidenced by Harney *et al*. (2018, Fig. 3).

[37] Harney *et al*. 2018: 6.

[38] This conclusion is confirmed by current estimations concerning the genetic distance between Neolithic and Bronze Age human DNA from the Levant. See Lazaridis *et al.* 2016, Fig. 4. The results aim for global continuity of the populations, with a noticeable influence from Anatolia and Iran observed after the Neolithic period. Such ethnic continuity includes necessarily the populations belonging to the Ghassulian culture.

The Motif of Twined Ungulates

In Nahal Mishmar, the recurrence of specific shapes, and the similarity of figurative elements suggest that most, if not all of the implements belong to the same culture and express the same repertoire of signs, symbols and significances.[39] The first step in examining their use as a visual code is the identification of elements with a function other than decorative or purely symbolic. The motif of the twin ungulates, identified on the three main types of artifacts from Nahal Mishmar (mace heads, scepters and crowns) is one of them.

- *The copper mace head with Siamese ibexes*: The Nahal Mishmar hoard comprises a highly decorated mace head (**Fig. 2**) usually regarded as a prestige artifact.[40] One of its mostly singular features is the representation of a chimerical animal on its top, an ibex with a single body and two heads (= Siamese).
- *The scepter with twin ibexes*: Branching off from one of the standards from Nahal Mishmar are two pairs of ibex heads: a first pair is positioned on the upper ring, and a second pair, below it, emanates from the tubular body (see **Fig. 3A**).[41] A detailed view reveals that the upper ring constitutes a "common neck" for the two ibexes (**Fig. 3B**). This suggests homology between this upper pair of ibex's heads and the Siamese ibexes from the ornamented mace head from **Fig. 2**.
- *The four-headed scepter*: A scepter from Nahal Mishmar is characterized by four animals of similar size and shape, symmetrically positioned on its top (see **Fig. 4A**). The animals are not easy to identify, but the horn-like upper protuberances on their head suggest that they are ungulates with relatively small nose, a typical characteristic of juvenile stage in mammals **(Fig. 4B)**. The two

[39] This premise is valid even if we consider the hoard simply as a collection of individual gifts, of implements stocked for trade (as suggested by Moorey 1988: 182; Gates 1992: 132 and Tadmor 1989: 252) and even as a depot of ritual implements that had fallen into desuetude for whatever reason (Garfinkel 1994).

[40] Bar Adon 1980: 100–101; Beck 1989: 42; Merhav 1993: 24.

[41] Bar Adon 1980: 106–109.

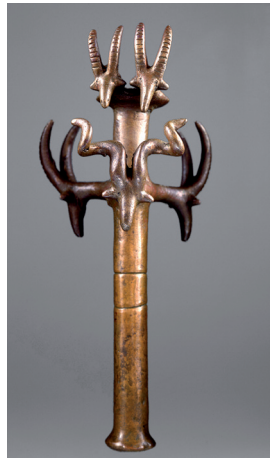
protuberances below the head have been interpreted as a split barb,[42] so that the element between the head of the animals and the top of the scepter becomes a neck. However, this "neck" is so disproportionate in regard to the size of animal's head that it looks rather like the representation of a thorax. By extension, the lower protuberances (the so-called "split barb") figurate the anterior legs of the animal. According to this interpretation, the terminal part of the four animals (including their posterior legs) is missing, transforming this tetrad in two pairs of Siamese individuals. A parallel emerges, therefore, between these bonded "half-animals" and the Siamese ibexes represented on the ornamented mace head (**Fig. 2**).

- *The crown with twin horned heads*: Two similar horned heads are positioned on a circular artifact from Nahal Mishmar defined as a "crown" (**Fig. 5A**).[43] Their most noticeable characteristic is the small size of their horns and their reduced facial protuberance (**Fig. 5B**), both elements indicating the juvenile character of the head of these ungulates. The two heads are not symmetrically

Fig. 2.
Mace head with Siamese ibexes. Israel Museum, item 61-11 (335 g).

[42] Bar Adon 1980: 111.
[43] Bar Adon 1980: 32–33.

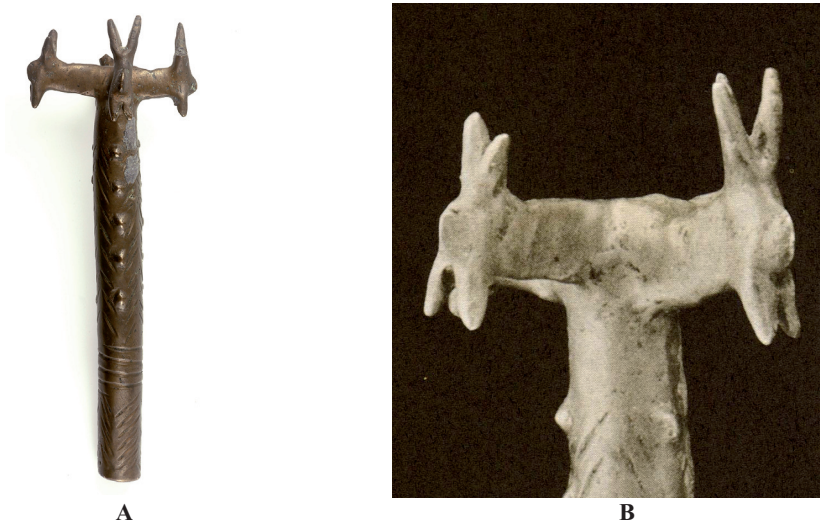
positioned on the upper circle, but adjacent like the two ibexes from the upper ring in the **Fig. 3** standard. The intersection between the base of the head and the width of the upper rim (**Fig. 5B**) invites us to consider the cylinder as their common neck/body. Here again, it transforms this item into a figuration of Siamese animals.



A

B

Fig. 3.
Scepter with ibex heads. A. General view. B: Detail of the upper elements. Israel Museum, item 61–88 (27.5 cm length, 1014 grams).
A: © Copyright Israel Antiquities Authority; B: Author photo.



A B

Fig. 4.
Four-headed scepter from Nahal Mishmar. A: *whole artifact*, B: *detail of the upper part*.
Israel Museum, item 61-86 (18.2 cm length, 249 grams).
A: © Copyright Israel Antiquities Authority;
B: from Bar Adon (1980), with permission of the Israel Exploration Society.

A B

Fig. 5.
Crown with two horned heads on the upper rim. A: *The whole cylinder*; B: *Detail of the two horned heads*. Israel Museum, item 61–175 (17.3 cm diameter, 1285 grams).
A: © Copyright Israel Antiquities Authority;
B: from Bar Adon (1980), with permission of the Israel Exploration Society.

The animal pairs identified on the four items examined here (**Figs. 2**–**5**) display similar characteristics:

- All are representations of young ungulates. This juvenile trait clearly appears on the heads represented on the four-headed scepter (**Fig. 4**) and on the crown (**Fig. 5**). The shape of the horns of the ibexes represented on the mace head (**Fig. 2**) and scepter (**Fig 3**) also fits the representation of juvenile animals.
- The young ungulates are not simply paired. This clearly appears in the mace head and the four-headed scepter (**Figs. 2**, **4**). An examination of the connections of the head with the upper ring, in both the crown and the scepter (**Figs. 3**, **5**) yields a similar conclusion. In all these instances, the animals are blended through their body.
- The twined young ungulates are positioned on the top of the item: upon the mace head, on the top of the standard, on its upper ring and on the upper ring of the crown.

These common features, together with the lack of naturalism in the representation of Siamese animals, suggest that the "mixed pair of young ungulates" is a defined motif with a specific meaning that remains to be identified.

The Mace Head with Siamese Ibexes

The ornamented mace head (**Fig. 2**) is composed of three interrelated elements: (i) the twin ibexes; (ii) a globular mass (similar in size and shape to the mace heads from Nahal Mishmar) on which the twin ibexes are set up; (iii) two flattened protuberances symmetrically attached to the smooth globular mass, in the same plane as the twin ibexes: one ending like a chisel, and the other shaped like a knife. The high level of symmetry of this implement is disturbed only by the small differences in shape between the tool-like appendices emanating from the globular mass. This effectively focuses the attention to this asymmetry and its significance.

Copper skeuomorphs of stone tools exist among the Nahal Mishmar's hoard (see **Fig. 6**). However, unlike them, the shape of the blades represented in **Figs. 2** and **7** is so distinct from that of lithic tools that they may be approached as original copper implements. Their representation refers therefore to a new reality: the production, made possible by metallurgy, of a new family of items previously unknown, such as those from Nahal Mishmar (**Fig. 7**).

A **Fig. 6.** **B**

Copper skeuomorphs of stone tools from Nahal Mishmar.
A. *Imitation of stone axe with leather ropes*; B: *Imitation of stone hammer*. Israel Museum, A: item 61–134 (10.4 cm, 248 g); B: item 61–150 (13 cm length, 836 g). Author photo.

A **B** **C**

Fig. 7.

Original metallic tools from the Nahal Mishmar hoard. A: *small chisel*; B: *long chisel*; C: *copper axe*. Israel Museum. A: item 61-141 (8.5 cm length, 244 g); B: item 61–145 (25.3 cm length, 325 g); C: item 61–123 (8 cm axe length, 240 g). A and B: From Bar Adon (1980) with permission of the Israel Exploration Society. C: author photo.

Fig. 8.
Standard with four chisel-like incurved elements. Israel Museum, item 61–87 (22.5 cm length, 476 grams). © Copyright Israel Antiquities Authority.

The chisels and the blade of copper axes from Nahal Mishmar (see **Fig. 7** for example) have a straight body which confers maximal efficiency to the tool, and especially to its terminal part. But this is not the case for the two tool-like elements represented in **Fig. 2**, a feature suggesting that the knife and chisel on this implement are not represented in their mature, functional status. Rather, their curvature gives an impression of fluency and softness typically associated with hot metal. The abnormal shape of the two tool-like elements and that they sprout from the globular mass suggests their production by casting (or even hammering?) from a bulk of raw copper.

The same representation of "immature tools" characterizes another implement from Nahal Mishmar, a scepter with four chisel-like protuberances (**Fig. 8**). Exactly as in the mace head from **Fig. 2**, the abnormal curvature of these four tool-like elements makes them inappropriate for any functional use. Here again, this peculiar shape, through its fluidity and softness, suggests the process of fabricating the tool, and more specifically its casting. And exactly as in the mace head from **Fig. 2**, the four chisel-like protuberances seem to sprout out from the globular mass positioned on the scepter.

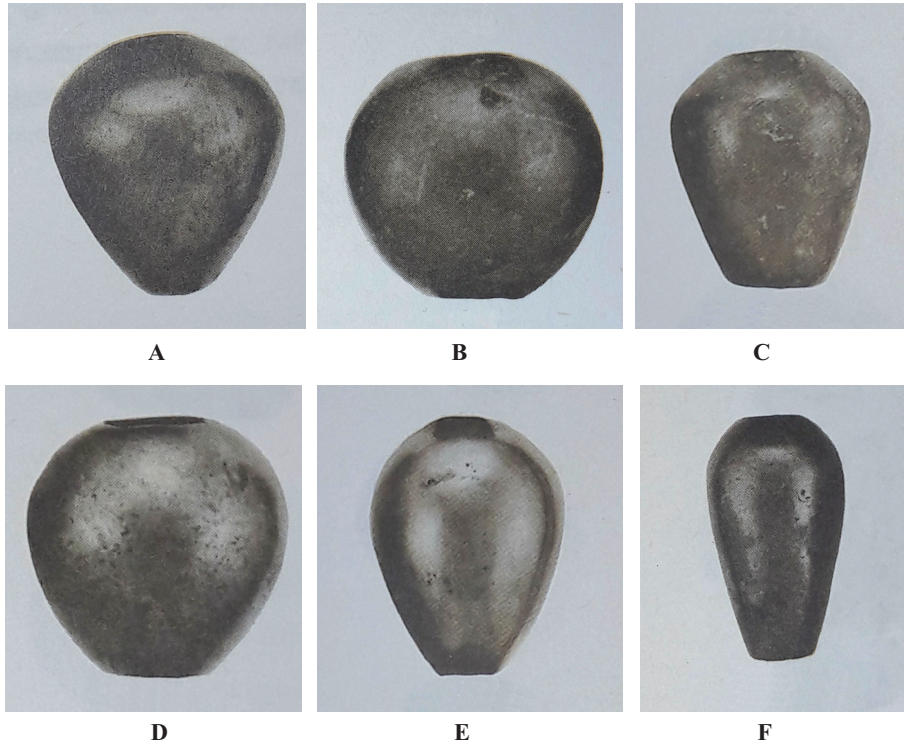


Fig. 9.
Diversity in shape of copper mace heads from Nahal Mishmar. Israel Museum. Items 61–358 (A), 61–203 (B), 61–297 (C), 61-344 (D), 61–284 (E), 61–391 (F). The variance among the masses is 4.3–5.5 cm in height; 3.1–5.5 cm in diameter, and 158–319 g in weight. From Bar-Adon (1980), with permission of the Israel Exploration Society.

Here again, the globular mass from which the tool-like elements sprout, both on the mace head and on the scepter, evokes the bulk of raw copper used to produce these implements.[44] Consequently, if the items are produced by casting, the maces become endowed of a significance beyond their primary identification as weapon: they become the symbol of raw copper molten in a crucible. Such superposition of

[44] Such metallurgical symbolism of the mace head is even reinforced by their ovoid shape—which reflects the inner shape and size of crucibles—as well as by their weight range—between 110 grams (item 61–256) to 619 grams (item 61–273)—corresponding to weight range of almost all the metallic implements from Nahal Mishmar. The main exception being the "crowns" (items 61–170 to 61–179), with a weigh range of 928–1971 g.

meanings is supported by the variations in shape, size and weight of this type of artifact (see **Fig. 9**), rendering improbable that some of them were designed to serve as weapons.

In light of these considerations, we expect the twin ibexes, by their upper positioning, to symbolize something that precedes the production of raw copper (= mace head) used for the casting of metallic items (= tool-like protuberances). This leads us to test whether the Siamese ibexes refer to the production of the raw metal (= mace head). Since native copper was absent in southern Levant, the metal produced locally had necessarily to originate from the smelting of copper ore in a furnace.

No obvious link exists between ibexes and metallurgy, except the fact that these animals are frequently encountered in the mountains surrounding the copper-mining areas of the Arabah Valley.[45] However, phonetic similarities exist between the West-Semitic designation of juvenile ungulates (*ǵpr*)[46] and the designation of dust (*ʿpr*),[47] in light of relative closeness between the pronunciation of *ǵhayin* (/ǧ/, voiced uvular fricative) and *ʿayin* (/ʿ/, voiced pharyngeal fricative).[48] Also, it seems that metallic ores were designated as *ʿpr* in Semitic languages spoken in the Southern Levant during the Bronze Age, this appellation probably expressing the need to crush the ores into fine dust before smelting them in a furnace.[49] Since this operation was already performed from the earliest stages of furnace metallurgy in Southern Levant,[50] we may guess that ores were already designated as *ʿpr/ ǵpr* by the Ghassulians, in the case they spoke a Semitic language. These considerations, together with the homonymy/phonetic closeness

[45] The ibex, however, is also present in other mountainous regions in the southern Levant (such as the Nahal Mishmar area), so that it may not be specifically associated with copper ore and metallurgy.

[46] Militarev and Kogan 2005: 67–68; Kogan 2011: 208.

[47] Wächter 2001: 257–258; Agmon 2010: 56; Kogan 2011: 191.

[48] This proximity is revealed by the use of the letter ʿayin to designate both in ancient Canaanite languages (see Guérinot 1936: 39; Blau 1982; Steiner 2005: 231) and by the interchanges, in Ugaritic, between ǵhayin and ayin in the vicinity of liquid consonants.

[49] Amzallag 2017a.

[50] Shugar 2000: 244–252.

between their names, suggest that the ibexes may designate the ores from which copper is produced. In this way, the artifact from **Fig. 2** represents the whole metallurgical process: from the production of metal (ibexes setting on the mace head) to the casting of new implements (the tool-like elements emanating from the mace head).

Even the Siamese joining of the young ibexes is part of this representation. This artifact (along with all the others from Nahal Mishmar produced by lost-wax technique) is not made of pure copper, but of an alloy combining copper with arsenic, antimony and/or nickel.[51] The preparation of such alloys necessitated the mixing of the local ore (which yields pure copper) with ores supplying the other elements, which were imported from distant mining areas (such as Anatolia, the upper Euphrates, or the southwest coast of the Red Sea).[52] If ore is depicted through a young ibex, the mingling of the two young animals into one Siamese entity reflects the need to mix ores of distinct origin and nature to produce the alloys used for casting complex artifacts. This metallurgical justification of the Siamese representation of the young ibexes strengthens their interpretation as a phonogram designating the ores.

The identification of a phonogram in the implement from **Fig. 2** stimulates a look for further ones. First of all, we observe that the word designating the number two (Proto-Semitic **θina*) bears a phonetic closeness to the verbal root *šnw/šny* (Proto-Semitic **snw*) which refers to realities that are different and should be distinguished.[53] This phonetic closeness is also reflected by the asymmetry between the two tool-like elements emanating from the globular mass (**Fig. 2**). By extension, it may be that the representation of a pair of young ungulates does not only evoke the mingling of ores, but also emphasizes their distinct nature. If so, the number two should be regarded as a phonogram evoking the difference in nature.

[51] Shalev and Northover 1993; Golden 2009: 291–292.

[52] Shugar 2000: 178, 232–235; Boscher 2016: 78–79.

[53] See *HALOT* 4: 1597 and 1605 for *šnw* and *šnm* respectively. The similarity is especially pronounced in Hebrew, where the Proto-Semitic phonemes *s and **θ* have merged, but on this basis, we may assume a closeness in the way these two phonemes were pronounced in the Semitic languages spoken in this region.

The hole (14.5 mm diameter) traversing longitudinally the globular mass in **Fig. 2** deserves special attention. It is similar to the longitudinal hole characterizing the copper mace heads from Nahal Mishmar (see **Fig. 9**). But this transverse hole cannot have been made for the purpose of setting this ornamented item on a pole, because the space between the legs of the twin ibexes is smaller than the diameter of the hole. Consequently, the function of this upper aperture is not to set the artifact on a pole.[54] This invites us to examine its possible function as a phonogram. The appellation of hole as *ḥor* (Hebrew), *ḫrt* (Ugaritic) and *ḫurru* (Arabic, Akkadian) suggests that it was already designated as *ḫr/ ḫrr* in early Semitic languages. As a parallel, in proto-Semitic *ḫrr / ḥry* has been identified as evoking an intense burning.[55] Consequently, in light of the phonetic closeness between the phonemes *ḫ* and *ḥ*, the hole with an upper aperture devoid of practical use in the artifact from **Fig. 2** may serve as a phonogram evoking the fiery process by which the ores (= Siamese ibexes upon it) are smelt into copper, and by which the raw copper (= the mace head) is melted in order to cast finished implements (= the tool-like elements).

All these observations combine to suggest the following interpretation of the "mace head" from **Fig. 2**:

> *Gather distinct types of ores (= the Siamese ibexes) first (= top position of the Siamese ibexes) and put them on/into intense fire (= the ibex legs positioned on the borders of the hole) to produce the raw metal (= the globular mass "growing" around the hole), from which (= continuity between the three elements of the artifact) various implements (= two distinct tool-like protuberances) are cast (= incurved shape of the tool-like protuberances).*

The artifact thereby summarizes the essential stages of the metallurgical process, beginning with the preparation of ores and terminating with the casting of metallic implements. This way of deciphering integrates the

[54] Furthermore, such wood protuberance would destroy the harmony of representation of the Siamese ibex upon the mass and the relationship between the two.
[55] Militarev 2010: 56–57. See also D. N. Freedman and J. Lundbom (1986: 171).

various elements in the representation of a whole coherent claim. It also generates syntax on the basis of interrelation between the elements, from which articulations of notions and causal relations are derived. Finally, the three types of components defining a visual code may be identified here:

- ***Logograms***: The two elements symmetrically attached to the mace head symbolize copper-made artifacts. Also the globular mace, in evoking a mass of copper (and even partly shaped like the inner space of a crucible), should be also regarded as a logogram, though its level of abstraction is higher than the two tool-like elements attached to it.
- ***Phonograms***: The representation of copper ore through an ibex (young ungulate) being founded on their phonetic closeness, this sign should be identified as a phonogram. The number two is apparently used (both in the pair of ibex and pair of tool-like elements) as a phonogram evoking a difference in nature. Also on the basis of phonetic closeness, the hole appears to designate here the action of intense fire.
- ***Determinative***: The relative position of the different elements of the item serve as determinative conditioning the 'syntax', the way they are articulated. This type of determinative is typically expected in a 3-D visual code. Copper is also a determinative here. It enables an identification of the globular mass not simply as a mace head, but also as a bulk of raw copper. Its nature of copper alloy coincides with an interpretation of the chimer animal as evoking a mixing of ores.

The interpretation proposed here may be tested by examining whether the 3-D visual code identified here yields coherent meanings in other implements with twin young ungulates (**Figs. 3**–**5**).

The Crown-like Artifacts

Crown with Two Heads

The item with two ungulate heads in **Fig. 5** belongs to a series of ten cylindrical pieces (items 61–170 to 61–179) from Nahal Mishmar, all having a similar diameter (15–19 cm) and wall height (8–10 cm). These artifacts, which have no equivalent in any other culture of the ancient Near East, were at first defined as "crowns."[56] However, their relatively small diameter, and the presence of small boss-shaped "feet" on the bases of some of them, indicate that they were designed to be set on a solid planar surface and not atop a head. Many alternative interpretations have been proposed. These cylinders were identified as miniature representations of houses, palaces or shrines.[57] Noting the lack of circular edifices in the Ghassulian culture, other scholars have identified them, or at least the simplest ones, as models of animal byres.[58] This interpretation being challenged by the absence of any door in their circular wall, these "crowns" were approached as miniature representations of silos,[59] as components of a "drum-like" altar,[60] as symbols of fertility or as signs of political power.[61] The present considerations invite us to reconsider the symbolic meaning of the "crown" represented in **Fig. 5**, in the perspective of the visual code here identified.

Two "signs" identified in the decorated mace head (**Fig. 2**) are observed in the crown from **Fig. 5**, in addition to the twin-ungulates motif. The first is the hole, the most prominent element of all these crown-like artifacts, interpreted above as a phonogram evoking intense (metallurgical) fire. The second is the metal itself, which, in a context of intense fire (hole) exerted on mixed ores (twin ibexes), may serve, as a determinative. Gathering these three signs (ores, fire of intense amplitude and copper) leads to the interpretation of this artifact as the repre-

[56] Bar Adon 1980: 24–39.
[57] Bar Adon 1980: 133; Tadmor 1990: 257; Merhav 1993; Drabsch and Bourke 2014: 1086.
[58] Moorey 1988: 179.
[59] Shalem 2015: 229–230.
[60] Amiran 1985.
[61] Epstein 1978: 29; Ziffer 2007: 54.

sentation of a furnace. This interpretation is supported by the similarity of shape between the "crowns" from Nahal Mishmar and the furnaces discovered in Beer Sheba dated to the late fifth millennium BCE. These furnaces were reconstituted as circular structures set upon a small pit and characterized by a wall 22–30 cm in diameter, 15–30 cm high, and 2–3 cm thick.[62]

Among the ten crowns from Nahal Mishmar, five do not present any ornamentation on their upper rim (items 61–170; 61–171; 61–172; 61–173; 61–174). This indicates that the symbolism of these items is fundamentally expressed by their cylindrical shape, their hole, their copper nature, their dimensions, and their setting on the ground. We may therefore deduce that the cylinder shape of the "crowns" from Nahal Mishmar is a logogram whose identification as a furnace is conditioned by the copper constituting its wall, which serves here as a determinative (the genuine furnaces had circular walls made from clay). In such context of interpretation, the twin ibexes identified on one of the ten copper "crowns," should be approached as a facultative element which confirms the identification of these artifacts as furnaces. This supplement provides additional information: it stresses the importance of mixing various ores for the production of copper alloys used in the process of casting through lost-wax (the process used to produce most of the artifacts from the Nahal Mishmar hoard).

Crown with Nose and Star

One of the crowns from Nahal Mishmar is characterized by two figurative elements easily identifiable on its ornamented circular wall (**Fig. 10**). The first element is a protuberance 7 mm long positioned just below the upper rim (**Fig. 10B**), identified as a nose by the two small circles flanking it. The absence of a mouth and further details suggests that the nose is the important feature here, the two lateral circles (the "eyes") probably serving to identify it unambiguously. Prominent noses are common in Ghassulian iconography and are generally approached as an

[62] Shugar 2000: 245–246

A B

Fig. 10.
Crown with nose and star on the circular wall. A: View from the sun/star side. B: Detail of the nose. Israel Museum, item 61–178 (18 cm diameter, 1295 grams).

artistic convention symbolizing life and vitality through the breathing organ.[63] This kind of breathing imagery, however, also evokes the most essential activity associated with metallurgy: the blowing of air over coals (through a blowpipe, bellows or even natural wind) required to boost combustion and reach the requisite temperature for smelting. This symbolism is especially appropriate to the interpretation of the crowns as representations of furnaces, in Nahal Mishmar.

The use of the nose as a symbol for air blasting is not trivial, however, because air is blown from bellows (hand or feet) or from the mouth, but not from the nose. If this is so, the use of the nose instead of the mouth was not inspired from any realistic situation. The nominative for nose in early Semitic languages is *ʾanp*, which is also a verbal root expressing the boosting of fire by air blasting in Levantine languages.[64] Consequently, it seems that the representation of the nose on

[63] Epstein 1978: 26; Gonen 1992: 76; Gal *et al*. 1999: 12.
[64] This is reflected, for example, by the fiery, blowing and metallurgical association attached to the verb *ʾnp* in biblical Hebrew (see Ps 2:12; 79:5). Exactly the same relationship is observed between nose designation of *ʾap* (Canaanite/Ugaritic *ʾap*; Aramaic *ʾapputa*, all derived from the

the cylinder wall should not be interpreted as only designating the breathing organ (logogram), but also, and mainly, as a phonogram designating active air blasting.

The other figurative ornament, the star, is represented on the opposite side of this cylinder wall (**Fig. 10A**). Although it is seven-branched, we suggest its homology with the well-known eight-branched star from Teleilat Ghassul, itself interpreted as a solar symbol.[65] This imagery is especially relevant here since the sun, in the ancient Near East, was regarded as a giant mass of molten metal, given that both emit similar intense heat and pale-yellow light.[66] This sun/molten metal symbolism of the star coincides with both the identification of the nose as a symbol of air blasting (required for bringing the metal to a melting point) and with the interpretation of the crown as a symbolic representation of the furnace. Beyond this symbolism, the designation of the sun as *ḥammâ* (Canaanite languages, Aramaic and late Akkadian dialects) is derived from the proto-Semitic verb **ḥm/ḥmm* evoking intense heat.[67] This means that the star symbol probably combines a logogram (the representation of the sun) with a phonogram (the expression of the notion of intense heat and radiance). Since the latter is engraved on the cylinder, it should be considered as a 2-D sign introduced in the 3-D visual code. In the present context of interpretation, this duality probably does not refer to the sun, but rather to molten metal, its terrestrial counterpart. The symmetrical positioning of the nose and the sun signs on the cylinder emphasizes their interrelation

protosemitic *ʾanp*) and *ʾpy/wpy*, the verb that denotes the action of baking in an oven (or in a hearth) in Hebrew, Ugaritic Aramaic, Arabic, and even Akkadian (see Cohen 1994: 26, 28). This relationship is confirmed in biblical Hebrew by the appellation of tuyeres and nozzles of a furnace as nose (*ʾap*), nostrils (*ʿappayim*) and derived substantives (*ʿopan*). See Amzallag 2017b.

[65] Elliott 1977: 11; Ilan and Rowan 2012: 90. This interpretation is corroborated by further indications about the importance of solar cults/rituals among the Ghassulians. See Gardner 2002: 60–64. Alternatively, some scholars suggest that the great eight-branch star from the Teleilat Ghassul fresco was a representation of the planet Venus rather than the sun (see Drabsch 2015: 154 and ref. therein).

[66] See Amzallag (2015: 86–89), for an overview. The yellow-to-red transition that occurs during the solidification of molten metal was also associated with the colors of the rising or setting sun.

[67] Kogan 2011: 195.

and supports the interpretation of the "crown" as a representation of a furnace.

INTERPRETING THE STANDARDS

The present identification of signs of the visual code invites us to re-examine the meaning of further implements, and among them, the standards already mentioned.

Standard with Four Chisel-like Elements

In the standard from Fig. 8, the four chisel-like protuberances emanating from the globular mass may be interpreted as their counterparts on the ornamented mace head (**Fig. 2**): the same abnormal curvature of these four elements evokes the casting process by which they were produced, and their emanation from the globular mass transforms them into a symbol for the raw copper used in their production. The continuity between the globular mass and the tubular part (hollowed) of the standard suggests that they should not be approached as distinct elements, but rather as a whole homogeneous entity. This confirms the opinion that the globular mass should not be regarded as the representation of a mace head set on a wooden pole and potentially separable from it. Rather, this continuity between the two potentially extends to the tubular part the interpretation of the globular mass as bulk of raw copper. If the standard symbolizes finished implements, their continuity with the mace head (symbolizing raw copper) emphasizes the potential to re-use the copper of finished implements by re-melting them. This interpretation is confirmed by the examination of another standard from Nahal Mishmar on which small elements are attached both on the globular mass and on the tubular part (see **Fig. 11**).

The elements attached to this standard are identical in size and shape, all being a short tubular structure with two circular protuberances. The first one, positioned at its top, is a small flattened disk that

Fig. 11.
Standard with similar protuberances branching from its globular mass and its tubular part. Israel Museum, *item 61–73* (*18.3 cm length, 325 grams*). The fourth protuberance emanating from the tubular part is missing. © Copyright Israel Antiquities Authority.

recalls the small rim terminating this standard as well as almost all the other similar artifacts found in Nahal Mishmar. The second circular element, larger in diameter, recalls the globular mass present in most of the standards from Nahal Mishmar (see **Figs. 1**, **3**, **8**, **11**). These characteristics promote their interpretation as miniature standards. By extension, they should be approached as symbols of prestige/non-utilitarian metallic artifacts, exactly as the chisel/knife like elements from **Figs. 2** and **8** evoke the utilitarian metallic tools.

In light of this interpretation, it seems that the standard from **Fig. 11** basically expresses the re-melting of already existing implements for the production of new ones. Here, the newly produced items emanate not only from the globular mass, as in the standard from **Fig. 8**, but also from the tubular part of the standard. From this perspective, the "mature" standard (of normal size) is approached as the "father" engendering new similar implements, whose small size relative to the "father" standard evokes their new-born status. In this implement, the generative dimension of copper metallurgy, inherent to the infinite possible use of

copper as raw material through its re-melting, is potentially inspired from biological reproduction. The homology between these two realities is confirmed by the analysis of the highly ornamented standard.

Standard with Ibexes and Ram's Head

In light of the proposed interpretation of the twin ibexes, their presence on the upper ring of the highly ornamented standard (**Fig. 3**) stresses the metallurgical symbolism of this implement. Furthermore, the designation of ores of these twin ibexes emphasizes the potential use of the standard itself in the production of raw copper from which new implements may be cast (as in the standard from **Fig. 11**). Such "reproductive" dimension of meaning is confirmed by the ram, positioned just below the twin ibexes on the top, in the same plane. The ram may be considered as the reproducer par excellence, being the male intentionally kept alive to inseminate the female sheep.

The position of the triad of heads (two ibexes and a ram) on the standard and their large size suggest that they are the central motif expressed through this item. And of the three elements, the ram, by its position on the front side of the standard (just below the twin ibexes on the upper rim), is probably the most important element.

Because of its specifically reproductive function, the ram was extensively used in the ancient Near East as symbol of male sexuality and especially of semen production.[68] Such symbolism is especially interesting in light of the widespread belief in ancient societies (including the Ghassulians) that semen was produced from bone/bone marrow melt by the heat generated from sexual activity.[69] This belief highlights a parallel between reproduction and metalworking, which is confirmed by the representation of embryo formation as the solidification of the semen into bones in the womb, attested in ancient Near Eastern sources.[70] Here the parallel between metallurgy and reproduction,

[68] Bardinet 1995: 141–143; Hermansen 1997: 333; Orrelle 2014: 60, 67.
[69] Amzallag, 2016: 196–197. For a general view about this belief, see La Barre 1984.
[70] Arnaud 1996: 133–135.

already suggested from the observation of the standards from **Figs. 8** and **11**, is extended to the casting process by the image of the ram. The combination of the motifs of the ram and of the twin ibexes, in the standard from **Fig. 3**, supports the parallel between these two processes. From this perspective, the scepter itself, as the source of copper for casting, becomes likened to bones. This parallel is further supported by the hollowed nature of the tubular part of the scepter from **Fig. 3**, whose terminal enlargements may symbolize the extremities of a long bone.[71]

This homology is confirmed by the branching of the ram's head on the standard together with two ibex heads, thereby grouped into a homogeneous triad. Accounting for the metallurgical symbolism of the pair of ibex heads, this common point of origin with the ram's head on the standard promotes an equivalence between semen production and metal production, and by extension, between metallic implements and bones. The scepter from **Fig. 3** expresses two symbolisms, that of reproduction and that of metallurgy, as well as the connections between them.

The Four-Headed Standard

If the Siamese young ungulates have the same significance in the four-headed scepter (**Fig. 4**) and in the highly ornamented mace head (**Fig. 2**), their presence on the top of the standard refers, here again, to the mixing of ore necessary for the production of the metal constituting this standard. This interpretation assumes that, exactly as in many of the artifacts analyzed here, the metal constituting it is of significance in understanding the statement expressed through the visual code.

A simple pair of Siamese young ungulates is enough, however, to express the production of an alloy. The presence of four Siamese animals may be a means of emphasizing the diversity of ores required for the production of such artifacts, through the identification of the number two as a phonogram expressing difference in nature. But the animals are not merely organized as two Siamese pairs, but also as a group

[71] Such symbolism of the bone as hollowed tube with two terminal enlargements has already been suggested in the Ghassulian culture. See Amzallag 2016: 192–194.

of four individuals positioned symmetrically. This invites us to look for a possible use of this number also as a phonogram. The number four (**rbʿ* in proto-Semitic) is close to the appellation of dust both in biblical Hebrew *robaʿ* (*robaǵ*?) and in Akkadian (*turbuʾu*).[72] This allows us to make the supposition that this tetrad of young ungulates refers both to the need to gather ores of distinct origin (Siamese representation of a couple of young ungulates) and thereafter, the need to crush them into dust (representation of a tetrad). This interpretation is confirmed by the subsequent analysis of the highly ornamented crown (**Fig. 12**).

A **C**

B

Fig. 12.
Highly ornamented crown from Nahal Mishmar. A: whole artifact; B: detail of one rectangle with horns; C: detail of a bird. Israel Museum, item 61–177 (16.8 cm diameter, 1374 grams). A: © Copyright Israel Antiquities Authority. B and C: author photo.

THE HIGHLY ORNAMENTED CROWN

The highly ornamented crown from Nahal Mishmar (**Fig. 12**) deserves a special attention. This item has been interpreted as a miniature edifice of prestige (temple or palace),[73] as the representation of a mortuary area in which dead were eaten by vultures,[74] or as a ritual artifact involved in

[72] See Num 23:10, Ginsberg 1933: 309; *HALOT* 3: 1181; Klein 1987: 604.
[73] Beck 1989: 44; Ziffer 2007: 52–53; Bar Adon 1980: 132–133; Epstein 1978: 26.
[74] Moorey 1988: 179; Merhav 1993: 38.

the worship of a female deity.[75] The furnace symbolism identified in the other "crowns" invites us to re-examine its significance and that of the elements positioned on its upper ring and in its wall.

The Miniature Standard(s) and the Pair of Birds

Only one of the three elements positioned near the rectangular aperture (**Fig. 12**) has remained. Its shape similar to the miniature standard identified in **Fig. 11** suggests that it, as well as the two (similar?) missing elements, refers to the production of non-utilitarian (prestige) copper items. This triad is positioned across from a pair of birds, so that observing one group of elements systematically integrates the information carried by the other, positioned in front of it (see **Fig. 12C**). This promotes an association between the two groups.

Unlike the two ibexes positioned upon the crown from **Fig. 5**, the two birds are fully represented on the upper ring. Their presence, together with their representation at rest, evokes the image of nesting, itself reinforced by the nest-like shape of the cylinder. This association is especially interesting in light of the phonetic closeness between the term for nesting in early Semitic languages (*qen/qyin/qnn*) and *qayin*, the term identified as the archaic designation, in Canaanite languages, of metallurgy (from which comes the designation of the Canaanite metalworkers as Qenites).[76] Through a pair of birds resting on a circular structure (the cylinder), the nesting imagery becomes itself a new phonogram for general designation of metallurgy (= the activity leading to the production of finished metallic implements), signified through the three elements positioned face to the birds, on the crown.

[75] Amiran 1986: 86.
[76] Amzallag and Yona 2017: 318–319.

The Two Ornamented Gates

Most prominent on this ornamented crown is a pair of rectangular frame-like elements (inner size: 5.7 cm high and 2 cm wide) symmetrically positioned on the upper rim of the cylinder. This suggests that the message carried by these two elements is probably of central importance in understanding the meaning of this item.

Alignments of four protuberances are found on the longitudinal parts of these two rectangles, which have been interpreted as miniature gates with a fronton.[77] Two horns of young ibex emanate from each fronton, which may consequently be regarded as a stylized ibex head. The back-to-back disposition of the two stylized heads on opposed rectangles recalls the two Siamese ibexes positioned on the globular mass in **Fig. 2**. We may therefore expect these two ornamented gates to enclose information concerning the ore, the raw material that yields the metal necessary for production of the implements symbolized by the miniature standards. The multiplicity of signs identifiable here leads us to expect that they embody information more detailed than in the ornamented mace head.

The proto-Semitic term designating a gate/aperture, θʕr (Ugaritic *tġr*, Arabic *taġr*) is phonetically similar (and probably etymologically related) to the proto-Semitic root *θʕr, designating an action of destroying and separating.[78] Being the action required for preparing the ore before its introduction in the furnace, we may guess that the gates serve here as phonograms designating the action of crushing and selecting the highly mineralized elements (identified by their intense coloration). This interpretation is supported by further elements characterizing these gates.

Each rectangular element displays two alignments of four protuberances. Taking into account the previous identification of numbers two and four as phonograms, we may identify the composition as the instruction to crush (= the four elements) the ore (= the young ibex

[77] Bar Adon 1980: 24.

[78] Arabic *ṯaġara* = to break open, to destroy, but also to split, to cleave; Ethiopian *saʿara* = to tear down, to pull apart; Syriac *teraʿ* = to split. See *HALOT* 4: 1614.

head) into dust, and to separate the ore into two distinct parts (= the two parallel alignments of four protuberances). These two instructions combined express the need, during the course of the crushing, to inspect the ore fragments and to select the most mineral-rich parts (= to enrich in metal the ore to be introduced in the furnace). The two parallel alignments of four protuberances even suggest the parallel preparation of the two ores to be mixed in the furnace.

The Square with Two Protuberances

Among the ten "crowns" from Nahal Mishmar, the highly ornamented item in **Fig. 12** is the only one with an aperture on its wall. This latter is a square (5.5 x 5.2 cm) positioned just below the three miniature implements (two of them are missing), and together with them, it probably defines the front of the artifact. This square is flanked by two protuberances positioned just below the upper rim. Their similarity to the small protuberances on the gates suggests they all carry a similar meaning, that of crushed ore. This inference is supported by the similarity between the appellation for number four (*rbʿ*) characterizing of the sets of protuberances on the gate, and the appellation of square (*rbʿ*) in Canaanite languages. The significance of the square (*rbʿ*), in the context of this implement, may even be extended, this term being associated to the idea of fertilization / copulation / mixing / laying down, in biblical Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic.[79] If at least some of these meanings already existed in proto-Canaanite, this square with two protuberances serves as a final instruction to mix the dust from the two types of ores very thoroughly before introducing them into the furnace (the cylinder). The integration of all these observations allows us to decipher the message of this artifact as follows:

> *For the successful production (= the two nesting birds symbolizing metallurgy) of fine artifacts (= those symbolized by the miniature standards, that is, cast through the lost wax technique): take the various types of ores (= the two ibex symbolic heads), crush*

[79] *HALOT* 3: 1180; Klein 1987: 603.

them gradually (= the gate) and at each step, select only those desired (= the two sets of four protuberances). Then, take the powder from the two enriched ores (= the two protuberances flanking the square condensing the meaning of the two gates and their signs), mix them thoroughly (= the square), and introduce them into the furnace (= the square aperture being in continuity with the hole of the cylinder). Then, [you will] obtain the metal (= the material the whole implement is made of) from which fine artifacts are cast (= the miniature standards upon the square).

