EDOM AT THE EDGE OF EMPIRE

ARCHAEOLOGY AND BIBLICAL STUDIES

Brian B. Schmidt, General Editor

Number 29

SBL PRESS

EDOM AT THE EDGE OF EMPIRE

A Social and Political History

Bradley L. Crowell

SBL PRESS

Atlanta

Copyright © 2021 by Bradley L. Crowell

Contents

Acknowledgments

ABBREVIATIONS

ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament
AAE	*Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy*
AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	*Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Edited by David Noel Freedman. 6 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1992.
ABRL	Anchor Bible Reference Library
ABS	Archaeology and Biblical Studies
ACOR	American Center of Oriental Research
ADAJ	*Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan*
ADPV	Abhandlungen des Deutschen-Palästina-Vereins
AeL	*Ägypten und Levante*
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung*
AfOB	Archiv für Orientforschung: Beiheft
AfrPrae	Africa Praehistorica
AIL	Ancient Israel and Its Literature
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AJAJ	*The American Jewish Archives Journal*
AkkSup	Akkadica Supplementum
ALASP	Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas und Mesopotamiens
ANEM	Ancient Near East Monographs
ANES	*Ancient Near Eastern Studies*
ANESSup	Ancient Near Eastern Studies Supplement Series
AnnRevEnt	*Annual Review of Entomology*
AntSem	Antiquités Sémitiques
AO	*Antiguo Oriente*
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AoF	*Altorientalische Forschungen*
AOTC	Abingdon Old Testament Commentaries
ARA	*Annual Review of Anthropology*

ARAM	*ARAM: Journal of the Aram Society for Syro-Mesopotamian Studies*
ArchAnthSci	*Archaeological and Anthropological Sciences*
ArchDial	*Archaeological Dialogues*
ASOR	American Schools of Oriental Research
ASORAR	American Schools of Oriental Research Archaeological Reports
ASORB	American Schools of Oriental Research Books
AVO	Altertumskunde des Vorderen Orients
BA	*Biblical Archaeologist*
BaghM	*Baghdader Mitteilungen*
BAR	*Biblical Archaeology Review*
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BCAW	Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World
BCE	Before the Common Era
BCSMS	*Bulletin of the Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies*
BEStud	Brown Egyptological Studies
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
Bib	*Biblica*
BCT	*The Bible and Critical Theory*
BIFAO	*Bulletin de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale*
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BJSUCSD	Biblical and Judaic Studies from the University of California, San Diego
BM	British Museum catalogue number
BMECCJ	*Bulletin of the Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan*
BN	*Biblische Notizen*
BSA	*Bulletin of Sumerian Agriculture*
BSAW	Berlin Studies of the Ancient World
BTAVO	Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients
BTB	*Biblical Theology Bulletin*
BThSt	*Biblisch-Theologische Studien*
BZABR	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift fùr altorientalische und biblische Rechtsgeschichte
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CahRB	Cahiers de la Revue biblique
CAJ	*Cambridge Archaeological Journal*

CANE	*Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*. Edited by Jack M. Sasson. 4 vols. New York, 1995. Repr. in 2 vols. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2006.
CanGeogr	*The Canadian Geographer*
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
Chungará	*Chungará: Revista de Antropología Chilena*
CM	Cuneiform Monographs
CJud	*Conservative Judaism*
COS	Hallo, William W., and K. Lawson Younger Jr., eds. *The Context of Scripture*. 4 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1997–2016.
CRAI	*Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*
CRBS	*Currents in Research: Biblical Studies*
CT	Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum
CTN	Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud
CurBR	*Currents in Biblical Research*
CurrAnthr	*Current Anthropology*
DAACH	*Digital Applications in Archaeology and Cultural Heritage*
DMAO	Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui
DSD	*Dead Sea Discoveries*
EA	Texts from El Amarna
ECC	Eerdmans Critical Commentary
EdE	Études d'Égyptologie
ELRAP	Edom Lowlands Regional Archaeology Project
ERCM	Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations Mémoire
ErIsr	*Eretz Israel*
ESHM	European Seminar in Historical Methodology
EstJArch	*Estonian Journal of Archaeology*
eTopoi	*eTopoi. Journal for Ancient Studies*
EurJArch	*European Journal of Archaeology*
EvT	*Evangelische Theologie*
Expedition	*Expedition: Bulletin of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania*
FAT	Fohrschungen zum Alten Testament
FOTL	Forms of the Old Testament Literature