DISCUSSION

Metallurgy as Figured Reality

The present study proposes a new interpretation of the significance of some of the copper artifacts from Nahal Mishmar, by evaluating the possible function of their components as signs of a visual code. This approach yields a coherent interpretation of the meaning of implements whose significance has remained obscure until this day. Furthermore, it reveals the complementarity and similarity of the messages carried by many of the artifacts. Even complex artifacts such as the ornamented mace head from **Fig. 2** and the crown from **Fig. 12** express similar messages, despite their difference in shape and ornamentation. Though the whole metallurgical process is similarly represented in both, these implements each emphasize different aspects of that process. The ornamented mace head (**Fig. 2**) devotes special importance to the casting process, whereas the ornamented crown (**Fig. 12**) focuses especially on the preparation of ores.

The metallurgical dimension identified in the items examined in this study indicates the great importance of metallurgy for the society that produced this hoard. It even reflects the fascination exerted by the smelting process itself, a feature already identified by Gošić and Gilead, who assumed that the Ghassulian metallurgy "introduced a new ritual behavior, starting with metal-smelting, through shaping of the

artifacts, to the use of the finished artifacts in rituals."[80] This conclusion is not surprising because, in absence of native copper in Southern Levant, the production of this metal from a sandstone was probably interpreted as a demiurgic activity.[81] Furthermore, in light of the meaning of the standards from **Figs. 3** and **11** proposed here, it seems that metallurgy became of central importance among the Ghassulians through its acquaintances with the phenomena of fertility, rejuvenation and vitality.[82]

The Visual Code in Nahal Mishmar

The visual code in Nahal Mishmar has been uncovered here through the interpretation of a recurrent motif, the pair of young ungulates, as a phonogram referring to the raw material (ores) from which metal is produced. This phonogram was identified first on the decorated mace head (**Fig. 2**), and its meaning was confirmed by examining other implements where this motif is encountered (**Figs. 3**–**5**, **12**). This first phonogram enabled a sequential identification of 16 more signs from the items analyzed here (see **Table 1**). Extending the present analysis to more items may reveal new signs, but already at this stage, the three types of signs characterizing a visual code (logograms, phonograms and determinatives) may be identified in Nahal Mishmar (**Table 1**).

[80] Gošić and Gilead 2015: 171. See also Gošić (2013: 254–280).
[81] A similar approach of metallurgy is attested in many other cultures, see M. Eliade (1962, chap. 9).
[82] A similar linkage is also attested in many other cultures. See D. Arnaud (1996) and Eliade (1962, chap. 2).

#	signal/sign	artifacts	meaning	principle of codification	function	comment
1	metal	**Figs. 2**–**5**, **8**–**12**	metal and its alloys	materiality	determinative	significance depends on the nature and composition of the metal
2	pair of metallic tools	**Fig. 2**	metal artifacts	figuration	logogram	
3	abnormally curved metallic tool	**Figs 2**, **8**.	casting / hammering process	symbolism	logogram	
4	miniature standard	**Figs. 11**–**12**	metallic non-utilitarian artifacts	symbolism	logogram	
5	hollowed cylinder	**Figs. 5**, **10**, **12**	furnace	figuration	logogram	conditioned by determinatives
6	ram/ram's head/horn	**Fig. 3**	semen production	symbolism	logogram	
7	scepter tubular part	**Figs. 3**, **4**, **8**, **11**	bone copper implement for re-melting	symbolism	logogram	conditioned by determinatives
8	globular mass	**Figs. 2**, **8**, **9**, **11**	raw copper	figuration (crucible inner shape)	logogram	conditioned by determinatives
9	sun	**Fig. 10**	radiant matter (molten copper)	symbolism and phonetic closeness *ḫmh* → *ḫmm* - *ḫmy*	logogram and phonogram	2-D element of a 3-D visual code
10	nose	**Fig. 10**	air blasting	symbolism and phonetic closeness *ʾanp* → *ʾnpy*	phonogram and logogram	
11	young ungulate	**Figs. 2**–**5**, **12**	ores for metal production	phonetic closeness *ǵpr* → *ʿpr*	phonogram determinative	the multiplicity of this sign is meaningful
12	two (number)	**Figs. 2**–**5**, **12**	separate realities	phonetic closeness *ṯnm*→ *šny*	phonogram determinative	

13	four (number)	**Fig. 4**, **8**, **12**	dust – action of crushing *(ʾ)rbʿ → rbʿ*	phonetic closeness	phonogram determinative	
14	square	**Fig. 12**	action of mixing	phonetic closeness *rbʿ → rbʿ*	phonogram	conditioned by determinatives
15	gate	**Fig. 12**	to cleave to crush	phonetic closeness *θʕr /tǵr → tǵr*	phonogram	conditioned by determinatives
16	hole	**Figs. 2**, **5**, **10**, **12**	intense burning	phonetic closeness *ḥwr → ḥry / ḥrr*	phonogram	conditioned by determinatives
17	nesting birds	**Fig. 12**	metalworking	phonetic closeness *qnn→ qny / qyn*	phonogram	the cylinder is integrated into the phonogram

Table 1
The signs of the visual code from Nahal Mishmar identified in the present study.

The interpretations developed in this study stimulate a series of comments regarding the visual code from Nahal Mishmar.

The 3-D Singularity of the Visual Code

With an exception (the sun in **Fig. 10**), the signs of the Nahal Mishmar visual code identified here are tridimensional, and their articulation yields the production of unique artifacts, each one with its own message. In most of the implements, the signs are not isolated but combined in a complex fashion. This is revealed by the association of phonograms with determinatives, but also by the relative positions of the signs in relation to one another. The pattern of spatial relationships between the elements functions as a determinative which is specific to a 3-D code. This also enables a representation of articulations of claims more complex than in a 2-D visual code, with a multiplicity of non-linear connec-

tions between notions and claims generating a multiplicity of readings and understandings. Consequently, deciphering the meaning of items such as those from **Figs. 2** and **12** may yield a claim that may approximate a verbal statement, but this is probably not the only possible interpretation. Thus, this visual code was probably not elaborated in order to transcribe speech, but rather to explore the possibilities of investigating the universe opened up by the interaction between symbols, figures, sensorial experience, biological reality and the spoken language. We cannot rule out the possibility that a further level of plasticity was given to this visual code through a spatial arrangement of many different artifacts (especially those carrying a basic information), each one regarded as a meme.

The Nahal Mishmar Phonograms

More than half of the signs (signs 8–17, **Table 1**) are elaborated through the rebus principle, but their occurrence is not random. Rather, this type of sign seems to be specifically introduced to express a reality that cannot be easily figured by a symbol, such as heat, air blowing, copper ores, liquid metal, metallurgy as an activity, the action of crushing, and so on. If this visual code developed in the context of metallurgy, as suggested by the meaning of the signs identified here, we may conclude that the use of the rebus principle resulted from the fascination exerted by metallurgy and the wish to understand it, to transmit the knowledge, to meditate on the process and to explore its cultural consequence, along with the inability to express all the aspects of this reality through figurative symbol.

Some signs (signs 9–10, **Table 1**) are identified here both as phonograms and as logograms. This ambivalence results from an etymological origin of the homonymy: the verb to blow has apparently a common origin with the nose designation in early Semitic languages, exactly as the sun and the verb evoking shining/radiating intense heat have a common etymology. Similarly, the nesting representation of metallurgy (**Fig. 12**) apparently reflects the way metallurgy was first

approached in Southern Levant.[83] This etymological affinity may have been exploited to elaborate the rebus principle, and the invention of the first phonograms.

Visual Code and Proto-writing

The parallel between metallurgy and reproduction/life-cycle, revealed here through two items (**Figs. 3**, **11**), corroborates substantial changes in rituals and burial customs characterizing the Ghassulian culture at about 4300 BCE, the probable period of production of the Nahal Mishmar hoard.[84]

Despite the probable diffusion of the cultural dimension of metallurgy beyond the small circle of metalworkers, no evolution of the visual code towards a coherent system of writing is observed among the Ghassulians. This situation may result from the tridimensional nature of this visual code, which renders its practical use especially difficult. But more essential causes may also be involved. Approaching the visual code as an archaic form of proto-writing predisposes the investigator to assume that the former is guided by the same motivations as the latter, the transcription of speech. But the present study suggests that the visual code from Nahal Mishmar was elaborated for another purpose: the manipulation of concepts relative to metallurgy, their interrelation and the meditation on their cultural implications. From this perspective, the elaboration and expression of a visual code are two sides of the same reality: the exploration of an extraordinary, previously unknown, metallurgical process of demiurgic nature and of its consequences. For this reason, the decomposition of the process into signs and their multiple combinations, expressed through the production of unique implements, should be regarded as an explorative phase of the cultural dimension of metallurgy, in which the universe of symbols and the phonetic network of the language are recruited and even combined.

[83] Amzallag and Yona 2017.
[84] Gošić 2013: 264; Gošić and Gilead 2015: 161–164.

The elaboration of a visual code in Nahal Mishmar coincides with the transformation from early to late Ghassulian culture, around 4300 BC.[85] It should not be excluded, therefore, that the development of the visual code attested in Nahal Mishmar is a part of the emergence of the cultural dimension of metallurgy that characterizes the late Ghassulian period. In such a case, and in light of the wide circulation of metallurgical knowledge in the Ancient Near East during the fourth millennium BCE,[86] the eventuality of a relationship between the visual code developed first among the Ghassulians and later in Egypt and in Mesopotamia should not be ruled out.

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[85] Gilead and Gošić 2014.
[86] Amzallag 2009.

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Metaphorical Allusions to Life-Giving Plants in Neo-Assyrian Texts and Images[1]

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Summary: Metaphorical Allusions to Life-Giving Plants in Neo-Assyrian Texts and Images

In the royal correspondence of late Assyrian kings (8th–7th century BCE), a few letters refer to the so-called "plant of life" (Akk. *šammu balāṭi*) being placed by the king in the mouth or nostrils of his subjects. At the same time, in the royal iconography that goes from Tiglath-pileser III onward (8th century BCE), bas-reliefs and wall paintings often show the ruler holding a plant or flower in his lowered left hand. This paper analyses the portraits of the kings—with a special focus on the reign of Sargon II—in the light of textual evidence in order to identify the meaning and function of the plant of life. A link between texts and images will be proposed, thereby suggesting that the plant was used primarily by the king to express his mercy and metaphorically indicate himself as a life-giving ruler.

Keywords: Assyrian Empire – Metaphor – Plant of Life – Dur-Sharrukin

Resumen: Alusiones metafóricas a las plantas de la vida en imágenes y textos neoasirios

En la correspondencia real de los últimos reyes neoasirios (siglos VII–VIII a.C), se han encontrado cartas que hacen referencia a las conocidas como "planta de la vida" (Akk. *šammu balāṭi*) que el rey situaba dentro de la boca o nariz de sus subordinados. Al mismo tiempo, en bajorrelieves y frescos de la iconografía monárquica desde Tiglatpileser III en adelante (siglo VIII a.C), a menudo se muestra al soberano sosteniendo una planta o flor en su mano izquierda inclinada hacia abajo. A la luz de fuentes textuales, este artículo pretende analizar retratos de reyes—con especial atención

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al reinado de Sargon II—con el fin de identificar tanto el significado como la función de tales plantas. A su vez se propone un posible vínculo entre textos e imágenes que sugiere que el rey utilizaba la planta para expresar primordialmente misericordia y, metafóricamente, auto-señalarse como el único soberano hacedor de vida.

Palabras clave: Imperio asirio – Metáfora – Planta de la vida – Dur-Sharrukin

Metaphor: Theoretical Premises

Metaphor is now considered to be an essential process and product of thought. The power of metaphor lies in its potential to further our understanding of the meaning of experience, which in turn defines reality.[2] In its most practical aspect, the word metaphor is composed of the Greek prefix *meta* which means "beyond," "on the other side of," "across," and the verb *phérein*, "to carry, bear." In the light of this etymological breakdown, the metaphor falls within the category of tropes, namely changes that occur when attributes ordinarily designating one entity are transferred (carried over) to another entity. In brief, metaphor can be seen as a transmission of the properties of one object to another because of their similarity in any aspect or by contrast, with the consequence that metaphor creates a single image and reduces the difference between objects or concepts.[3] Using the words of E. Semino, metaphor is "the phenomenon whereby we talk and, potentially, think about something in terms of something else."[4]

As a figure of speech, metaphor has been the focus of the work of several scholars but, in this contribution, I will mostly rely upon theoretical concepts derived from G. Lakoff and M. Johnson's work on what has now taken shape in linguistics as **Conceptual Metaphor Theory**. This approach to metaphor is in a certain sense revolutionary in that it conceived metaphor not only as a question of language but of thinking and consequently of behaving. The theory, in fact, treats the metaphor as a conceptual rather than a purely linguistic phenomenon or a decorative device: metaphor is not solely a language-structure but

[2] Feinstein 1982: 45, 47.
[3] Petrenko and Korotchenko 2012: 535; Ritchie 2013: 4.
[4] Semino 2008: 1.

also a way of acting and living, a question of conceptualization, of how the mind structures and organizes concepts in order to express thought linguistically. Lakoff and Johnson, in particular, argue that figurative language emerges from knowledge structures which reside in long-term memory named Conceptual Metaphors, and suggest that there exists a set of primary conceptual metaphors which are pre-linguistic and universal, together with a set of conceptual metaphors which are language-specific. The interaction between universal and language-specific metaphors produces figurative language. The conceptual metaphors are therefore the result of a process which maps aspects of concrete domains of human experience onto aspects of abstract domains of conceptual structure. In brief, conceptual metaphors have an experiential basis and we usually understand them in terms of common experiences because they are largely unconscious. For example, an abstract and complex concept like life is often represented through a simpler, physical experience like journey. Technically, the concrete domain is referred to as the **Source Domain** which is the conceptual domain from which we draw the metaphorical expressions, while the abstract domain is referred to as the **Target Domain** which is the conceptual domain we try to understand. Accordingly, in "life is a journey" life is the target domain, while journey is the source domain. Similarly, in a more complex metaphorical expression like "the committee has kept me in the dark about this matter" language and conceptual structure from the source domain of vision is used to depict a situation in the target domain of knowledge and understanding. Thus, ignorance is associated with darkness as well as other conditions which preclude sight. In sum, the source domain provides a relatively rich knowledge structure for the target concepts, that is to say that the cognitive function of these metaphors is to enable speakers, readers, or even viewers, to understand target A by means of the structure of source B. Any systematic correspondence across such domains are called **metaphorical mappings** through which the understanding takes place.[5]

[5] Lakoff and Johnson 2003; Grady *et al.* 1999: 101–102; Ponterotto 2014: 14–16.

In this paper, the metaphor will be thus analysed as a property of concepts and not of words, used effortlessly in everyday life by people as an integral part of the process of human thought and reasoning. Building on these theoretical premises, I will now turn to the evidence of Neo-Assyrian period to investigate the metaphorical allusions to life-giving plants in texts and images dating to the 8th and 7th centuries BCE, which associate the Assyrian king to the so-called **plant of life** (*šammu balāṭi*).[6]

Metaphor in Texts

The first example stems from the reign of Sargon II, where the plant of life is mentioned in a letter sent to the king by Aqar-Bel-lumur, an official working in Babylon:

> *My [...], my people, my wives, [my] son[s], my daughters, whatever property of mine there was [that I had acquired with] my work under the protection of the king, my lord, were [plund]ered, ruined and sold to El[am and] Bit-Yakin. I myself did [flee] alone to [Assyria] and grabbed the feet of the king, my lord; and having been ready to die wi[th the men] of the king, my lord, under the protec[tion of] the gods of the king, I have fulfilled the mission that [the king] gave me, and the king, my lord, has put the plant [of life] in my mouth.*[7]

A second letter dates back to the reign of Esarhaddon. The author is the Babylonian scholar Rashil who praises king's mercy:

> *The king, my lord, has reared me from my childhood until the present day, and ten times has the king, my lord, taken my hand and saved my life from my enemies. You are a merciful king. You have done good to all the four quarters of the earth and [placed] the plant of life in their nostrils.*[8]

[6] CAD: *šammu*, 315; CAD: *balāṭu*, 52–53, 60–61, mng. 6b.
[7] SAA 17 112: r. 8–17; PNA 1/I: 121–122.
[8] SAA 10 166: 6–r. 4; PNA 3/I: 1034–1036.

The Assyrian king Esarhaddon is again associated, through a simile, to the so-called plant of life in a passage of his royal inscriptions:[9]

> *Let [the seed of] my [priestly office] endure (along) with [the foundations of Esag]il and Babylon; let (my) [kin]gship be sustaining to the people forever like the plant [of] life so that I may shepherd their populace in truth and justice; (and) let me reach old age, at[ta]in extreme old age, (and) be sa[ted with] the prime [of li]fe [until far]-off [days]. Truly I am [the pr]ovider.*[10]

Trying to give a univocal definition of the plant of life is far from simple. Terms like the Plant of Rejuvenation, the Plant of Heartbeat, the Plant of Life, the Tree of Life, the Sacred Tree, the Bread of Life and even the Primeval Flower are attested in Mesopotamian literature since the third millennium BCE and, as G. J. Selz notes, they "reflect the more or less successful attempt to render the varying notions behind these vaguely connected Mesopotamian terms."[11] There seems to be no actual description of this plant in regard to its shape and nature, but it is likely that many plants were associated to the notion of life due to their inherent properties. Selz's examination, for example, delves into one of the paramount symbols of Mesopotamian religious thought, the rosette. Selz notes that rosettes are conspicuously abundant in the context of the royal graves of Ur and the Sumerian word for the rosette is probably *ul*, which carries a clear cosmogonic reference:

[9] Although the distinction between simile and metaphor is not always so clearly drawn, in general terms, the simile is regarded as an explicit comparison where the similarities are clearly defined, which can be detected by the use of the term "like," "as" or even "not unlike" in the statement of comparison. Instead, metaphor is an implicit comparison (Way 1991: 11; Stern 2000: 229–232). For some authors, this distinction makes a simile less direct and forceful than its corresponding metaphor (Stern 2000: 232). Both tropes, however, include the element of resemblance or comparison at a fundamental level, with the consequence that they are identical in a cognitive sense and should not be distinguished too sharply (Strawn 2005: 15–16).

[10] RINAP 4 104: vi 1–vi 15.

[11] Selz 2014: 655. Here, an episode in the story of Gilgamesh is significant. In his search for eternal life when Gilgamesh reached Uta-napishtim, the latter disclosed to him a secret that there exists a thorny plant in the depth of the Apsû, a *šam-mu ni-kit-ti* "a plant of heartbeat." A. George (2003: 895), in this respect, summarizes: "The plant is thus one which ensures the fundamental sign of life, the healthy heartbeat of youth and the strong pulse that accompanies it."

the most common usage of the word *ul* is in the phrase "since time immemorial" in Sumerian *u*$_4$*-ul-è-a-ta*, literally "since the day when the (first) blossom/rosette came forth." Thus, since the rosette refers to the beginning of life and the creation of the world, Selz suggests that the rosette-flower must be interpreted as a stylized representation of whatever blossom had connotations of a magically ensured general notion of life.[12] The significance of the rosette becomes clearer once one observes the rosette in nature. In fact, as noted by I. J. Winter: "Plants that grow with radiating leaves lying close to the ground (called basal leaves, or rosettes) are among the hardiest of the plant kingdom, living in conditions unsuitable for most plants, resisting weather changes, and reproducing rapidly."[13] Thus, the rosette represents that which endures and generates, and is an appropriate symbol for goddesses associated with fertility, such as Ishtar.

In much the same way, the plant of life may have not referred to a specific plant, but to a variety of plants or blossoms that had connotations of a magically ensured general notion of life. As a consequence, the notion of the plant of life must have been a very powerful symbol of life, a kind of elixir *vitae*, which had an emotive force referring to the cycles of nature, and thus comparable with the Egyptian *ʿAnch* sign, or with the Lotus-flower of Hinduism or Buddhism.[14] In this sense, it is reasonable to believe that this long-standing tradition highlights a more metaphoric use of plant terms referring to life or the renewal of youth rather than literal, suggesting that this figurative language emerges from knowledge structures which reside in long-term memory.

The Neo-Assyrian textual evidence seems to show a clear basic tenet. The senders of the letters move from death to life and appeal to the Assyrian king, who represents the factual source of life. In turn, "life" is metaphorically depicted by the action of placing the plant of life in the nostrils or mouth of the needy. Since metaphor is here defined as understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain, the scribes talk and think about life and rejuvena-

[12] Selz 2004: 201; 2014: 664.
[13] Winter 1976: 46.
[14] Selz 2004: 201.

tion (target domain) in terms of a plant (source domain) proffered to the needy. Therefore, the action of **saving the life** is partially structured, understood, performed and talked about in terms of **offering the plant of life**. In this light, I contend that the plant of life can be conceived as a conventionalized expression used to indicate the thaumaturgic powers of the Assyrian king capable of proffering protection and assistance to his subjects.

However, there is a single reference in which the plant of life acquires a more literal connotation. In a letter sent to the king Esarhaddon by the Babylonian astrologer Kudurru, the plant is referred to in these terms:

> *When I acquired the plant of life of the eclipse of Tammuz (IV), it disappeared in the king's presence. [I dispat]ched it [to the king], my lord, in th[e han]ds of Šumaya son of [Kabt]iya, in Nisan (I) last year, (yet) [up t]o now [the king] has given no order to me.*[15]

Such a textual reference somehow questions the metaphorical meaning of the plant of life and suggests that the plant might have been also an object concretely used by the king when meeting his subjects.

Metaphor in Images

Moving to visual evidence, the metaphor—using the words of H. Feinstein—"urges us to look beyond the surface, to generate associations and to tap new, different, or deeper levels of meaning."[16] The metaphoric process indeed synthesizes often disparate meanings and attributes of one entity which are transferred to another by comparison, by substitution, or as a consequence of interaction. To give a practical example, I will turn to modern art. Frida Kahlo said: "I have suffered two grave accidents in my life. One in which a streetcar ran over me…

[15] SAA 10 371: 12–r. 1; PNA 2/I: 633; PNA 3/II: 1281.
[16] Feinstein 1982: 45.

The other accident is Diego."[17] Frida actually had first a bus accident and was skewered by a metal handrail that entered her hip, and second a tempestuous marriage with the painter Diego Rivera. Moving to visual, in the self-portrait The Broken Column (**Fig. 1**), Kahlo substitutes an ancient broken column in place of her damaged spine; the pain is depicted as countless nails puncturing and covering her body, torn open to reveal the crumbling column. The column looks phallic, the sexual connotation is all the more obvious and a violent sexual act is implied: Kahlo's psychological and sexual health are implicated.[18] Kahlo feels like a broken column, which is a metaphor for her feelings or sensations.

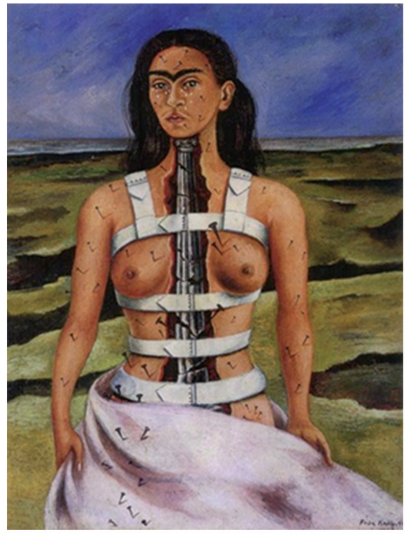

Fig. 1.
The Broken Column, Frida Kahlo, 1944 (© Tate, London 2018).

Going back to ancient Assyria, the interlocking between textual and visual is more explicit than we may expect. The king Ashurnasirpal II, for instance, is described as follows in his royal inscriptions: "worshipper of the great gods, ferocious dragon, conqueror of cities and the entire highlands."[19] The bas-reliefs present the king in the same three

[17] Lindauer 1999: 3 citing Herrera 1983: 107.
[18] Lindauer 1999: 56–58.
[19] RIMA 2 A.0.101.23: 12.

roles, namely the king as the maintainer of divine order through the care of the stylized tree, the king as vanquisher of wild bulls and lions, the king as warrior.[20] Less direct and more metaphorical is the link between the royal epithet "marvellous shepherd" and the portrait of the Assyrian king holding the long staff (**Fig. 2a**).[21]

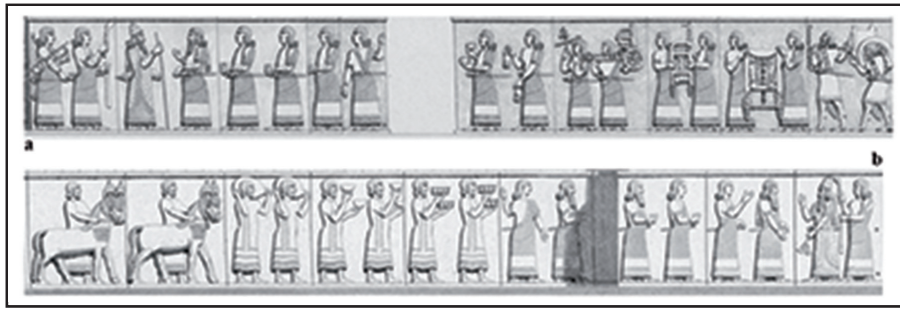

Fig. 2.
Dur-Sharrukin Palace: procession of court members, from façade L (**a**);
procession of western tribute-bearers and court members, from façade N (**b**).
(Botta and Flandin 1849a: pls. 10, 29).

Among these roles, to date, no authors have posited a link between texts and bas-reliefs for the "plant of life." One reason might be that it is only from the 8th century that palace bas-reliefs and wall paintings show the Assyrian king holding a plant. On some Tiglath-pileser III's bas-reliefs from his Central Palace at Kalhu and Til-Barsip wall paintings, the plant resembles a blossoming flower with long leaves.[22] In only one instance, a drawing representing a Tiglat-pileser III's bas-relief shows, instead, a plant which was described as a triple flower of pomegranates or poppy heads.[23] A very similar plant, but perhaps fragmentary,

[20] See images and discussion in Winter (1981: 21; 1983: 24). See C. D. Crawford (2014: 241–264) for a detailed review of previous studies on the image-word dialectic relations in the ancient Near East. With special regard to Assyria, see: Russell 1999; Winter 2016: 208–211; Matthiae 2018: 245–254.
[21] RIMA 2 A.0.101.23: 2; Portuese 2017: 113.
[22] See R. D. Barnett and M. Falkner (1962: 10, pls. VIII [it was misunderstood as a fan], XVIII, XIX) for the bas-reliefs of Tiglath-pileser III. See F. Thureau-Dangin and M. Dunand (1936: pl. XLIX) for the wall paintings from Til-Barsip. See L. Portuese (2017: 111–128) for the dating of the Til-Barsip wall paintings and related bibliography.
[23] Barnett and Falkner 1962: 24, pl. LXIII.

occurs also on Til-Barsip wall paintings.[24] Clearer evidence of the latter comes from a single bas-relief of Tiglath-pileser III, who is shown on his chariot, and more extensively from Sargon II's bas-reliefs at Dur-Sharrukin, where the triple flower is distinctively represented as a lotus flower (**Fig. 3**).[25] The surviving figurative programs of Sargon's successors do not show clear examples of similar plants as royal *insigne*.[26] In only one instance, however, Ashurbanipal is shown holding a lotus flower in the famous garden scene from his North Palace at Nineveh.[27]

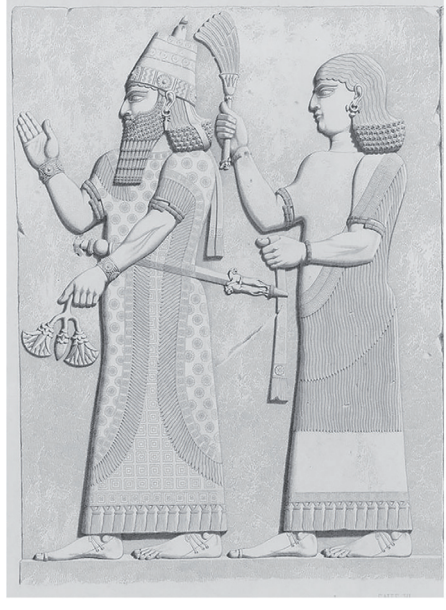

Fig. 3.
Dur-Sharrukin Palace: Sargon II holding a lotus flower accompanied by a eunuch attendant, from room 6 (relief 11). (Botta and Flandin 1849b: pl. 105).

[24] Thureau-Dangin and Dunand 1936: pl. LII.
[25] See P. Collins (2008: 67) for the bas-relief of Tiglath-pileser III. See P. Albenda (1986: fig. 84) for a photography of Sargon II's bas-relief.
[26] A bas-relief from the South-West Palace at Nineveh shows Sennacherib holding what has been described as "a kind of flower, or ornament in the shape of the fruit of the pine" (Barnett *et al*. 1998: 66, pls. 91, 108). What the thing is, remains uncertain but can hardly be compared with the visual evidence listed here.
[27] Collins 2008: 136–137.

As for their significance, U. Magen judges it unlikely that they stand for mere symbols of power and, relying on ritual texts for the purification of the army, proposes a cleansing and purifying function for these plants.[28] Accordingly, the blossoming flower is identified with a palm offshoot, the *libbi gišimmari* of rituals and incantations, used for its purifying properties by the king and also directed towards his army.[29] Magen further extends this explanation to the lotus flower held by Tiglath-pileser III and especially by Sargon II. M. Van Loon suspects, instead, that the meaning of the lotus flower might refer to the receiving of life (the smelling of the lotus) on the one hand, and the bestowing of life (the proffering of the lotus) on the other.[30]

Personally, I do not exclude these interpretations, which are quite compelling, but I feel that the issue needs further investigation. In particular, most of the visual evidence confidently indicates that kings held at least a lotus flower. However, since Sargon II seems to have used this motif excessively in his palace at Dur-Sharrukin, whose structure is moreover well known, the examination will focus on the figurative program of this king. In detail, my observations rely on the theoretical concepts of metaphor discussed above and, in particular, on the notion that metaphors are **contextually conditioned**, that context includes both semantic and cultural contexts and that conditioning impacts the construction, reception, and interpretation of metaphor. This means that if we say that "time is money," it does not imply that all cultures treat time as a commodity that can be spent, saved, or wasted in a kind of metaphor.[31] With this in mind, following three remarks, I would like to offer a new explanation on the motif of the king holding the lotus flower.

The first remark concerns the **iconographic context** in which the lotus flower appears. As it was already noted, there is a basic and constant peculiarity on Sargon's bas-reliefs when the king receives guests: in the presence of parades exclusively composed of court members, the

[28] Magen 1986: 84–91.

[29] See B. Parker Mallowan (1983: 38), Magen (1986: 62–64) and F. A. M. Wiggermann (1992: 68–69, 77–78) for the identification of the *libbi gišimmari* with the palm offshoot.

[30] Van Loon 1986: 250.

[31] Strawn 2005: 10.

king holds only the long staff; instead, when the king receives processions of court members and foreign tribute-bearers, he always holds only the lotus flower in the left hand, without the long staff, and performs the blessing/greeting gesture with the right hand (*karābu*) (**Fig. 2**).[32] This difference entails a different symbolic implication and, accordingly, a different addressee: the meanings and values of the long staff are addressed or linked to insiders, while those of the lotus flower are addressed or linked both to insiders and more especially to outsiders.[33]

The second remark concerns the **cultural context** in which the lotus flower is used as artistic motif, namely its origin. The lotus flower belongs to a Levantine iconographic tradition and, on Syro-Hittite monuments, the lotus flower appears as held by human figures such as rulers both in the upraised hand but especially in the lowered left hand.[34] In Assyria, the lotus is held by men and seated women on a number of North Syrian ivory carvings dating to the early first millennium BCE from Fort Shalmanser at Kalhu.[35] The motif as a royal *insigne* appears only on Neo-Assyrian bas-reliefs and wall paintings from the reign of Tiglath-pileser III; then it is extensively used by Sargon II, and sporadically found in later king's bas-reliefs. In the light of this picture, a western influence of the motif on the Assyrian culture seems undeniable. Moreover, historically the imperial expansion west began in earnest under Tiglath-pileser III, who reduced the area to the status of client or province, and the same policy was continued by Sargon II. In particular, the lotus flower is used as iconographic element on monuments from Sam'al, the small Aramaean city-state in

[32] See Wiggermann (1992: 61, 78) and C. G. Frechette (2012: 35–38) for the identification and description of the *karābu* gesture.
[33] Portuese 2017: 121, 123.
[34] The lotus is held by human figures on a number of western monuments. See, in particular, the sarcophagus of king Ahiram from Byblos dated about 1000 BCE (Van Loon 1986: 245, pl. 59, fig. III.2; Bonatz 2000: 62, 101, fig. 20). The orthostat of king Kilamuwa from Sam'al dating to the late 9th century BCE (van Loon 1986, pl. 59/III.3; Bonatz 2000: 102; Gilibert 2011: 79–84), the orthostats of king Barrakib from Sam'al shown in an audience and a banquet scene, dated to 733/32–713/11 BCE (Gilibert 2011: 212–213, figs. 66, 69). The funerary stele from Sam'al dating about to 825–730 BCE (Bonatz 2000: 21, 23, 100, pls. XVII/C46, XXIII/C72; see also pls. XIII/C28 and XIX/C52).
[35] Winter 1976: 25–54.

southern Anatolia, whose king Barrakib was allied with Tiglath-pileser III and who probably continued his cooperation with Sargon II. No traces of a violent destruction of Sam'al can be dated from Sargon's period, thus its annexation must most probably have been peaceful. Since Sam'al was a province in the reign of Sargon, and not in the reign of Tiglath-pileser III, it is likely that it was annexed by Shalmaneser V.[36] These concordances are, in my view, more than a mere coincidence: the historical background strongly supports the notion that the model for the lotus flower on Assyrian bas-reliefs of 8th century BCE should be looked for in western iconographic tradition.

The third remark concerns the **theoretical context**, that is the meaning of the lotus flower on Assyrian bas-reliefs, which I feel its original western significance was still preserved. Firstly, there is good reason to believe that Assyrians in the west perceived and interpreted the lotus flower as a mere symbol of power, being held also by rulers. Thus, it was primarily used as a royal *insigne*. Secondly, since the lotus flower (*Nymphaea caerulea*) opens and closes daily, flowering from sunrise to midday, it was suggested that in the west it acquired the meaning of constant reminder of regeneration and immortality, acting as a symbol of hope for living and dead.[37] Now, considering that in the Mesopotamian tradition the life-giving plants or plant of life are well attested, the lotus flower, for its inherent properties, well embodies the connotations of a magically ensured general notion of life, thus acting as a constant reminder of regeneration also in the Assyrian culture. This aspect was additionally furthered by its blue colour (still preserved on a drawing by M. E. Flandin **Fig. 4**) which was highly valued because of the association with lapis lazuli. This in turn was a standard metaphor for unusual wealth and was for long synonymous with gleaming splendour, an attribute of gods and heroes.[38]

In the light of these remarks, given that Neo-Assyrian texts state that the king used to bless his servants using an unidentified plant of

[36] Lipiński 2000: 246; Melville 2016: 65; Elayi 2017: 25, 98.
[37] Winter 1976: 45; Bonatz 2000: 100–102.
[38] Moorey 1994: 85; Winter 1999: 43–58.

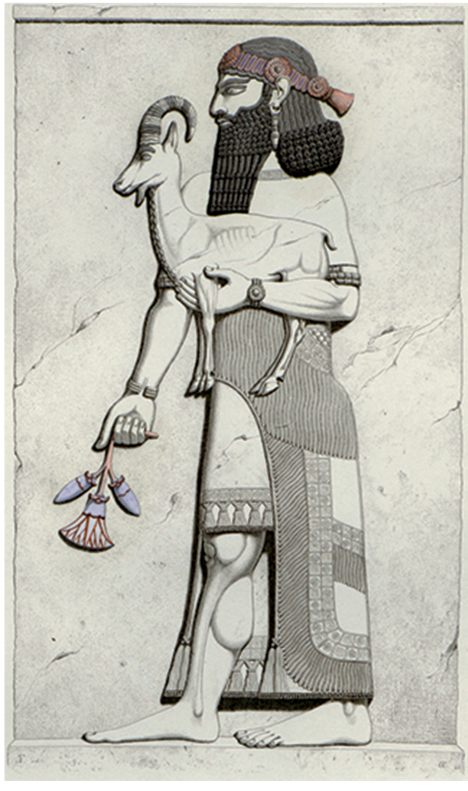

Fig. 4.
Dur-Sharrukin Palace: genie holding a lotus flower and carrying a goat, from the Central Courtyard (VI), door g (relief 4). (Botta and Flandin 1849a: pl. 43).

life, it may be that the lotus flower was used to express this notion. If so, the lotus flower might be identified with the "plant of life" as used in Neo-Assyrian texts. The link between texts and images suggests that the lotus flower was used metaphorically by the king to indicate his status/role as a **life-giving ruler**. The visual evidence, furthermore, mirrors the textual references not only by reproducing the lotus flower on bas-reliefs, but the whole notion of movement from death to life described in texts was visually materialized in the long procession of figures moving towards the life-giving king (**Fig. 2b**). Moreover, the

tribute-bearers emerged out of the corner due to the visual trick of hiding the edge of the first bas-relief, thereby giving the impression of an endless parade, representing the whole of humanity.[39] In brief, these metaphorical allusions enable us to see in the parades of figures the actual movement of human beings from death to life, the latter being represented by the king and the lotus flower he holds.

Conclusions

In the light of this examination, first and foremost I would point out that this kind of metaphor was well-established in the Near Eastern tradition, since the lotus was similarly conceived in the Levantine and Egyptian tradition. As a consequence, Assyrian artists adopted specific strategies to make the metaphorical message widely understandable. Additionally, it must be noted that the lotus was held by the king especially in the presence of western tribute-bearers. This leads to the suspicion that the display of a western iconographic motif had the disguised intention of manipulating minds—especially of westerners[40]—in two ways: ideologically, by presenting the Assyrian king as the sole human being able to bestow life on his subjects; and politically, by making the empire's dominion more acceptable in order to turn foreigners into Assyrians. It is not without reason that in a passage of his palace inscriptions, Sargon II declares that he wished to unify the vast diversity of the peoples of his empire in the language, culture, and religion of Assyria:

> *Peoples of the four regions (of the world), of foreign tongue and divergent speech, dwellers of mountain and lowland, all that were ruled by the Light of the gods, the Lord of all, I carried off at the command of Ashur, my lord, by the might of my scepter. I*

[39] Kertai 2015: 104.

[40] Westerners are depicted on the bas-reliefs lining the northwest wall of façade n, in the upper registers of bas-reliefs lining corridor 10, and the bas-reliefs decorating rooms 6 and 11. For the identification of these foreigners as westerners, see: Wäfler 1975: 177–189; Reade 1976: 97; 1979: 83; Gopnik 1992: 65; Russell 1991: 238; Bär 1996: 199–200, 206–207; Muscarella 1998: 149–157; Collins 2012: 78.

> *unified them and settled them therein. Assyrians, fully competent to teach them how to fear god and the king, I dispatched to them as scribes and sheriffs (superintendents).*[41]

In other words, the king invited his subjects to forget their provenance, in a kind of demonization of their past, to integrate themselves within the Assyrian empire and begin a new life under the protection of the Assyrian king. Following these lines of thought, I believe that Assyrian scribes and artists unconsciously rejected the popular model of metaphor's **decorative function**, and adopted the model of metaphor's **influential function**, that is to say that metaphor was conceived not solely as an embellishment or decoration to thought, but also as an instrument to actively influence the thought it helped to articulate, giving it a form and shape that can define or alter it in fundamental ways.[42] This was the manner metaphor was used to manifest a kind of "friendly persuasion"—using the words of B. N. Porter—in order to persuade non-Assyrians to remain among the Assyrians.[43]

A second point that I would like to make centres on a comparison of the Assyrian tradition of the lotus flower with the Classical tradition. In fact, this metaphorical message is somewhat reminiscent of the popular literary passage of the lotus-eaters, or Lotophagoi, in the Odyssey, an apparently "friendly" people who invited Odysseus' comrades to eat of the mysterious plant. Those who did so were overcome by a blissful forgetfulness from the narcotic properties of the lotus:

> *They departed at once and mingled with the Lotus-eaters; nor did the Lotus-eaters think of killing my comrades, but gave them lotus to eat. And whoever of them ate the honey-sweet fruit of the lotus no longer wished to bring back word or return home, but there they wished to remain among the Lotus-eaters, feeding on the lotus, and to forget their homecoming*.[44]

[41] ARAB 2.86; Fuchs 1994: 311, ll. 49–54.
[42] Steuter and Wills 2008: 5.
[43] Porter 2003: 180.
[44] Od. 9, 91–96. We know from Egyptian textual and iconographic evidence that the blue lotus was certainly used as an ornamental and for its sweet smelling aroma, but also for its narcotic

In this instance, the phrase "to eat lotus" is used metaphorically to mean "to forget," or "to be unmindful."[45] In other words, foreigners both in the Assyrian empire and in the Odyssey are lured into forgetting their homeland or into appreciating the new homeland, making them stay forever with the new group. We see here that the lotus is conceived as metaphor of three actions: losing memory and forgetting, growing fond of a new status or place, living a new life.