GAT	Grundrisse zum Alten Testament
Geoarch	*Geoarchaeology: An International Journal*
ha	hectare(s)
Hadashot	*Hadashot Arkheologiyot: Excavations and Surveys in Israel*
HBAI	*Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel*
HCOT	Historical Commentary on the Old Testament
HdO	Handbuch der Orientalistik
HLS	*Holy Land Studies*
HistComp	*History Compass*
HS	*Hebrew Studies*
HSAO	Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monograph
HThKAT	Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament
HvTSt	*Hervormde teologiese studies*
HUCA	*Hebrew University College Annual*
IAA	Israel Antiquities Authority
IBC	Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching
IECOT	International Exegetical Commentary on the Old Testament
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
IJGIS	*International Journal of Geographical Information Science*
IMSA	*Israel Museum Studies in Archaeology*
Islam	*Der Islam: Journal of the History and Culture of the Middle East*
JA	*Journal Asiatique*
JAEI	*Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections*
JAJ	*Journal of Ancient Judaism*
JANER	*Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religion*
JAnthArch	*Journal Anthropological Archaeology*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JAR	*Journal of Anthropological Research*
JAMT	*Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*
JAS	*Journal of Archaeological Science*
JASR	*Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports*
JAE	*Journal of Arid Environments*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
JCSMS	*Journal of the Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies*
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*

JEMAHS	*Journal of Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology and Heritage Studies*
JERD	*Journal of Epigraphy and Rock Drawings*
JESHO	*Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*
JFA	*Journal of Field Archaeology*
JHebS	*Journal of Hebrew Scriptures*
JIP	*Joukowsky Institute Publication*
JLS	*Journal of Lithic Studies*
JMA	*Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JNSL	*Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages*
JOAD	*Journal of Open Archaeology Data*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JRA	*Journal of Roman Archaeology*
JSem	*Journal for Semitics*
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Period*
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JSP	*Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*
JSSSup	Journal of Semitic Studies Supplement
JWH	*Journal of World History*
JWP	*Journal of World Prehistory*
km	kilometer(s)
KUSATU	Kleine Untersuchungen zur Sprache des Alten Testaments und seiner Umwelt
LA	*Levantine Archaeology*
LevantSup	Levant Supplementary Series
LatAmAnt	*Latin American Antiquity*
LHBOTS	Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
LSTS	Library of Second Temple Studies
m	meter(s)
MAA	*Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry*
MAS	Mediterranean Archaeology Supplement
MC	Mesopotamian Civilizations
mm	millimeters
MMA	Monographs in Mediterranean Archaeology
MoDIA	Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens

MR	*Mediterranean Review*
MT	Masoretic Text
NABU	*Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires*
NatNat	*Nations and Nationalism*
NEA	*Near Eastern Archaeology*
NCB	New Century Bible Commentary
ND	Field numbers of texts excavated at Nimrud
NL	Nimrud Letter
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OBO.SA	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, Series Archaeologica
OEANE	*The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*. Edited by Eric M. Meyers. 5 vols. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.
OIS	Oriental Institute Seminars, University of Chicago
OJA	*Oxford Journal of Archaeology*
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OPCS	Occasional Papers in Coroplastic Studies
Or	*Orientalia* (NS)
ORA	Orientalische Religionen in der Antike
OrAnt	*Oriens Antiquus*
OREA	Oriental and European Archaeology
OS	*Orientalia Suecana*
OTE	*Old Testament Essays*
OTL	Old Testament Library
OtSt	*Oudtestamentische Studiën*
OWA	One World Archaeology
PAe	Probleme der Ägyptologie
PAM	*Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean*
PEFA	*Palestine Exploration Fund Annual*
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
PhyGeo	*Physical Geography*
PNAS	*Proceedings of the Natural Academy of Sciences*
Polis	*Polis: Revista de ideas y formas políticas de la antigüedad clásica*
PSAS	*Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies*
QDAP	*Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine*
QGS	*Quaderni di Geografia Storica*
QR	*Quaternary Research*
QSR	*Quaternary Science Reviews*