This comparison leads to a third and concluding point that emphasises the political and cultural choices and preferences of Sargon II. It was already noted that in his new capital city Dur-Sharrukin, Sargon had imported a number of western traditions, such as the *bīt ḫilāni*, of North Syrian tradition, a royal garden like Mt. Amanus, and large stone column bases of North Syrian form.[46] Moreover, the location of the city itself, at the foot of the first large mountain east of Nineveh, evoked the hills of the Upper Euphrates and the mountains of Lebanon. It seems therefore reasonable to think, as J. M. Russell suggests, that Sargon may well have wanted to express his power over the west by blending together traditional Assyrian forms with the most desirable features of western capitals in his new city.[47] Therefore, the extensive use of the lotus flower motif and its metaphorical allusions falls within the general craving of Sargon for the west and its traditions. By contrast, although later texts mention the plant of life, Sargon's successors seem to have reduced or even abandoned the lotus motif from their figurative programs. The fascinating corollary is that Sargon's reign can be seen as a particular and important **cultural bridge** between east and west.[48]

properties (Emboden 1978: 404; Benson Harer 1985: 49–54; Teissier 1996: 181).

[45] Hogan 1976: 200.

[46] Novák 1999: 145.

[47] Russell 1999: 241.

[48] The renunciation to Sargon's artistic choices by his successors was already highlighted in the abandonment of the portrait of the king holding the long staff (Portuese 2017: 123). This might be connected to the general disengagement from the past in the political behaviour of later kings, especially Sargon's son Sennacherib.

Abbreviations

ARAB: Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia
CAD: The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago
PNA: The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire
Od: Homer Odyssey; translation by A. T. Murray 1995, 1st ed. 1919
RIMA: The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Assyrian Periods
RINAP: The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period
SAA: State Archives of Assyria

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The Architectural Origin Of Mesopotamian Standards in Late Uruk/Jemdet Nasr Period Iconography*

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Summary: The Architectural Origin of Mesopotamian Standards in Late Uruk/Jemdet Nasr Period Iconography

This paper aims to demonstrate that, according to the iconographic evidence, standards had their origins in the late Uruk/Jemdet Nasr Period as *architectural* standards. A variety of different standards are depicted in relation to architecture. Some of these standards were also represented as signs in the archaic Uruk script, and this can offer further insight into their meaning or relevance. Each of the late Uruk/Jemdet Nasr standards is discussed in turn.

Keywords: Uruk/Jemdet Nasr – Standard – Architecture

Resumen: El origen arquitectónico de los estandartes en la iconografía del periodo Uruk/Jemdet Nasr tardío

Este trabajo busca demostrar que, de acuerdo a la evidencia iconográfica, los estandartes tuvieron su origen en el periodo Uruk/Jamdet Nasr tardío como estandartes *arquitectónicos*. Una variedad de diferentes estandartes se representa en relación con la arquitectura. Algunos de estos estandartes son también representados como signos en la escritura arcaica de Uruk, y esto puede ofrecer más información sobre su significado o relevancia. Se discutirán sucesivamente cada uno de los estandartes del Uruk/Jemdet Nasr tardío.

Palabras clave: Uruk/Jemdet Nasr – Estandarte – Arquitectura

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Introduction

In Mesopotamian iconography, standards are first attested during the late Uruk Period or Jemdet Nasr Period (3300–2900 BCE),[1] and continue to be depicted throughout Mesopotamian history. The most famous type of standard is the battle standard, and as such, many previous studies have focused exclusively on this type of standard.[2] This though is not the only type of standard or the only function which a standard can have. B. Pongratz-Leisten[3] identifies six different types or functions of standards: [1] divine standards (standards associated with a specific deity), [2] royal standards, [3] standards in a ritual context, [4] standards in judicial procedures, [5] battle standards, and [6] standards in an architectural context. To this can be added a seventh type, [7] the city standard, associated with the primary political unit of the third and fourth millennia BCE. In fact, T. Jacobsen[4] theorised that the writing of several city names were originally pictures "of a symbol … affixed to a stake for carrying"—in short, a standard. These seven types or functions of standards are not necessarily mutually exclusive. For example, the standards on the Victory Stele of Naram-Sin[5] are clearly battle standards because they are associated directly with the fighting, but they may also be associated with a particular deity, city-state or perhaps both of these, and therefore also represent a divine standard or a city standard.[6] The aim of this study is to demonstrate that, according to the visual repertoire, standards found their origin in an architectural setting.

[1] The Jemdet Nasr Period is sometimes seen not as a separate archaeological period, but as another name for Uruk III (*e.g.* Woods 2010: 35). Due to the problems with the terminology and chronology of the archaeological phases—for these problems, see H. Crawford (2004: 18–19, 23–25) and U. Finkbeiner and W. Röllig (1986)—, and the difficulties and ambiguities in differentiating between the two periods, they will be treated here as one. Although the term "Uruk" will be used throughout for convenience, it is noted that the majority of pieces discussed come from the end of the Uruk Period, or the Jemdet Nasr Period.

[2] See for example R. Mayer-Opificius (1996), F. Sarre (1903) and J. Vidal (2009).

[3] Pongratz-Leisten 2011–2013: 107–110.

[4] Jacobsen 1967: 101.

[5] Louvre Sb 4. For photographs of this piece, see J. Börker-Klähn (1982: Nr. 261-k).

[6] See van Dijk (2016b) for more on the standards on the Victory Stele of Naram-Sin.

The Shorter Oxford Dictionary defines a standard as "a flag or figurehead attached to the upper part of a pole and raised to indicate a rallying-point; the distinctive ensign of a sovereign, commander, nation, etc.; of and army."[7] U. Seidl's definition of a standard as a "Stange mit daran befestigen Zeichen, die aufgestellt oder getragen werden kann"[8] accepts the "flag or figurehead" of the Shorter Oxford Dictionary as only part of a standard. Similarly, Szarzyńska[9] identifies three components of a standard: [1] a high shaft, [2] an emblem attached to the top of the shaft, and [3] streamers, tassels or fringes which hang from the top of the standard and which were probably the ends of the binding securing the emblem to the shaft. During the Uruk Period, standards did not always have an emblem surmounting the shaft, but rather they had decoration at the side. They can still be identified as standards, at least in the iconographic record, by comparison with standards from later periods, as well as by their function.

That at least some of the standards had the dual function of being both architectural standards and divine standards is made clear by comparison to signs in the archaic Uruk script. During the Uruk Period, standards are found not only in the visual repertoire, but also in the archaic Uruk script from Uruk III and Uruk IV, and these signs can give us a better understanding of the standards in the iconographic record. Their appearance in the two sources though is different—not all standards found as signs in the archaic Uruk script are found in the iconographic record and vice versa (see **Table 1**). The standards found in the iconographic record are the ring-post with streamer, the ring-post without streamer, the *Doppelvolute*, the ringed pole, the *Bügelschaft*, the knobbed pole and the floral/star standard. Only four of these are represented in the archaic Uruk script. The ring-post with streamer, the ring-post without streamer, the ringed pole and the Bügelschaft are represented by the signs **MUŠ3**, **LAGAR**, **NUN** and **ŠEŠ** and **URI3**

[7] Brown 2002: 3000.
[8] Seidl 2011–2013: 111, "a rod with an attached sign which can be placed or carried."
[9] Szarzyńska 1996: 1.

respectively.[10] Other signs in the archaic Uruk script which appear to represent standards which are not found in the iconographic record are **ADAB**,[11] **GEŠTU**,[12] **NIR**[13] and **KALAM**.[14]

STANDARD IN THE ICONOGRAPHIC RECORD	**SIGN IN THE ARCHAIC URUK SCRIPT (URUK IV)**
Ring-Post with Streamer  (1)	**MUŠ3** 
Ring-Post without Streamer  (2)	**LAGAR** 
Doppelvolute  (3)	
Ringed Pole  (4)	**NUN** 

[10] For more on these signs and on the relationships between the standards in the iconographic record and the signs in the archaic Uruk script, see the sections dealing with the individual standards below.

[11] Falkenstein 1936: Sign Nos. 305–307; Green and Nissen 1987: Sign No. 19. It is perhaps surprising that the crescent standard, represented by the sign **ADAB** in the archaic Uruk script, is unknown from Uruk Period iconography in Mesopotamia. There are three examples from this period of the crescent standard from Susiana in modern-day Iran. These are a seal impression on a clay bulla from Susa (Sb 1957, see P. Amiet 1980: Pl. 17.282 for a line drawing reconstruction), and two seal impressions from Chogha Mish—see P. P. Delagouz and H.J. Kantor (1996: Pl. 151B and Pl. 154B) for line drawings of these two seal impressions. This may suggest that the crescent standard, well-known in later Mesopotamian iconography, had its origins outside Mesopotamia.

[12] Falkenstein 1936: Sign Nos. 291, 298–300; Green and Nissen 1987: Sign Nos. 203a & 203b.

[13] Falkenstein 1936: Sign Nos. 302–304; Green and Nissen 1987: Sign No. 414.

[14] Falkenstein 1936: Sign No. 607; Green and Nissen 1987: Sign No. 282.

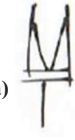
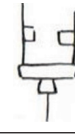
Bügelschaft  (5)	**ŠEŠ**  **URI3** 
Knobbed Pole  (6)	
Floral/Star Standard  (7a)  (7b)	
Crescent Standard (Proto-Elamite)  (8)	**ADAB** 
	GEŠTU (a)  **GEŠTU (b)** 
	NIR 
	KALAM 

Table 1

Types of standards represented in late Uruk/Jemdet Nasr Period iconography and in the archaic Uruk script [(1) IM 18828, after Braun-Holzinger 2007: Taf. 11 FS16 (detail); (2) Klq 17, after Heinrich 1957:11 Abb. 2 (detail); (3) after Legrain 1936:Pl. 20.389 (detail); (4) W 22419,1, after Rova 1994: Tav. 45.751 (detail); (5) Aleppo Museum, after Rova 1994: Tav. 3.40 (detail); (6) Iraq Museum, after Frankfort 1955: Pl. 82.872 (detail); (7a) NBC 5989, after Buchanan 1981:59 Catalogue Number 169 (detail); (7b) Morgan Seal 21, after Porada 1948: Pl. IV.21 (detail); (8) Chogha Mish after Delougaz and Kantor 1996:Pl. 154B (detail). Signs from the archaic Uruk script are all from Green and Nissen 1987.]

The iconographic evidence shows that during the Uruk Period architectural structures were built of two materials—reed and mudbrick—and these play a significant role with regards to the standards of this period. These two materials appear to have been used predominantly but not necessarily exclusively in the construction of different types of buildings—reed structures appear to have been primarily associated with animal byres, while mudbrick structures appear to have been used predominantly for activities involving humans, mostly related to the cult. The reed structures are depicted with rounded rooves and often have horizontal stripes indicating the reeds used to build the structure. The mudbrick buildings have flat rooves and often appear to have decorative patterns. As will also become evident, standards were associated with architecture in three different ways—they could be attached to a building, they could flank a building, or they could be representative of a building.

Each individual type of standard will be discussed in turn, focusing, where relevant, on its association with the archaic Uruk script and on the manner in which its association with architecture is represented in the iconographic record.

The Ring-Post with Streamer

Perhaps the most famous example of a standard from the Uruk Period is the ring-post with streamer which is depicted on the Warka Vase (**Fig. 1**).[15] The ring-post with streamer appears as a bundle of reeds which has been folded over at the top to form a loop, with a "streamer" of the loose ends of the stalks of reeds hanging down from this loop.[16] In the archaic Uruk script the ring-post with streamer can be identified as the sign

[15] Iraq Museum IM 19606. For photographs of the Vase, see E. Heinrich (1936: Taf. 2–3), and for a line drawing of the entire scene depicted on the Vase, see Heinrich (1936: Taf. 38).

[16] P. Steinkeller (1998; 2017: 84 n.230) argues using Early Dynastic III textual evidence that the ring-post with streamer represents a scarf, shawl or headband which was attached to the top of a pole. This argument ignores the repeated association in the contemporary Uruk Period visual repertoire of the ring-post with streamer with architecture and the clear depictions of standards being made of reed.

MUŠ3,[17] which when found together with the divine indicator represented Inanna.[18] In the visual repertoire, the ring-post with streamer should therefore also represent this goddess or be associated with her.

Fig. 1.
The upper register of the Warka Vase with two ring-posts with streamers symbolising the sacred space and architecture (after Schroer and Keel 2005: 291 Abb. 192 detail).

In the upper register of the Warka Vase, the Priest-King or En figure[19] approaches a female figure who can be identified as either Inanna herself or as a priestess of this goddess[20] by the two ring-posts with streamers behind her. These two ring-posts with streamers indi-

[17] Falkenstein 1936: Sign Nos. 208–209; Green and Nissen 1987: Sign No. 374.
[18] Falkenstein 1936: 59.
[19] These two terms, "Priest-King" and "En," are often used interchangeably, as for example by D. Schmandt-Besserat (2007: 42). However, for problems with the term "Priest-King" and its association with the En, see C. Suter (2014: 554–555) and P. Michalowski (1997: 100). See W. W. Hallo (1957: 3–10) for a philological discussion on the term "En." See also recently Steinkeller (2017: 82–104) for both the Priest-King and the En title. In some works the figure is identified rather by his appearance and the net skirt which is peculiar to him, as for example "Man in net kilt" (Steinkeller 1999: 104), "Mann im Netzrock" (Blocher 2013: 84; Strommenger 2008: 3) or "Netzrockmann" (Strommenger 1962: 54). Despite the problems with terminology, it is clear that this figure was the ruler of Uruk during this period.
[20] The uncertainty over whether this figure represents Inanna herself or a female associated with her is reflected in the caution with which scholars have discussed her. For example, E. Braun-Holzinger (2007: 9, 9 n.7) first favours an identification with Inanna, although conceding that she may represent a priestess. Later, though, she (Braun-Holzinger 2013: 33) avoids answering the question of her identity by stating that "der zweizipflige, teilweise zerstörte Kopfputz zeigt ihre besonder Stellung an—Göttin oder Priesterin" (the two-pointed, partially destroyed headdress indicates her special position—goddess or priestess). Her identity is usu-

cate the entrance to a sacred space, or temple, with the objects behind them representing temple inventory. A series of cylinder seals from the *Kleinfunde* from the Eanna Precinct at Uruk depict abbreviated versions of this scene.[21] The ring-post with streamer is depicted on four of these seals. On three of these it is touched by the female figure, further stressing the association between the two, while on the fourth it stands in the field. On another seal now housed in the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin[22] two vases, representing the two Warka Vases,[23] are similarly meant to be inside the sacred space of Inanna as indicated by the two ring-posts with steamers on either side of the vases. In these examples no architecture is actually depicted, instead, the ring-posts with streamers are representative or symbolic of the sacred space—the sacred architecture.

This relationship between the ring-post with streamer and architecture is made more explicit on examples such as the limestone trough now in the British Museum[24] and stone vessel in the Vorderasiatisches Museum[25] in which the ring-post with streamer is affixed directly to the

ally argued based on the headdress she wears, with the horned headdress being typically associated with divinity. However, the headdress worn by this figure is no longer complete as the piece of the vase above the figure was broken in antiquity and, according to Z. Bahrani (2002: 17) it can therefore not be identified with certainty as the divine headdress. Still, the headdress is peculiar to this figure and her having an individual and unique iconography is indicative of her having an important status. Whatever her identity, her association with the ring-posts with streamers argues for her association with the goddess Inanna.

[21] There are five such seals—BM 116721, VA 11041, VA 11042, IM 18830 and IM 18831. See Heinrich (1936: Taf. 17.d and Taf. 18.a-d) for photographs of impressions from these cylinder seals. The scenes on these seals include the male and female figures from the Warka Vase, as well as the two Warka Vases (see n. 23 for more on the second Warka Vase). A magnesite seal of unknown origin now housed in Dresden (no museum number, see W. Andrae 1933: Taf. II.c for a photograph of this seal) and a marble seal from Uruk now in the Iraq Museum (IM 41187, see Braun-Holzinger 2007: Taf. 11 FSa5A for a photograph of this seal) may also represent abbreviated versions of the scene depicted on the Warka Vase, although on these seals the female figure is not depicted, but rather the male figure and temple inventory.

[22] VA 10537. For a photograph of the impression of this seal, see A. Nöldeke (1934: Taf. 29.a).

[23] That the Warka Vase was originally one of a pair is made clear by the repeated depiction of two such vases in the iconographic record. The second Warka Vase survives as just one fragment, now housed in the Vorderasiatisches Museum (VA 8792). For a photograph of this piece, see Heinrich (1936: Taf. 4.a).

[24] BM 120000; VA 8768. For photographs of this trough, see Andrae 1930: Abb. 1–3.

sheep pen and cattle byre which it surmounts. The ring-post with streamer may also flank a building, as for example on a seal impression on a tablet in the Goucher Collection[26] in which human figures appear to be walking in a procession with votive objects towards a temple. More commonly, the ring-post with streamer flanks buildings which are associated with herds or flocks, as for example on a black basalt cylinder seal of unknown provenance now in the Louvre[27] and a white marble cylinder seal from the Shara Temple at Tell Agrab now in the Iraq Museum.[28] These examples may suggest that depictions of herds or flocks associated with ring-posts with streamers[29] reflect a similar iconographic concept, and that the ring-posts in these latter examples, like those on the Warka Vase and related seals, are meant to be representative or symbolic of an architectural structure.

What becomes noticeable is that when the ring-post with streamer is attached directly to a building, these buildings are reed structures, while when flanking a buildings, these buildings appear to be mudbrick structures. This contradicts the traditional interpretation of the ring-post with streamer[30] as a door- or gate-post of a reed hut[31] in which a pole with a reed mat would have been inserted through the rings of a ring-post on either side of a door. Heinrich[32] already contended that in the iconographic record when the ring-post is directly associated with a building it has nothing to do with a door. It could be argued that when the ring-post with streamer is symbolic of architecture, that it is specifically the entrance to the sacred space which is being represented, but it is more likely that these examples are symbol-

[25] VA 7236. For photographs of this vessel, see Andrae 1930: Abb. 4–6.
[26] Now in the Yale Babylonian Collection, Goucher College Collection 869. For a reconstruction of the seal impression, see B.L. Goff and B. Buchanan (1965: Pl. XIX Fig. 4).
[27] MNB 1166. For a photograph of this seal, see H. Frankfort (1939: Pl. VIId).
[28] IM 31400. For a photograph of this seal, see Frankfort (1955: Pl. 80.854).
[29] Such as a green serpentine cylinder seal now in the Pierpont Morgan Collection (Morgan Seal 5). For a photograph of this seal, see E. Porada (1948: Pl. II.5) and a white chalcedony seal from the Kleinfunde at Uruk now in the Vorderasiatisches Museum (VA 11043). For a photograph of this seal, see Heinrich (1936: Taf. 19.a).
[30] As well as the ring-post without streamer, discussed below.
[31] *E.g.* Andrae 1933: 21–25; van Buren 1945: 43.
[32] Heinrich 1957: 32–33.

ic of the sacred building as a whole. Furthermore, the reed structures associated with standards in the iconographic record are byres for the housing of animals, while the mudbrick buildings appear to be temples or other religious buildings. Because temple inventory is depicted alongside the standards representing buildings, it is therefore most likely that the buildings symbolised by the standards would have been temples, and therefore mudbrick structures. It is illogical that a door- or gate-post—a fundamental architectural element—of a mudbrick structure would have been made of reed. It follows then that the ring-posts, clearly associated with architecture, would have formed non-essential, most likely decorative, elements of the structures, and there is no reason not to take the iconographic evidence at face value—that the ring-posts flanked buildings and surmounted them. Because **MUŠ3** represented Inanna in the archaic Uruk script, the ring-post with streamer may indicate that the buildings with which it is associated in the iconographic record were all associated with this goddess.

The Ring-Post without Streamer and the *Doppelvolute*

The ring-post without streamer differs in appearance from the ring-post with streamer in that there is no "streamer" hanging from the base of the loop at the top of the standard, and it is therefore shaped similarly to a "P." The ring-post with streamer and ring-post without streamer are also represented as two separate signs in the archaic Uruk script, **MUŠ3** and **LAGAR**[33] respectively. These two signs are found together on some of the archaic texts from Uruk[34] where they function as "separate entries as independent designations."[35] Both symbols were found with the divine indicator, indicating that they represented deities. Because two signs occurring together logically would not refer to the

[33] Falkenstein 1936: Sign Nos. 201–211; Green and Nissen 1987: Sign No. 323. Although Szarzyńska (1987–88: 11) states that the ring-post without streamer "remain[s] unidentifiable" as a sign in the archaic Uruk script, Green and Nissen (1987: Sign No. 323) identify the sign as **LAGAR**.

[34] As for example on ATU No. 324 (Falkenstein 1936: Taf. 27).

[35] Szarzyńska 1987–88: 3–4.

same deity, these signs, **MUŠ3** and **LAGAR**, must be separate and have separate meanings. K. Szarzyńska[36] suggests that the ring-post without streamer is associated with the god An.[37] However, part of her argument is based on artefacts found at the *Steingebäude* near the Anu Ziggurat, but there is no archaeological evidence that this structure was dedicated to An during the Uruk Period.[38] The association of the ring-post without streamer with the god An is therefore uncertain.

There are much fewer depictions of the ring-post without streamer in the iconographic record than there are of the ring-post with streamer. Like the ring-post with streamer, the ring-post without streamer is represented as surmounting as well as flanking structures. However, unlike the ring-post with streamer, the ring-post without streamer is in both instances associated with reed cattle byres. For example, on a white limestone cylinder seal of unknown provenance now in the Louvre[39] the ring-post without streamer surmounts a cattle byre from which a calf emerges[40] and which is surrounded by eight larger cattle. On a seal impression from the Eanna Precinct[41] two calves emerge from a cattle byre which is flanked by two ring-posts without streamers (**Fig. 2**).

[36] Szarzyńska 1987–88: 11.

[37] Van Buren (1945: 47) also argues that the ring-post without streamer is associated with the god An, but she equates the ring-post without streamer with the *Bügelschaft* (discussed below), and her argument is therefore flawed.

[38] Nöldeke, von Haller, Lenzen and Heinrich 1937: 47; Perkins 1949: 110.

[39] Klq 17. For a photograph of this cylinder seal, see Andrae 1933: Taf. II.a.

[40] By comparison to other similar scenes, a second calf almost certainly emerged from the other side of the cattle byre, but the seal is broken here. See P. P. Delougaz (1968) for more on the motif of young animals emerging from reed structures.

[41] VAT 15374. For a line drawing reconstruction of this seal impression, see Nöldeke 1934: Taf. 25.d.

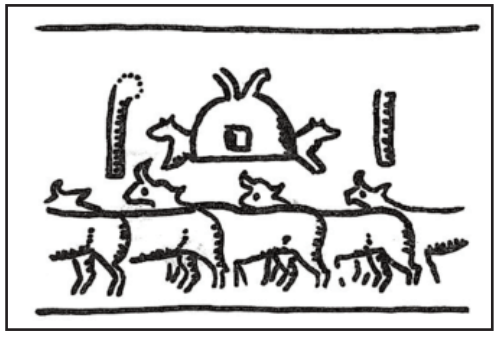


Fig. 2.
Ring-posts without streamers flanking a building
(after Heinrich 1957: 13 Abb. 7)

The *Doppelvolute* is a variation of the ring-post without streamer in which two of these standards are depicted back-to-back on top of a structure. This standard is only represented in an architectural context, and it always surmounts a building. A series of seal impressions from the Seal Impression Stratum 4[42] at Ur originally from one seal depict a building surmounted by a *Doppelvolute* (**Fig. 3**). The *Doppelvolute* is also represented surmounting architectural models such as a steatite architectural model of unknown origin now in the Vorderasiatisches Museum,[43] where the *Doppelvolute* appears very large in comparison to the structure which forms its base, and is therefore emphasised. By comparison to depictions of buildings in glyptic art, the building represented in this architectural model appears to be a building made of mudbrick. It is unclear whether the building on the series of seal impressions was made of reed or mudbrick. It is therefore uncertain whether the use of the *Doppelvolute* was restricted to one type of building.

[42] The exact dating of the SIS is debated. L. Legrain (1936: 9ff) identifies the seals which made these impressions as dating to the Jemdet Nasr Period. More recent studies such as N. Karg (1984), G. Marchesi and N. Marchetti (2011: 52–54) and R. J. Matthews (1993: 43–44, 46–47) date SIS 4–8 to the Early Dynastic Period. The iconography of the seal which made the impressions under discussion though is more similar to Uruk Period examples than Early Dynastic Period iconography and for this reason is included in this discussion.

[43] VA 10112. For photographs of this architectural model, see Andrae (1933: Taf. III).

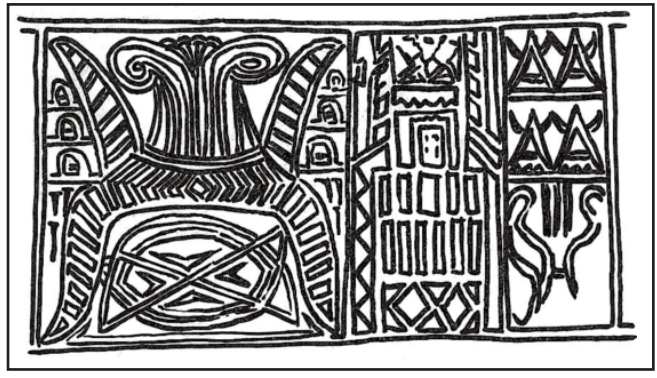


Fig. 3.
A *Doppelvolute* surmounting a building
(after Legrain 1936: Pl. 20.389).

The Ringed Pole

The ringed pole has the appearance of a shaft with pairs of rings, one ring on either side of the shaft.[44] There can be one, two or three pairs of rings; the difference does not appear to have any obvious meaning. In the archaic Uruk script the ringed pole can be identified as the sign **NUN**.[45] **NUN** had a general meaning of "prince, princely, lofty" which was mainly used as an epithet,[46] and P. Steinkeller[47] identifies the sign

[44] The ringed pole is different to the rod with balls which is first depicted on the Victory Stele of Naram-Sin and is known from later examples, such as the limestone fragment of the Gudea stele (AO 4581). For a photograph of this fragment, see Börker-Klähn (1982: Nr. 63), for a line drawing see Suter (2000: 388 ST60). Where the ringed pole has an even number of rings, the rod with balls has an odd number of solid discs, with one surmounting the shaft. The shaft of the shaft of the rod with balls is also often thinner than that of the ringed pole, which is also sometimes tapered. This may be indicative of the ringed pole being formed from a reed bundle, rather than of wood or metal.

[45] Falkenstein 1936: Sign Nos. 236, 249–252; Green and Nissen 1987: Sign No. 421. According to Szarzyńska (1987–88: 10), the use of **NUN** is restricted to the Uruk IV script, the earliest phase of the archaic Uruk script. This restriction though is for the form of the sign in which the rings are represented as circles (Falkestein 1936: Sign Nos. 249–252), and not for the form of the sign where these are represented as straight lines (Falkenstein 1936: Sign No. 236). Both of these forms though represent the same sign, **NUN** (Green and Nissen 1987: Sign No. 421). Falkenstein 1936: Sign No. 250 most likely had two pairs of rings. That it is represented in the sign list with rings only on one side of the shaft appears to be due to caution in reconstruction.

[46] Szarzyńska 1987–88: 8.

[47] Steinkeller 1998: 88.

as a symbol for the god Enki. O. Keel and S. Schroer[48] alternatively identify the ringed pole as the symbol of the birth goddess Nintu.[49] According to G. Selz[50] Nintu's name "ist etwa mit "Herrin, die gebiert/erschafft" wiederzugeben,"[51] which suits this goddess's birthing function. The logogram **TUR** expressed both "birth" and "hut,"[52] and these two meanings of the logogram have been conflated in Stol's rendering of Nintu's name as "Lady Birth-Hut,"[53] and J. M. Asher-Greve and J. G. Westenholz's rendering of her name as "The Mistress Divine Birth Hut."[54] In this regard, the sign in the archaic Uruk script for **TUR3**[55] looks like a hut surmounted by a type of ringed pole, and may represent a birthing-hut associated with the goddess Nintu. By extension, examples of cattle byres surmounted by ringed poles from the iconographic record may be associated specifically with this goddess. However, in the examples where the ringed pole flanks a building or is symbolic of a building, it is possible that the buildings are associated with the god Enki if this god is associated with the **NUN** logogram.

In the visual repertoire, the ringed pole is depicted surmounting cattle byres on vessels (**Fig. 4**)[56] and on cylinder seals[57] and seal impressions.[58] However, the ringed pole is also depicted as flanking

[48] Keel and Schroer 2002: 109.
[49] Also read as Nintur.
[50] Selz 1995: 266.
[51] "is to be rendered as approximately 'mistress who gives birth/creates.'"
[52] Schroer and Keel 2005: 288.
[53] Stol 2000: 80.
[54] Asher-Greve and Westenholz 2013: 50.
[55] Falkenstein 1936: Sign No. 239; Green and Nissen 1987: Sign No. 563.
[56] For example a limestone fragment now in the Louvre AO 8842. For a photograph of this fragment, see H. R. Hall and L. Woolley (1927: Pl. XXIX.1) and a green stone vessel from the sanctuary of the Small Temple in O43 in Khafajeh. For a photograph and drawing of this vessel, see Frankfort (1936: 69 Fig. 54A-B).
[57] For example a white magnesite cylinder seal surmounted by a silver ram now in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (Ashmolean 1964:744. For a photograph of this cylinder seal and a line drawing of its impression, see D. Collon (2005: 14 Catalogue No. 12) and an alabaster seal of unknown provenance now in the Pierpont Morgan Collection in New York (Morgan Seal 2). For a photograph of this seal, see Porada (1948: Pl. I.2).
[58] For example a seal impression from the Eanna Precinct at Uruk. For a line drawing of this impression see H. Lenzen (1964: Taf. 26.k).

structures, and, whereas the cattle byres surmounted by the ringed pole are reed structures, the buildings flanked by ringed poles appear to be made of mudbrick. Examples where ringed poles flank buildings include a diorite cylinder seal from Tell Billa now in the Iraq Museum[59] and seal impressions from the Eanna Precinct at Uruk.[60] In addition to surmounting and flanking a building, the ringed pole may also, like the ring-post with streamer on the Warka Vase, function to symbolise sacred architecture, such as on a green marble cylinder seal now housed in the British Museum[61] where the associated objects may be identified as temple inventory. In all examples, the ringed pole is depicted in architectural contexts.

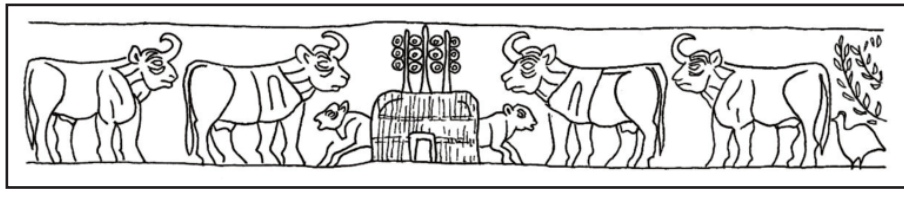


Fig. 4.
Ringed poles surmounting a reed cattle byre
(after Schroer and Keel 2005: 289: Abb. 191).

The *Bügelschaft*

The *Bügelschaft* has the appearance of a shaft with a circle or semicircle attached on one side, and was also clearly associated with architecture. In the archaic Uruk script the *Bügelschaft* is represented by the signs **ŠEŠ**[62] and **URI3**.[63] The sign **ŠEŠ** may represent the moon god Nanna, and the buildings decorated with the *Bügelschaft* in the iconographic record may be associated with this god. However, according to

[59] IM 11953. For a photograph of this seal, see Braun-Holzinger (2007: Taf. 14 FS24).
[60] For line drawing reconstructions of two such impressions, the current locations of which are unknown, see E. Rova (1994: Tav. 44.750 and Tav. 45.751).
[61] BM 12885. For a photograph of this seal, see D. J. Wiseman (1962: Pl. 5.d).
[62] Falkenstein 1936: Sign Nos. 244–246; Green and Nissen 1987: Sign no. 523, 595.
[63] Falkenstein 1936: Sign No. 248.

Steinkeller[64] "the Sumerian word describing emblems was **urin** (**URI3**), a well-documented designated of divine emblems in later periods." According to Szarzyńska[65] the sign **URI3** means "care" or "protection," a meaning which originates from the *Bügelschaft*'s function as a door- or gate-post,[66] and it is more likely that this reflects the function or symbolism association with the *Bügelschaft*. The *Bügelschaft* standard in the iconographic record can itself therefore also be seen as symbolic of care and protection. In this way, the *Bügelschaft* marks the building as a sacred space under the "care" or "protection" of a deity.

While the *Bügelschaft* is also clearly associated with architecture, it is not depicted as surmounting a building,[67] but rather as flanking structures, as on a white limestone cylinder seal now in the Iraq Museum[68] or being intrinsically a part of a structure, as on seal impressions from Uruk (**Fig. 5**).[69] On an architectural model from the Anu Ziggurat at Uruk now in the Vorderasiatisches Museum (**Fig. 6**)[70] two *Bügelschafts* flank an opening, or a door, signifying the manner in which the Bügelschaft was used in architecture. The only known definite standard extant from the third and fourth millennia BCE is a copper *Bügelschaft* excavated on the brick paving of the Early Dynastic Temple of Ningirsu at Tello/Girsu.[71] Parrot believes that this *Bügelschaft* would have stood at the door of this

[64] Steinkeller 1998: 88.

[65] Szarzyńska 1987–88: 6; 1996: 11.

[66] Szarzyńska 1996: 11 n. 22.

[67] Only one example of the *Bügelschaft* surmounting a building is known, this being a seal impression from SIS 4–5 at Ur from the Early Dynastic Period. See Legrain (1936: Pl. 18.349) for a line drawing reconstruction of this seal impression.

[68] IM 27176. For a photograph of this seal, see Frankfort (1955: Pl. 84.880).

[69] For example excavation number W 21 044,3; W 21 311,4; for a line drawing reconstruction see Rova (1994: Tav. 46.768) and excavation number W 197292; W 19733a; W 19740a; for a line drawing reconstruction see Lenzen (1961: Taf. 25.n).

[70] Excavation number W 16618. For a photograph of this model, see Nöldeke, von Haller, Lenzen and Heinrich (1937: Taf. 48.k). See also Nöldeke, von Haller, Lenzen and Heinrich (1937: 46 Abb. 6) for comparison.

[71] The current location of this standard is unfortunately unknown. E. de Sarzec and L. Heuzey (1884–1912: 410) record that its remains were sent to the Louvre and Constantinople (now Istanbul). For a photograph of this standard, see de Sarzec and Heuzey (1884–1912: Pl. 57.1). For its findspot see de Sarzec and Heuzey (1884–1912: Plan C).

temple, presumably as one of a pair.[72] The archaeological evidence therefore supports the iconographic evidence for the *Bügelschaft* being associated specifically with architecture.

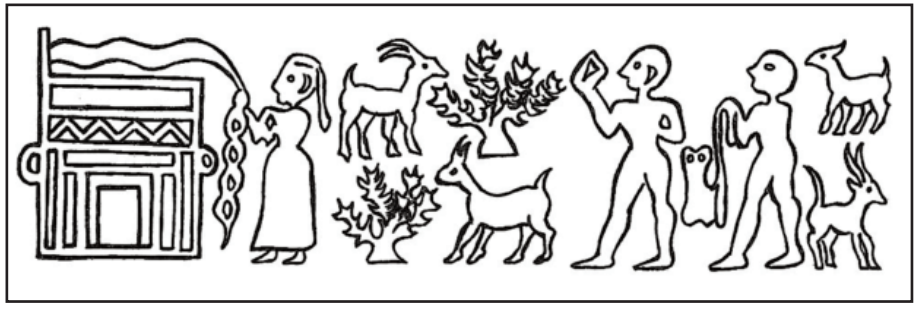


Fig. 5.
Two *Bügelschafts* intrinsically part of a mudbrick structure
(after Rova 1994: Tav. 46.768).

The association of the *Bügelschaft* with architecture continues into later periods, although by the Akkadian Period (2334-2150 BCE) the standard is predominantly symbolic of architecture, rather than being visually associated with it by either surmounting or flanking a building. Also during the Akkadian Period, the *Bügelschaft* was particularly, but not exclusively, associated with the god Ea.[73] It was also associated with Šamaš,[74] snake gods[75] and a god standing on Mušḫuššu.[76] Because the

[72] Parrot 1948: 68, 106.
[73] See for example a black and brown steatite cylinder seal now in the Pierpont Morgan Collection (Morgan Seal 204). For a photograph of this seal, see Porada (1948: Pl. XXI.204) and a light green marble cylinder seal now in the Louvre (MNB 1905). For a photograph of this seal, see R. Boehmer (1965: Taf. XLIV.523) where Ea can be identified by the overflowing vase of water which he holds.
[74] See for example a pink limestone cylinder seal from the Scribal Quarter of Nippur now in the Iraq Museum (IM 56043). For a photograph of this seal see Collon (2005: 166, Catalogue Number 765).
[75] See for example a mottled dark green serpentine seal on unknown provenance now in the Ashmolean Museum (Ashmolean 1949.885). For a photograph of this seal see Buchanan (1966: Pl. 27.344) and a metadiorite cylinder seal now in the Metropolitan Museum (Metropolitan Museum 55.65.5). For a photograph of this seal, see H. Pittman (1987: 23 Fig. 11).
[76] See for example a limestone cylinder seal now in the Vorderasiatisches Museum (VA 3303). For a photograph of this seal see A. Moortgat (1966: Taf. 29.211).

Bügelschaft was not associated with only one god, it is unlikely that it was a divine standard of any particular deity. It is more likely that the *Bügelschaft* has the **URI3** sign's meaning of "care" or "protection," and that the buildings associated with the *Bügelschaft* are under the "care" of "protection" of a deity, although who this deity was is not always clear.

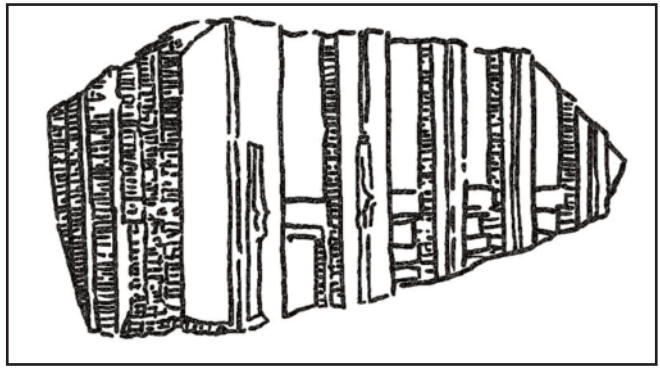


Fig. 6.
An architectural model with two *Bügelschafts* flanking a doorway
(after Heinrich 1957: 49 Abb. 50).

The Knobbed Pole and Floral/Star Standard

The standards discussed thus far—the ring-post with streamer, ring-post without streamer, ringed pole and *Bügelschaft*—were the major standards of the Uruk Period. The minor standards which are represented in the iconographic record, and which do not appear to be associated with any sign from the archaic Uruk script, are the knobbed pole and the floral or star standard.

The knobbed pole is usually held by figures who appear to be females in a procession. These scenes are restricted to appearances on cylinder seals, as for example on a seal from Jemdet Nasr now in the Iraq Museum[77] and a green serpentine seal of unknown origin now in the Louvre.[78] While these figures may be involved in some type of cultic

[77] IM 2777. For a line drawing of this seal, see R. Matthews (2002: Fig. 7, 6).
[78] AO 6646. For a photograph of this seal, see L. Delaporte (1923: Pl. 69.5).

activity,[79] it is also possible that they are involved in domestic activities associated with pottery or the textile industry,[80] and the knobbed poles would therefore not represent standards. On one seal impression from Jebel Aruda in modern day Northern Syria now in the Aleppo Museum (**Fig. 7**)[81] is what appears to be a structure flanked by two knobbed poles and possibly surmounted by a third. In the Early Dynastic Period (2900-2334 BCE) the knobbed pole is depicted on the relief plaque knowns as the *Figure aux Plumes*[82] where two of this standard appear to represent the doorway of a sanctuary, perhaps of Ningirsu.[83] The knobbed poles would act like the ring-posts with streamers on the Warka Vase to represent the structure. The knobbed poles on the *Figure aux Plumes* may represent colossal maces,[84] and it is possible that the knobbed poles on the seal impression from Jebel Aruda were also colossal maces marking the doorway of a structure. The knobbed pole was never depicted as an architectural standard in Mesopotamia itself during the Uruk Period.

Fig. 7.
Two knobbed poles flanking a structure, with a third surmounting the structure (after Rova 1994: Tav. 3.41).

[79] Moortgat 1966: 88.
[80] Collon 1995: 55.
[81] Excavation Number JA 263. For a line drawing of this impression, see G. van Driel (1983: Nr. 41).
[82] AO 221. For photographs of both sides of this relief plaque, see De Sarzec and Heuzey (1884–1912: Pl. 1bis a-b).
[83] Braun-Holzinger 2007: 18.
[84] De Sarzec and Heuzey 1884–1912: 165; Marchesi and Marchetti 2011: 195.

Similarly, the floral or star standard[85] is only depicted on cylinder seals in scenes with antelope and goats, as for example on a marble cylinder seal in the Yale Babylonian Collection.[86] On a black serpentine cylinder seal now in the Pierpont Morgan Collection[87] these are associated with vertical lines which Ward[88] suggests represent a shrine. Although these lines could represent vegetation rather than a building, if they do represent a shrine, the use of the floral or star standard would be similar to the use of other Uruk Period standards in that it is related to architecture.

The Disappearance of Uruk Period Standards

Of the major standards of the Uruk Period—the ring-post with streamer, the ring-post without streamer (including *Doppelvolute*), the ringed pole and the *Bügelschaft*—only the *Bügelschaft* is still found in the iconographic record after the Uruk Period. While the other major standards are depicted only in the visual repertoire of the Uruk Period, the *Bügelschaft* is represented throughout the third millennium BCE and into the second millennium BCE. The minor standards, the knobbed pole and floral/star standard, also continue to be depicted into later periods, but their appearance and iconographic context change. The ambiguity in the appearance of the floral/star standard disappears—in later periods the emblem of the standard is clearly a star—while by the Neo-Sumerian Period (2157-2004 BCE) the knobbed pole has a number of variations which appear to be related to weaponry.[89] These standards also come to be held by figures, rather than being in an architectural setting.

[85] The ambiguous appearance—whether stars or flowers are depicted surmounting the shafts—may be intentional. According to R. Labat, the sign for **DINGIR** is represented by both a star and a rosette (Labat 1988: 48–49 Sign No. 13). Goff (1963: 102) also argues that both the star and the flower were fertility symbols as they "place the ideas of the fertility cult in a cosmic setting by blending solar and fertility ideas into one."

[86] NBC 5989. For a photograph of this seal, see Buchanan (1981: 59, Catalogue Number 169).

[87] Morgan Seal 21. For a photograph of this seal, see Porada 1(948: Pl. IV.21).

[88] Ward 1910: 181.

[89] See for example a seal impression from Girsu/Tell (BM 13079A). For a line drawing reconstruction of this impression see Fischer (1997: 179 Nr.46) and a dolomite cylinder seal possibly from Uruk (BM 116719). For a photograph see Collon (2005: 168, Catalogue Number 781).

Black and Green suggest that the reason the ring-post with streamer stops being depicted in the visual repertoire[90] is "due to the obsolescence of pictographic writing." In art, the deities with whom the Uruk period standards were associated came to have other symbols associated with them or representing them after the Uruk Period. For example, Inanna, who was associated with the **MUŠ3** sign in the archaic Uruk script and the ring-post with streamer in Uruk Period iconography, came to be associated with the eight-pointed star and disc,[91] and with the lion during later periods. However, the development of the cuneiform script into more abstract signs does not entirely explain the disappearance of the standards from the iconographic record, because the *Bügelschaft*, associated with the **ŠEŠ** and **URI3** signs in the archaic Uruk script, continued to be represented in the visual repertoire instead, a larger factor may be the materials used in the manufacture of the different types of standards, and the architecture with which they were associated. The ring-posts with streamers, the ring-post without streamers and the ringed pole were made of reed. This is made clear on objects such as the baked clay inlays representing ring-posts with streamers[92] where the places where the reed bundles were tied are clearly visible by the horizontal lines.[93] The association of these standards with reed architecture may also point to the standards being made of reed. The reeds which were used in reed architecture grow as tall at 4,5 metres,[94] which makes the stems ideal for use as the shafts of stan-

[90] Black and Green 1992: 154. According to Black and Green (1992:154), the ring-post with streamer continues to be depicted, although rarely, into the Early Dynastic Period. I am unaware of any depictions after the Uruk Period.

[91] In this regard, according to B. Landsberger (1961: 17 n.64), a standard on the Gudea Stelae with the emblem of a lion with a disc on its back (Börker-Klähn 1982: Nr. 70) may represent Inanna's **ašme** standard mentioned in *Gudea Cylinder A* xiv:27 (D.O. Edzard 1997:78 RIME E3/1.1.7.CylA). The ring-post with streamer as the standard of Inanna in the Uruk period is then replaced by her **ašme** standard by the Neo-Sumerian Period.

[92] For example an inlay now in the Vorderasiatisches Museum (VA 14539) and another now in the Iraq Museum (excavation number W 5591), both of which were excavated at Uruk. For a photograph of the first inlay, see J. Jordan (1930: Taf. 19.c), and for a photograph of the second inlay, see Jordan (1931: 34 Abb. 23).

[93] Marchesi and Marchetti 2011: 190 n. 19.

[94] Moorey 1994: 361.

dards. However, as Delougaz[95] states, the cattle byres and similar buildings are "of a non-permanent character, that is, it is in the nature of a hut or an inclosure built of reeds, matting, wattle, etc." The non-permanent or semi-permanent nature of such buildings may indicate a non-permanent nature of the associated standards. By the succeeding Early Dynastic Period, cattle byres and similar reed buildings associated with standards are rare in the iconographic record. Some may be depicted on seal impressions from the Seal Impression Strata at Ur, but when these buildings are associated with a standard, it is a *Bügelschaft*.[96] While this cannot account for the complete loss of the standards, as the standards were also associated with mudbrick architecture in the Uruk Period, it seems reasonable that it is a factor in their disappearance from the iconographic record. As the mudbrick buildings were of a more permanent nature, the accompanying standards would also have been made of more durable materials such as wood or copper, as was the case for the *Bügelschaft* from the Ningirsu Temple at Tello/Girsu. In this way, the *Bügelschaft*, which was the only major architectural standard of the Uruk Period which was not a reed standard, continued to be in use into later periods.

Conclusions

Standards are represented in the late Uruk/Jemdet Nasr Period on a variety of types of artefacts—in relief sculpture on glyptic art, vessels, and a trough, and in sculpture in the round in architectural models. In all of these, the standards are associated with architecture. Both the *Bügelschaft* and *Doppelvolute* are represented as parts of architectural models, and a *Bügelschaft* from the Ningirsu Temple at Tello/Girsu is the only known surviving standard from the third and fourth millennia BCE Mesopotamia. Further compelling evidence for the architectural origin of standards can be found in the lack of evidence for standards

[95] Delougaz 1968: 184.

[96] See for example Legrain 1936: Pl. 3.45, Pl. 17.337, Pl. 17.339, Pl. 17.340, Pl. 17.341, Pl. 17.342.

being found in other contexts. There are no royal standards, battle standards, city standards or standards in judicial procedures depicted in Uruk Period iconography. Some of the standards may be described as being in a ritual context, but it is specifically through their association with architecture, and that building's association with some ritual activity, that these standards have some ritual context. The standards themselves are therefore not in a ritual context, they are associated with buildings where ritual activity is occurring.

Standards could surmount buildings, flank buildings, or be symbolic of buildings. When surmounting a structure, these buildings are always animal byres, usually with two young animals emerging from the buildings, one on either side. When the standards flank the structure, these buildings may be associated with animals, or more frequently they may be associated with human activity which appears to be ritual, and these buildings are most likely temples or shrines. When a standard represents or is symbolic of a building, it appears that these are temples or shrines due to the iconographic context—the human, often ritual, activity or the temple inventory which are associated with the standard. The standards were also associated with different types of architecture. The reed structures with which standards were associated are always animal byres. The buildings which appear to be of mudbrick can be associated with animals which stand outside the structure, but are more commonly associated with human activity and appear to be sacred structures—temples or shrines.

The ring-post with streamer, the ring-post without streamer, the ringed pole and the *Bügelschaft* were associated with signs in the archaic Uruk script, **MUŠ3**, **LAGAR**, **NUN**, and **ŠEŠ** and **URI3** respectively. The ringed pole when surmounting a building is also related to the sign **TUR3**. These signs, in turn, when accompanied by the divine indicator represented the names of deities. **MUŠ3** represented the goddess Inanna, **LAGAR** may have represented the god An (although this is uncertain), **NUN** the god Enki or goddess Nintu, and the sign **TUR3** specifically with Nintu, and **ŠEŠ** may have been associated with the god Nanna, and **URI3** symbolised "care" or "protection." As such, in

the iconographic record, the buildings associated with the standards related to these signs may also be related to the deities who were represented by the signs. In this manner, the buildings associated with the ring-post with streamer may be buildings associated specifically with Inanna, and the cattle byres surmounted by the ringed pole may be specifically associated with the goddess Nintu through her association with the **TUR3** sign. The buildings associated with the ring-post without streamer, the ringed pole and the *Bügelschaft* may be associated with the gods An, Enki and Nintu, and Nanna respectively, although these designations are less certain. At least in the case of the *Bügelschaft*, an interpretation of the "care" and "protection" meanings of the **URI3** sign, and the buildings associated with the *Bügelschaft* being under the "care" or "protection" of a deity, whoever that deity may be, appear to be more likely when taking the evidence from later periods into account. In any case, because of the association of the related signs in the archaic Uruk script with deities, the structures associated with the standards in the iconographic record can be interpreted as sacred buildings. The mudbrick structures can be described as temples or shrines, while the animal byres can be understood as belonging to the particular deity associated with the associated standard.

Through the signs in the archaic Uruk script, the Uruk period standards appear to be related to deities and therefore could be classified divine standards. However, they are found specifically in architectural contexts, and this aspect cannot be overlooked. Although being associated with deities, the primary function was that of an architectural standard. The iconographic evidence therefore reveals that standards had their origins as architectural standards during the Uruk Period.

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Where there Israelites in "Judaean Exile"?

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Summary: Where there Israelites in "Judaean Exile"?

In historical terms, there is evidence of an early political use of the name "Israel" (14th–9th centuries BC) and a much later religious use of it (3rd/2nd centuries BC); in the time in between, its predominant designation was "Samaria(ns)." Biblical and non-biblical evidence supports the notion that Israelites/Samarians settled in Judah as refugees after 721 BC, and therefore the impulse for the emergence of biblical Israel can be located in the 8th century BC. The historiography of the Books of Kings should be studied with caution, since its textual history documents quantitative and qualitative changes that include the restructuring and deletion of texts. The literary history of the Books of Kings reveals our lack of knowledge over the sources it draws from, when it was composed, and how intensively earlier stages of the Masoretic text were revised.

Keywords: Israel – Exile – 1–2Kings – Textual Tradition – Palimpsestus Vindobonensis

Resumen: ¿Existieron Israelitas en el "exilio judaita"?

En términos históricos, existe evidencia que refiere a un uso político mucho más temprano del nombre "Israel" (siglos 14–9 a.C.), mientras que su uso religioso es muy posterior (3/2 siglos a.C.); entre ambos períodos el término que predominaba era el de "Samaritanos". La evidencia bíblica y no bíblica apoya la noción de que los israelitas/samaritanos se asentaron en Judá como refugiados posteriormente al año 721 a.C. Por lo tanto, el impulso para la emergencia de la Israel biblíca podría ubicarse en el siglo 8 a.C. La historiografía de los Libros de Reyes debe ser estudiada con cautela, puesto que la historia de su redacción documenta cambios cuantitativos y cualitativos que incluyen la reestructuración y eliminación de textos. La historia literaria de los Libros de Reyes revela nuestra falta de conocimiento acerca de las fuentes sobre las

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cuales se basan, cuándo fueron compuestos, y cuán intensivas fueron las revisiones de las etapas tempranas del texto masorético.

Palabras claves: Israel – Exilio – I–II Reyes – Tradición textual – Palimpsestus vindobonensis

Introduction

Why people of Judah were called "Israel" in biblical texts? In 1974 archaeologist M. Broshi proposed that a massive expansion of the city Jerusalem around 700 BC was generated by "the immigration of Israelites, who came to Judah from the Northern Kingdom after the fall of Samaria in 721 BC."[1] This hypothesis has been recently developed by I. Finkelstein in many articles, based on a sudden growth of Jerusalem and the rise and economic development of Judah.[2] The most prominent criticism of Finkelstein's hypothesis has been N. Na'aman's, who interprets the archaeological data vastly differently;[3] yet some of Na'aman's arguments allow for a reexamination.[4] Recent excavations in Jerusalem confirm Na'aman's estimation that Jerusalem grew gradually, starting from the 9th century BC and culminating around 700 BC.[5] Therefore Finkelstein's theory should be reconsidered and, at least in part, revised.

Since until now archaeological data has been able to draw only a rough picture, a theory based upon written sources must be developed.[6] Why did the name of Israel survive in Judah? This essay follows the path of the name "Israel" from what can be grasped archaeologically and historically from the 14th century BC to the 2nd century CE. Furthermore, it explores how the name "Israel" is to be distinguished

[1] Broshi 1974.
[2] *E.g.* Finkelstein and Silberman 2006; Finkelstein 2015.
[3] *E.g.* Na'aman 2007; 2014.
[4] *E.g.* Burke 2012.
[5] Uziel and Szanton 2015; Gadot and Uziel 2017.
[6] "The differences in type and quality of data between literary and archaeological mean that archaeology is often a means of testing the credibility of the text, while the text provides details that cannot be given by the artifacts" (Grabbe 2007: 60).

from biblical "Judah." I will also turn attention to the Books of Kings and its textual history. Differences among manuscripts allow to answer the main question under discussion here, in a way that has as yet scarcely been discussed.

The name "Israel" and "Judah" Historically Reconsidered

Two references from the New Egyptian Kingdom that point to an "Israel" entity located somewhere in Palestine are recorded on a stone relief of unknown origin (14th century BC?), and in the famous victory poem of Pharaoh Merneptah (*ca*. 1208 BC).[7] However, it is not possible to connect this "Israel" directly to the 9th century BC Omride kingdom of Israel. Archaeological excavations provide evidence that the Omride kingdom developed into full statehood earlier than the Judaean polity.[8] In 853 BC Assyrian king Shalmaneser III mentioned the military strength of "Ahab, the Israelite."[9] Slightly later, the Tel Dan Stela (*ca.* 841 BC) reports [Hazael's] victory over "[Jo]ram, king of Israel."[10] The Moabite Mesha Stela (*ca.* 840 BC) recorded the former strength of Omri, "king of Israel." After the rise of the Aramean empire of Damascus under Hazael, Assyrian allusions to the "house of Omri," the "land of Samaria," and finally to the "city of Samaria," reflect the diminishing political status of the Israelite kingdom.[11] "Samerina" became in the end the name of the Assyrian province after the conquest of Samaria in 721 BC. Judah, mentioned for the first time in the Tel Dan Stela, was probably called "house of David." However, from Tiglathpileser III's reign on, as well as from Assyrian and Babylonian sources in general, it has been identified as "Judah."[12]

[7] Zwickel and van der Veen 2016; Rainey 2001; Morenz 2008.
[8] Finkelstein 1999.
[9] Kurkh-Monolith II,92 cf. Pritchard 1955: 279.
[10] Kottsieper 1998; Lipiński 2000. However, G. Athas (2003) identifies the "king of Israel" with Amaziah ben Joash.
[11] Kelle 2002.
[12] Tadmor 1994: 170–171 (Summary Inscription from Calah, No. 7, 11').

Although the existence of Israelites deported to Assyria in 734/33 and 721 BC can be reflected in the personal names referring to YHWH, "no commoner bears gentilic 'Israelite.'"[13] Since 701 BC, when Sennacherib deported people from Judah to Assyria, we cannot distinguish Israelites from Judahites by name; between 700 and 602 BC a sole name is explicitly described as Samarian.[14] Religious life of Israelite people continued in the now-Assyrian province of Samerina, as we can assume from historical parallels.[15] Although we will not discuss non-literary artifacts from Judah referring to Israelites here, it is worth mentioning that analyses of the Siloam inscription have already interpreted some linguistic peculiarities as pertaining to Israelite Hebrew used by refugees living in Jerusalem.[16] Refugees from Samaria to Egypt and Transjordan can also be considered; however, up to now we have no reliable evidence. Papyrus Amherst 63 Column XVII,1–6, from the 3rd century BC, reports troops fleeing from Samaria, who seek protection somewhere (in Palmyra?);[17] they were led by a Judaean whose "sister" came from Jerusalem.[18]

When the Assyrian empire disintegrated, Babylon became Judah's suzerain. The capture of "the city of Judah" in the 7th year of Nebuchadnezzar (597 BC) is recorded in a Babylonian chronicle.[19] Deportations in 597, 586 and *ca.* 582 BC (cf. Jer 52:30) are only recorded by the Hebrew Bible. Besides the Babylonian Ration Lists for King Jehoiachin, we have cuneiform sources dating after 572 BC from Yāhūdu, the village of Judah in Babylonia and its Judaean inhabitants,

[13] Zadok 2015: 159.
[14] Zadok 2015: 166.
[15] Cf. Berlejung 2002; 2012.
[16] Rendsburg and Schniedewind 2010.
[17] K. Van der Toorn (2018: 10–11.205), defends Sennacherib's campaign in 701 BC as the historical background of this text. On a Samarian background in Judah at the time of Micah, cf. W. Schütte (2016e: 84–86). Yet a connection to the fall of Samaria (721 BC) cannot be excluded. "Nearly all the compositions compiled in this 'anthology' are from about 700 BCE or before" (Van der Toorn 2018: 205).
[18] Column XVII, 3–4: "my brothers have been brou[ght] from Samaria and now a man is bringing my sister from Jerusalem" (Van der Toorn 2018: 75).
[19] Grayson 2000: 102 (ABC 5 rev 11–12).

bearing witness to these deportations.[20] The biblical story of Gedaliah's assassination alludes to the assassins' flight to Transjordan, along with refugees to Egypt (Jer 41–42). But again, we have no reliable extra-biblical evidence for these events.

Evidence of Judaean life in Judah under Babylonian suzerainity is scarce.[21] Many settlements were destroyed and only the Benjaminite area recovered soon;[22] Mizpah seems to have served as a Babylonian administration center. Although no Hebrew literary source has been found as yet to demonstrate scribal activity for the period from 586 to 350 BC,[23] the archaeology of the Persian period reveals a "religious revolution" taking place.[24] Cultic female figurines, widespread in Judah before 586 BC, were found in the Persian period along the coastal region but not in the areas of Judaean settlements. Instead of local sanctuaries, the Samari(t)an sanctuary[25] on Mt. Gerizim and the new Temple (היכל ר בית) of Jerusalem were now standing. Outside Palestine, a YHWH "shrine" (אגורא)[26] existed in Elephantine, southern Egypt, in the 5th century BC, while another temple (בית) is mentioned by an Idumaean ostracon dating to the 4th century BC.[27] Written sources from

[20] Weidner 1939; Stolper 1985; Pearce and Wunsch 2014. I know of no Babylonian reference to Judaean religious practices in the Babylonian exile. A rental contract for a slave shows that by the time of Nabonidus Babylonian legal conventions were followed within the Jewish community (Pearce and Wunsch 2014: 106).

[21] Lipschits 2003; even in Samerina: Zertal 2003: 380.

[22] Lipschits 2003: 346–348; 2004.

[23] Finkelstein 2016: 9–10.

[24] Stern 2006, but cf. a criticism by Frevel, Pyschny and Cornelius 2014.

[25] The sanctuary is often called "this place" (אתרא דנה), once "house of sacrifice" (בית דבחא), "sanctuary" (מקדש) and "shrine" (אגרה); evidence for "temple" (בלה[ה]) is disputed, cf. Becking (2012: 62) and Tsedaka (2012: 421–423), Hensel (2016: 39–43, 47–50). τὸ ἱερὸν (Αργαριζιν) (Pseudo-Eupolemos, Fragment 1, cf. Holladay 1983: 172) denotes in a most general sense a temple complex (Schrenk 1967: 232).

[26] TAD A4.7; A4.8; cf. inscription No. 200 (אגרה), found on Mt. Gerizim, and its interpretation by Becking 2012: 61–62; TAD A4.9 "Altar-house" (בית מדבחא); TAD A3.3; D7.18 "house of YHW/YHH" (בית יהו / יהה). Also Egyptian temples are referred to as shrines in TAD A4.7; A4.8 (אגורא); Kratz 2006a: 251–252.

[27] Lemaire 2001: 1152–1158. Refences to the YHWH temple at Leontopolis (163 BC–73 CE; ὁ ναός or τὸ ἱερόν cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 12,388; 13,62–73.285; 20,226; *JW.* 1,33; 7,426–436) and at the Tobiad center ʿAraq el-Emir; cf. Frey 1999: 186–195.

Elephantine (*ca.* 407 BC) document a request for help from the Persian governors of Samaria and Jerusalem and from the temple of Jerusalem, to restore the shrine at Elephantine that had been destroyed.[28] These and later sources from Egypt reveal Judaean (and Samarian) religiosity to be notably different from biblical demands.[29] The name "Israel" is not recorded at all in these texts, only "Judaeans" and "Samarians."[30]

During the Ptolemaic and Seleucid periods, Samaria and Jerusalem belonged to a single province, Syria and Phoinike, or Coele Syria. Competing economic interests between the Mt. Gerizim sanctuary and the temple of Jerusalem increasingly generated tensions between them.[31] Then the Hasmonaean policy of expansion intensified conflicts in the 2nd century BC, and religious hostility increased.[32] In the reign of John Hyrcanus (134–104 BC) the Samarian region was conquered and the sanctuary on Mt. Gerizim destroyed.

Whithin this background, the name "Israel" is found again on two Hellenistic inscriptions excavated on the Cycladic island of Delos (250–175 and 150–50 BC).[33] They mention a group of "Israelites" making contributions to their (Samari[t]an) sanctuary on Mt. Gerizim.[34] The biblical manuscripts from Qumran show that the name "Israel" was common in the 2nd and 1st centuries BC even in Judah, but only in religious contexts. In contrast, a political use of the name "Israel" was not usual in Hasmonean Judah after 142 BC, as shown

[28] TAD A4.7/8 cf. Porten and Yardeni 1986–1999.

[29] Elephantine documents: the divine epithet "Bethel" as a synonym for YHWH (even in pAmherst 63), cf. Van der Toorn (2018, 30); concerning offerings, cf. J. Frey (1999: 177–178); in reference to the Sabbath cf. A. Rohrmoser (2014: 331–333.374–377); G. Granerød (2016: 204–206.) pAmherst 63 (3rd century BC) column XII,11–19 represents a Samarian psalm, which is a precursor of Jewish Ps 20 (Van der Toorn 2018: 165–169); documents from Herakleopolis (2nd century BC) show that Egyptian legal conventions were followed within the Jewish community, *e.g.* for receivable interest J. M. S. Cowey and K. Maresch (2001: 25).

[30] Judaeans: Tcherikover and Fuks 1957; Cowey and Maresch 2001; even Samarians: Van der Toorn 2018.

[31] Hensel 2016: 218–230.

[32] Hensel 2016: 195–208.

[33] M. Kartveit (2009: 219) re-evaluates the inscriptions and dates in the first half of the 2nd century BC.

[34] Bruneau 1982; cf. Hensel 2016: 76–85.

especially by coin inscriptions.[35] The name "Israel" was written for the first time on tetradrachms from the period of the first Jewish rebellion (66–70 CE) ("Shekel of Israel").[36] Rebels again alluded themselves as "Israel" in coins and letters from the time of the Bar Kochba rebellion (132–135 C.E.),[37] while the title "nasi'" given to Simon bar Kochba emphasizes their religious ideology.[38]

In sum, only Samarians and Judaeans are attested between the 8th and 3rd century BC. The name "Israel" appears historically until the 9th century, but then again only from the 3rd/2nd centuries BC on, when it was claimed as a religious legacy by two increasingly competitive communities, a Samari(t)an one based in the sanctuary on Mt. Gerizim, and a Judaean/Jewish one oriented toward Jerusalem.

The Name "Israel" Biblically Reconsidered

The Pentateuch that stands today was a textual tradition shared by the Samaritan and the Jerusalem communities, while its completion in the Persian or in the Hellenistic period[39] was likely a result of the cooperation between the two communities.[40] It is probable that the Samari(t)an Israelites living in the erstwhile land of Israel saw no problem in reckoning the Jerusalem Judaeans among the twelve tribes of Israel. But a different question is whether this biblical understanding can be traced back into the (pre-) monarchical period. For the Jerusalemite claim to be "Israel," examination of the local Jerusalem tradition of the *Neviim* and *Ketuvim* takes precedence.[41]

[35] Goodblatt 1998.
[36] For this discussion see Goodblatt (1998: 26–28).
[37] Goodblatt 1998: 28–35.
[38] Goodblatt 1998: 32–33.
[39] "During the rule of the Persians, and in the time of the Macedonians, who overthrew them, through intermingling with foreign nations, many of the traditional customs among the Jews were altered. …This is what Hecataeus of Abdera has related about the Jews" (Diodorus Siculus 40:3, cf. Jacoby 1954: 13–15); cf. also A. M. Berlin (2013).
[40] On this discussion cf. B. Hensel (2016: 170–194).
[41] Only some of the main lines of what I have elaborated elsewhere can be traced here (Schütte 2016a).

For Haggai and Zechariah, "Judah" is a toponym for the place where "this people" lives.[42] The "remnant of this people" (Zech 8:6, 11, 12) is set by Zechariah 8:7 over against "my people," who will come from the east and the west to Jerusalem. "My people" (עמי) is biblically always "Israel." We can only presume that "the house of Judah" and the "house of Israel" in Zechariah 8:13 were meant to denote the inhabitants of the country[43] and the Diaspora. A claim of this Diaspora-Israel to the political entity[44] Judah as homeland can be recognized in the mention of "Israel" in Nah 2:3 and Joel 2:27, and of "my people" in Joel 2:18–19, 26–27.[45] More clearly, 1–2 Chronicles formulate the idea that the Judaean Israelites from Babylon newly settle Judah (1Chr 9:1–2).[46]

The book of Ezekiel alludes to an Israelite and a Judaean community in Babylon, as well as to one in Jerusalem.[47] The Book of Jeremiah names Israelites and Judaeans simultaniously (Jer 11:10, 17; 13:11; 32:30, 32), so it is not necessary to identify those Israelites with the inhabitants of the Assyrian province Samerina or with the Israelites deported to Assyria (Jer 3:18; 16:15; 23:8; 32:30)[48] or to assign these assertions to the Judaeans deported to Babylon.[49] An interpretation implicitly assuming Jeremiah's "all Israel" perspective must be proved rather than assumed. In political terms, Jeremiah speaks of the "people of Judah" or the "man (= inhabitant) of Judah," but speaks of "my people" as a theological term, meaning Israel and Israelites only. Only with the help of the covenant formula (*Bundesformel*[50]) did people who were

[42] Hag 1:1–2; 2:2; Zech 1:12; 2:2, 4, 16.

[43] Cf. Ezr 5:1 "Haggai and Zechariah, son of Iddo, prophesied to the Judaeans (יהודיא), who were in Judah and Jerusalem."

[44] "Judah" (fem.): Nah 2:1; Joel 4:20; Zech 14:14; Mal 2:11. See also Is 7:6; Jer 14:2; 23:6; 33:16.

[45] Schütte 2016g: 201–218.

[46] Bortz 2018: 257–268.

[47] Ez 14:1; 20:1, 3 and 8:1 resp. Ez 8:11 and 8:17; cf. even Jer 50:4, 33. Zimmerli failed in his attempt to eliminate every mention of "Judah" in Ezekiel as being a secondary insertion, precisely because of Ez 8:1, 11, 17 (Zimmerli 1979: 1258–1261, cf. Schütte 2016g: 203–208).

[48] Fischer 2005a: 196; 2005b: 208 refers of the two parts of a former single Israel.

[49] J. R. Lundbom (1999: 315.769: Babylonia and/or Assyria). P. C. Craigie, P. H. Kelly and J. F. Drinkard Jr. (1991: 61: the Babylonian exile).

[50] Rendtorff 1995.

Judaeans by descent become "for me the people" (לי לעם), that is, the people of God.[51] For the late Babylonian exilic chapters of Is 40–66, Judah is merely a toponym to which Jacob-Israel will return home.[52]

If we look at the Books of the Prophets pre-dating the Babylonian exile, at the time, when the kingdoms of Judah and Israel existed, only a few statements must suffice here.[53] The prophecy of First Isaiah, who was historically from Jerusalem or Judah, is aimed at "Israel." Micah, living at Judahite Moreschet, was speaking to the "house of Israel" in Judah and Jerusalem. Amos from Tekoah in Judah, whose writings are dated as the earliest handed down in the Judaean-Jewish *Neviim*, was active only in Israel. Words of Hosea, the Israelite "prophet"[54] working in Israel, distinguish time and again clearly "Israel" from "Judah." His writing leads the collection of the Books of the Twelve Prophets—notwithstanding some changes in the order of the twelve prophetic writings during the textual history.[55] Even this prophetic literature is dominated by an Israelite perspective, distinguishing Israel and Israelites in Israel and Judah[56] distinctly from Judah (and Judahites?[57]).

A Babylonian-exilic origin for "Israel" is probably hinted at by the history of the term "remnant of Israel."[58] Although the survivors of Nebuchadnezzar's capture of Jerusalem in 597 BC are called the "remnant of Israel" (Jer 6:9; Ez 9:8; 11:13), the biblical term developed literarily. Already Jer 6:9 threatened the remnant of Israel in Judah with a "gleaning," so this remnant—losing the attribute "Israel"—is condemned (Jer 8:3; 15:9; 24:8). Conversely, the deportees in Babylon are called "the remnant of Israel" (Jer 31:7; Mi 2:12; cf. Ez 11:14–20) who will inherit the land of Judah (Mi 4:6–7; Zeph 3:12–13).

[51] Schütte 2016g: 195–203.
[52] Is 40:9; 44:26; 65:9 cf. 48:1.
[53] Cf. Schütte 2016a.
[54] Neither Hosea, nor Amos, nor Micah, nor Isaiah is called a prophet in the book bearing his name.
[55] The order in the MT and in the Septuagint differ. Different again is that in the Greek Codex Venetus.
[56] *E.g.* Is 1:3; 2:5; 4:2; Mi 2:9; 3:1, 9.
[57] Cf. Hos 5:10, 12, 14; Am 2:4-5. Referred to Is 5:3, 7 cf. Schütte 2016f: 179; Schütte 2016g: 202.
[58] Schütte 2016g: 218–226.

Alongside these mentions, there are two extraordinary references. In 2Chr 34:9 a Judahite "remnant of Israel" living in Judah is distinguished, on one hand, from the people of Ephraim and Manasseh in former Israel, and on the other hand from Judah, Benjamin and Jerusalem. Only in the Old Latin manuscript *Palimpsestus Vindobonensis* (L 115) in 2Kgs 17:18 does this term refer to the Israelites deported to Assyria in 721 BC: "Therefore the Lord was very angry with the remnant of Israel and removed them out of your sight; none was left but the tribe of Judah" (*et iratus est in indignatione dominus in reliquos israel ut transferret eos a faciem tua (sic!) non remansit nisi tribu iuda*).[59] Both passages refer to groups of Israelites from Israel and do not conform to any other biblical language used elsewhere.

In sum, the literary picture of the Masoretic Bible presents a vision of the Israelites living beside Judahites in Judah until 596 BC, moving from Judah to Babylon and later returning back to Judah.

The Rise of "Biblical Israel"

The prevailing view among scholars is that the *biblical* understanding of Israel—designating even people of Judah as "Israelites"—dates no earlier than 721 BC, after Samaria was conquered by Assyria.[60] Conversely, H. G. M. Williamson claimed for some expressions, especially Isaiah's "the Holy One of Israel" and "the two houses of Israel" (Is 8:14), a dating prior 721 BC.[61] Yet, the biblical texts lead back to the still undecided literary-historical question of who wrote theses texts and when.[62] According to Finkelstein, it was the strong pressure made by Israelite refugees in Judah the force that prompted Hezekiah's scribes to develop the idea of the biblical Israel. Resulting conflicting traditions had to be reconciled, as shown for example in the Saul-David

[59] B. Fischer (1983: 87), sees *a faciem tua* as a scribal error in place of *a facie sua*.
[60] Cf. Kratz 2000; Schniedewind 2004: 68–90; Finkelstein and Silberman 2006; Na'aman 2009; 2010.
[61] Williamson 2001a; 2001b.
[62] Williamson 2001a: 31; Kratz 2006b.

tradition.[63] Na'aman sees Josiah as the initiator of this process one hundred years later, taking over Bethel as "the highly prestigious vacant heritage" of Israel.[64] In the same vein, E. A. Knauf views Bethel as the center where the Israel tradition flowed into the Judaean literature, probably in the 6th century BC when Jerusalem was destroyed.[65] However, archaeological finds in Bethel speak against Knauf's proposal.[66] In harmony with the archaeological evidence, Ph. R. Davies points to Benjaminite Mizpah as the factor behind the development of biblical Israel in the 6th century BC.[67] D. Fleming stands against these models, arguing that "The crucial question here is whether a clear Israelite identity and literature would have survived somewhere in that region for more than a hundred years, until it could be incorporated into Judah."[68] Although for Fleming, the David lore is an argument to assume a Judaean Israel-tradition since the time of Rehoboam, claiming this a historical assumption is, without non-biblical evidence, not sufficient.[69]

Textual History of 1–2Kings

The historiography of the Books of Samuel and Kings plays a large role in the discussion. The Books of Kings in the Septuagint (LXX) differ from the Masoretic tradition (MT) in manifold ways, but also among its textual witnesses there are significant differences. The early, so-called kaige recension brought large parts of the text into line with the MT,[70] while the remaining parts of the text show only a slight kaige

[63] Finkelstein and Siberman 2006: 275–279; Finkelstein (2011), yet for a different view on Benjaminite history cf. Na'aman (2009).
[64] Na'aman 2010: 17, cf. Schütte (2016b: 10).
[65] Knauf 2006.
[66] Finkelstein and Singer-Avitz 2009.
[67] Davies, 2006; 2007a; 2007b; 2017.
[68] Fleming 2012: 14; cf. Schütte (2016b: 10).
[69] Fleming 2012: 299. This is true also for the assumption of Weingart 2014 that the biblical concept of the Twelve Tribes is pre-monarchical. Cf. Schütte (2016f).
[70] LXX 2Sam 10:1–1Kgs 2:11 and 1Kgs 22:1–2Kgs 25:30. 1Kgs 1:1–2:11 belongs for ANT still to 2Sam and could have formed with the kaige section LXX 2Sam 10:1–1Kgs 2:11 (= ANT 2Sam 10:1–26:11) an early extension of 1–2Sam (Trebolle Barrera 2006), which linked the book with 1–2Kgs.

recension.[71] The tradition of the Antiochene text (ANT) generally preserves an older stage of the text than the strong kaige recension, although it shows also traces of later recensions.[72] The original Greek translation ("Old Greek" – OG) of the Books of Kings may well have used a Hebrew version that differed clearly from the MT. Numerous scholars are convinced that this OG version represents a text form older than the MT.[73] Therefore the MT is perhaps responsible for the exchange of the chapters 1Kgs 20 and 21 or for the shift of the notes on Jehoshaphat (LXX/ANT 1Kgs 16:28a-h cf. MT/LXX 1Kgs 22:41–51).[74] Several small changes in the text of the MT usually aim at showing an irreproachable and perfect representation of the Jewish religion throughout its history, better accommodating to the situation in the Second Temple period.[75]

This discussion of the Septuagint and MT will now be broadened through intensive engagement with the Old Latin (OL) tradition of the Books of Kings.[76] According to P. Lagarde's axiom, the further a (good) textual witness of the Septuagint is from the MT, the older is its textual tradition.[77] Why should anyone in ancient times waste his resources for making an imprecise or even false text? If this supposition stands scrutiny, the OL text tradition of the *Palimpsestus Vindobonensis* (*ca.* 5th century CE) stands out.[78] As the only large OL

[71] 1Sam 1–2Sam 9 and 1Kgs 2:12–21:28 (Aejmelaeus 2008; Kreuzer 2014). In my opinion, the strong kaige recension could be accounted for by a strong textual revision by LXX/MT in these sections, which connected the Books of Samuel and Kings (ANT 2Sam 10–26; Schütte 2018a: 39, cf. Trebolle Barrera 2006), dealt with memories of the Aramaic wars (LXX 1Kgs 16:28a-h/ MT 1Kgs 16:29–2Kgs 14; Schütte 2018a), and conflated a description of Israel's Judaean-exilic times (2Kgs 16; 18–25) from various parts (very different traditions from the monarchical annals, Isaiah and Jeremiah respectively) with a revised 2Kgs 17.

[72] Fernández Marcos and Busto Saiz 1992; Torijano Morales 2017.

[73] Cf. Hugo and Schenker 2017: 315-317.

[74] Schenker 2004: 86–107.

[75] Schenker 2004: 175–178. This assessment of the history of the text of the Books of Kings is disputed. On the additions of the Septuagint in 1Kgs 2 cf. P. S. F. van Keulen (2005); A. S. Turkanik (2008) *contra* A. Schenker (2000).

[76] Kauhanen 2013; Tekoniemi 2016; 2017.

[77] Lagarde 1863: 3.

[78] Critical edition by Fischer (1983).

manuscript of the Books of Kings, it possesses numerous distinctive features. The text in 1–2Kings is influenced by no clearly recognizable kaige recension.[79] Very striking are two large textual aberrations. The death news of Elisha are moved from the time of Jehoahaz (2Kgs 13) into Jehu's (between 2Kgs 10:30 and 31). In addition, the Jehu information in OL is more broadly developed, while the text of 2Kgs 17 diverges consistently from all tradition and 2Kgs 16 is missing. Text historical studies hold *Palimpsestus* in these cases, which deviate from the entire Greek and Hebrew tradition, for the oldest text tradition (OG).[80] The missing Ahaz tradition of 2Kgs 16 may well not be a copyist's mistake, because in 2 Kgs 17:1 the customary synchronism of Hoshea of Israel with Ahaz of Judah was missing too. The obvious conclusion is that the Hebrew *Vorlage* of *Palimpsestus Vindobonensis* originally knew no Ahaz tradition and with that no continuation of the Judaean royal history after Jotham (2Kgs 15).[81] Its narrative aims at a theological commentary on the downfall of Israel and finishes with it.[82]

There are at least three reasons for following this interpretation. This hypothesis allows for a resolution of the differences in the chronology of the kings in 2Kgs 15–18. It is very probable that Ahaz in Judah reigned beyond the crisis of the year 721.[83] When the MT makes Hezekiah a contemporary witness to the downfall of Israel, this may well be for theological reasons.[84] Assuming that 2Kgs 16 and 18–25 are

[79] Tekoniemi 2016; 2017.

[80] Schenker 2004; 2005; Richelle 2015; Tekoniemi 2015; Schütte 2018b *contra* Trebolle Barrera 1984.

[81] However, Schenker (2004, 167–170) suspects the Ahaz alussion—against the chronological structure of the Books of Kings—being after the Hoshea note and behind 2Kgs 17. Actually, the *Palimpsestus* itself must have reported on the Judahite kings after Jotam, especially about Josiah. Only so can OL 2Kgs 17,15 (and [?] OL 1Kgs 13:19–29 cf. MT 2Kgs 23:17) be explained (Schütte 2018c). However, OL 2Kgs 21–23 (Lucifer of Cagliari) shows textual deviations from ANT/LXX/MT.

[82] Schütte 2017. This thesis corresponds also to the narrative weight in the Books of Kings with events from Israel.

[83] Schütte 2017: 380; cf. Sulpicius Severus I 49:2–5, Jerome's chronicle (Helm 1956: 88a) and the Gallic Chronicles (Mommsen 1892: 124.135.393.635; Mommsen 1894: 443).

[84] Schenker 2004: 170.

secondary additions to the revised 2Kgs 17, it becomes clear why the theological judgment about Hoshea (2Kgs 17:2) changed. If Hoshea represented in the OL/ANT the peak of the growing wickedness of the kings of Israel, then this was retracted by MT/LXX,[85] and the evil of the kings increased anew with Ahaz and Manasseh. From this point on, Ahab of Israel was identified as the model of evil. Several pieces of evidence also suggest that the Ahab stories were revised and enhanced.[86] Also speaking for a later attachment of 2Kgs 16 and 18–25 is the phrase "my servants, the prophets," being documented only in MT 2Kgs 9:7; 17:13, 23; 21:10 and 24:2. Since OL leaves the verses 7–14 in 2Kgs 17 out, verse 23 is likely a later addition along with 2Kgs 17:13. The evidence from 2Kgs 21:10 and 24:2 resides in the postulated addition. ANT 2Kgs 9:7 reads—other than later MT/LXX—only "the prophets." The phrase "my servants, the prophets" has recognizably its origin in the Book of Jeremiah and could have come through the borrowing of Jeremiah in 2Kgs 25 (cf. Jer 52) into the MT Books of Kings.[87]

Considering the fragmentary state of preservation of the manuscript, we can cautiously suggest that this OL text knew of no covenant[88]—and originally[89] also of no Torah theology. Only OL 2Kgs 17:15 does refer back to the Torah, where MT does, however, speak of "covenant."[90] Instead, OL 2Kgs 17:16 prefers to speak of "the Lord's

[85] From Omri (OL/ANT 1Kgs 16:25) through Ahab (OL/ANT/LXX/MT 1Kgs 16:30, 33), Ahaziah (ANT 1Kgs 22:54) to Hoshea (OL/ANT 2Kgs 17:2). Incidentally, B. Halpern and D. S. Vanderhooft (1992: 250–254, 260–261), only use the Septuagint and do not recognize this older formal principle of OL/ANT which was abandoned by MT/LXX.