RA	*Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale*
RB	*Revue Biblique*
RBS	Resources for Biblical Study
ReEcAn	*Research in Economic Anthropology*
RevQ	*Revue de Qumrân*
RIHAO	*Revista del Instituto de Historia Antigua Oriental*
RIMA	Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods
RIMB	Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Babylonian Periods
RINAP	Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period
RivB	*Rivista Biblica Italiana*
RlA	*Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archaologie*. Edited by Erich Ebeling et al. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1928–.
RO	*Rocznik Orientalistyczny/Yearbook of Oriental Studies*
RSF	*Rivista di studi fenici*
SAA	State Archives of Assyria
SAAB	*State Archives of Assyria Bulletin*
SAHL	Studies in the Archaeology and History of the Levant
SAM	Sheffield Archaeological Monographs
SAMR	Studies in Ancient Mediterranean Religions
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations
SARAS	School of American Research Advanced Seminar Series
StBL	Studies in Biblical Literature
SC	*Semitica et Classica*
SDSA	*Saggi di storia antica*
SEL	*Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici sul Vicino Oriente Antico*
Sem	*Semitica*
SHAJ	*Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan*
SHBC	Smyth & Helwys Bible Commentary
SHCANE	Studies in the History and Culture of the Ancient Near East
Skyllis	*Skyllis: Zeitschrift für Unterwasserarchäologie*
SJOT	*Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament*
SMNIA	Monograph Series of the Sonia and Marco Nadler Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University
SOTSMS	Society for Old Testament Study Monograph Series
SSLL	*Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics*
ST	*Studia Theologica*
StPhoen	*Studia Phoenicia*
STRATA	*STRATA: Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society*
SymS	Symposium Series

TA	*Tel Aviv: Journal of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University*
TCS	Texts from Cuneiform Sources
Text	*Textus*
Transeu	*Transeuphratène*
TEE	*Trends in Ecology and Evolution*
UF	*Ugarit-Forschungen*
VAT	Voderasistische Abteilung Tontafel, Voderasiatisches Museum, Berlin
VegHistArch	*Vegetation History and Archaeobotany*
VeEc	*Verbum et Ecclesia*
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WA	*World Archaeology*
WAW	Writings from the Ancient World
WCS	Wisdom Commentary Series
WO	*Die Welt des Orients*
YNER	Yale Near Eastern Researches
ZABR	*Zeitschrift für Altorientalische und Biblische Rechtgeschichte*
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Veriens*

Figures

INTRODUCTION

This book is the product of many years of off-and-on attention to Edom, the small, often-ignored state-like political formation of Iron Age southwestern Jordan. Edom was occasionally featured in the Hebrew Bible as the enemy of Judah and the inheritors of the lineage of Esau, the brother of Jacob the patriarch. The book began as a graduate-school interest in how expanding empires like Assyria affected social and political changes on their frontiers, the unintended consequences of imperial domination. Edom appeared to be an exceptional and manageable test case. The secondary bibliography was manageable, the primary texts were accessible though limited in quantity, and the correlation between the rise of political complexity and the beginning of Assyrian domination in the area seemed clear. Over the years that clarity was complicated by new finds, methods, and research that have hopefully made for a more complex and compelling understanding of the rise of political complexity in Edom. This book serves two purposes. First, it attempts to lay out an explanation of the rise of political organization in Iron Age Edom and the role of empires in that development. Second, it serves as a more general introduction to the history, sources, and material culture of Iron Age Edom.

A Brief Outline

The first chapter is an attempt to map the history of research about Edom and its role in the history of the ancient Near East. Ranging from the adventurous tours of southern Jordan by early twentieth-century archaeologists like Nelson Glueck to the sophisticated interdisciplinary investigations of specific regions and industries like that of the Edom Lowlands Regional Archaeology Project, the devotion of individuals and groups to understanding and explaining the social processes that developed in the region have left an indelible mark on how we understand and explain Iron Age Edom. This chapter will include observations on how the results of

fieldwork have been interpreted by authors of some of the major histories of the region, most of which are focused on Israel and Judah.

The next chapter will discuss the primary architectural and ceramic remains from Iron Age Edom. The complex, detailed stratigraphic record available at archaeological sites in territories that constituted much of the ancient Near East do not as yet exist for most of the sites and settlements in the southern Jordanian polity of Edom. Sites excavated considered Edomite are located south of the Wadi al Hasa and the Dead Sea, and they are often single-period occupation sites with few permanent structures, very little monumental architecture, and relatively modest material culture. Furthermore, there are few chronological anchors beyond pottery analysis that link the stratigraphy in Edom with events and periods in the wider ancient Near East. Sites that exhibit clear transitions between archaeological periods, with destruction layers and clear developments between periods simply do not exist for most of the land of Edom. This chapter will review what is currently known about the archaeology of Edom during the Iron Age, beginning with a discussion of the boundaries of Edom that scholars typically use to demarcate Edom from the surrounding regional polities. These borders are usually identified with landscape formations though the boundaries of most ancient polities were fluid and often irrelevant to the tribal units that traversed the territories. The archaeological sites will then be discussed according to networks of sites that can be identified around the territory: along the Wadi al Hasa, the Busayra highlands, the important lowland sites along the Arabah where copper was extracted, the Petra region, and, finally, the sites near the Gulf of Aqaba surrounding Tall al Kaylafi.