[86] Schütte 2018a.

[87] MT (and LXX) Jer 7:25; 25:4; 29:19 (MT only); 35:15; 44:4 and Am 3:7; Zech 1:6; Dan 9:6, 10; Ezra 9:11. For the late Torah and prophetic theology in 1–2Kgs cf. R. Achenbach (2007: 43–47).

[88] Thus four times in OL 1Sam 4:3–5 stands as in non-kaige LXX "ark" instead of "ark of the covenant" (ANT, MT). The expression "covenant" is missing in OL 2Kgs 17:15.

[89] OL 2Kgs 10:31: "and Jehu was not careful to walk in the way [ANT/LXX/MT: the law] of the Lord the God of Israel with all his heart" (*et ieu non observare ire in viam domini dei israel ex toto corde suo[…]*).

[90] OL 2Kgs 17:15 "they despised his law [ANT: covenant; MT: statutes], and his commandments [ANT: statutes, MT: covenant] that he made with their ancestors" (*et dereliquerunt legem eius et mandata eius quae disposuit patribus eorum*).

commandment" (*praeceptum domini*),[91] as it was the characteristic guiding concept of MT Dtn 12–26 and LXX 2Kgs 21:8 ("the commandment of Moses") and was still used by Hebrew Ben Sira as precursor concept in place of "the Torah."[92] The Deuteronomistic nomism in 1–2Kings may well, according to OL 2Kgs 10:31; 17:16, have first begun with a Greek *Vorlage* of *Palimpsestus* containing the text of OL 2Kgs 17:15.[93] As the narrative of Josiah's covenant was added (2Kgs 23) into the Book of Kings, were also the Torah and covenant theology introduced successively into their narratives.[94]

1Kings–2Kings 17 had simultaneously two shorter political touches as representations of an inevitable destruction of Israel. The first is the theological criticism of grievances or abuses in Israel aimed directly at Judaean conditions under Ahaz and Manasseh.[95] Second, although OL 2Kgs 17:18 reports on the complete deportation of the "remnant of Israel," the text continues:

> *V. 19 et iudas non observavit iustificationes domini dei sui set ambulaverunt in actibus totius israel secundum quae fecerunt* V. 9 *et revelaverunt filis israel*[96] *quae non ita oportebat at deos suos et aedificaverunt sibi excel*[sa in omnibus civitatibus

[91] OL 2Kgs 17:16 "and they left all the commandment (ANT/LXX/MT: commandments) of the Lord their God" (*et transierunt omnes praeceptum domini dei sui*).

[92] Hebrew Ben Sira speaks of "Torah" (תורה), when he more closely characterizes the divine "commandment" (מצוה) (cf. Sir 45:5). In language use Sir 41:8; 49:4 resembles OL 2Kgs 17:15: (*de*)*relinquere legem*. The recommended reading of Ben Sira's guiding principle "commandment" was "commandments," already in the Hebrew text tradition through marginal glosses (Ms B Sir 32:23; 37:12; cf. www.bensira.org). Greek Ben Sira translates מצוה—as LXX Dtn—always with "the commandments" (αἱ ἐντολαί). In Sir 44:20 Ben Sira's grandson even translates the *status constructus* "the commandments of the Most High" (מצות עליון) with "the Torah of the Most High" (νόμον ὑψίστου).

[93] Schütte 2018c: 5; cf. Pakkala 2008.

[94] On the development of covenant statements in 1–2Kgs cf. ANT, LXX and MT; Schütte 2017: 371.

[95] "They passed their sons and daughters through fire" (OL/ANT/LXX/MT 2Kgs 17:17) cf. ANT/LXX/MT 2Kgs 16:3; 21:6.

[96] Fischer 1986: 86 assumes "*filis* = *filiis* possibly an error for *filii.*" Schenker 2005 argues convincingly for the reading *filiis*. The result of both readings is a presence of Israelites in Judah after 721 BC.

> *V. 19 And Judah did not keep the statutes of the Lord their God but walked in the customs of all Israel acting accordingly. V. 9 And they revealed the children of Israel, what is not right, to their Gods, and they built themselves high* [places at all towns

The *Palimpsestus Vindobonensis* assumes that after 721 BC non-deported Israelites lived in Judah and started a new life, a time during which they became acquainted with the religious practices of Judah. The critical judgement of OL 2Kgs 17:9 is doubtless written in Judah from a very special Israelite perspective. This manuscript refers uniquely of a new cultural start of Israelites in Judah (cf. 2Chr 34:9), taking the Masoretic picture of Israelite life in Judah to a decisive step further: Israelite life in Judah was rooted in the Israelite homeland. The reworked Masoretic text confirms that this historical origin of Israelite tradition in Judah was later—because of antagonism toward the Samaritans?[97]—no longer to be recounted.

The text-historical witness of MT, LXX, ANT and in particular OL 1–2Kings points to Israelite life in Judah alongside Judahites before 597/586 and after 721 BC; *Palimpsestus Vindobonensis* recounts about the Israelite exile in Judah. With the help of these sources, how can the formation of the biblical Israel be understood?

The Biblical Israel as Cultural Legacy of the Refugees from Israel

In his *History of Israel* Chr. Frevel supports the idea that the kingdom of Judah was for a long time more than a vassal of Israel. Judah was rather a "filial kingdom," a kingdom directly subordinated to Israel. At times, for example, the Israelites Joram, Ahaziah and Jehoahaz were both kings of Judah and Israel.[98] Since Ahaz's reign (respectively, after

[97] What does it mean for the text history that anti-Samaritan statements such as in MT 2Kgs 17:24–41 are manifested outside the Bible for first time in the Hasmonean period (Hensel 2016: 207)?

[98] Frevel 2016. According to Frevel, Jeroboam I is also a literary creation on the basis of Jeroboam II. On this cf. the criticism of Grabbe (2017). See also the discussion on the text of the Tel Dan inscription. Does it read "and I kill[ed Ahaz]iah, son of [Joram]" (Kottsieper 1998)

the end of the Jehu dynasty), Judah emancipated from Israel. This proposal can explain Israelite life in Judah not only after 721 BC (per Finkelstein, Na'aman), but before that. This perspective allows for a new interpretation of the formula "both houses of Israel" in the book of the Jerusalem Isaiah (Is 8:14).[99] Since the biblical tradition constantly identifies Jerusalem separately—as originally non-Judahite and Davidic property—beside the dominion of Judah, it is worthwhile to consider the possibility that in the 9th century BC "the house of David" (Tel Dan inscription) only ruled Jerusalem. Before the territorial development of Judah in the 8th century BC, the southern Judaean areas were under the hegemony of Israel, represented either by fortresses or trading posts like Kuntillet 'Ajrud or by local chiefdoms that accepted the Israelite-Jerusalemite supremacy.[100]

If Jerusalem's royal house were more Israelite than traditionally thought, it would be easier to imagine how the legacy of Israel was brought to Judah. The rise of biblical Israel is then historically plausible since the late 8th century BC—and not as late as the days of Josiah (per Na'aman). OL 2Kgs 17:19, 9 recalls an extensive presence of Israelite refugees alongside Judaeans in Judah after 721 BC. The note on the "House On," which was built in Jerusalem by the kings of Israel as a high place for Baal, speaks by itself for an earlier Israelite presence in Jerusalem.[101] And Papyrus Amherst 63, column XVII, provides a third reference to a history shared by Judaeans and Samarians.

The regency of Ahaz and Manasseh noticeably contradicts the ideological or religious aims of the narrators of the Books of Kings (cf.

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or "Ahaz]iah, [his] son" (Lipiński 2000: 378–379)? Was Joram Ahab's son (Lipiński 2000) or Jehoshaphat's (Strange 1975)?

[99] Williamson 2001b; cf. also Is 5:7 "house of Israel" and (Jeremiah's term) "man of Judah."

[100] Cf. Tebes (2018: 174–181). With this modification, is conceivable Fleming's assumption that the Davidic dynasty understood itself as a representative of Israel from the beginning.

[101] ANT/OL (Lucifer of Cagliari) 2Kgs 23:11 (καὶ τὸ ἅρμα τοῦ ἡλίου κατέκαυσεν ἐν πυρί ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ Ων ὃν οἰκοδόμησαν βασιλεῖς Ισραηλ ὑψηλὸν τῷ Βάαλ/*et fontem solis conbussit in igne in domo domus quam aedificaverunt regis Israel excelso illi Baal*) gives a further example that an early presence of Israel or of Israelite kings in Jerusalem was suppressed by MT/LXX. Can the growth of Jerusalem in the 9th cent. BC (Uziel and Szanton 2015; Gadot and Uziel 2017) be attributed to the building activities of the Omrides?

OL 2Kgs 17:9; MT 2Kgs 16; 21). They cover a period of time of around 80 years since the downfall of Israel. Then Josiah is to have brought a turnaround (of whatever kind) whose ideas were admittedly not continued by his successors, but by someone within the upper class of Jerusalem (the circle around the Shaphanids) into Babylonian exile times.[102] In this period the Benjaminite Mizpah, as Davies believed, could have been a place of survival for the written tradition. The end of the Books of Kings with its focus on the Babylonian exile of Jehoiachin shows, however, that the work was aligned with the ideology of the group of 596 BC exiles from in Babylon, who did not recognize Zedekiah's rule.[103] Therefore the biblical Israel in the Book of Kings cannot be distinguished by the use of the word "Israel" in, for example, Jeremiah, Ezekiel or the pre-exilic prophets.[104]

The clear differentiation between Israel and Judah in Jeremiah, Ezekiel and the Books of Kings suggests that their authors not only saw themselves as "Israel," but—in distinction to the Judaeans alongside them—understood themselves as Israelites by descent. A promotion of the idea of biblical Israel by the Judaean kings—such as that presumed by Finkelstein and Na'aman—would have been in this case of secondary importance. It is the cultural legacy of Israelite refugees in Judah that is mirrored in our tradition of biblical Israel.

The Books of Kings' criticism of the pro-Assyrian kings Ahaz and Manasseh raises the suspicion that the memory of their regency could well have been problematic from an Israelite viewpoint. This is so even though—or precisely because—Judah in the time of Manasseh flourished in cooperation with the might Assyrian power.[105] Hezekiah and Josiah stand rather as symbols of hope during the critical period of Israelite existence in Judah.

[102] Schütte 2016b: 10.14–15 *contra* Na'aman 2010.
[103] Cf. Ezechiel's reckoning of time after the rule of Jehoiachin (Ez 1:1; 8:1 and 2Kgs 25:27).
[104] Cf. Schütte 2016a.
[105] Finkelstein 1994; Stavrakopoulos 2004.

"Israel" and Historiography

The Books of Kings reveals a structured composition; their accounts of the kings of Israel and Judah are in strict chronological order, representing by themselves a historically remarkable achievement. Remarks about the kings have a firm framework within which the historical information is inserted.[106] The historiography[107] of the Books of Kings uses the name "Israel" very accurately. The name first appears in the description of the reigns of David and Solomon;[108] from Rehoboam to Ahaz of Judah the name "Israel" is not employed in Judahite contexts—also not as an epithet for God—but only in sections about Israelite kings. This changes only after the downfall of the kingdom of Israel, since Hezekiah of Judah. During the period of the two kingdoms, "Israel" was only a designation for the polity with capital in Samaria—and for its God.[109] G. Auld asked whether the fact that there were 19 kings in each kingdom after Solomon, both in Judah and in Israel, was more than a coincidental narrative pattern.[110]

Can the understanding of the narrative patterns help to know more about the dating of the Books of Kings? The end of the Books of Kings shows that this historiography of the biblical Israel included knowledge of events as late as the time of the Babylonian Exile; it must therefore have been created after 586 BC.[111] Can we postulate that a presumed precursor only reaching up to 2Kgs 17 was created after 721 BC?[112]

Anyone starting from such later or earlier dating boundaries—and lacking appropriate ancient text witnesses—must grapple with questions concerning the conditions for the possibility of this text tra-

[106] Cf. Halpern and Vanderhooft (1992).
[107] Cancik 1976: 13, uses the term "historiography" for the historical literature that proceded by critical writing about history, begining with the Greek tradition (Herodotus) (Cf. Grabbe 2008: 8–23).
[108] 1Kgs 1:1–2:11 (= ANT 2Sam 25:1–26:11).
[109] Zobel 1982.
[110] Auld 2007.
[111] Noth 1957: 91; Wolff 1973: 309 "wahrscheinlich um 550 im judäisch-benjaminitischen Gebiet" (probably around 550 in the Judaean Benjamite area).
[112] Schütte 2017.

dition. Thus, a discussion, for example, of the question of the beginnings of the historiography in the Old Testament[113] should include a comparative look at the cultural area surrounding Palestine.[114] Archaeological evidence has already made clear that Israelite and Judahite/Judaean historical writings can scarcely have begun before the 8th century BC. The absence of traits of divine epithets in the entire Tanach, which are known by finds at Kuntillet ʻAjrud and Khirbet Beit Ley, is a literary indication that the Books of Kings must also have undergone phases of linguistic "modernization."[115] Was this also part of the "religious revolution" which took place at the start of the Persian period or is this process to be expected after that time? The monarchical poly-Yahwism evidently lost its meaning for the biblical authors during the Babylonian Exile. But we can still find the biblically-rejected identification of YHWH with the God of Bethel in a syncretic text of Papyrus Amherst 63, (column XII, 17–18; cf. Jer 48:13). The polytemplism, with multiple temples for YHWH, had a still longer existence until the closing of the temple at Leontopolis (73 CE). In terms of the history of religion, the Egyptian evidence of the Judaean and Samari(t)an religion up into the 5th century BC testifies to a precursor of the Jewish religion represented by *Torah*, *Neviim* and *Ketuvim*.[116]

J. Pakkala sees two major tendencies in the Books of Kings. The first is a bias toward the monarchy, shown (but not only) in 2Kgs 25:27–30. The second is an emphasis in some texts on the Jerusalem Temple.[117] Yet a nomistic reorientation of Israel's religion breaks with

[113] Witte 2005.

[114] The work of Cancik 1976 regarding the dating of Old Testament historiography is now outdated. However, his description of the Hittite historiography of the 14th/13th century BC raises the questions of whether and how this could have influenced the historical writings of the Old Testament.

[115] "YHWH of Samaria" and "YHWH of Teman" (Kuntillet Ajrud; early 8th century BC), "YHWH … God of Jerusalem" (BLey A; *ca.* 701 BC). Cf. the explicit statement in 1Sam 9:9 and the late appearance of the designation "Prophet" for one of those figures having a biblical book dedicated to his activities.

[116] Becking 2003: 225–226.

[117] Pakkala 2008: 260–261.

these older tendencies. In Pakkala's opinion, an orientation toward the Mosaic commandments during the Persian period gave new accents for the received textual tradition. He stresses that the new emphases were likely far more than merely additions here and there to the traditional text: "It is clear that they did not regard these texts as unchangeable."[118] Pakkala's assumption comes close to the historically possible text comparison between MT, LXX, ANT and OL 1–2Kings.[119] The comparison between the Greek and Masoretic-Hebrew traditions suggests that the Masoretic tradition formed the Jewish final product of the Books of Kings' Judaean tradition. The Old Latin textual tradition appears, however, to come closer to the beginning of the nomistic reorientation than the Greek tradition. The OL Nomism is still weakly articulated. Its particular text form in 2Kgs 10/13 and 17 appears to confirm Pakkala's judgment about the Deuteronomistic nomists. To be sure, the text of the OL tradition shows a large correspondence in wording with the Greek and (at last) with the Masoretic textual tradition. Yet the story of Elisha's death, with only some minor changes relocated from the time of Jehu (*Palimpsestus Vindobonensis*) to the time of Jehoash (ANT, LXX, MT), undermines the idea for establishing an older or "original text" by literary criticism without any textual witness. Under these conditions the oldest *Vorlage* of the Books of Kings can be established only to a very limited extent.

The kings of Israel and Judah, to the extent that they are mentioned outside the Bible, are arranged in correct order by the biblical historiography, but uncertainties arise concerning the Elisha cycle. The fragmentary character of the *Palimpsestus Vindobonensis* leaves unanswered the question as to whether 2Kgs 10/13 and 17 are the only passages with serious cuts in the historical narrative. In this light, the note of a Gallic chronicle gains significance: "under this Jehu Hazael, the King of Syria, left from the army of Israel (in war) 50 teams of horses, 10 wagons and 1,000 men in accordance with the prophecy of

[118] Pakkala 2008: 266.

[119] What does this mean for the texts with references to the Torah (1Kings 2:3; 2Kings 10:31; 14:6; 17:13; 21:8; 22:8, 11; 23:24, 25)?

Elisha" (*sub ipso Hieu Azael rex Syriae reliquit de exercitu (in bello) Israhel quinquaginta equites, decem curros et mille viros secundum Elisei prophetiam*).[120] ANT/LXX/MT 2Kgs 13:7 attributes this situation, whereby the troop strength was raised to 10,000 men, to Jehoahaz the son of Jehu. The reference to a prophecy of Elisha suggests that the depiction of the regency of Jehu could have been more extensive than what is extant in the fragmentary textual tradition of OL. The textual tradition on Joram (2Kgs 1:17; 3:1),[121] the remarks on Jehoshaphat (LXX 1Kgs 16:28a–h/MT 1Kgs 22:41–51), and the stories of Jehu, suggest that the old depiction of the historical phase of the Aramaic wars compelled the (pre-)Masoretic redactors in the Seleucid or Maccabean period to put the history in a more favorable light.

The textual history of the Books of Kings is evidence that there is a double gap between real history and its historiography, a telling reminder that events are constantly reported with purpose, selecting them and then adding an assessment. Archaeology and exegesis stand here in a never-ending critical dialog to judge historical events on the basis of material culture and textual tradition.

The history of the text opens a second gap. At least for the Books of Kings, there exists an indisputable gap between the text-documented history and any possible (undocumented) earlier presentation. Theories about the development of a biblical text are limited by its textual witnesses; beyond that, only general assumptions can be made. Text critics rightly expect exegetes to deal more intensively with the textual history than has been done for a long time.[122] Their work must first pay attention to how the earliest transmissions of the biblical tradition, which we can first grasp in the oldest textual tradition, are to be understood in their historical contexts. This context is Hellenism, a cultural phenomenon dealt with by early Judaism with a new emphasis on its identity[123] The letter of Aristeas (*ca.* 150–100 BC) shows this

[120] *Liber genealogus Anni CCCXXVII*, No. 558 (Mommsen 1892: 192).
[121] Schenker 2016.
[122] Tekoniemi 2018: 227; Person and Rezetko 2016; cf. Pakkala 2013.
[123] Carr 2005: 253–272.

effort to stand out in the sophisticated Hellenistic world with one's own canon of writings. In that letter there are earlier Greek translations of the Torah emphatically disparaged, which probably reflected a still older form of the text.[124] It was probably not by an accident that such older biblical texts survived in a blind spot of the Hellenistic world, Latin North Africa, texts like the *Palimpsestus Vindobonensis* that were transmitted to us in the Old Latin tradition.

Conclusion

Various lines of evidence seem to suggest that after 721 BC Samarian people settled in Judah in a time when Jerusalem was ruled by a Judaean dynasty of probably Israelite origin. Since the 8th century BC, Israelites in Palestine, in Babylon and in Egypt were invariably referred to as Samarians and as Judahites/Judaeans in a political sense; from the 3rd century BC on, the expression "Israel/Israelites" was used solely in a religious sense. Both Judaean "Israelites" returning home from the Golah and Samari(t)an Israelites—who in spite of the polemic description of Josephus (Ant. 11,8,2) on the Gerizim, had quite indigenous roots in the YHWH cult—shared the tradition of the Pentateuch. The latter's patriarchal tradition fits well with the picture conveyed by the Egyptian textual evidence of a pre-monarchical Israel. This tradition likewise supports those narratives having historical content.[125] But what could have given them the impulse—certainly differing in importance for Samari(t)ans and Judaeans/Jews—to call themselves Israelites, with recourse to a distant past? In this respect, B. Tsedaka refers to the Samaritans: "If the Jews … adopted the foreign nickname Jews, it is their problem. On the contrary, the Israelite Samaritans … never adopted the foreign nickname of 'Samaritans' but always called themselves Israelites (see Delos inscriptions)."[126] This assertion is confirmed by the biblical Books of Samuel and Kings but, likewise, many

[124] Letter of Aristeas 30–31; 310–311.
[125] Zwickel and van der Veen 2016.
[126] Tsedaka 2012, 422. An external witness to the Bible for the period before the 3rd/2nd century BC is still missing.

Jews were Israelites by descent according to the older textual tradition of the Book of Kings. Of course, they were called Jews or Judaeans, because they lived once in the Kingdom of Judah, a kingdom probably originally Israelite. The *modern* question of why the Judaeans/Jews were called Israel(ites) seemed to arise with the addition of the Jerusalemite *Neviim* and *Ketuvim* to the Samari(t)an-Judaean Pentateuch. These texts stress the Israelite descent of Judaeans/Jews exclusively, sometimes with an anti-Samaritan claim. Did MT *Neviim* and *Ketuvim* represent the final Jewish position on the Jewish-Samaritan quarrel that reached its most terrible turn by John Hyrcan's time? Indeed, this subject deserves consideration on its own merit.[127]

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[127] For now cf. G. N. Knoppers (2012); M. Böhm (2012).

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El vocabulario de la construcción en Ugarit*

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Resumen: El vocabulario de la construcción en Ugarit

Partiendo de la noción de *casa* se organiza el vocabulario que nos ofrecen los textos ugaríticos, tanto literarios como administrativos, consonánticos y silábicos, sobre el proceso de la construcción del hábitat ciudadano, tanto por lo que hace a los *materiales* empleados, como a los *instrumentos* y *operaciones* que los manipulan. A través de este se puede apreciar cómo se configura la ciudad como expresión máxima de la cultura sedentaria de las épocas históricas.

Palabras clave: Casa – Templo – Palacio – Tumba – Ciudad – Calle

Summary: The Vocabulary of Construction in Ugarit

The vocabulary of the construction of the urban habitat of the Ugaritic literary and administrative, both consonantal and syllabic texts, starts from the notion of *house*. This vocabulary takes into consideration the *materials* as well as the *tools* and *operative systems* employed in their handling. It is possible to realize through them how the town becomes the highest symbol of the initial sedentary culture of human history.

Keywords: House – Temple – Palace – Tomb – City – Street

El elemento básico del vocabulario ugarítico de la construcción de la morada del hombre es el término *casa* (Ug. *bt*, É)[1], que certifica el fin de la tienda (*åhl*, *ḫymt*) de la etapa nomádica o móvil[2] y el paso a la

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* Abreviaciones utilizadas: *DUL* = del Olmo Lete y Sanmartín 2015; *KTU* = Dietrich, Lorenz, y Sanmartin 2013.

[1] Como sinónimos y en paralelo con *bt* aparecen a veces los términos literarios *ḫẓr*, "mansión" y *qrš*, "residencia" (KTU 1.4 IV 51 y par.; 1.4 V 28 y par; 1.14 III 29; 1.14 IV 42; 1.15 II 23; 1.100:68, cf. 1.114:18 // KTU 1.4 IV 24 y par).

[2] En ug. *åhl*, "tienda", sirve para designar la morada de los dioses, con el valor de "pabellón", como estructura edilicia noble y fija, mientras *ḫmt/ḥm, ḫym, ḫymt* (ar. *ḫaymat*), refleja más bien

sedentaria o fija, que *grosso modo* coincide con el paso del régimen económico del hombre recolector-cazador al de sembrador-domesticador (reflejado en el par *bt* + *šdm*, KTU 3.32:5), lo que se ha dado en llamar la revolución del Neolítico (mil. VII a.C.). Ahora bien, el simple hecho de constituirse en elemento fijo de habitación convierte a la *casa* en elemento catalizador de la reagrupación en torno a sí de elementos similares, en una dimensión y consistencia complemente diferente a las de la catalización que en ese mismo sentido podía ejercer la *tienda* (del jefe / campamento), dado el carácter de inamovible de que ésta carecía. Una tienda se podía levantar y trasladar, una casa, no[3].

Y los primeros datos generales que se han de registrar en relación con la importancia y desarrollo de esta fundamental estructura del nuevo orden socio-económico son los de su *constructor*, repetidamente mencionado en los textos administrativos, en ugarítico y acadio[4], así como los de los *materiales*, *instrumentos* y *operaciones* empleados.

Agentes[5]

"Arquitecto": *bny*, "arquitecto", título regio (KTU 3.11:7; < arab. *ʾal-bāniyu*; esp. "albañil").

"Albañil": *ḫrš b*(*h*)*tm*, "albañil, maestro de obra" (LÚ.(MEŠ.)DÍM É(.MEŠ; KTU 4.35 I 16 y *passim*).

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el valor de "tienda", como elemento móvil o superpuesto (*ʕrb b ẓl ḫmt*, "entró a la sombra de su tienda", situada en su "torre", KTU 1.14 III 55 y par.), pero puede también reflejar un valor más genérico o incluso metafórico: *ḫm gr*, "pabellón de huéspedes" (KTU 1.15 IV 23). De la misma base deriva *ḫmn*, que encontraremos más abajo como espacio cúltico del templo / palacio. Por su parte *bt* (*bayt*) tiene también en ar. el valor de "tienda", además del de "casa" (vid. AEL 280f.; DRS 63), reflejo probablemente del nivel nomádico de su léxico. Otro posible sinónimo ugarítico de "tienda" es *mšknt* en el sentido general de "morada" (*škn), mientras *mṯbt* corresponde más bien al de "habitáculo" ("choza" o "cabaña" < *yṯb; *mṯbt ảzmr*, "choza (hecha) con ramas" (KTU 1.41:51).

[3] La casa desmontable es un invento moderno. Para las abundantes citas de *bt* en los textos ugaríticos véase *DUL* (2015: 243–247).

[4] Véase KTU 4.35 I 16; 4.38:6; 4.47:10; 4.183 I 1; 4.370:14; 4.545:6; 4.609:18; 4.630:9; 4.837:5; 4.838:8; PRU 6 93 (RS 17.131):11; PRU 6 131 (RS 19.35 A):1).

[5] Sanmartín 1995: 169–203 (con introducción general sobre el problema lexicográfico); Vita 2018: 355–367.

"Cantero": *ḥṣb* "cantero": *gt ḥṣb*, "la alquería del cantero" (?)", *hápax* TN < (?) */ḥ-ṣ-b/ (KTU 4.409:7).

"Constructor de carros": *ḥršʿrq*, "constructor de carros, carretillas" (KTU 4.46:13–14; 4.243:2).

Operaciones

"Edificar": *bny, *rm(m), "edificar", "elevar": *tbʕ bn bht ym*, "ve, construye el palacio de Yam" (KTU 1.2 III 7 // *rmm*[6]; KTU 1.2 III 7); *bn bht ksp w ḫrṣ*, "edificaron un palacio de plata y oro" (KTU 1.4 V 18, 33); *ybn bt l bʕl km ỉlm*, "¡que se construya una casa / palacio a Baal, como (el de) sus hermanos" (KTU 1.4 IV 62).

"Edificación": *bnt*, *rm*, "edificación", "elevación": *bnt bhtk ... rm hklk*, "la construcción de tu casa… la elevación de tu palacio" (KTU 1.3 V 20 y par.); *bhty bnt dt ksp*, "mi palacio es una edificación de plata" (KTU 1.4 VI 36 y par.).

"Hacer ladrillos": *lbn, "hacer ladrillos": *hm* (…) *tlbn lbnt*, "¿o ha de hacer ella ladrillos?" (KTU 1.4 IV 61).

"Rebocar": *tḫ, "rebocar" ("to plaster"): *ṯḫ ggh b ym ṯỉṭ*, "que reboca su tejado cuando se forma barro" (KTU 1.17 I 32 y par.).

Materiales

"Arcilla": *ṯỉṭ*, "arcilla", "barro": *b ym ṯỉṭ*, "cuando se forma barro" (KTU 1.17 I 32 y par.).

"Ladrillo", "adobe": *lbnt*, "ladrillo", "adobe": *hm* (…) *tlbn lbnt*, ¿o ha de hacer ella ladrillos?" (KTU 1.4 IV 61); *bt lbnt yʕmsnh*, "le aportarán un palacio de ladrillo" (KTU 1.4 V 11); *ṯm tpl k lbnt*, "allí cayeron como ladrillos…" (KTU 1.13:13).

[6] Véase Y. Avishur (1981: 270–279).

"Piedra": *abn*, "piedra", "bloque", como elemento de edificación (sorprende la ausencia de referencias a un elemento tan fundamental en la edilicia ugarítica y en general en todo el POA[7]).

"Viga": *ʕṣ-m*, *yrqt*(¿), "madero", "tronco", "viga": *ʕṣm l bt … ånk åtn ʕṣm lk*, "vigas para el templo… yo te daré las vigas" (KTU 2.26:5/8); en este mismo texto aparece como término genérico: *årbʕ ʕṣm ʕl…*, "cuatro troncos a cuenta de …" (KTU 2.26:9); *l ʕṣm tspr*, "acerca de las vigas ya me contarás" (KTU 2.26:17). Más dudoso es el valor "viga" del término *yrqt*: *ṯm tpl (…) k yrkt ʕṯqbm*, "allí cayeron como vigas troncos de *ash tree*" (?) (KTU 1.13:14).

"Cedro": *årz*, "cedro": *bt årzm ykllnh*, "un palacio de cedro le terminarán" (KTU 1.4 V 10–11[8]).

"Fresno": *ʕṯqb*, "fresno" ("ash tree"): *ṯm tpl (…) k yrkt ʕṯqbm*, "allí fresnos cayeron (…) como vigas" (?) (KTU 1.13:14). Otros maderos de posible uso en la construcción serían: "chopo": *ådr*, "chopo" (?): *mỉt ådrm b ʕšrt*, "cien (troncos de) *a.* por diez (siclos)" (KTU 4.158:8); "Encina": *åln*, "encina / roble": *ẓỉ b åln*, "ve al encina(r)" (KTU 1.12 I 20); "enebro": *dprn*, "enebro": *dprn åḥd b ṯql*, "un (tronco de) enebro por un siclo" (KTU 4.158:20).

"Oro y plata": *ḫrṣ*, "oro", *ksp*, "plata" (*sb ksp l rqm ḫrṣ nsb l lbnt*, "la plata se había convertido en planchas, el oro cambiado en ladrillos" (KTU 1.4 VI 34–35).

"Lapislázuli": *ỉqnu*, "lapislázuli" y otras piedras semipreciosas en construcciones mitológicas de palacios para dioses: *bht ṭhrm ỉqnỉm*, "un palacio del más puro lapislázuli" (KTU 1.4 V 19 y par. (// *ksp*, *ḫrṣ*).

"Plancha": *rq-m*, "plancha", "tablero" (?): *sb ksp l rqm*, "la plata se había convertido en planchas" (KTU 1.4 VI 34). El valor de *ḥt* a este respecto es dudoso.

[7] Sus valores normales son los de "piedras / guijarros", "mineral" o "pesa"; véase *DUL* (2015: 10–11).

[8] Véase a este respecto G. del Olmo Lete (en prensa), para otros posibles árboles madereros.

Instrumentos

"Llana", "paleta": *ủlṯ,* "llana", "paleta": *ʕbd ... ảḥd*, "esclavo que echa mano de la llana" (KTU 1.4 VI 60 // *lbnt*); *ủlṯ ṯlṯ,* "llana de bronce" (KTU 4.390:7).

"Martillo": *mqb*, "martillo" (sin testimonio de su uso en edilicia, pero instrumento ineludible en muchas de sus operaciones).

"Carro"; *ʿrq*, "carro, carretilla": *ḫršʕrq*, "constructor de carros / carretillas" (KTU 4.46:13–14; 4.243:2).

La literatura ugarítica nos ofrece a su vez una serie de datos sobre el vocabulario de la *estructura edilicia* de la *bt*, en todas sus clases, que tiene:

Elementos arquitectónicos

"Puerta": *dlt*, "puerta (exterior)" de la *bt* (KTU 1.3 II 3–4; 6.66:10), específicamente *dlt tḥtn*, "puerta de abajo" o "al exterior", por oposición a:

ptḥ, "puerta (interior)": *ṯlṯ ʕšr ptḥ b tk bt*, "trece puertas en el interior de la casa" (KTU 4.195:7); es la denominación más corriente (*passim*) en los textos ugaríticos y tiene así un valor general de "puerta"; está disponible como elemento suelto del mobiliario: [ʕ]*šr ptḥ*, "diez puertas" (KTU 4.195:7[9]);

ṯġr, "puerta", en el sentido inglés de "gate" (por oposición a "door"), como elemento principalmente del sistema defensivo, en relación normalmente con las grandes estructuras edilicias, empíricas y míticas: muralla, templo, palacio, aunque susceptible de ser aplicada a *bt* en general. De esta diferencia semántica

[9] Por su parte W. G. E. Watson (1976: 107) ve en *ṣrrt* el término por "jamba (de la puerta)"; ya J. C. L. Gibson (1978) sugería en la misma dirección el valor: "door-pivot, lintel". En el mismo sentido véase *tl: mrḫh l tl yṣb*, "*su* lanza apoyó en el *t*. (?)" (KTU 1.16 I 52). A su vez P. Xella (1981: 309 y ss.) y Watson (2007: 82) ven en el *hápax* en texto frag. *db* el vocablo por "umbral" ("soglia", "threshold"): [*ī*]*d ydbḥ mlk* (…) *b db*), "cuando el Rey sacrifica en el umbral…" (KTU 164:4). Se trata de atribuciones interesantes pero dudosas.

deriva la distinción entre: *tġr*, "guardia(-án)" ("gatekeeper") y *ngr*, "portero" ("doorkeeper"), título empírico y mitológico. Puede tener, no obstante, el valor general de "puerta" doméstica: *pnh tġr yṣů*, "su cara apareció por la puerta" (KTU 1.16 I 52).

"Vestíbulo": *ḫdr tġr*, "hall, vestíbulo", con su propia puerta: *ptḫ ḫdr tġr*, "la puerta del vestíbulo" (KTU 4.195:14).

"Ventana": *ḫln*, "ventana", al parecer término edilicio usual, disponible como elemento suelto del mobiliario: *ṯmn ḫlnm*, "ocho ventanas" (KTU 4.195:15) y objeto de un mitema particular en el ciclo de Baal (KTU 1.4 V 64); también en estructuras defensivas / cúlticas: *ḫln d b dmt ům ỉl*[*m*, "ventana situada en la fortaleza de la madre de los dioses" (?) (KTU 2.31:46).

"Claraboya": *ůrbt*, "claraboya": *w tṣů … k qṭr ůrbtm*, "y saldrá … como humo por a una claraboya" KTU 1.169:3), elemento edilicio empírico, bien definido, y también motivo de un mitema del ciclo baálico: *ål tšt ůrbt b* [*bhtm*], "no pongas una claraboya en la casa-palacio de Baal (KTU 1.4 V 64 y par., en paralelo con *ḫln*). Posee también el valor de "hornacina" o similar en contexto cultual (templo): *ůrbt ỉlỉb* (KTU 1.109:19); *yṯb mlk b ůr*[*bt*], "el Rey/*Milku* se sentará / será instalado en la hornacina" (KTU 1.171:6).

"Muro": *qr*, "muro" (*qr btk*, "los muros de tu casa" (KTU 1.82:40).

"Soporte, basa": *ʕmd*, "soporte", "basa" (de columna, muro): *k bṯn ʕmdm*, "como una culebra por la basa (de una columna)" (KTU 1.169:3).

"Habitación": *ḫdr*, "estancia", es el término genérico que designa los espacios en que se divide toda *bt*: *yʕny ỉl b šbʕt ḫdrm*, "El respondió desde las siete estancias (de su casa)" (KTU 1.3 V 26); pero también designa la habitación propia o *ḫdr mškb*, "dormitorio" (KTU 4.195:6): *yʕrb b ḫdrh ybky*, "entró en su estancia / dormitorio a llorar / llorando" (KTU 1.14 I 26).

"Cámara"": *sgrt*, "cámara, estancia": *ṯmnt åp sgrt*, "ocho antecámaras" (KTU 1.3 V 27; véase *infra sgr*).

"Antesala": *åp sgrt*, "antesala, recibidor" (KTU 1.3 V 11, 27).
"Comedor": *bt ỉkl*, "comedor" ("dining room") (KTU 1.22 I 24).
"Salón de estar": *mḥ*, "salón de estar" ("day / living room"): *d ỉṯ ḥdr*[*m*] *w mḥ*, "que tiene dos habitaciones y un salón de estar" (KTU 2.88:19).
"Pórtico": *mmṭr*, "pórtico" o quizás "patio" interior (vd. lat. *impluvium*), con su "puerta" de acceso: *ṯn ptḥm d mmṭr*, "dos puertas de (que dan acceso al) pórtico / patio" (?) (KTU 4.195:11).
"Patio": *sgr-m*, "patio" ("courtyard"), denominación *hápax* al parecer más segura a ese respecto: ([…]*d sgrm*, "[…] para patios" (?) (KTU 4.195:4), versión discutida en ctx. frg., derivada de la base *sgr, "cerrar", usada en contextos de "cerrar la puerta de casa": *bʕdh bhtm sgrt*, "detrás de sí cerró la casa" (KTU 1.100:70); *yḥd bth sgr* / *ysgr*, "el que viva solo que cierre su casa" (KTU 1.14 II 43 y par.).
"Reservado(?)": *tủ*, "reservado(?)", *hápax* difícil de precisar en su significación ("guardroom, guardhouse" (?)), al que se atribuyen dos puertas: *ṯn ptḥm b bt tủ*, "dos puertas de acceso / para 'reservado'" (?) (KTU 4.195:10); el uso de *ptḥ* sugiere que se trata de un espacio de la vivienda doméstica.
"Tejado": *gg*, "tejado" (*ṭḥ ggh b ym ṯỉṭ*, "que reboca su tejado cuando se forma barro" (KTU 1.17 I 32 y par.).

Nace así de manera connatural con la sedentarización y su *casa* el fenómeno de la *agrupación urbana*, que irá progresivamente, de una manera bastante rápida, creciendo en sus dimensiones, desde lo que podríamos llamar, con terminología moderna, el *cortijo, hacienda, caserío* hacia la *alquería* (ar. *al-qaryat*[10]) *aldea* (ar. *al-ḍayʕat*) y la *ciudad*. Para todas estas diferentes dimensiones de la habitación humana la lengua ugarítica nos ofrece el correspondiente lexema: *gt* / *qryt-kpr* / *pdr-qrt-ʕr-mdnt*.

[10] Véase, J. Vidal (2005: 18–20).

Agrupación urbana

"Ciudad": *qrt*, *ʕr*, *pdr*, "ciudad"[11]; "capital", "villa" (*l pn qrt*, "ante la (gente de) ciudad (KTU 2.72:19); *qrb ʕr*, "dentro de la ciudad" (KTU 1.62:5); *bn qrtm*, "entre dos ciudades", "a campo abierto" (KTU 1.3 II 20); *ʕd mġyy b ʕrm*, "hasta que llegue a la ciudad" (KTU 2.71:17); *qrt m*[*lk*, "ciudad real" (KTU 2.42:17); la cual tiene una autoridad al frente: *skn qrt*, "gobernador de la ciudad" (KTU 4.609:10, 11; LÚ *ḫa-(az-)za-nu* (URU^{ki})); *rb qrt*, "alcalde de la ciudad" (KTU 4.141 III 3)[12]; como tiene sus dioses: *ỉl q*][*r*]*t* (KTU 1.148:40, DINGIR.MEŠ URU.KI, lectura incierta) y genios protectores a los que paga tributo: […*ỉqn*]*ỉ l ṯrmn qrt* "[…de púrpu]ra para los *ṯ.* (protectores) de la ciudad" (KTU 4.182:15); puede verse en situaciones difíciles: *ỉm ht l b mṣqt yṯbt qrt,* "si, pues, la ciudad se encuentra de veras en una situación difícil" (KTU 2.72:21); *hm qrt tůḫd*, "si la ciudad está a punto de ser capturada" (1.127:30); *šl hw qrt*, "y saqueó la ciudad" (KTU 2.61:7); v.g. sometida a ataque o asedio: *ỉdk ål ttn pnm tk qrth*, "así pues, pon proa hacia su ciudad" (KTU 1.4 VIII 11 and par.); *ḫẓk ål tšʕl qrth*, "no dispares tus flechas contra la ciudad" (KTU 1.14 III 13); *gr*{.}*nn ʕrm*, "ataca las ciudades" (// *pdrm*) (KTU 1.14 III 6); *šrn pdrm*, "asedia sus ciudades" (KTU 1.14 III 7 and par. // *ʕrm*); *šl hw qrt…qrtn ḫlqt*, "saqueó la ciudad…; nuestra ciudad ha quedado destruida" (KTU 2.61:6–7, 12); *ʕrm tdů mt* // *pdrm tdů šrr*, "de la ciudad arrojó a ND" // "de la villa así mismo al enemigo" (KTU 1.16 VI 6 y par.); o ser referencia de domesticación: *ynt qrt*, "paloma doméstica" (KTU 1.41:21). Hay también míticas ciudades como: *ʕr d qdm* "la ciudad de los tiempos antiguos" (KTU1.100:62); *qrt åblm / zbl yrḫ*, "la ciudad de å., del príncipe Y." (KTU 1.19 IV 1–2 and par.); juega un papel decisivo en el ciclo baálico: *ʕb*!*r l*[*ʕr*] *ʕrm* // *ṯb lpd*[*r p*]*drm,*"pasó de ciudad en

[11] Véase en general sobre Ugarit: G. Saadé (1979 y 2011); M. Yon (1997).