Chapter 3 will examine the primary textual sources written during the Iron Age about Edom or by the Edomites, especially those from the dominant empires of the time: Egypt and Assyria. Edom is most famous as the southeastern neighbor and occasional enemy of the kingdom of Judah, a relationship repeated in the Hebrew Bible. Prior to discussing those texts—narratives that were recorded centuries after the events and subjected to ideological editing—the references to Edom and the Edomites in various primary historical sources will be presented. These sources also often have an agenda as well, but they derive from excavations and were more typically composed for rather mundane reasons of record keeping and correspondence. Beginning with Egyptian documents, which often refer to the region as Seir, these references are found in the stylized royal propaganda of the New Kingdom period. Significantly, the Egyptian texts

usually refer to the Shasu of Seir/Edom, perhaps highlighting their pastoral and nomadic social structures during the Late Bronze Age of the southern Levant. First millennium BCE Assyrian references to Edom are typically embedded in lists of tribute paid to the empire or of subjugated polities. These sources seem to suggest a certain level of hierarchical political organization for Edom with a relatively centralized leadership that was able to offer some payments to the Assyrians. With the reign of Adadnirari III in the early eighth century BCE, the polity of Edom first came within the orbit of Assyrian imperial domination. Edom appears as one of several polities that paid tribute to the empire. Eventually, Edom had a single ruler, Ayyarammu identified by the Assyrians as the "king" of Edom (*šarru*), suggesting an increasing level of socio-political complexity. This chapter on primary sources will conclude with a discussion of the few references in Neo-Babylonian texts to Edom in the Nabonidus Chronicle and the important monumental engraving of Nabonidus at as-Sila, which was apparently inscribed during his campaign through the southern Levant in 551 BCE.

Chapter 4 will include a presentation and analysis of the known Edomite texts, including those found on seals both from excavations and those published from various collections (which will be so indicated). Numerous ostraca from the region of Edom are important sources for various aspects of the Edomite language such as grammar and style, though many are very laconic. Several receipts and texts from Ḥorvat Qitmit and Ḥorvat Uza in the Negev are the most substantial Edomite texts, identified as such by the references to individuals bearing names with the deity Qaus as their theophoric element. Three letters from Arad will also be discussed because they mention an Edomite threat against Judah.

Chapters 5 and 6 will address the biblical texts, which remain the most detailed accountings of Edomite society and history, yet the redactional history and various ideological perspectives of the various texts of the Hebrew Bible establishes this collection as a complicated source for knowledge about the Edomite past. These chapters will approach the biblical corpus as a collection of related texts that often have conflicting ideological constructs of the relationship between Judah and Edom. In some texts Edom is portrayed as a brother who deserves respect while in other texts the author pleads with Yahweh to destroy the duplicitous traitors. The ideological conflicts between various sources preserved in the Hebrew Bible have long been recognized as a contributing factor to the diversity of material within the corpus. When applied to Edom it becomes clear

that there were shifts in attitudes about Edom's relationship with Judah. The Deuteronomistic History in particular conveys an antagonistic relationship between Edom and Solomon and David with both defeating the Edomites along with struggles with a rebellious Edom that followed. Though this representation was likely more programmatic than historical, it is a storyline that has influenced the way in which many historians and archaeologists have understood the history of Edom. One moment in Edom-Judah relations that does seem to have dominated the later biblical literature and its representation of Edom is the Edomite assistance rendered to Babylon when Jerusalem fell in the early sixth century BCE. Texts like Obadiah, Ezek 25, Joel 4, and Ps 137, among others, condemn Edom for neglecting a treaty with Judah, the likely origin of the *brother* language, and assisting the Babylonians during their imperial conquest of the southern Levant. This assessment of Edom seems to have persisted among the Judahite elite throughout the exilic and postexilic eras. Some of the latest texts of the Hebrew Bible (e.g., Mal 1) describe the desolation and destruction of Edom as proof that Yahweh remained in covenant with Judah.