[12] ¿Sería posible suponer que *ciudadano* era un título que podía hacerse valer como sujeto de un régimen fiscal y profesional peculiar frente a *aldeano*?: PN *qrty* (KTU 4.80:9, 12).

ciudad”// “dio vueltas de villa en villa” (// *pdrm*) (KTU 1.4 VII 7–8); *tt l ttm åḫd ʕr // šbʕm šbʕ pdr*, “tomó sesenta y seis ciudades” // “setenta y siete villas” (KTU 1.4 VII 9–10; y en ella habitan los dioses: [*tỉty l*] *ʕrhm*, “vinieron a / de su ciudad” (KTU 1.22 II 24 y par.)[13]; y desde luego las hay que deben pagar impuestos: *qrht d tš{š}lmn*, “ciudades que tributan” (KTU 4.95:1); *tt kwt yn b qrt*, “dos jarros de vino de (la) ciudad / TN / excelencia (?)” (KTU 4.691:6); *årbʕm ksp ʕl qrt*, “cuarenta siclos a cuenta de la ciudad / TN” (KTU 4.290:6); *kd ỉštỉr ʕm qrt*, “una jarra (de aceite) se debe (rebajar / descontar) a la ciudad / TN” (KTU 4.290:3). En KTU 1.3 II 16 el vocablo *mdnt* (ar. *madinat*) parece referirse más bien a la población (// *šbm*) que no al hábitat físico.

“Aldea”: *qryt*, *kpr*, “alquería”, “aldea”(?) (village)[14] (*kprm ḫlq 10*, “faltan 10 aldeas” (KTU 4.611 II 8)); *ʕdb åkl l qryt*, “preparar alimento / grano (traído) de las aldeas” (KTU 1.14 II 28 y apr.) (// *l bt ḫbr*); *bn qrytm*, entre dos aldeas” (> “a campo abierto”) (KTU 1.3 II 7 y par.) (// *b ʕmq*).

“Alquería”: *gt*, “cortijo”, “finca”[15] (“farmstead”, “estate”) (*b gt ḫbṯ*, “(el esclavo) se escapó de mi finca” (KTU 2.90:9); *PN* (…) *ytn šd PN* (…) [*y*]*d gth yd zth yd* [*k*]*rmh yd* [*k*]*lklh w ytn*{.}*nn l PN* (…) *ʕd ʕlm*, “ PN (…) ha donado los campos propiedad de NP (…) junto con su alquería, su olivar, su viña y todo lo demás de su propiedad y lo ha entregado a PN (…) a perpetuidad” (KTU 3.5:7); *ʕl gtt*, “a cuenta de las alquerías”, (KTU 4.800 II 35).

Por su parte esta agrupación de casas (*b*(*h*)*tm*)[16] en *ciudad* se

[13] Para las principales moradas divinas véase KTU 1.100 y del Olmo Lete (2014: 188 y ss.).

[14] Véase Vidal (2003:18 y ss. y 66). A propósito del texto épico: *åkl l qryt*, “grano procedente de las aldeas” (KTU 1.14 II 28 y par), cabe comentar que este como los otros textos aducidos favorecen el sentido “aldea” para *qryt*: no se puede hablar de 10 ciudades en un texto administrativo; el grano se trae de las aldeas; “a campo abierto” y “en el valle” solo pueden referirse a emplazamientos rurales.

[15] Véase del Olmo Lete (en prensa).

[16] Para la múltiple atribución de casas a particulares véanse los ejemplos recogidos en *DUL* (2015: 244–245).

lleva a cabo según un ordenamiento racional, práctico y jerárquico, distinguiendo por un lado la parte o sector del poder (humano y divino) y por otro la del pueblo súbdito. Para aquel se suelen escoger las zonas elevadas (*acrópolis*) donde se instala la mansión de dios o templo (*bt il-m*)[17] (// *hkl*), poder divino, y la del jefe-rey o palacio (*bt mlk*)[18] (// *hkl*), poder humano, que con el tiempo sufrirán remodelaciones y ampliaciones, reservando para el pueblo la *ciudad baja*.

Moradas sublimes

a) El templo

"Templo": *bt ỉl-m*, *hkl* (É.GAL), "templo"[19], básicamente de Dagan y de Baal[20], los dos templos aflorados por la arqueología (las referencias al templo en general y a los templos de los diferentes dioses son abundantes en los textos ugaríticos[21]). Numerosas referencias se aducirán en los apartados siguientes. En los textos mitológicos las nociones de "palacio" y "templo" son intercambiables y objeto de un destacado mitema (KTU 1.3–1.4): *bnt bhtk y ỉlm bnt bhtk ål tšmḫ*, "en la construcción de tu palacio, ¡oh ND!, en la elevación de tu palacio no te regocijes" (KTU 1.3 V 19–20); *klåt ṯġrt bht* "cerró las puertas de su palacio" (KTU 1.3 II 3–4 y par.); *bht zbl ym*, "el palacio del príncipe DN" (KTU 1.2 III 8 y par.); *ỉn bt lbʿl*, "ND no tiene palacio" (KTU 1.3 V 38 y par.); *ỉb tʕrbm b bhth*, "entre DN en su palacio" (KTU 1.24:18–19); *bkm yṯb bʕl l bhth*, "a continuación DN volvió / se aposentó a su palacio" (KTU, 1.4 VII 42); *ålp šd åḥd bt*, "mil yugadas de terreno cubrirá el palacio (KTU 1.4 V 56);

[17] Los dioses (El, Baal, Anat …) habitan en montañas (*ḫršn*, *hr*, *ġr*, *ḫlb*…). Para las menciones de los diferentes templos de Ugarit véase *DUL* (2015: 246–247).

[18] Sobre el Palacio Real de Ugarit véase el estudio pionero de J.-C. Margueron (1995: 183–202).

[19] Otras denominaciones de la residencia de los dioses en la mitología son *qrš* (*qrš mlk åb šnm*, "la residencia del Rey, padre de años", KTU 1.4 IV 24 y par.) y *ḏd* (*tgly l ḏd ỉl*, "se dirigió a la morada /gruta de El", KTU 1.6 I 34)).

[20] Callot 2011.

[21] Véase *DUL* (2015: 246–247).

bt ảrzm ykllnh // *bt lbnt yʕmsnh*, “palacio de cedro le acabarán, un palacio de ladrillo le obsequirán” (KTU 1.4 V 10–11); *ḫš bhtm tbnn*, ¡venga, de prisa se construya el palacio!” (KTU 1.4 V 53 y par.); *bn bht ksp w ḫrṣ* // *bht ṯhrm ỉqnỉm*, “construyan un palacio de plata y oro // un palacio del más puro lapislázuli” (KTU 1.4 V 18–19 y par.); *<b>hty bnt dt ksp*, “mi palacio es una construcción de plata…” (KTU 1.4 VI 36 y par.); *bl åšt ůrbt b bhtm*, “voy a poner una ventana en el palacio” (KTU 1.4 V 61 y par.); *tšt ỉšt b bhtm*, “encendieron fuego en el palacio” (KTU 1.4 VI 22 y par.); *tỉkl išt b bhtm*, “el fuego se cebó en el palacio” (KTU 1.4 VI 25 y par.); *ʕdbt bhth bʕl yʕdb*, “el plano de su palacio ND trazó” (KTU 1.4 VI 38); *ṣḥ ḥrn b bht*!*k*, “convoca una brigada en su palacio” (KTU 1.4 V 13 y par.); *ṣḥ ảḫh b bhth*, “invitó a sus hermanos en su palacio” (KTU 1.4 VI 44); *tt̲t̲bn b bt*, “le entronizarán en su palacio” (KTU 1.41:55); *ỉn bʕl b bhth*, “DN no está en su palacio” (KTU 1.10 II 4). En el plano empírico el templo sanciona el patrón oro de los intercambios comerciales (*ḫrṣ bt ỉl*, KTU 4.341:5) y es a su vez receptor de “raciones” (*ḫprm*) de grano y vino para su servicio (KTU 4.269:1; 4.219:2). De acuerdo con el modelo mitológico, el templo posee un “portero” (y su “portería”, por tanto), *ngr bt* (KTU 1.16 IV 7) y *ṯ̲gr bt ỉl* (KTU 114:11–12): “portero del templo de DN”; y “guardianes” propios (*mḏ̲rġ̇lm d bt bʕlt mlk*, KTU 4.54:1), como el “palacio”. Por otra parte, un texto como *ṣpů ksmh bt bʕl*, “que consuma su porción en el templo de ND” (KTU 1.17 I 31 y par.), hace suponer que en templo se disponía de una *bt ỉkl*, “comedor”, a no ser que el recinto sacrificial mismo cumpliera esa función; véase a este propósito: *ỉl dbḥ b bth*, “DN sacrificó / dio un festín en su palacio” (KTU 1.114:1); un caso de “templo” particular es el que supone la denominación *bhtm mnt*, “casa del conjuro” (KTU 1.100:70) y que designaría el templo / palacio de Ḥorón, de acuerdo con el mitema desarro-

[22] Véase del Olmo Lete (2014: 200 y ss.).

llado en KTU 1.100[22].

"Santuario": *qdš*, "santuario", otro nombre del templo (*qdš): *b qdš*, "en el santuario", como lugar tabú de reclusión (KTU 1.169:8); *qdš bʕl,* "el santuario de DN" (KTU 1.119:33); *btm qdš ỉl*, "(en) el templo santuario de ND" (KTU 1.94:24, en ctx. frag.); *b qdš b ġr nḥlty*, "en mi santuario, en el monte de mi propiedad" (KTU 1.3 III 30 y par.); *nṣb* (…) *b qdš ztr ʕmh*, "que erija (…) en el santuario la estela votiva de su clan" (KTU 1.17 I 26 y par.); *ym*[*ġy*] *l qdš ảṯrt ṣrm*, "llegaron al santuario de ND de los tirios" (KTU 1.14 IV 34); *b qdš ỉl bt*, "en el santuario del(os) dios(es) del palacio", (KTU 1.115:7); *š qdšh*, "un carnero (se sacrificará) en el santuario" (KTU 1.106:13); *gdlt b qdš ỉl*, "una vaca (se sacrificará) en el santuario de DN" (KTU 1.119:6).

"Rampa de acceso": *ntbt,* "rampa de acceso"; como elemento de su estructura y función el templo posee una "rampa de acceso", de acuerdo con la situación elevada a que no referimos más arriba: *qdš bʕ*[*l*] *nʕl ntbt bt* [*bʕl*] *ntlk*, "al sanuario de ND subiremos, la senda del templo de ND andaremos" (KTU 1.119:33-34).

"Torre": *mgdl*, "torre"[23]: *ảlp l mg*!*d*!*l bʕl ủgrt*, "una res de vacuno (se sacrificará) en la torre (del templo) de ND de NL" (KTU 1.119:12); *ỉlt mgdl š*, "(a) la diosa de/en la torre un carnero (se sacrificará)" (KTU 1.39:11); cf. KTU 1.112:25); *qrt zbl yrḫ d mgdl š*[, "la ciudad del Príncipe DN, cuya torre…" (KTU 1.18 I 31).

"Fortificación": *mṣd*, "fortificación", posiblemente un sinónimo de la denominación precedente: *yrdn gṯrm mṣdh*, "los dos ND descendieron al *m*. (KTU 1.112:19).

[23] Véase la reconstrucción de los templos de Baal y Dagán (Yon 1997: 166 y ss.), en la que este elemento resalta de manera manifiesta. Sin embargo, estas reconstrucciones, hechas a partir de los datos arqueológicos, no tienen en cuenta, como acontecía con la del Palacio (véase el estudio de Margueron citado en n. 18), los elementos supuestos por el vocabulario edilicio que aportan los textos.

Instalaciones

"Propiciatorio": *ʕly*: "propiciatorio", así traducido convencionalmente, lugar elevado para ofrendas especiales, que ha de distinguirse del "altar" (*mdbḥ*), lugar de las demás ofrendas sacrificiales: *ʕly* [*md*]*bḥt*, "el propiciatorio sacrificial" (KTU 1.87:41 y par.); *š qdšh ʕly* [*ḫm*]*nh*, "un carnero (se sacrificará) en el santuario, en el propiciatorio (del) *ḫaman*" (KTU 1.106:14); *ṯn* [*d*]*d šmn ʕlyh*, "dos jarras de aceite en el propiciatorio (se ofrecerán)" (KTU 1.41:46 y par., véase KTU 1.126:20).

"Altar": *mdbḥ*(*t*), "altar" (< *dbḥ), estructura cultual, elevada, pues tiene "gradas": [*t*]*tb mdbḥ bʕl*, "se repetirá en el altar de DN" (KTU 1.41:41 y par.); *w ʕly mdbḥt*, "y (en) el "propiciatorio" de los altares" (KTU 1.41:38 y par.).

"Mesa": *ṯlḥn*, "mesa", en relación bien con el "altar" o con el "comedor" (*bt ỉkl*, véase "templo"): *ṯlḥn bʕlt bhtm*, "mesa de la Señora del Palacio" (KTU 1.109:31).

"Gradas": *mʕ*[*lt*, *yrdt*, "gradas" (de subida y bajada)" (*ʕl / yrd): *mʕlt mdbḥt bt ỉlt*, "ofrendas) en las gradas del altar del templo de la diosa" (KTU 1.41:24 y par.); *yrdt mdbḥt*, "las gradas de los altares" (KTU 1.39:20).

"Capilla": *ḫmn*, "capilla", "camerino", instalación cultual reservada y al parecer elevada: *tn šm ḫmnh*, "(ofrecerán) dos carneros en el 'camerino" (KTU 1.112:3); *tʕln ỉlm b ḫmn*, "subirán los dioses al camerino" (KTU 1.112:8); [*š*]*bʕ ṣỉn ḫmnh*, "(ofrecerán) siete ovejas en el camerino" (KTU 1.106:13 y par.; 1.48:13; 1.53:5; 1.104:16); *š* (…) *ḫmnh nkl*, "(se ofrecerá) un carnero (…) en el camerino de ND" (KTU 1.106:14); *ỉd ydbḥ mlk b ḫmn*, "cuando el Rey sacrifique en el camerino" (KTU 1.164:1).

"Sala del trono": *ʕd*, "sala del trono", "testimonial" (*w tnrr b ʕd bt bʕl*, "y quemarán en la sala del trono del templo de ND" (KTU1.119:9); *šbʕm yrgm ʕl ʕd*, "siete veces se recita frente al testimonial" (KTU 1.23:12; véase *mt yṯb* (…), "DN está sentado (…)", ibid. ln. 8).

"Fosa funeraria": *ġb* / *ġr*, "fosa funeraria sacrificial" (?) (posibles alógrafos), localizable posiblemente en el templo (¿de El, Baal?): (…) *b ġr*, "(se ofrecen sacrificios) en el *ġ*." (KTU 1.41:22; 1.87:24); *ġb ṣpn* / *ḫyr* / *ršp* / *ỉšḫry*, "la fosa funeraria sacrificial (?) de DN / MN / DN / DN" (KTU 1.91:15; 1.105:3, 14, 16, 21; 4.149:13).

"Sin identificar": *gb*, *kbm* (?) (*gb bt ỉlm kbkbm*, "el *g*. del templo de los dioses astrales" (KTU 1.43:2–3); *w yšt b gbh*, "y será colocado en su *g*." (KTU 1.175:13, véase ln. 17); *gb ỉad*, "el *g*. de ND" (KTU 1.172:23); *š kbmh*, "un carnero en su / el *k*. (se ofrecerá)" (KTU 1.106:15).

b) El Palacio Real

"Palacio": *bt mlk*, "Palacio Real": *bt mlk*, "Palacio Real" (KTU 1.41:20; 1.43:2, 10 y *passim*)[24]; *b* [[*x*]] *bt mlk*, "en el Palacio Real" (KTU 2.89:5f.); *hlny hnn b bt mlk*, "aquí, sí, en el Palacio Real" (KTU 2.89:5); *ykn bnh b bt*, "¡que haya un hijo en (su) Palacio!" (KTU 1.17 I 25 y par.); *dlt bt*, "puerta del Palacio" (KTU 6.66:10); *dn*{.}*ỉl bth ymġyn*, "PN llegó a su Palacio", (KTU 1.17 II 24 y par.); *ʕrb / tbʕ b bth*, "entró en / abandonó su Palacio" (KTU 1.17 II 26, 39); tiene sus dioses tutelares propios: *bʕlt btm* (KTU 1.41:37 y par.), *bʕlt bhtm* "La Señora del Palacio" (KTU 1.41:7; 1.105:16, *passim*), que resulta ser *pdry bt mlk*, "DN (diosa) del Palacio" (KTU 1.91:7; 1.139:14); e instalaciones para el culto: *bt mlk*, "en el Palacio" (KTU 1.39:12); *k tʕrb ʕṯtrt šd bt mlk*, "cuando DN entra en Palacio" (KTU 1.91:10 y par.); tiene su servicio: *måṯr bt*, "inspector de(l personal) de Palacio" (KTU 6.66:9); *ʕbdm* (…) *btwm*, "siervos (…) de Palacio" (KTU 4.320:13); [*t*]*gmr bnš l b bt mlk,* "total del personal de servicio en Palacio" (KTU 4.137:14); *bnš d bt mlk*, "personal de Palacio" (KTU 4.766:12; *npš d ʕrb bt mlk*, "perso-

[24] Esporádicamente puede tener el sentido de "familia": *bt mlk ỉtbd*, "la familia del Rey pereció" (KTU 1.14 I 8).

nal que ha entrado en Palacio" (KTU 4.388:2); *bnš {l} d yškb l b bt mlk*, "personal que duerme / reside en Palacio" (KTU 4.163:15); y al que se provee: *ḫpr bt*, "ración(es) de / para el Palacio" (KTU 4.269:1; 4.288:3); *w b bt mlk mlbš ytn lhm*, "se les entregó atuendo procedente de Palacio" (KTU 4.168:8); tiene su "cuerpo de guardia" (y su correspondiente "cuarto de guardia"): *nġr bt*, "guardia del Palacio" (KTU 4.858:7)[25] y su "portero", *ṯġr hk*[*l*] (KTU 4.224:8); y su armería: *ṯmn mrkbt dt ʕrb bt mlk*, "ocho carros que entraron en (la armería del) Palacio" (KTU 4.145:2); es el referente de la propiedad y finanzas públicas: *l bt*, "(?) de / para el Palacio" (KTU 4.868:3, en ctx. frag.); *ksp d šlm PN ʕl bt* capital que PN pagó a cuenta del Palacio", KTU 4.755:2.

"Torre": *mgdl*, "torre": w *ʕly l ẓr mgdl*, "(PN) subió a lo más alto de la torre" (KTU 1.14 IV 3 y par.).

"Sala del trono": *ʕd*, "sala del trono" (*yṯb krt l ʕdh,* "PN tomó asiento en su sala del trono", KTU 1.16 VI 22.

"Sin identificar": *gb*, sin identificar, como en el caso del templo; *k tʕrb ʕṯtrt ḫr gb bt mlk ʿšr ʿšr b gb bt ỉlm kbkbm*, "cuando entra la ND en el *g*. del palacio se celebra un banquete en el *g*. del templo de las deidades astrales" (KTU 1.43:1–2).

Residencias del funcionariado

En relación con el Palacio Real se hallan otras mansiones que albergaban a la *élite del funcionariado* administrativo a su servicio:

bt skn, "residencia del prefecto de la ciudad", KTU 4.361:1;

bt ṯʿy, "residencia del visir"[26], KTU 1.119:8;

bt ảlḫnm, "residencia de los intendentes" (/ "millers" (?)), KTU 4.392:4;

[25] Se puede también hablar de un *nġr ḫwt*, "guardian of the country" (KTU 2.98:37), empírica o metafóricamente.

[26] Para la figura del *ṯʿy* véase W. H. van Soldt (1988: 313–321) y del Olmo Lete (1988: 27–33).

bt trtn, “residencia del inspector” (?) (/ “comandante en jefe” (?)), KTU 5.11:5.

Llama la atención que no aparezca en los textos ugaríticos un término específico para designar la residencia que albergaba los *archivos* y la función de su propietario y compilador, normalmente ligada a su actuación como “maestro de escribas” y titular de la respectiva É.DUBBA (*bt lḫt*, *bt sprm* (?)). Conocemos en concreto el nombre de cuatro de sus propietarios / titulares: Agapsharru, Rashapabu, Rapanu y Urtenu[27]. Pero del análisis funcional de tales archivos resulta que esa actividad de magisterio escribal era paralela y acaso secundaria junta otras, entre las que resalta la de la magia de conjuración, por lo que se podría avanzar que *bhtm mnt*, “casa del conjuro” (KTU 1.100:70, véase más arriba “Templo”), fuese su denominación oficial (?).

Residencias del proletariado / mundo laboral

Uno de los criterios de organización del espacio urbano de la “ciudad baja” pudo haber sido el de la agrupación de las mansiones por funciones y gremios, certificables en algunos casos. En ese sentido se encuentran esparcidos por la ciudad “santuarios” más o menos privados, ligados normalmente a las peculiares funciones mágico-rituales de sus titulares o dueños[28]. Este posible carácter gremial de la distribución del hábitat urbano de Ugarit, al menos en su capital, nos lleva a registrar las diferentes denominaciones de casas que correspondían a tales funciones, lo que a su vez sirve para hacerse una idea de la organización laboral (y consiguientemente socioeconómica)[29] de la sociedad ugarítica. Tenemos así:

[27] Véase del Olmo Lete (en prensa).

[28] Un texto altamente significativo a este respecto es KTU 3.3:9: *mrzḥ d qny* PN *bbtw*, “(centro de reunión y ceremonias de) la asociación *m.* que instituyó PN en su domicilio”. Sobre los santuarios privados en general puede consultarse Yon (1997: 92 y ss. y 109 y ss.).

[29] Véase M. Heltzer (1976 y 1978). La lista de profesiones induciría a pensar que pudo haber más denominaciones de ese tipo, v.g. *bt pḫr*, “alfarería”.

bt ʿbdm, "albergue de esclavos" (posiblemente en venta): [*pt*]*ḥ åḥd l bt ʕbdm*, "una puerta para el albergue de esclavos" (KTU 4.195:9);
bt ḫpṯt årṣ, "cuartel de fugitivos del Infierno" (KTU 1.4 VIII 7 y par.);
bhtm bdlm[, "cuartel[es] de reservistas (?)" (KTU 4.312:4, 7, en contexto fragmentario); *bt ḥrš,* "fragua" (KTU 1.12 II 61)[30];
bt mrkbt, "taller o depósito de carros (de combate)" (KTU 4.392:2);
bt ålpm, "establo o cuadra de ganado vacuno" (KTU 4.358:1);
ḥwy, "almacén", "depósito", "armería" en general y de piezas de carros en particular: *bd rb ḥršm d šṣå ḥwyh*, "de manos del capataz de los herreros / montadores que entregó al almacén / armería", KTU 4.145:10).
msgr n. m. "closed building", *hápax* en ctx. frag. de sentido impreciso (> "prisión" / "almacén" / "fortín") (KTU 2.2:11).

Residencias particulares

Para el pueblo en general se reserva, como hemos dicho, la parte baja de la ciudad, donde la organización del espacio construido, en constante ampliación, dará lugar a la distribución por "calles", sacadas a la luz por la excavación arqueológica, según criterios no siempre claros, escasamente geométricos[31]. La denominación básica de sus unidades de habitación sería:
bt qbṣ, *bt åb*, "casa del clan", "casa paterna" (KTU 1.79:7 / 1.19 I 32; cf. RS Akk.: *bīt abi-*; Ebla É-*a-bí* // É.A.MU); por oposición a *bt åb*, "casa paterna", más bien un término sociológico que no edilicio, *bt qbṣ*, "casa del clan", parece designar el edificio en si del grupo familiar o parental. Es decir, ambas denominaciones designarían la misma realidad sociológica desde diferente punto de vista, personal y urbano;
bt NN, "casas particulares NN", *passim* en textos administrativos (véase *DUL* 1: 244-245: "house, building, residence, home").

[30] Para las múltiples funciones del *ḥrš*, véase *DUL* a.l.
[31] Véanse los diferentes "planos" de la ciudad ofrecidos por las excavaciones arqueológicas en Saade (2011: 173 y ss.) y V. Matoïan (2017: 43 y ss.).

Por lo demás, todas estas *casas particulares*, así como el *Palacio Real,* albergan en su interior la *tumba* de los antepasados (*qbr, ḫšt, yd*(?)), de excelente factura arquitectónica a veces, lo que refleja la significación sacra que tal estructura edilicia poseía como espacio del culto familiar de los muertos. Ello implicaba la sacralización de toda la ciudad y la conversión de sus "casas" (*btm*) en "templos" privados (*bt ỉlm*), dado el carácter divino atribuido a los difuntos (*rpủm*), sobre todo regios[33]. Por su parte la épica recoge la memoria de tumbas regias autónomas o exentas que disponían de entrada propia *ảp ḫšt* (KTU 1.16 I 3, 4, 18; II 41), guardada por un perro (!), y tenían sus propios dioses (*ỉl ḫšt*).

"Tumba": *qbr*[33], "tumba": *hm tʕpn ʕl qbr bny*, "si vuelan sobre la tumba de mi hijo" (KTU 1.19 III 44); *w qbr tṣr*, "y prepararás una tumba" (KTU 1.16 II 25); *mrrt qbr*, "mirra de sepultura" (KTU 6.44:2; *d b q*!*br*, "que está en la tumba" (KTU 1.142:3).

"Mausoleo": *ḫšt*, *yd* (?) "mausoleo" o tumba regia[34]: *šlm ỉl ḫšt*, "¡salve, dioses del mausoleo!" (KTU 1.123:30); *k ỉnr ảp ḫštk*, "como un gozque a la puerta de tu mausoleo" (KTU 1.16 I 3 y par.); *ủ ḫštk l ntn ʕtq*, "¿o es que tu mausoleo se ha convertido en un lamento perenne" (KTU 1.16 I 4, 18; II 41); dudoso es tal valor semántico de *yd*: *ptḥ yd mlk*, "a la puerta del mausoleo regio" (KTU 1.106:17).

* * * * *

La lexicografía nos ofrece así un amplio panorama de la edilicia del reino de Ugarit, básicamente de su capital, como la de una sociedad urbana plenamente desarrollada. Incluso el lenguaje religioso se sirvió del vocablo y noción de *bt*, "casa", para designar el *Infierno*, la morada /

[32] Véase del Olmo Lete (1999: 175 y ss.).

[33] La advocación *ʕttrt ḫr*, "DN de la(s) tumba(s) (KTU 1.43:1; 1.112.13 y par.) nos ofrece una denominación por tumba que al parecer no era usada en el vocabulario corriente, reservada a esa advocación divina. Véase a este propósito el texto citado *d b q*!*br*, en posible referencia a esta divinidad (?), y la estructura *ġb* del culto funerario del templo.

[34] Véase: D. Groddek (2001: 213–218); O. Loretz (2001: 377–385).

fauces del dios Mot, su "Palacio", a donde desciende Baal y a donde descenderá todo mortal: *bt ḫptt ảrṣ*, "la mansión de los fugitivos, el Infierno" (KTU 1.4 VIII 7 y par.). La vida, pues, ha sido un simple escape, una excursión, podríamos decir. La morada permanente del hombre, de su "espíritu", de la que no debió escapar y la que vuelve, es el Infierno…

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Taybeh, Baal-Hazor, and a Failed Hunt for Baal: Archaeological Survey of Tell Asur

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Summary: Taybeh, Baal-Hazor, and a Failed Hunt for Baal: Archaeological Survey of Tell Asur

In the winter of 2017, a site survey was undertaken of Tell Asur, ancient Baal Hazor in the West Bank, for which this article is the full publication. Although it failed to discover a cultic site of Baal, its Byzantine finds form an important contribution to the archaeological portrait of the area in the Byzantine period.

Keywords: Baal-Hazor – Taybeh – Baal – Byzantine Palestine

Resumen: Taybeh, Baal-Hazor y una búsqueda infructuosa de Baal: Prospección arqueológica de Tell Asur

Este artículo es la publicación completa de la prospección arqueológica llevada acabo en el sitio de Tell Asur, antigua Ball Hazor en Cisjordania, durante el invierno de 2017. A pesar de no haber descubierto un sitio de culto a Baal, los hallazgos bizantinos significan una importante contribución al cuadro arqueológico general del área durante este período.

Palabras clave: Baal-Hazor – Taybeh – Baal – Palestina bizantina

This article presents the results of an archaeological site survey of Tell Asur (M.R. 177.153), ancient Baal-Hazor, located fifteen kilometers northeast of Ramallah in the West Bank. The survey was undertaken in

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January-February 2017 with a permit from the Palestinian Department of Antiquities.[1]

Site Selection: The Hunt for Baal

The present author has argued elsewhere that many Levantine shrines of St. George or Khidr overlay ancient shrines of Phoenician Baalshamin or Canaanite Baal.[2] The Christian town of Taybeh in the West Bank (M.R. 17845.15130) has a long association with St. George. Next to the Orthodox church of St. George is a 4th-century mosaic, and behind the Melkite church of St. George are the remains of a late 5th-century basilica.[3] Remains of another Crusader church are at the site called El-Khader, M.R. 1788.1511.

While there is "Georgic" cultic continuity back to the Byzantine period, there are Iron I and II remains, mostly on the western slope of the village hill. There are Iron I and II remains, mostly on the western slope of the village hill.[4] Some Persian and Hellenistic occupation has been found,[5] but nothing to indicate any cultic activity.

2 Sam 13:23, however, refers to a Baal-Hazor near Ephraim, that is, Ephraim-Taybeh.[6] This would be the Hazor of Neh 11:33.[7] But where is this place? Older scholarship equated it with a "Tell Asur."[8] This cannot be the same as Khirbet Asur (Arsur) near to Bir Nebala (Albrecht Alt's suggestion),[9] which is too far west in Benjamin. Taybeh

[1] Survey team was the present author, Eric Wagner CR, and William N. Miller. Financial support came from a research grant from the Graduate School of the Catholic University of America, and research facilities were provided by the Albright Institute for Archaeological Research. Pottery analysis was by the surveyors, and bone analysis by William Miller. Pottery was drawn by Conn Herriott. All finds from the survey were delivered to the Palestinian Department of Antiquities in Ramallah.
[2] Miller 2018.
[3] Schneider 1931: 21.
[4] Finkelstein, Lederman, and Bunimovitz 1997: 368–369; Finkelstein 1986: 160, 180.
[5] Finkelstein, Lederman, and Bunimovitz 1997: 587–590.
[6] Unless Kallai is correct to translate this as "Baal-Hazor *within* Ephraim;" Kallai 1971: 191–206.
[7] The term "Hazor" in Baal-Hazor means "court" or "dwelling place" (*BDB*).
[8] Schneider 1931: 22.
[9] Alt 1928: 12–16.

is the closest pre-Mamluk site, and so *could be* Baal Hazor. Deir Jarir, just to the north, has only Mamluk occupation and later.[10] Finkelstein and Bunimovitz note only one ancient site northwest of this, at M.R. 17845.15300—a single building with Hellenistic and Byzantine occupation.[11] Otherwise their survey, the most comprehensive of the area, shows a huge zone empty of sites covering the entire area north of Route 449 and west of the road to Kafr Malik, east of Route 4568 to Mazraa esh-Sharqiya. Thus *ISBE* 1.380 and *GTTOT*, 775 state that no such place as Tell Asur exists.

Albright identified Baal-Hazor (and Ephraim of 2 Samuel 13) with Khirbet Marjameh.[12] This site, properly Tell Marjama or Ain es-Samiya (M.R. 1816.1554) is a small valley oasis, covering 40 dunams.[13] Iron I pottery was found over an area of 30 dunams,[14] although no buildings existed on the site until the 10th century BCE.[15] Marjameh was not inhabited in the Roman period and cannot be itself New Testament Ephraim.[16] Tell Marjama, however, seems more likely to have been Baal-Shalishah of 2 Kgs 4:42.[17] This corresponds to the proximity of the associated Gilgal of 2 Kings 4:38, which should be near to Bethel.[18]

Yigal Levin, who identifies the Ephraim of 2 Samuel with Ephrathah, but accepts the latter's usual location near to Bethlehem, puts Baal Hazor at modern El-Khader, southwest of Bethlehem.[19] Levin's rationale is twofold. First, he argues that "Baal" in all Baal-theophoric toponyms in the Central Hill Country refer not to Baal-Hadad but to Yahweh, largely based on 2 Samuel 5 where Baal-Perizim

[10] Greenberg and Keinan 2009: 57.
[11] Finkelstein, Lederman, and Bunimovitz 1997: 592.
[12] Albright 1923: 36–40.
[13] Finkelstein 1986: 132; Mazar 1982: 167–178.
[14] Mazar 1992: 174–193.
[15] Dever 1986: 36.
[16] Keinan, Abado, and West 2015: 222. They claim the nearby site of Kh. el-Bayadir was "Late Khirbet Marjameh" and without providing any archaeological support claim that Marjameh was therefore "inhabited continuously until the Crusader period."
[17] Edelman 2009: 226.
[18] Wagenaar 2007: 35–42.
[19] Levin 2011: 215.

means "The Lord [Yahweh] has broken through," and a view that true Baalism only entered Israel and Judah in the 9th century.[20] 2 Samuel 5, however, is a strained etiological attempt to provide an orthodox origin for a blatantly Baalistic place-name,[21] and the latter claim seems unsupportable in the light of Baal imagery in early poetry like Exodus 15 and Psalm 18 and images of Baal-as-Seth on 13th-century cylinder seals from Tell el-Ajjul (Rockefeller Museum 35.4011), from Tell es-Safi (Gath), and from Tell el-Fara South,[22] and on a 7th-century seal from Tell Akko.[23] Levin's second, more specific reason for placing Baal-Hazor at modern El-Khader is his interpretation of the second term in Baal-Hazor deriving from Hezron, the clan of David (1 Chron 2:9) and in the context of 2 Sam 13:23, of Absalom.[24] Nothing in 2 Samuel 13 suggests Absalom's sheep shearing feast was held in his home territory, however—if Hezron could be localized at all, since it includes both the Calebites and the Jerahmeelites, two large sections of Judah (1 Chron 2:18-33). The genealogy of Hezron is much confused in any case.[25] The association of Levin's candidate for Baal-Hazor with El-Khader is intriguing for my purposes, but 1994 excavations by Yuval Baruch and Ibrahim Abu Ammar found nothing older than the Persian period.[26]

There is a Tell Asur, however, known to British historians as the site of a major battle in World War I.[27] Tell Asur is the highest point on Jebel el-Asur, also known as Har Hatzor.[28] It is 1 km north of Taybeh and dominates the Taybeh skyline (see **Fig. 32**).[29] Moreover, it is the furthest south location from which one can see Mount Hermon.[30] The only reason the Finkelstein/Bunimovitz survey shows no remains is

[20] Levin 2007: 17–34.
[21] Smith 2002: 79.
[22] Schroer 2011: nos. 895, 896, 899.
[23] Cornelius 1994: pl.50.
[24] Levin forthcoming.
[25] Mariottini 1992: 194.
[26] Caspi and Neu-Sokol 2009: 89, 93.
[27] Macmunn 1930: 312–315.
[28] Strobel 1989: 177.
[29] Medebielle 1993: 2; Dalman 2013: 1.2.641.
[30] Macmunn 1930: 315.

that the site is now occupied by the Baal Khatsor military base, the main Early Warning System station for the Israeli Air Force (**Fig. 21**). They were simply unable to survey a site that probably shows an extensive occupational history.

Methodology

Although the top of Tell Asur is an Israeli military base, the lower portions of the mountain are not, and in the southeast slopes, the land is designated Area B, under Palestinian civil administration. The science of tell erosion suggests that significant evidence of a site's occupational history will be visible in erosional debris.[31] Note that material from Tell el-Ful extends down the lower eastern slope all the way into the Wadi Zimri.[32]

The goal of the survey was to obtain a chronological profile of Tell Asur. Surface survey by "intensive collection" or "total surface pick-up" has been widely employed "to generate sets of artifact samples amenable to … functional hypothesis testing."[33] The method employed at Tell Asur was "Non-Exclusive, Comprehensive, Deployed Surface Survey."[34] Because the material sought is erosional debris,[35] the area was divided into three strips running down-slope and walked north to south and then backtracked south to north (**Fig. 2**). Each transect strip or zone began at the northern edge of Area B. Zone 1 began at Highway 449 and extended west; its width varies as it ended at a single longitudinal line. Zone 2 was a fenced and inhabited area 19 m wide, and therefore not surveyed. Zone 3 began 15 m west of the end of Zone 1 and extended west to the edge of Area B (**Fig. 17**). All diagnostic sherds (rims, handles, bases, painted or glazed body sherds) and all bone objects were collected. Additionally, all sherds from cisterns and walls were collected.

[31] Rapp Jr. 1996: 125; Rosen 1986: 27–30.
[32] Gibson 1996: 9*–23*.
[33] Goodyear, House, and Ackerly 1979: 77.
[34] King 2003: 16–17.
[35] Flannery and Sabloff 2009: 52.

Summary of Findings

If the pottery assemblage from the survey is indicative of occupation, the apex of activity on the site was Late Roman and Byzantine. The profiles of Zones One and Three were not significantly different, with these two periods predominating in both, although Zone 1 more Byzantine than Late Roman: eight sherds Byzantine and two Late Roman. Zone 3 had four Late Roman sherds (one possibly Roman: TA17–3.6; **Fig. 13**) and three Byzantine. There is no evidence of later occupation on the site except for a single Ottoman sherd (TA17–1.8; **Figs. 6**, **27**). The cultural sequence of Tel Asur may have included earlier phases. There were two or three Roman sherds, one Hellenistic (TA17–1.18), and three Early Iron Age (TA17–1.2, TA17–1.10, TA17–3.10). TA17–3.5, identified by Gitin as a Late Bronze Age form (**Fig. 12**),[36] should also be Early Iron Age as it is identical to ovoid storage jars from 11th-century Tel Miqne stratum VC.

Nevertheless, the scarcity of pre-Roman pottery suggests either that Baal-Hazor was not a Phoenician or Canaanite cultic site, or that Tell Asur is not Baal-Hazor.

One structure was discovered on the south slope of Tel Asur (**Figs. 3**, **18**, **19**). The nature and dating of this structure are indeterminate. The largest stone of this structure measured 0.74m x 0.99m x 0.12m.

There was a cistern in Zone 3 north-northeast of the structure and cuts into the bedrock adjacent to the structure, probably for quarrying of stone (**Fig. 20**).

The only bone found from the site was a pig phalange (**Fig. 22**, see below). Since the occupants of Deir Jarir are Muslim and there has been no Christian community on the site since antiquity, this is either a domestic pig bone from the Byzantine (or earlier) period or a wild boar. Since measurements of domestic vs. wild pigs are based on archaeological populations and not single specimens, and primarily on cranial (especially teeth) measurements, it is impossible to tell which.

[36] Gitin 2015: sec. 1.1.16.7.

Nevertheless, by the Byzantine period one would not expect wild boars to have been very common outside the Jordan Valley and Galilee, so we tentatively identify it as an ancient domestic pig bone.

Detailed Results

Nearly all of the finds from the survey were pottery. As there was little distinction between the sherds recovered from the two zones, they are here discussed together in chronological order.

Iron I sherds include TA17–1.2 (**Fig. 24**), TA17–1.10, and TA17–3.10. These are presented in the appendix, but unfortunately none have clear associations from other sites. TA17–3.5 is non-curving rim from a wheel-made, heavily-fired ovoid store jar without surface treatment. Parallels include Ekron 9/1 fig.5.82:10 from Tel Miqne stratum VC, as well as from Tel Qasile.[37]

One piece has been identified as Hellenistic. TA17–1.18 is the incurving rim of a heavily-fired, wheel-made cup with reddish yellow slip (**Fig. 10**). There are similar pieces from Persian and Hellenistic Dor and Akko.[38]

There are multiple Roman and Late Roman pieces. The earliest of these is TA17–3.6, the rim of a 44cm-diameter basin with an applied external lip and incised hachuring. Although the unfinished surface texture is very fine, this is not as fine as a Jerusalem Rouletted Bowl, which it otherwise resembles.[39] There are similar basins from Roman Fezzan, Libya.[40] TA17–1.7 is a 22cm-diameter fine bowl with grooved rim (**Figs. 5**, **26**). Comparable forms are Yoqneam 8415/3 and Kefar Hananiah Form IA.[41] TA17–3.15 may be a krater (**Figs. 14**, **31**), 52cm in diameter, red-slipped, as Yoqneam 8183/5.[42] Several Late Roman

[37] Mazar 1983: 48.3.
[38] Guz-Zilberstein and Stern 1995: fig. 6.1 #36.
[39] Magness 1993: fig. 5.10–11; Wightman 1989; Ariel and De Groot 1992: fig. 5.8; Geva, Amit, and Arensburg 2010: figs. 1.6, 1.7.
[40] Mori 2013.
[41] Ben-Tor *et al*. 1996: 70.
[42] Ben-Tor *et al.* 1996: 68.

sherds were from amphora: TA17–1.6, TA17–3.2, and possibly TA17–3.11 (**Fig. 25**). TA17–1.6 is a table amphora with button base (Yoqneam 110473), while TA17–3.2 (**Fig. 11**) and likely also TA17–3.11 are Yoqneam form 110456 table amphora.[43]

The majority of ceramic finds were Byzantine. These can be discussed by form.

Several sherds are from Byzantine jars. TA17–1.1 is a Palestinian Baggy Jar (**Figs. 4**, **23**), Caesarea form 1037.[44] TA17–1.12 is a Tall Gaza Jar (**Fig. 8**), Caesarea form 1180.[45] The other jars are TA17–1.11 (**Figs. 7**, **28**), a heavily-fired, wheel-made jar with outcurving rim (Yoqneam form 8417/1) and TA17–3.8 (**Fig. 29**), with flared rim, yellowish red slip, and tooled burnishing (Caesarea form 752).[46]

Byzantine sherd TA17–1.13 is a cooking pot, 9cm in diameter, with a thumbprint decoration on the rim (**Fig. 9**). Its form is Yoqneam 2144/1 or Jalamah Form 8.[47] TA17–1.15 is a Byzantine jug, erect rim and light red slip, Caesarea form 514.[48] TA17–1.20 is the button base of a yellowish red slipped bowl with tooled decoration, Caesarea form 1.384.[49]

The sole late piece is foot base from a Gaza Ware table jar or water jug, 6cm diameter, equivalent to examples from Yoqneam.[50]

One bone was discovered, a phalanx of *Sus scrofa* (**Fig. 22**). The length was 4.37cm, distal width 1.35cm, distal height 0.97cm, proximal width 1.42cm, and proximal height 1.50cm. The epiphesial plate on the proximal end of the phalanx shows complete fusion with only slight hint of epiphesial line, indicating that the pig was advanced in age.

[43] Avissar *et al*. 2005: 46–47.
[44] Patrich 2008: 88, 179.
[45] Patrich 2008: 97, 185.
[46] Ben-Tor *et al.* 1996: 73; Patrich 2008: 65, 163.
[47] Ben-Tor *et al.* 1966: 72; Dauphin 1998.
[48] Patrich 2008: 150.
[49] Patrich 2008.
[50] Ben-Tor *et al.* 1996.

Tel Asur falls into the ancient geobotanical region of the Bethel Hills.[51] Rendzina soil, and to an unknown extent Terra Rosa and Mediterranean Brown Forest soils, the altitude, and rainfall 400–500mm suggest the standing vegetation in antiquity was a blend of the common Mixed Tabor Oak Forest and a Middle Sparse Garrigue Scrub Mattoral. This means that Mt. Tabor Oak and Balsam would have been common only where rainfall was the highest, otherwise, the stand would have been cypress, terebinth varieties, myrrh, asphodel, gladiolus, thyme, lavender, and rosemary. The economy, likely equaled out to half horticulture and half crops-horticulture of wine and olives and farming of lentils, alfalfa, garbanzo and fava beans (note cereal-producing tools at Khirbet Raddanah). Additionally, Khirbet Raddanah's excavations found caprovid bones in every household. Grazing of cattle and goats would have been a dominant economic strategy, as it is today.

The closest sources of water to Tell Asur are the Wadi Musa 1000m away or a spring 1500m to the southeast at Ein esh-Shamiya.[52]

Signficance

The survey was unable to provide any support for a pre-Roman sanctuary to any deity at Tell Asur. Primary occupation was Late Roman and Byzantine. Given the range of forms—bowls, amphora, jars, cooking pots, jugs, and kraters—there must have been some settlement on the upper southern slope or summit. This is important because there is no record of any Byzantine site at Tell Asur. The nearest Byzantine occupation is at Apharaema (Taybeh) and at Tell Marjame / Ein Samiyya (M.R. 1816.15535).[53]

[51] Miller 2003: 289–310.
[52] *Survey of Palestine, 1:20,000 series* (1942), vol. 1, sheet 17–15 "Silwad."
[53] Tsafrir 1994: 180, 221.

Appendix

In previous publications, the present author has questioned the entire typological method of Syro-Palestinian archaeology, its crude and clumsy "Q-Analysis," or tabletop associations between similar objects.[54] Noting that an increasing number of Mesopotamian and Egyptian archaeologists, and most anthropologists in the world, argue statistical "R-Analysis" is preferable, that quantifiable factors should be used to classify objects, I have argued classification into types ought not be based on site-to-site comparison intended to show consistency of characteristic styles, the range of variation, and historical relevance, but might be a process of discovering combinations of attributes favored by the makers of artifacts themselves, not arbitrary attributes chosen by the archaeologist.[55]

For this reason, the survey of Tell Asur employed a recording system pioneered in the 1996 Research Excavations at Khirbet Birzeit, sponsored by Birzeit University, for which the present author was pottery manager. By including as much quantifiable data as possible, it is hoped that more objectivity can be reached.[56] For the pottery recorded in what follows, "Form" refers to the kind of vessel, using the accepted terminology for Syro-Palestinian archaeology. In order to avoid the mixture of functional and morphological designations inherent in these, however,[57] forms are defined following Prudence Rice's *Pottery Analysis*.[58] Thus, a **jar** has a wide mouth, a neck narrower than its shoulders, and a height greater than its diameter. A **bowl** is an open or closed mouth vessel with height less than diameter but greater than 1/3 of diameter, and which may have no shoulder carination and its mouth

[54] Miller 2010: 182–183; cf. Taylor 1948; Spaulding 1982: 11; Brown 1982: 177; Shepard 1965: 101.
[55] Also Deetz 1968: 31, 37; Cowgill 1982: 40; Voorips 1982: 118; Whallon 1982: 127; Brown 1982: 179–180; Shepard 1965: 102, 225. The entire history of this debate is surveyed in A. Wylie (2002: 43–51).
[56] Taylor 1948: 153; Deetz 1968: 32; O'Brien and Lyman 2002: 42.
[57] Binford 1965: 203–210; Taylor 1948: 114.
[58] Rice 1987: 213, 216; Shepard 1965: 224–225; O'Brien and Lyman 2002: 42.

may or may not be narrower than its shoulders. A **cooking pot** is a vessel used for preparing food, usually with heavy grits. A **platter** has a height less than 1/5 its diameter, an unrestricted orifice, low walls, and a broad, flattish base. **Jugs** are small or medium sized vessels with handle(s) from either shoulder to rim or shoulder to neck, wide mouth, and neck narrower than shoulder.

Surface Texture and Construction are defined quantitatively. The former refers to the size of inclusions of sand, limestone, grog, &c: **course** meaning 2–1mm, **medium** 1–0.5mm, **fine** 0.5–0.25mm, and **very fine** 0.25–0mm.[59] Construction records **few** as below 15%, **some** 15–50%, **many** 30–50%, and **very many** above 50%.

Firing is also quantified, in that it is based on the Munsell Soil Color code for the core as indication of the extent carbon properties have been reduced.[60] **Heavily fired** means no core—carbon reduction is complete. **Moderately fired** means core Munsell N5/N6/N7. **Lightly fired** means N4 core. Finally, the photograph numbers are those encoded as Dublin Core metadata with files uploaded to the Levantine Ceramics Project (https://www.levantineceramics.org/).

TA17–1.1
Palestinian Baggy Jar, Byzantine
Rim diameter 11cm; body thickness 0.87cm
Erect rim
Wheel made, heavily fired, few sand inclusions, fine texture
Surface color 7.5YR 7/4
Photos 2683, 2684
Associations: Caesarea 1037

[59] Rice 1987: 413.
[60] Cf. Shepard 2002: 107.

TA17–1.2
Iron I jar
Body diameter 34cm; body thickness 0.87cm
Handmade, heavily fired, some sand inclusions, medium texture
Surface color 7.5YR 6/1 slip
Photo 2687

TA17–1.3
Unknown form and period
Body thickness 0.71cm
Wheel made, heavily fired, few sand and ceramic inclusions, medium texture
Exterior surface color 10YR 7/4; interior slip 7.5YR
Ridge decoration on body

TA 17–1.4
Unknown form and period, rounded oblong handle
Heavily fired, few sand and limestone inclusions, fine texture
Surface color 7.5YR 7/4

TA17–1.5
Byzantine footed bowl or krater
Base diameter 10cm; body thickness 0.71cm
Footed base
Wheel made, heavily fired, few sand and limestone inclusions, very fine texture
Surface color 7.5YR 6/4

TA17–1.6
Late Roman table amphora
Base diameter 6 cm; body thickness 0.48cm
Wheel made, heavily fired, few sand inclusions, fine texture
Button base
Surface color 7.5YR 7/4
Photos: 2671, 2670
Associations: Tel Yoqneam 110473

TA17–1.7
Late Roman bowl
Rim diameter 22cm; body thickness 0.64cm
Wheel made, heavily fired, some sand, limestone, and ceramic inclusions, fine texture
Surface color 7.5YR 7/3
Grooved, erect rim
Photos 2681, 2682
Associations: Tel Yoqneam 8415/3; Kefar Hananiah Form IA

TA17–1.8
Ottoman Gaza Ware table jar or water jug
Base diameter 6cm; body thickness 0.56cm
Footed base
Wheel made, heavily fired, no inclusions, very fine texture
Surface color Gley 2 4/106
Photos 2677, 2675, 2674
Associations: Tel Yoqneam 1

TA17–1.9
Roman period-blong handle of unknown vessel
Handmade, heavily fired, soft, many sand inclusions, very fine texture
Surface color 10R 5/8
White painted decoration on handle

TA17–1.10
Iron I body sherd of unknown vessel
Body thickness 1.19cm
Handmade, moderately fired, some sand, limestone, ceramic inclusions, medium surface texture
Surface color 5YR 8/4 slip; body color 5YR 7/2

TA17–1.11
Byzantine Jar
Outcurving rim
Rim diameter 14cm; body thickness 0.64cm

Wheel made, heavily fired, few sand inclusions, fine surface texture
Surface color 7.5YR 7/4
Photos 2672, 2673
Associations: Yoqneam 8417/1

TA17–1.12
Byzantine Tall Gaza Jar
Rim diameter 9 cm, body thickness 0.48cm
Erect rim
Wheel made, moderately fired, some limestone and sand inclusions, coarse surface texture
Surface color 7.5YR 6/8; core color 7.5YR 5/2
Associations: Caesarea 1180

TA17–1.13
Byzantine cooking pot
Rim diameter 9cm
Heavily fired, few sand and limestone inclusions, fine surface texture
Surface color 2.5YR 5/8
Erect, upturned rim
Thumb imprint on rim
Associations: Yoqneam 2144/1; Jalame Form 8

TA17–1.14
Flat base of Platter
Body thickness 0.32cm
Wheel made, heavily fired, few sand, limestone, and grog inclusions, coarse surface texture
Surface color 2.5YR 6/6 slip; body color 2.5YR 4/1
Ridge decoration

TA17–1.15
Byzantine jug
Rim diameter 10cm; body thickness 0.48cm
Erect rim

Wheel made, heavily fired, some sand, limestone, ceramic inclusions, medium surface texture
Surface color 2.5YR light red slip; body 5YR 6/4
Associations: Caesarea 514

TA17–1.16
Byzantine jar
Rim diameter 25cm
Collared rim
Wheel made, heavily fired, no inclusions
Surface color 5YR 7/6
Hatching decoration perpendicular to collar

TA17–1.17
Flat handle of unknown vessel, period unknown
Handmade, heavily fired, some limestone and ceramic inclusions, fine surface texture
Surface color 5YR 6/6

TA17–1.18
Hellenistic cup
Rim diameter 13cm; body thickness 0.95cm
Incurving rim
Wheel made, heavily fired, few inclusions, very fine surface texture
Surface color 7.5YR 6/4 slip; body color 7.5R 7/2
Photos 2657, 2658
Associations: Similar Persian and Hellenistic pieces form Dor and Akko (see above)

TA17–1.19
Outcurving rim from unknown vessel, unknown period
Rim diameter 19cm; body thickness 0.7cm
Wheel made, heavily fired, few ceramic and sand inclusions, fine surface texture
Surface color 7.5YR 6/4

TA17–1.20
Byzantine bowl
Button base
Body thickness 0.55cm
Wheel made, heavily fired, few ceramic and limestone inclusions, very fine surface texture
Surface color 5YR 6/6 slip; body color 5YR 7/3
Tooling decoration on base
Associations: Caesarea 1.384

TA17–3.1
Roman rounded handle
Handmade, lightly fired, few inclusions, rough surface, very fine surface texture
Surface color 5YR 4/6; core color Gley 1 N4

TA17–3.2
Late Roman table amphora base
Base diameter 4cm; body thickness 0.48cm
Button base
Wheel made, heavily fired, many limestone and sand inclusions, very fine surface texture
Surface color 10YR 7/3 (rough)
Photos: 2671, 2670
Associations: Tel Yoqneam 110456

TA17–3.3
Oblong handle of unknown vessel, unknown period
Partial technique, heavily fired, some limestone inclusions, coarse surface texture
Surface color 5YR 6/6 (rough)

TA17–3.4
Rim of unknown vessel, period unknown
Erect rim, rim diameter 30cm; body thickness 0.48cm

Wheel made, heavily fired, many limestone, ceramic, and organic inclusions, very fine surface texture
Surface color 7.5YR 7/7 (rough); core color 7.5YR 7/6

TA17–3.5
Late Bronze Age ovoid storage jar rim
Erect rim, rim diameter 9cm; body thickness 0.64cm
Wheel made, heavily fired, few sand inclusions, fine surface texture
Surface color 7.5YR 6/4 (rough)
Associations: Gitin vol. 1, #1.1.16.7

TA17–3.6
(Late) Roman bowl
Applied external lip on rim
Rim diameter 44cm; body thickness 0.64cm
Wheel made, heavily fired, few inclusions, very fine surface texture
Surface color 2.5YR 4/6
Incised hatching decoration
Photos: 2689, 2688
Associations: See above for Jerusalem and Fazzan parallels

TA17–3.7
Byzantine body sherd of unknown vessel
Body thickness 0.48cm
Wheel made, moderately fired, some limestone inclusions, fine surface texture
Surface color 5YR 7/8; slip 5YR 8/3; core color Gley 1 6/N
Combing design on body

TA17–3.8
Byzantine jar
Flared rim
Rim diameter 12cm; body thickness 2.92cm
Wheel made, few sand inclusions, coarse surface texture
Surface color 5YR 5/6 slip, burnish and tooling on neck

Photos: 2685, 2686
Associations: Caesarea 752

TA17–3.9
Cooking pot body sherd, unknown period—burn marks on body
Body thickness 0.95–1.27cm
Handmade, heavily fired, very many ceramic, organic, and sand inclusions, coarse surface texture
Surface color 7.5YR 7/3; core color 7.5YR 7/3

TA17–3.10
Iron I body sherd of unknown vessel
Body thickness 1.25cm
Handmade, heavily fired, some limestone and sand inclusions, coarse surface texture
Surface color 7.5YR 6/4

TA17–3.11
Late Roman table amphora rim
Erect rim with ridge
Unable to measure rim diameter
Wheel made, heavily fired, few sand and limestone inclusions, medium surface texture
Surface color 2.5YR 6/6 slip; body color 10YR 6/3
Associations: Yoqneam 110456

TA17–3.12
Jug(?) handle, unknown period
Ovoid (vertically) handle
Many limestone inclusions, very fine surface texture, moderately fired
Surface color (rough) 5YR 6/3
Burned after breakage

TA17–3.13Handle of unknown vessel, unknown period
Flat handle
Handmade, heavily fired, some limestone and sand inclusions, very fine surface texture
Surface color 5YR 6/6 slip; body color 5YR 6/2

TA17–3.14
Handle of unknown vessel, unknown period
Flat handle
Handmade, heavily fired, many limestone, ceramic, and organic inclusions, medium surface texture
Surface color (rough) 5YR 6/6

TA17–3.15
Late Roman krater
Ridged rim
Rim diameter 52cm
Wheel made, heavily fired, few sand and limestone inclusions, medium surface texture
Surface color 2.5YR 6/8 slip; body color 7.5YR 6/4
Photos: 2678
Associations: Yoqneam 8183/5

TA17–3.16
Handle of unknown vessel, unknown period
Flat handle
Handmade, moderately fired, few limestone inclusions, very fine surface texture
Surface color 2.5YR 5/8 slip; core color Gley1 5/N

TA17–3.17
Handle of jar or jug, unknown period
Ovoid handle
Moderately fired, some sand inclusions, coarse surface texture
Surface color 7/5YR 6/4 (possibly slip); core color 7.5YR 6/1

TA17–3.18
Handle of unknown vessel, unknown period
Oblong handle
Handmade, heavily fired, some limestone, ceramic, and organic inclusions, fine surface texture
Surface color 7.5YR 7/6
Finger impression on outer surface of handle

TA17–3.19
Byzantine body sherd
Wheel made, heavily fired, few or no inclusions, very fine surface texture
Surface color (glaze or organic paint) Gley 1 3/N; interior color (slip) Gley 1 4/N

TA17–3.20
Possibly a modern body sherd (20th–21st century)
Body thickness 0.64cm
Wheel made, heavily fired, no inclusions, very porous (air pockets)
Surface color (wash) 2.5YR 8/1; body color 2.5Y 6.4

TA17–3.21
Handle of unknown vessel, unknown period
Flat handle
Handmade, heavily fired, some limestone and ceramic inclusions, very fine surface texture
Surface color 5YR 7/6

TA17–3.22
Handle of unknown vessel, unknown period
Flat handle
Partial technique, heavily fired, few limestone inclusions, very fine surface texture
Surface color 5YR 5/4

Figures

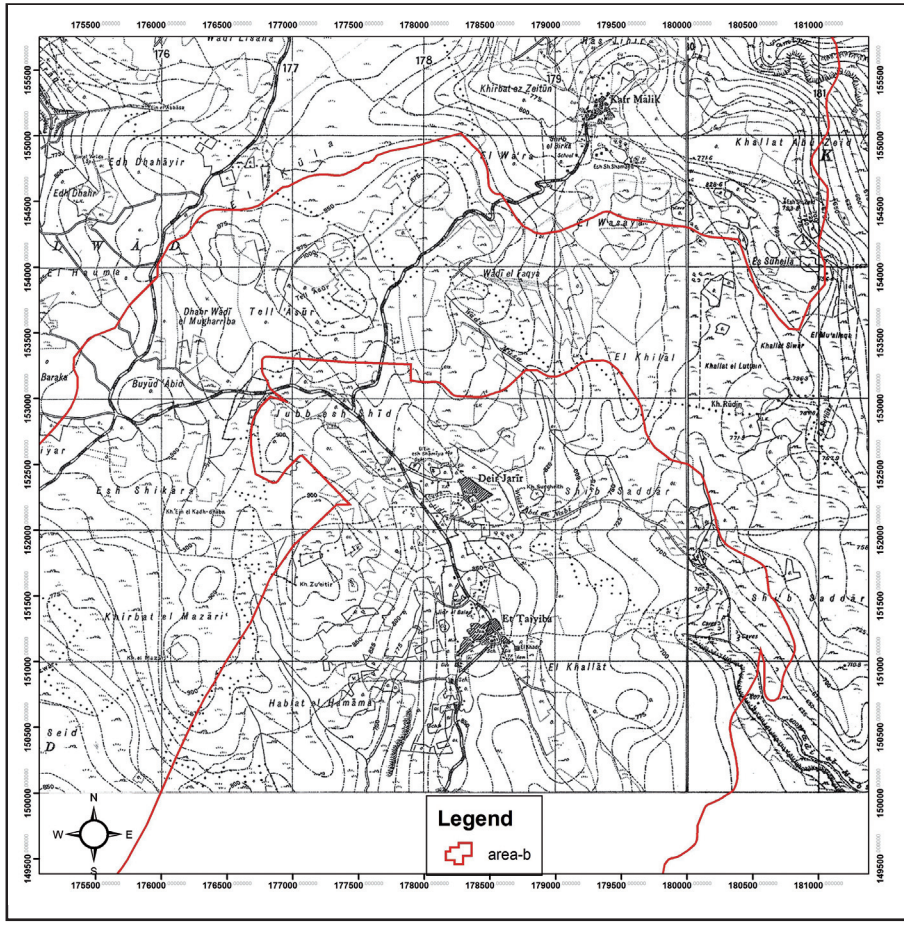

Fig. 1.
Map of Tell Asur. *Survey of Palestine, 1:20,000 series* (1942), vol. 1, sheet 17–15 "Silwad."

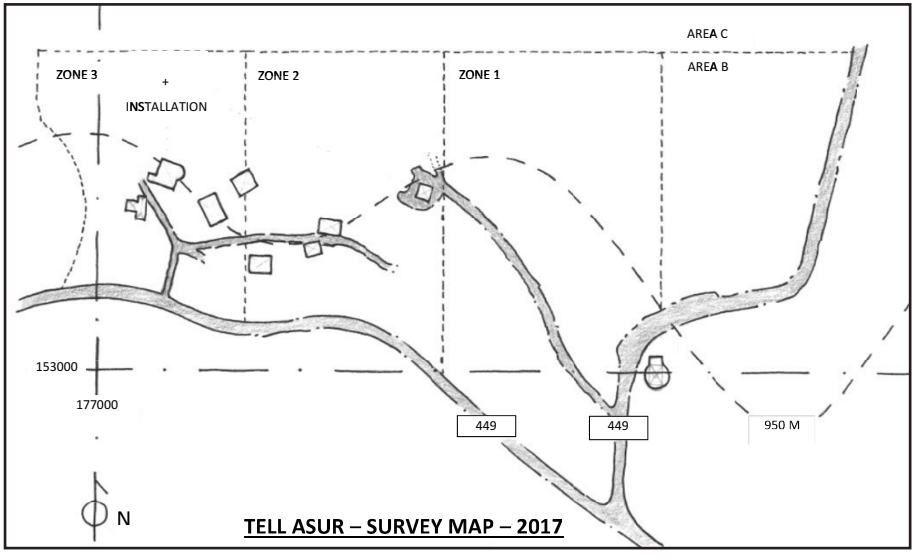

Fig. 2.
Plan of Survey Area. Drawing by Eric Wagner.

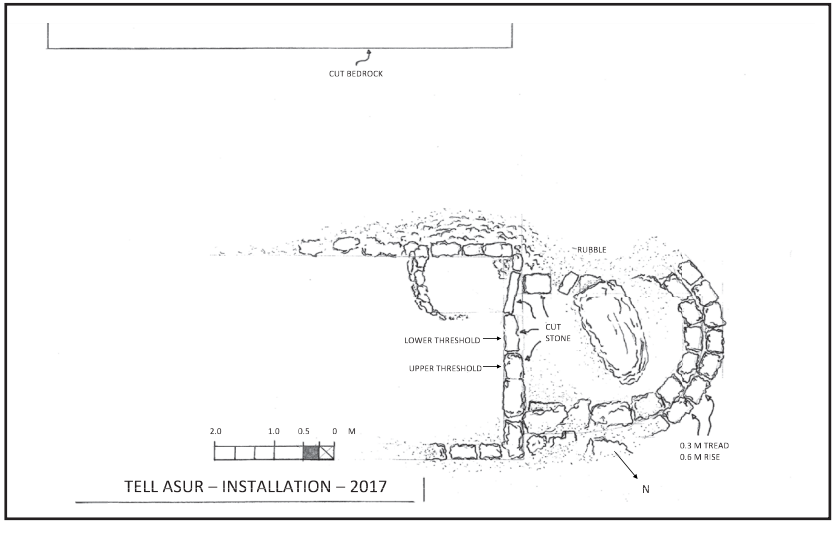

Fig. 3.
Plan of Structure in Zone 3. Drawing by Eric Wagner.

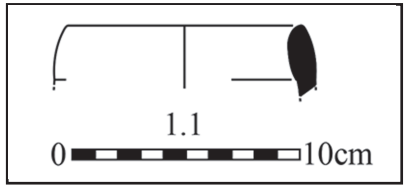

Fig. 4.
TA17–1.1. Drawing by Conn Herriott.

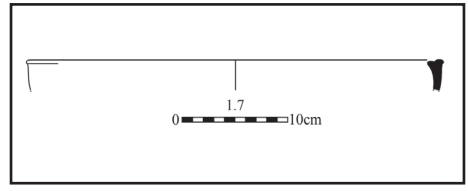

Fig. 5.
TA17–1.7. Drawing by Conn Herriott.

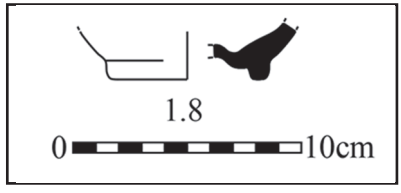

Fig. 6.
TA17–1.8. Drawing by Conn Herriott.

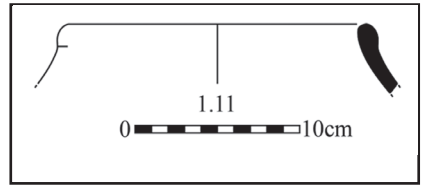

Fig. 7.
TA17–1.11. Drawing by Conn Herriott.

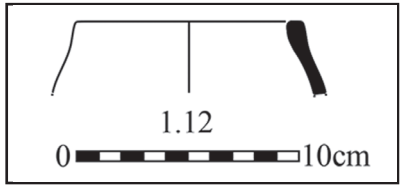

Fig. 8.
TA17–1.12. Drawing by Conn Herriott.

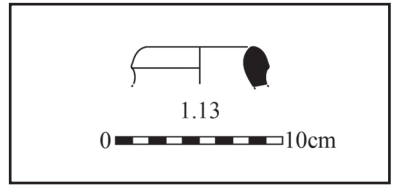

Fig. 9.
TA17–1.13. Drawing by Conn Herriott.

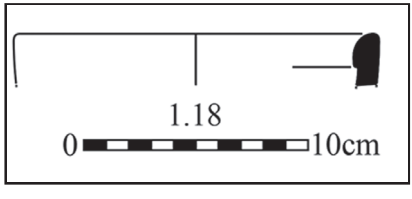

Fig. 10.
TA17–1.18. Drawing by Conn Herriott.

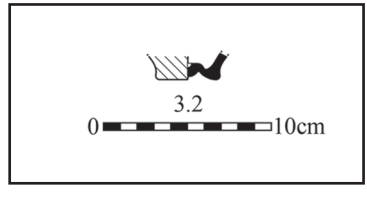

Fig. 11.
TA17–3.2. Drawing by Conn Herriott.

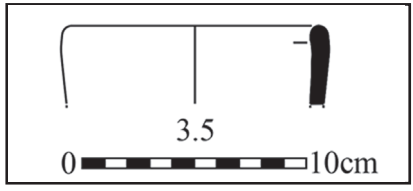

Fig. 12.
TA17–3.5. Drawing by Conn Herriott.

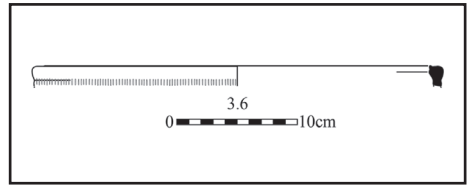

Fig. 13.
TA17–3.6. Drawing by Conn Herriott.

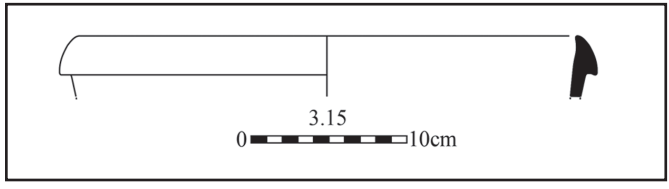

Fig. 14.
TA17–3.15. Drawing by Conn Herriott.

Fig. 15.
Retaining Walls, Zone 1.
Photo by Robert Miller.

Fig. 16.
Retaining Walls, Zone 1
Photo by Robert Miller.

Fig. 17.
Zone 3, South. Photo by Robert Miller.

Fig. 18.
Structure in Zone 3.
Photo by Robert Miller.

Fig. 19.
Structure in Zone 3.
Photo by Robert Miller.

Fig. 20.
Cut in bedrock at structure.
Photo by Robert Miller.

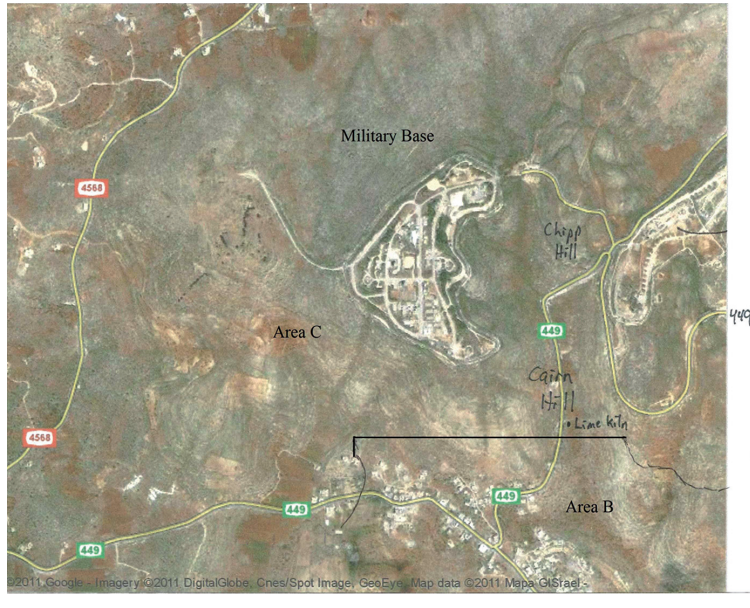

Fig. 21.
Aerial photo of Tell Asur. ©2011 Google—Imagery ©2011 DigitalGlobe, Cnes/Spot Image, GeoEye. Map data ©2011 Mapa GISrael.

Fig. 22.
Pig bone. Photo by Robert Miller.

Fig. 23.
TA17–1.1. Photo by Robert Miller.

Fig. 24.
TA17–1.2. Photo by Robert Miller.

Fig. 25.
TA17–1.6 and 3.2. Photo by Robert Miller.

Fig. 26.
TA17–1.7. Photo by Robert Miller.

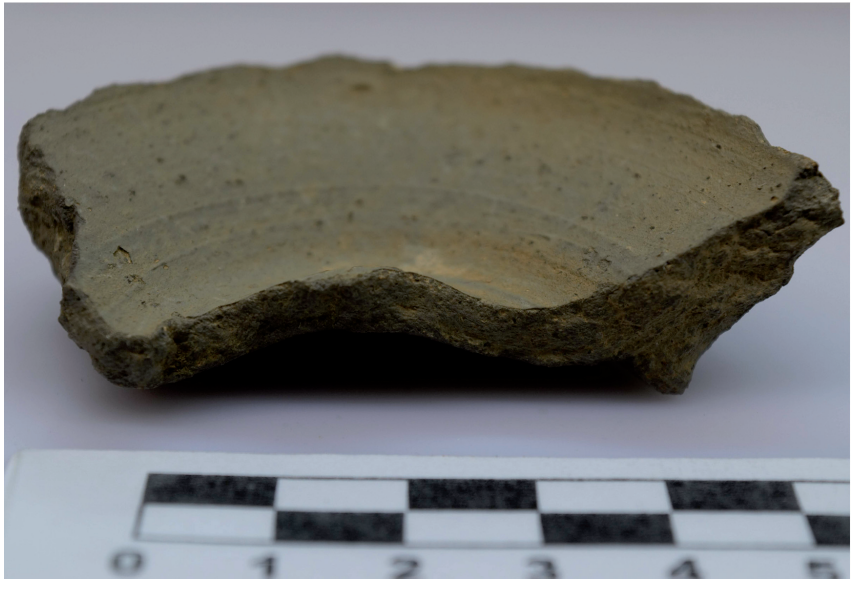

Fig. 27.
TA17–1.8. Photo by Robert Miller.

Fig. 28.
TA17–1.11. Photo by Robert Miller.

Fig. 29.
TA17–3.8. Photo by Robert Miller.

Fig. 30.
TA17–3.9. Photo by Robert Miller

Fig. 31.
TA17–3.15. Photo by Robert Miller.

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Fig. 32.
Tell Asur seen from Taybeh. Photo by Robert Miller.

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Reseñas Bibliográficas / Book Reviews

Gwanghyun D. Choi. *Decoding Canaanite Pottery Paintings from the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age I: Classification and Analysis of Decorative Motifs and Design Structures-Statistics, Distribution Patterns—Cultural and Socio-Political Implications.* Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, Series Archaeologica 37. Fribourg and Göttingen, Academic Press and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2016. 290 + CD-ROM. ISBN: 978-3-525-53039-9. € 140.

This book is an ambitious attempt at cataloging and extracting meaning from the huge corpus of southern Levantine painted pottery of the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age I, stemming from a Ph.D. dissertation submitted to the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. The entire venture is commendable for both its innovative nature and its impressive scope: it is the first comprehensive attempt to catalog systematically all the motifs of "Canaanite" pottery, and it relies on a massive corpus of 3,225 vessels and sherds. It is most surprising that there is no such previous study, bearing in mind the rich corpus of works on comparative typology of pottery in the Bronze and Iron Ages in the southern Levant, including such pinnacles as Amiran's 1970 classic and the recent much elaborated volumes edited by Gitin (2015). Furthermore, there are other basic studies of motifs on decorated pottery from the southern Levant, such as Dothan's (1982) study, deeply influenced by Furumark's seminal work, *The Mycenaean Pottery: Analysis and Classification* (1941) with its catalog of painted motifs. More recently, a vast catalog of Philistine iconography was published, including pottery, figurines and other representations.[1]

Choi's work comprises five chapters and an electronic database:

Chapter I, *Typology of Painted Pottery Vessels and Method for the Classification of Decorative Motifs*, deals with the typology of the painted pottery, enumerating twenty-two types of local painted forms. The pottery is not divided strictly by typological forms, as common in typological studies in excavation reports, but by broader, generalized categories. Thus, all the Late Bronze and Iron I bowls are divided into two classes: interior-painted bowls

[1] Ben-Shlomo 2010.

and exterior-painted bowls (pp. 5–6). A discussion of the methodology for classifying the decorations follows this division. Overall, the corpus is divided into four main categories and no less than 66 classes of decoration, many of which are further divided into types and subtypes, creating an extremely detailed classification system (pp. 23–30). The chapter closes with a survey of the archaeological theory of style (pp. 32–40).

Chapter II, *Typology of Decorative Motifs*, describes the decorative motifs of the corpus by categories and subcategories. Every motif is described in detail, followed by a discussion of its chronology and a review of previous studies of the painted vessels. This chapter is lavishly illustrated with many hundreds of line drawings. There is some overlap between groups, *e.g.*, between those of Tree + Quadruped (Class 24), Tree + Quadruped + Bird (Class 26), Tree + Quadruped + Fish (Class 27) (pp.101–108) and the Tree of Life group (Class 41) (pp. 124–125). Some discussion segments, like that dedicated to the musician, featuring the Orpheus Jug from Megiddo (pp. 83–90), or the common/ubiquitous Symbol of Life group (pp. 125–129) are quite extensive, and are, in fact, excursus that go far beyond the discussion of decorative motif themes on pottery.

Chapter III, *Structures of Canaanite Pottery Paintings*, analyzes classes of design structures—each composed of several combined decorative geometric motifs. These include the Simple Stripe designs, the Geometric-frieze designs, Metopic designs, Free-style designs and Circle designs. The Middle Bronze II and Late Bronze sources of inspiration for these designs are then discussed, from the Bichrome and Chocolate-on-White wares to the Amuq-Cilician Ware and the Nuzi Ware; the latter two show the closest affinity to painted pottery from Canaan (pp. 195–211).

Chapter IV, *Statistics of Occurrences and Distribution Analysis*, presents the statistics for each motif and design structure. The size of the sample for each site depends heavily on the scale of the excavation, *e.g.*, there are 408 vessels from Beth-Shean, 306 from Megiddo and only 4 from Tel ʻEitun (p. 212). The data are presented according to numerous variables, including the number of occurrences of each motif and its distribution, ratios of various design structures, the colors used for painting and the archaeological contexts of the painted pottery.

Chapter V, *Cultural and Socio-Political Implications of Canaanite Pottery Paintings*, is a discussion of the cultural background of the Canaanite painted pottery, combining the iconographic and statistical data with the

available historical and archaeological sources. Two main arguments are presented: one concerns the nature of the Tree of Life motif and its connection with "…a cult of blessing" (p. 237) and the other regards the reasons for its popularity and decline.

Choi's first argument is that the most common decorative motif during those periods was the tree, especially the palm (pp. 124–125). It often appears on vessel handles, sometimes in schematic form, resembling a "Union Jack" pattern (pp. 165–168). This type of motif was always painted during the making of the vessel, and was identified by Choi as the Tree of Life, a part of the broader Symbol of Life group, which includes both the tree and the pubic triangle as sacred symbols (p. 126). It was interpreted as a symbol of fertility, but not as one related to a specific divinity or her visual form (pp. 129, 236–237). Elsewhere, I suggested a slight alternative: the use of the schematic palm tree motif on the handles of Canaanite pottery, especially on jar handles, was much more than general "marks of blessing," as argued by Choi (p. 169), but rather an explicit, apotropaic use of symbol of the goddess Elat/Athirat/Asherah, meant to invoke her protection of the jar and its nourishing contents.[2]

As for Choi's second argument, he explains the popularity of the Tree of Life motif as emanating from the hopeless sociopolitical situation of the Canaanites under Egyptian rule, which pushed the non-elites to seek solace in the Canaanite cults and in the promise of blessing embodied in symbolism, and therefore to consume pottery decorated by these symbols. The end of the Egyptian empire and its oppression led to the decline of the use of this symbolism (pp. 239–240; see also 241). I would like to argue that the explanation for the decline of symbolism is more intricate, and extends beyond the end of the Egyptian rule in Canaan. The Tree of Life motif became considerably rarer in the beginning of the Iron Age in Philistia, and seems to have been replaced by the Aegean-style bird motifs, which appear on Monochrome and Bichrome pottery and stemmed from representations in the Aegean world, in which birds are connected with invisible presence of a goddess.[3] Yet it was neither the collapse of the Egyptian domination nor the arrival of the Philistines that ended the use of the Tree of Life motif. It seems that, at least in the 12th century BCE, Canaanite and Aegean cultic symbolism coexisted, as seen, for example, in the case of two ring base kraters from Ekron; these

[2] Yasur-Landau 2017.

[3] Yasur-Landau 2008: 216–220.

kraters, while an Aegean form, are nonetheless decorated with palm trees, a theme that is otherwise absent from the Aegean-style pottery repertoire.[4] This is an indication that Canaanite cultic traditions related to the worship of the goddess Ashera appeared side by side with the worship of an Aegean goddess in Philistia of the early Iron Age, just as Canaanite and Aegean-inspired material culture traits appeared in every house in Philistia.[5] The decline of Egyptian rule in the 12th century BCE was far from being a decisive event in the decline of the pictorial pottery. The Orpheus Jug from Megiddo Stratum VIA dates to the late 11th or early 10th century BCE—more than a century after the end of Egyptian domination in the northern valleys, and also the arrival of the Philistines. A detailed iconographic study shows the astonishing combination of local Canaanite, Aegean and Cypriot origins of the shape of the vessel and its decorative motifs, reflecting the adaptive, vibrant nature of Canaanite art well into the Iron Age.[6] The tradition of iconography of fertility goddesses and palm trees flanked by quadrupeds hardly vanishes from the Canaanite popular religion of the Iron Age, as seen in the Yavneh *favissa*, a rich collection of ceramic stands, chalices, altars and other cult-related objects, dated to the 9th century BCE, found at the tell of Yavneh. Many of the 120 cultic stands feature combinations of female figures, lions and bulls, horned animals and palm trees—all motifs found also on decorated Canaanite pottery.[7]

The volume is closed with a short conclusion section (pp. 241–242) recapping the main points raised in Chapter V.

Enclosed with this volume is a CD-ROM with the database of the discussed assemblage, including a complete description of each vessel and sherd and their archaeological contexts and chronology, as well as a list of references.

To conclude, this volume closes a major gap in the study of both Late Bronze and Iron Age I pottery in the southern Levant, as well as in the study of Canaanite iconography. It is a major contribution to research, and will be used as both an authoritative catalog and an exceptional scientific synthesis. The author deserves to be commended for the vast amount of meticulous work that he put into preparing this important study. As new examples of painted pottery emerge every month in excavations, it may be advisable to publish the catalog online and allow updates and searches, perhaps in a format

[4] Yasur-Landau 2016.
[5] Yasur-Landau 2012.
[6] Yasur-Landau 2008.
[7] Yasur-Landau 2016.

similar to that of the Levantine Ceramics Project (*https://www.levantineceramics.org/*).

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Sousa, Rogério. *Burial Assemblages from Bab el-Gasus in the Geographical Society of Lisbon.* Monumenta aegyptiaca 14. Turnhout, Brepols, 2017. xiv + 290. ISBN 9782503565750. € 89,00.

This book is the first publication of the 21st Dynasty coffins in the Lisbon Bab el-Gasus collection which Portugal received in 1893 as the 8th Lot consisting of 88 ushebtis, 5 anthropoid coffins, and 3 mummy covers. The mummies remained in Cairo, but their whereabouts are currently unknown. The mummies of the 8th Lot were lost by 1907 when Georges Daressy published his findings on Bab el-Gasus.[1] Sousa's publication provides a full description, commentary, accompanied by black and white and color plates of coffin photographs in addition to useful line drawings, which are essential contributions to researchers in this field.

The book is divided into systematic description of iconography and inscriptions followed by commentary and documentation. Sousa's methodology for coffin documentation is carefully described and justified. Each piece receives a summary description, information about archaeological context and dating, description of iconography (head to foot), and then textual transcriptions and translations. The publication follows a contemporary trend to give full attention to coffin iconography inside and out, following René van Walsem's methodology set up in his publication of Djedmonthuiuefankh,[2] as well as van Walsem's concept of "architectonisation,"[3] a framework utilized by Sousa for his description method. Sousa focuses on consistent terminology for the topography, or "architecture" of yellow coffins, aiming at being as exhaustive as possible, including discussion of color, decorative patterns, and friezes. Descriptions of vignettes follow the same order of description: symmetrical composition, action, and liminal elements. Visual documentation supplements the visual and textual description and is inspired by epigraphic survey methods.

I did note that the line drawings only focus on iconography and text. The drawings do not depict coffin contours, wooden planks, or other irregularities, but Sousa is careful to point out that this study is not technical in that way and that eliminating such details makes the iconography clearer to the viewer. However, if full access to a given coffin is granted, it would have

[1] Daressy 1907.
[2] Van Walsen 1997.
[3] Van Walsen 1997: 361.

made sense to also do such a study in addition. As presented, the line drawings give an idealistic and perfected image of a given coffin, rather than a picture of a crafted object of a particular quality or cost, not to mention an object that probably underwent modifications for coffin reuse.

Having said this, it is clear that Sousa has contributed another essential resource to those of us invested in coffin studies, religious iconography, and funerary preparations in ancient Egypt. The focus on Bab el Gasus is particularly useful, as this volume is one more step in reuniting and resurrecting a coffin cache that was not scientifically excavated and then scattered to museums around the world. I applaud Sousa for carefully including archival information with his art historical, iconographic and textual details.

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Agnès Garcia-Ventura, Claudia Tavolieri & Lorenzo Verderame (eds.). *The Study of Musical Performance in Antiquity. Archaeology and Written Sources*. Newcastle upon Tyne, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2018. xii + 260 ISBN: 978-1-5275-0658-9. £ 61.99.

La música y su interpretación constituían aspectos fundamentales en las culturas orientales y mediterráneas, y todas las facetas de la vida, de la cotidiana pero también de la ritual, estaban impregnadas de música. La música era además la amalgama que aseguraba la identidad social y cultural de las personas. Aunque los estudios de música en la antigüedad suelen ser algo marginales, la música nos proporciona una información extraordinaria de las interdependencias culturales de las sociedades. Como la música se difunde entre todos los niveles de la vida comunitaria, es un eslabón crucial que conecta muchas

actividades sociales, tanto sagradas como profanas. Aunque no sea muy abundante, tenemos evidencia arqueológica, iconográfica y documental para el estudio de la música en múltiples contextos de la sociedad. A partir de esa evidencia gravita este volumen que, nacido de un workshop celebrado en 2015 en Roma, supone una nueva y muy bienvenida contribución a las publicaciones recientes.

En este caso concreto, las culturas tratadas se extienden de un lado al otro del Mediterráneo, desde el Próximo Oriente hasta la Península Ibérica, si bien el punto fuerte es Mesopotamia. Esto no ha de extrañar, ya que dos de las tres personas que editan este libro son especialistas en las culturas y lenguas del Próximo Oriente Antiguo. A lo largo de sus capítulos *The Study of Musical Performance in Antiquity* aúna estudios arqueológicos y filológicos y sus once artículos tratan una gran variedad de periodos desde muy diversas aproximaciones teóricas.

Un prefacio de la musicóloga de Pavía Eleonora Rocconi abre el libro, tras el cual se presenta un buen capítulo introductorio de los editores sobre "The Study of Musical Performance in Antiquity", en el cual se contextualiza este trabajo en el conjunto de los estudios sobre la música, su ejecución y su experiencia en la antigüedad. Los primeros tres capítulos, de las orientalistas Maria Vittoria Tonietti, Regine Pruzsinszky y Dahlia Shehata se acercan respectivamente a la música en Ebla ("The First Ancient Near Eastern Written Sources on Musicians' Activity and Performance: The Ebla Archives– A Glance at the 3rd Millennium BCE Syrian Evidence", y a los músicos en texto e imagen, con especial hincapié en el II milenio a.C. con los artículos: "The Poor Musician in Ancient Near Eastern Texts and Images" y "Singing and Singers in 2nd Millennium Babylonia: A New Look at Selected Texts and Images").

El capítulo cuarto versa sobre Egipto, y el quinto sobre Israel: Heidi Köpp-Junk, "Textual, Iconographical, and Archaeological Evidence for the Performance of Ancient Egyptian Music" y Theodore W. Burgh "Potential Musical Instructions in Ancient Israel". En los siguientes capítulos se explora la cuestión a partir de la evidencia arqueológica y textual procedente de las culturas de época clásica en el Mediterráneo central y Occidental: Daniele F. Maras "Dancing Myths: Musical Performances with Mythological Subjects from Greece to Etruria"; Angela Bellia "Performative Aspects of Music in Sacred Contexts of the Western Greeks"; Raquel Jiménez Pasalodos and Peter/Pippa Holmes "The Aulos and the Trumpet: Music, Gender and Elites

in Iberian Culture (4th to 1st Century BCE)"; Mirco Mungari "Clues of Roman Soundscapes around Vesuvius: Some Case Studies" y Kamila Wysłucha "*Tibia multifora, multiforatilis, multiforabilis*… Depictions of a 'Many-holed' Tibia in Written Sources". Con el último capítulo, Claudia Tavolieri cierra el viaje regresando a Oriente, pero al de la era cristiana: "Body and Soul: The Dangers of Music and Song in Syriac Christianity".

Sorprende el enfoque innovador de muchas de las contribuciones y el tratamiento de temáticas nuevas: música y mitos, disposición de los cantantes, música, género y elites, etc. Quizás sorprenda también, que se trata de un área de estudio en la que predominan las mujeres. De hecho, no sólo dos de las tres personas que editan el volumen son mujeres, sino que la gran mayoría de las contribuciones están firmadas por mujeres. No es extraño pues, que los enfoques y las perspectivas de género abunden en este tipo de estudios, lo que supone un avance metodológico muy importante. Además, en la antigua Mesopotamia o en Grecia, la música y su representación estaban muy imbuidas de género: junto a la presencia de muchas mujeres cantantes o músicas, hay que destacar la participación de personas de géneros no binarios en el mundo de la música, como se puede ver en los textos y en las representaciones iconográficas que tratan directamente el tema de la música. Se destaca también el análisis de los instrumentos musicales como objetos liminales: votivos y funcionales a un tiempo. También es interesante la presencia de estudios sobre la organización del espacio sagrado para la representación musical, y el estudio de la función política y social que tenían los festivales en el mundo antiguo, de la participación del público en las ceremonias, etc.

En resumen, pese a tratarse de un volumen relativamente breve y de aspecto aparentemente sencillo, es una obra ambiciosa, muy rica y fundamental para quien quiera acercarse a la música en el mundo antiguo.

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Davide Domenici & Nicolò Marchetti (eds.) *Urbanized Landscapes in Early Syro-Mesopotamia and Prehispanic Mesoamerica. Papers of a Cross-Cultural Seminar held in Honor of Robert McCormick Adams*. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrasowitz GmbH & Co. KG, 2018. 224. ISBN 978-3-447-11086-0, e-ISBN 978-3-447-19782-3. $ 47.42.

Este libro reúne las conferencias presentadas en un seminario dedicado a conmemorar el 50º aniversario de la publicación de la obra seminal de Robert McCormick Adams, *The Evolution of Urban Society: Early Mesopotamia and Prehispanic Mexico*.[1] Dicho seminario se llevó a cabo durante el año 2015 en la Universidad de Bologna, Italia, donde pertenecen cuatro de los siete autores que figuran en el libro. Como expresan los editores en su prefacio, dos conferencias no llegaron a ser incorporadas, una de Nikolai Grube (Reinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität) y otra de David Wengrow (University College London), pero en su lugar fue introducido un artículo de Pascal Butterlin (Université de Paris – La Sorbonne), quien originalmente no participó del seminario. El fallecimiento de Adams, acaecido en medio del proceso de edición, obligó a que, inesperadamente, este libro terminara siendo en su honor.

La obra inicia y finaliza con dos artículos de tono reflexivo referidos a la utilidad de la perspectiva comparativa y la relación entre irrigación y complejidad, enfoques y tópicos que siempre caracterizaron la labor de Adams. Con respecto a las regiones abordadas por el homenajeado, contamos con un artículo dedicado a Teotihuacán y el paisaje urbanístico mesoamericano, y dos dedicados al período Uruk, uno específicamente sobre el problema de la expansión de esta cultura en el Éufrates Medio y otro sobre la emergencia de las primeras instituciones políticas. A continuación, contamos con dos artículos centrados en los aspectos metodológicos para reconstruir los paisajes urbanos antiguos, uno que presenta dos proyectos en el Cercano Oriente y otro en Asia Central. Por último, el libro cierra con un apéndice que consiste en una lista con todas las publicaciones de Adams, incluidos artículos y reseñas bibliográficas, indicando cuando es posible la página online para poder acceder a los mismos, lo que constituye un recurso muy valioso para todos aquellos que desean conocer y/o profundizar en la obra de este autor.

El primer artículo, de Gary M. Feinman (Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago), titulado “The Comparative Investigation of Early

[1] Adams 1966.

Urbanized Landscapes: An Interdisciplinary Reframing", resalta la validez del enfoque comparativo, no para buscar leyes evolutivas comunes sino, al contrario, para poder explicar mejor las divergencias en los desarrollos urbanísticos, tanto en su origen como en la forma que adoptan. El trabajo se acompaña de tablas muy claras—aunque algunas resultan demasiado simples—donde el autor plantea sus críticas a los enfoques precedentes y ofrece las ventajas de aplicar un modelo más flexible basado en la cooperación y la acción colectiva. Podemos decir que el eje central de este trabajo es rectificar la aplicación incorrecta de su propuesta anterior sobre las estrategias corporativas y las excluyentes[2] pues, en lugar de adoptarse como dos polos de un mismo continuo—como el autor sugiere—fueron tomadas como dos tipologías sociales separadas. Posiblemente lo más relevante resida en las condiciones que explican el predominio de una estrategia sobre la otra, consistentes en la capacidad de los gobernantes para acceder y controlar recursos locales o foráneos. En fin, según su análisis, en la mayoría de los casos urbanos tempranos predominarían formas de gobierno colectivas que emplearon poca o ninguna coerción, basando su dominio en instituciones sagradas, como por ejemplo en el sur de la Mesopotamia y el valle del Indo, pero no así en el caso de los mayas y de los egipcios, donde al contrario emergieron formas más autocráticas, lo que se refleja en un paisaje urbanístico compuesto por ciudades más pequeñas y dispersas.

El segundo artículo, de Davide Domenici (Università di Bologna), una de las editoras del libro, se titula "Beyond Dichotomies: Teotihuacan and the Mesoamerican Urban Tradition", y se vincula de manera estrecha con el anterior, pues a partir del análisis de la disposición urbanística de este sitio discute la utilidad de las dos estrategias ya mencionadas: corporativas y excluyentes. Desde su punto de vista, la contraposición entre las tierras centrales, con asentamientos nucleados y poderes políticos más burocratizados, y las tierras bajas, con asentamientos dispersos y formas de liderazgo vinculadas a la función ritual y/o real, opaca el carácter segmentario que debió tener la ciudad de Teotihuacán. Para demostrar su hipótesis no sólo se basa en las estructuras de este sitio, sino también en un detallado estudio de las pinturas murales que las decoran—a su modo de ver un verdadero sistema de escritura—así como también en una comparación con la organización política del período Náhualt Postclásico. Los resultados de su investigación la llevan a proponer que en Teotihuacán pudo haber prevalecido una cooperación entre

[2] Blanton, Feinman, Kowalewski y Peregrine 1996; Feinman 1995.

distintos agrupamientos sociales formados por secciones urbanas y rurales, no necesariamente contiguas, lo que daba lugar a relaciones políticas de carácter heterárquico. Si bien la autora reconoce que su planteo es altamente especulativo (*admittedly highly speculative*), lo que repite en dos ocasiones con las mismas palabras (pp. 42 y 53), es bastante probable que los especialistas en Mesoamérica lo encuentren estimulante y sea objeto de futuros debates.

A continuación figuran dos artículos dedicados al período Uruk. El primero de ellos, "Princes marchands d'Uruk? L'expansion urukéene en question (Études proto-urbaines 5)", redactado por Pascal Butterlin, plantea que desde fines del Vº milenio se fue desarrollando en gran parte del Cercano Oriente una cultura interregional, proceso que el autor conceptualiza como globalización, donde no es posible identificar un centro político hegemónico, sino una articulación entre distintas esferas de interacción. Los elementos característicos de la cultura Uruk se sumarían de manera tardía a estas esferas, debido sobre todo a su ventaja para la administración de los recursos, pero donde también destaca la incorporación de motivos iconográficos originarios de la llanura susiana. A partir de una detallada discusión cronológica y el análisis de artefactos vinculados a la producción textil, de aceite y de vino hallados en diferentes estructuras de Habuba Kabira, el autor arriba a la conclusión de que en esta "colonia" la producción se realizaba de manera doméstica y descentralizada, por lo que debió haber predominado una forma de organización social basada en una "confederación de grandes familias" (p. 85). Otro elemento a destacar es la idea de que la concentración del poder político en Uruk se habría dado recién luego del abandono de estas "colonias". Lamentablemente, notamos que algunos textos mencionados en este artículo no figuran en la bibliografía final, ausencia que no se verifica en las restantes colaboraciones del libro.

El siguiente trabajo dedicado al período Uruk se denomina "The Construction of Large-scale Network in Late Chalcolithic Mesopotamia: Emergent Political Institutions and Their Strategies". Su autor, Giacomo Benati (Università di Bologna), centra la atención en el proceso de larga duración donde se fueron desarrollando instituciones políticas dedicadas a la organización y el mantenimiento de trabajadores y de redes de intercambio que superaban claramente el nivel doméstico, lo que no sólo dio lugar a las ciudades sino también a los primeros estados. A su modo de ver, este proceso es claramente visible desde al menos el LC3 (3850–3700 a.C.) y, como en el artículo de Butterlin, todas las regiones del Cercano Oriente habrían partici-

pado en mayor o menor medida del mismo, destacando la evidencia de sitios como Tepe Gawra, Tell Brak y Tell Hamoukar, entre otros. La idea central del texto se encuentra quizás demasiado apegada a planteos ya conocidos, como por ejemplo los de Algaze[3], e incluso para la fase final del proceso, el LC 5 (3370–3200 a.C.), realiza una comparación ya frecuente entre los sitios de Arslantepe y de Uruk. No obstante, el autor incorpora nuevos hallazgos, resume y articula distintas interpretaciones, proponiendo también reconstrucciones cronológicas que no son del todo coincidentes con la de Butterlin (Tablas 1, 2 y 3), por lo que puede resultar útil para todo aquel interesado en la debatida cuestión sobre el origen del Estado.

Los dos artículos que siguen a continuación no son de índole argumentativa, sino que consisten en la presentación de proyectos actualmente en curso. El primero de ellos, "Wandering through Early Urbanized Landscapes in Syro-Mesopotamia", redactado por Nicoló Marchetti (Università di Bologna), el segundo editor del libro, comenta de manera breve dos proyectos, uno dedicado al entorno de Ebla y el otro a la Mesopotamia Central. El objetivo de ambos es reconstruir el paisaje urbano a través de prospecciones y de otras técnicas, declarando la deuda metodológica con Adams. Al final de este artículo figuran muy buenas imágenes satelitales y mapas con distintos datos, que seguramente pueden ser útiles para quienes investigan sobre ambas regiones, en particular para aquellos dedicados al III^{er} milenio a.C.

El siguiente artículo, de Simone Mantellini (Università di Bologna), titulado "Landscape Archaeology and Irrigation Systems in Central Asia: A View from Samarkand (Uzbekistan)", comenta varias de las dificultades para realizar prospecciones en esta región, donde este tipo de trabajo no se acostumbra. Otra de las limitaciones se debe a la falta de cronologías confiables, por lo que no es fácil relacionar sitios con canales, a pesar de lo cual, luego de un estado de la cuestión, centrado en el aporte de los estudios soviéticos, se presentan algunos resultados preliminares, señalando que los primeros asentamientos vinculados con estructuras hídricas datan del período aqueménida y tuvieron su mayor crecimiento durante la época pre-islámica. Este artículo, como el anterior, se acompaña de muy buenas fotografías e imágenes, de gran valor para el interesado en la historia antigua de Asia Central.

El último trabajo, "The Evolution of Urban Society Today: Robert Adams in and for the New Century", redactado por Norman Yoffee (University of Michigan), constituye, a pesar de su brevedad, un pertinente

[3] Algaze 2008.

artículo de cierre para el libro. Este trabajo consiste en un comentario de los artículos de Adams que tratan sobre la Mesopotamia antigua publicados desde el año 2000 en adelante. Según el autor, es posible identificar algunos ejes en común, en particular aquellos dedicados a la relación entre la práctica agrícola y la administración estatal. En ellos emerge un escenario donde la práctica agrícola eficiente se realizaba a pequeña escala y estaba a cargo de autoridades locales, mientras que el Estado y sus funcionarios sólo tenían un conocimiento superficial, por lo que cuando querían intervenir entorpecían la producción, dando lugar a estrepitosas crisis, visión con la que concuerda Yoffee, pero que cree se podría explicar mejor a partir del concepto de simplicidad[4] en lugar del de complejidad, más comúnmente empleado por Adams.

En definitiva, a nuestro modo de ver, este libro refleja de manera fiel, ya sea en lo teórico, lo metodológico o lo temático, la impronta dejada por Adams en los estudios dedicados al urbanismo temprano. La cantidad y calidad de las imágenes que acompañan cada artículo, así como tablas y gráficos, no sólo ayudan a ilustrar mejor las explicaciones, sino que constituyen valiosos recursos para todos aquellos dedicados a la investigación de estos períodos y regiones. Cierto es que el título de la obra puede llevar a confusión, pues al fin y al cabo sólo cuenta con un artículo dedicado a la Mesoamérica prehispánica, mientras que hay un trabajo que claramente se ubica fuera del área de estudio—Asia Central—; desequilibro que seguramente habría sido menos evidente si se llegaban a incluir las conferencias que quedaron afuera. Por último, pero no menos importante, cabe destacar que esta obra se puede consultar y bajar de manera totalmente gratuita desde el identificador digital (DOI) indicado más arriba, o por lo menos así era la última vez que el redactor de esta reseña lo consultó, a fines de enero de 2019.

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Carlos Gracia Zamacona, *Manual de Egipcio Medio.* Oxford, Archaeopress, 2017 (2ª ed.). xiv+239. ISBN 978-1-78491-762-3 (e-Pdf). £ 8.00.

La producción de textos especializados en español sobre la lengua egipcia es, a todas luces, casi inexistente, así que la publicación de la segunda edición de este *Manual del Egipcio Medio* de Carlos Gracia Zamacona es altamente bienvenida. El texto viene a profundizar y ampliar una propuesta que—en palabras del propio autor en la Introducción a la primera edición—nació de modo circunstancial producto del dictado de unos cursos de lengua y escritura egipcia, que tuvieron lugar en Madrid durante 2007. Allí mismo aclara lo que el libro no es: una *gramática* del Egipcio Medio. Lo define como "una guía introductoria"—un *manual*—a lo que se conoce también como la etapa clásica de la lengua egipcia. Un aspecto relevante a mencionar es el hecho de que, dada la multiplicidad de aproximaciones teóricas a la lengua, el autor precisa su enfoque a este respecto; y otro, que expresa claramente su intención de colocar a España—y, por ende, a los estudios en lengua hispana—en el mapa egiptológico mundial. Esta última cuestión es tomada como punto de partida por Pascal Vernus en el Prefacio, para señalar luego los logros de la propuesta: la capacidad de integrar exitosamente rigurosidad metodológica y conocimiento teórico.

No podemos más que coincidir con el profesor Vernus respecto de estas cuestiones: en cuanto al primer aspecto mencionado, relativo al enfoque teórico adoptado por el autor, abreva en las posturas de Michel Malaise y Jean Winand, remitiendo a su obra *Grammaire raisonée de l'Egyptien Classique* de 1999. De este modo, quedan clarificadas varias cuestiones relativas al

posicionamiento del autor respecto del abordaje que realiza a la lengua egipcia: la toma en consideración de los aportes de la lingüística general, especialmente los puntos de vista semántico y enunciativo, y de sus interacciones con el nivel morfosintáctico[1]. Este posicionamiento declarado es muy bienvenido dadas las múltiples aproximaciones teóricas a la lengua egipcia que pueden confundir al que recién se inicia. De este modo, y luego de unas líneas que remiten a los antecedentes académicos del autor y los agradecimientos habituales, nos adentramos en el cuerpo de la obra.

El trabajo está dividido en tres partes: la primera, propone adentrarse en el "enfoque lingüístico, lectura y fonética"; la segunda, en la "gramática" y la tercera y última consta de varios "Anexos" que incluyen la bibliografía.

Es allí, en la primera parte, donde el autor declara su enfoque lingüístico y realiza un recorrido por la terminología específica que emplea en la obra. Luego le dedica unas páginas a las particularidades de la lengua egipcia, a la historia de la lingüística egipcia, a los tipos de escritura y fases lingüísticas y a los signos de la escritura egipcia pre-copta, la fonética y la transcripción del egipcio.

La segunda parte, la gramática, es la que nutridamente sintetiza las cuestiones relevantes del egipcio medio. El autor utiliza ejemplos propios—y no tomados de textos egipcios—que facilitan la comprensión de la función gramatical que describe y separa las palabras para ayudar al lector a distinguirlas. Considero que la enorme capacidad de síntesis y precisión del autor respecto de temas que pueden ampliarse—como él mismo sugiere en la Introducción—con alguna de las tantas gramáticas existentes, es uno de los grandes logros que presenta este manual. A este respecto son de suma utilidad los cuadros sinópticos que posee el trabajo.

La tercera parte se compone de una serie de Anexos, sumamente útiles y muy bien diagramados. El primero de ellos brinda una lista de signos jeroglíficos tomando como punto de partida la famosa lista de Alan Gardiner, pero Gracia Zamacona la completa con los aportes de Malaise y Winand e incorpora lecturas alternativas para algunos de los signos en nota a pie, siguiendo las propuestas de Gérard Roquet. De este modo, la lista incluye para cada signo el número de identificación, la imagen que lo representa, el ideograma, el fonograma, el determinativo, las alternancias e incluso las confusiones a las que puede prestarse. Tomemos el ejemplo citado en p. 116 para

[1] Malaise y Winand 1999: III.

ilustrar la utilidad que posee el armado de la lista de este modo: N° F21; signo:  ; imagen: oreja de vaca; ideograma: *sḏm* "escuchar", *msḏr* "oreja"; fonograma: *sḏm, sdm, idn*; determinativo: oreja, acciones de la oreja; alternancia:  (D18); confusiones: por hierático,  (D54).

El Anexo II incorpora un vocabulario básico extraído de la obra de Rainer H. G. Hanning y Petra Vomberg de 1999, *Wörtschatz der Pharaonen in Sachgruppen*, Mainz. Algunos términos se ven acompañados de aclaraciones y especificaciones en nota a pie, lo que es de gran ayuda para ajustar usos y sentidos. El anexo III incorpora una selección de ejemplos tomados del *Egyptian Readingbook, I*, publicado por Adriaan de Buck en 1948 y que aún posee una enorme utilidad para la práctica con textos jeroglíficos que requiere el estudio del egipcio medio. Este anexo se divide en tres secciones: la primera (A) incluye ejercitación para reconocer y fijar signos monolíteros, bilíteros, trilíteros y determinativos; mientras que la (B) contiene la *Estela de Merer* y la (C) la *Historia del náufrago*, también conocido como *Cuento del Náufrago*. Ahora el texto jeroglífico no presenta separación de palabras, con lo cual el lector se enfrenta a la necesidad de reconocerlas por sí mismo. El Anexo IV incorpora la resolución de esta ejercitación, con transliteración y traducción de los textos propuestos; mientras que el Anexo V concentra la bibliografía debidamente sistematizada por temas (genealogía del egipcio, tipología lingüística, tipología de la lengua egipcia, historiografía de la egiptología, fonética y grafémica, gramáticas de referencia, diccionarios y ediciones de congresos científicos sobre lengua egipcia). Precisamente, sin abrumar, la bibliografía que recomienda el autor permite al lector interesado profundizar algunas de las posiciones teóricas relativas a la lengua egipcia—como por ejemplo las propuestas por Orly Goldwasser[2], y las derivaciones que tienen hasta la actualidad.

En síntesis, la obra de Gracia Zamacona recupera lo esencial del egipcio medio de modo sintético, pero también sostiene una postura definida frente al fenómeno lingüístico y una actualización rigurosa de los contenidos, con lo cual se vuelve una herramienta de gran ayuda para todos aquellos hispanohablantes interesados en el estudio sistemático de la lengua del antiguo Egipto.

[2] Goldwasser 1995; 2002.

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Daniel Justel, *Infancia y legalidad en el Próximo Oriente antiguo durante el Bronce Reciente*. Ancient Near East Monographs 20. Atlanta. Society of Biblical Literature (SBL) y Centro de Estudios de Historia del Antiguo Oriente (CEHAO). 2018, xxvii + 392pp, Paperback. ISBN 978-0884142805.

La obra de este autor está centrada en la infancia como tema de investigación, pero llevado al contexto histórico del Próximo Oriente antiguo, lo cual le confiere un valor adicional a su trabajo, más aún si se considera que sólo a partir de 1970 comenzaron las indagaciones históricas sobre la infancia en esta antigua región. Como resultado, la obra de Daniel Justel constituye uno de los primeros intentos en investigar este tema bajo una óptica legal que aborde casos de abandono, abortos, adopciones y esclavitud. Para dicho efecto, el autor exploró diversas fuentes cuneiformes (casitas, meso-asirias, mitanias y sirias) entre el 1500 y el 1100 a.C. Estos siglos corresponden principalmente al periodo denominado por los especialistas como el "Bronce Reciente".

Cabe señalar que el uso de fuentes legales se encuentra vinculado con el objetivo primigenio de esta investigación: conocer la condición legal de los individuos mencionados, especialmente la relación natural o jurídica entre infantes y adultos. Para ello, el autor realizó un análisis comparativo de archivos provenientes de diferentes ciudades del Próximo Oriente antiguo (Nippur, Ur, Babilonia, Nuzi, Alalah, Assur, Emar, Ugarit, etc.) para así detectar la continuidad o ruptura de determinadas prácticas legales que involucraban a infantes. Ejemplo de ello son los textos legales, los reportes de raciones e informes

de trabajos que mencionan a niños y niñas. Posteriormente, la información que se desprende de dichas fuentes es analizada históricamente, considerando el contexto social, económico y cultural respaldado por estudios antropológicos más actuales.

La primera área de la infancia del Próximo Oriente antiguo tratada por el autor tiene que ver con el fenómeno del aborto y los abandonos infantiles. Un aspecto llamativo trabajado por Justel en lo que respecta al aborto es que era una práctica común en el mundo antiguo, y cuyas causas pueden ser consideradas tan actuales como cotidianas. Tal como fueron los casos de la planificación demográfica y los problemas socio-económicos aunque, según lo señala el propio autor, las causas del aborto no son generalmente expuestas en forma clara. Pese a ello, es factible ver que las leyes medio-asirias hicieran mención explícita de la disposición LAM 53, la cual aborda la práctica voluntaria del aborto por parte de la madre, como también la pena aflictiva mediante el empalamiento. Lo anterior evidenciaría, al menos en Asiria, que el aborto era legalmente castigado y que el feto era reconocido como un ser vivo, tal como se menciona en las leyes de Lipit-Ištar. Otro caso muy distinto tiene que ver con los abandonos de infantes y su posterior adopción, que involucraba la futura situación legal del infante. En este sentido, el autor menciona algunos casos peculiares, como el de una tabilla en forma de pierna humana catalogada como MKGH 4 y datada en el siglo XIII a.C. En ella se menciona el caso de un niño bautizado como Naru-eriba ("el río me ha compensado"), quien fue abandonado y salvado por una mujer, en un caso que recuerda las leyendas de Sargón de Akkad y la del Moisés bíblico. Lo más llamativo es que la acción de adoptar infantes estaba asociada con los verbos "levantar", "cuidar", "criar" y "educar", lo cual podría también vincularse a las obligaciones que asumía el individuo que adoptaba para con el infante.

El capítulo siguiente se refiere a la relación existente entre infancia y matrimonio. El matrimonio como institución podía entenderse, como lo expresa Justel, como una suerte de "contrato" entre dos individuos, puesto que el matrimonio en el Próximo Oriente antiguo era, por lo general, monógamo, aunque en ciertas circunstancias se aceptaba a una esposa secundaria. El objetivo primordial del matrimonio era perpetuar la descendencia aunque, como todo contrato, existían también implicancias económicas. En el caso de la infancia, Justel se pregunta qué pasaba durante el Bronce Reciente con la futura unión matrimonial que podía desarrollarse, a partir de los 10 años, en torno a un niño o niña. Aparentemente, el interés del autor sobre este tópico

radica en la cantidad de documentos cuneiformes provenientes de Babilonia que trataban casos específicos de matrimonios destinados a infantes cuando estos llegaban a su adultez. Lo mismo sucede con el archivo de Nuzi, el cual se caracteriza por la abundante información sobre vida privada y familiar, y donde se destacan más de cincuenta casos de matrimonios que se planificaron a partir de adopciones.

Otro es el caso del documento E6 216 procedente del archivo sirio de Emar. Cabe señalar que la mayor parte de estos arreglos matrimoniales fueron destinados principalmente a niñas, aunque no se tiene claro a qué edad se concretaba el matrimonio. Pese a ello, estudios antropológicos modernos podrían iluminar cuestiones tales como la adopción del término acadio *kallatu*, el cual era utilizado para definir, según el autor, a una mujer que puede ser una niña pequeña e incluso recién nacida, y que era contemplada como "casadera", pues se le desposaba, incluso siendo una bebé (entrando así en una esfera jurídica de "mujer esperando casarse"). Aquí, Justel realiza un estudio interesante sobre las edades de hombres y mujeres al momento del matrimonio. Aparentemente, el Próximo Oriente antiguo respondería a un tipo "mediterráneo" en el cual la edad del hombre era mayor al de la esposa. El promedio de edad de los hombres al momento de casarse sería desde los 20 años; mientras que el de las mujeres se asociaba con su su fertilidad, la cual podía abarcar entre los 12 y los 40 años. No obstante, podría decirse que la diferencia de edad entre los dos géneros y las expectativas de vida durante el Bronce Reciente explicarían, por ejemplo, la preponderancia de viudas en muchos de los registros proveniente de los archivos de la región.

En relación con esta temática, el próximo capítulo se centra en las adopciones infantiles. Se trata, en efecto, de un campo muy trabajado por los especialistas, aunque el grueso de la evidencia rescatada se centra en las adopciones de adultos. Asimismo, debe considerarse la dificultad de encontrar un término exacto para referirse a quien es "adoptado", por lo que deben usarse términos afines, en sumerio y acadio, como DUMU y *māru* ("hijo"), así como expresiones como Ḫ̆A.LA ("porción de herencia") o *ana ribiti ṣalu* ("arrojado a la calle"). Lo llamativo de este capítulo radica en que los "contratos" asociados con las adopciones infantiles expresan los derechos y obligaciones entre las partes: por ejemplo, en el caso de la adopción de un adulto, se le debe otorgar el servicio de trabajo *ilku* por parte del padre adoptivo.

Otras fuentes cuneiformes detallan los derechos de los adoptados para acceder a herencias, al suministro de bienes e, incluso, a futuros arreglos

matrimoniales para los adoptados. Como este tipo de adopción seguía los mismos requisitos de un contrato común, también destacaba la figura de los testigos así como las cláusulas sobre el quebrantamiento del contrato por parte del tutor legal, del adoptado, del adoptante o de los sujetos externos, vinculados con el contrato de adopción. Todo lo anterior corroboraría que, dentro del Próximo Oriente antiguo, fuese común el quebrantamiento del convenio de adopción. Más aún, es posible que estos vericuetos legales estuviesen relacionados con los aspectos económicos que existían detrás del proceso de adopción en el Bronce Reciente; particularmente con el traspaso de bienes del adoptante al adoptado. ¿Cuáles eran las razones para adoptar en esta época? Según Justel, estas podían ser variadas: la búsqueda de un heredero, la necesidad de formar a un aprendiz en un oficio, el proveerse de un cónyuge, buscar un cuidador para mayores o, simplemente, por razones religiosas o meramente sentimentales de proveerse de un hijo, tal como sucede hoy en día.

Posteriormente, el autor trabaja un capítulo crucial, referido a la relación entre infancia y esclavitud en el Bronce Reciente. Allí, analiza la complejidad del término "esclavo", el cual no siempre va acorde con la visión que existió en el mundo clásico del mismo, pese a ciertas conexiones en lo que respecta al grado de dependencia económica y sumisión a otra persona que existieron en ambas latitudes. La ventaja que presenta el estudio de la esclavitud en el Próximo Oriente antiguo, no obstante, es la existencia de abundantes fuentes cuneiformes que refieren a listas de personas con raciones de alimentación, a listas de personas vendidas o de trabajadores forzados, a deportaciones (fuentes asirias), a venta de niños (fuentes mitanias), adopciones, esclavitud por deudas y a la venta general de niños nacidos esclavos. Lo llamativo es que las fuentes jurídicas del Bronce Reciente parecen relacionar, dependiendo de la situación específica, el término moderno de "esclavitud" con el de "servidumbre", ya que era posible, de acuerdo con la terminología empleada, la existencia de diferentes tipos de "esclavos". Por ejemplo, era común dividir a los trabajadores, sean "esclavos" o "siervos", de acuerdo con criterios básicos como la edad y la condición física; a partir de los cuales se adoptaron términos para distinguir a varones adultos, adolescentes, menores y mujeres.

En el Bronce Reciente existían esclavos en el sector privado y siervos semi-libres en el sector público, y los infantes entraban en ambos ámbitos. La mayor parte de las ocupaciones de los niños era el cuidado del ganado, los trabajos textiles, la producción alimenticia, la albañilería, ser aprendiz de escriba, etc. La documentación cuneiforme confirmaría que los infantes aprendían

su oficio desde temprana edad. No obstante, según el autor, faltan estudios sobre las raciones de cebada entregadas a los niños. Tampoco hay claridad en lo que respecta a la condición legal de los infantes, sean siervos o esclavos, situación que también se repite en adultos. Sin embargo, resulta interesante destacar que en el caso de los adultos, estos podían ser clasificados como "individuos carentes de libertad" pero con la suficiente autonomía para desarrollar iniciativas legales como el matrimonio—tal como lo evidencia el corpus completo rescatado de la ciudad de Nippur, correspondiente a los siglos XIV-XIII a.C. Sin embargo, el mismo autor considera que no se puede generalizar sobre estos eventos. En el caso de los niños, la evidencia es más compleja porque, para empezar, existen registros que denotan una alta tasa de mortalidad entre los infantes, además de registros de fuga por maltrato e, incluso, liberación de algunos de ellos por sus familiares después de su recaptura (como evidencia el caso de Raba-ša-ili en el documento CBS 1106). Por tal razón, es factible suponer que la mayoría de los esclavos infantiles existentes en la época del Bronce Reciente fueron esclavos por haber nacido como tales, y la relación inmediata que pudo existir entre "esclavitud" y "niñez" radica en que dicha condición parecía asumida posteriormente, cuando el infante alcanzaba la adultez.

El último tópico trabajado por Justel en esta obra, y que se vincula directamente con el tema anterior, guarda relación con el fenómeno de venta de niños en el Próximo Oriente antiguo. Respecto del concepto de "venta", el autor hace hincapié en la definición tácita que implica un contrato en que se trasfiere a dominio ajeno una cosa propia por medio de un precio pactado e involucra tres elementos: vendedor, comprador y producto transferido. Si aplicamos esta definición al fenómeno legal que implicaba la venta de niños en el Próximo Oriente antiguo, esta suerte de transacción se encuentra atestiguado por una gran cantidad de evidencia documental hallada en Babilonia, la zona mitania y en Siria. Pero lo más peculiar es que estos lugares tenían sus propios registros de ventas. En el caso babilonio, por ejemplo, existía un canon permanente para ventas individuales o en conjunto de personas. En otros casos, como en Siria, los contratos de ventas dependían del archivo y de la ciudad en cuestión, como se evidencia en la ciudad de Emar, careciendo por tanto de una estructura general y prefijada.

Al analizar estos verdaderos corpus de documentación epigráfica, que denotaban, por ejemplo, la venta de 58 infantes, Justel destaca la mención relativa a los lugares de origen que reflejarían la gran escala del tráfico de esclavos

existente durante el Bronce Reciente; siendo de particular importancia aquellos infantes que eran de origen babilonio o Lullumû. Pese a las presunciones negativas, es llamativo que muchos de los vendedores parezcan haber sido los progenitores de los infantes, lo cual puede ayudar a entender las razones que los motivaba a vender a sus hijos—tales como proveerles refugio, oficio y mantención por parte del comprador. Por lo tanto, una de las causas principales que motivaban la venta de infantes era, aunque suene paradójico, la necesidad de asegurar el futuro de ellos. Esto podría corroborarse gracias a la existencia de garantes de la venta, de los testigos del caso y de aquellos que sellaban el acuerdo. También existían cláusulas para romper el acuerdo porque los esclavos, según la legislación babilónica, eran los únicos bienes susceptibles a cambio. De esta manera, la mayoría de los niños vendidos en esta época eran pre adolescentes, y los vendedores de infantes parecían inmersos en este tipo de negocios, sobre todo en períodos de crisis y con un buen manejo del patrón de oro para intercambios comerciales. De allí que el autor deduzca como conclusión de este capítulo que la compra y venta de niños era un fenómeno ligado con la esclavitud durante el Bronce Reciente y, por ello, una de las fuentes principales para el estudio de la infancia durante dicho período.

Como conclusión de la obra, podría señalarse que la investigación de Justel es un esfuerzo loable tanto por el manejo de diversas fuentes antiguas, como por el desarrollo de una temática que hasta entonces había sido poco explorada. Se trata de un esfuerzo digno de mención, pues la perspectiva legal o jurídica sobre los infantes del Próximo Oriente antiguo abre nuevas posibilidades de investigación en esta área de estudios. Sin embargo, y como señala el propio autor al comienzo de su obra, las deducciones realizadas en esta investigación constituyen el producto de un análisis de evidencia epigráfica sumamente escasa, y cualquier tipo de generalización podría tornarse riesgoso. Pese a ello, la investigación de Justel es un trabajo académico serio y que fomenta, en una especialidad que posee pocos especialistas en el medio hispano hablante, el crecimiento de las publicaciones en lengua castellana.

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Política Editorial

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