The material available to reconstruct Edomite social and economic patterns is relatively meager, yet it is sufficient to develop some broad themes to help reconstruct aspects of Edomite history. This material will be discussed in chapter 7. The extensive, recent attention to the exploitation of the copper resources along the Wadi Arabah highlights this area as a location of early interaction—sedentarization and possible centralization—of a regional population that was not yet identified as Edomite. While the historical significances of the finds in this region remain controversial, the questions arise: What is their relation to Solomon or the later highland Edomite polity? Is the structure at Khirbat an-Nahas Judahite, Edomite, Assyrian, or Arabian? This is an important factor for articulating the evolution of the Edomite polity. The later Edomite political formation centered at Busayra likely profited from the increased trading activity that passed through its territory from the Arabian Peninsula to the Mediterranean coast, an economic benefit enhanced by the Assyrian control of the region, including the Assyrian promotion and protection of the trade routes. Chapter 8 discusses another important cultural transformation that developed in the Iron Age: a more centralized religion, one that retained substantial nomadic elements.

Though the region was never annexed or occupied by Assyria, the empire began to influence Edomite elite consumption, architectural construction, and pottery styles, and created the need for a small bureaucracy.

Chapter 9 will specifically examine elements of the material culture that display influence from and emulation of imperial styles, a process that will inevitably involve the controversies surrounding Assyrianization and the role of empires in influencing mundane activities in distant lands. This discussion will lead directly to chapter 9, which will examine the Assyrian presence in the southern Levant, which had a dramatic effect on the sedentarization of more mobile populations in the highlands of Edom, both so the empire could better surveil transient populations and to incentivize participation in a highly stable and lucrative imperial economic system. The necessity for the Edomite elite to provide tribute to the Assyrian imperial system required that surpluses be extracted and passed on to the empire. Hegemonic and territorial empires, like that of Assyria, tended to promote the settlement of pastoral and nomadic groups in more populated areas, to form a bureaucracy that mimicked that of the empire, to increase imperial goods that were passed on to local elites encouraging capitulation and emphasizing benefits of cooperation with the empire, and providing other economic incentives derived from the imperial presence. The expansion of the Assyrian Empire into the southern Levant also coincided with the rising communal complexity in the Edomite highlands, likely contributing to that development. These elements are all observable in the historical and archaeological record as factors in the increase in settlement clusters during the Iron II period in southern Jordan.

This final chapter will conclude with a discussion of the influences that led to the gradual rise of the Iron Age polity known as Edom and its decline. This concluding chapter will attempt to use the sources, methods, and theories discussed throughout the book to present a multisourced history of Iron Age Edom. It will incorporate the material, textual, and theoretical perspectives to discuss the elements that contributed to the establishment of the small tribal kingdom in the highlands of southern Jordan, its growth and consolidation as a tributary of the Assyrian Empire, and its gradual decline under the Babylonian rulers.

Two articles regarding the relationship between the Wadi Faynan communities and the later Edomite polity appeared too late for consideration: Juan Manuel Tebes, "A Reassessment of the Chronology of the Iron Age Site of Khirbet en-Nahas, Southern Jordan," *PEQ* (2021): 1–28; and Piotr Bienkowski, "The Formation of Edom: An Archaeological Critique of the 'Early Edom' Hypothesis," *BASOR* (forthcoming).

1

A Tale of Three Edoms

The ancient land of Edom resides at the margins of interest for many biblical scholars and historians of the ancient Near East. Edom was rarely mentioned in the archives and inscriptions of the great empires of Egypt, Assyria, and Babylon. Edom's small settlements and outposts subsisted in a desolate landscape with few natural resources, and the level of organization between the settlements and tribal contingencies remains a point of scholarly debate. Yet of all the small states of the southern Levant, Edom played a significant role within the narratives of the biblical text. Envisioned by the Judahite scribes as a legendary brother of Judah, tracing a lineage to the patriarchal narratives of Jacob and Esau, the political relationship between Judah in the hill country west of the Jordan and Edom in the rugged sandstone mountains southeast of the Dead Sea was fraught with competition and conflict. The modern understanding of ancient Edom is inevitably entangled with the biblical narratives as both a basic story of the Iron Age polity and a foil against which the archaeological understanding of the land can form an alternative narrative to those in the biblical text.

In recent years research in and about Edom has touched on several controversies that have disrupted what had become standard theories about the rise and consolidation of ancient Edom. A series of surveys and excavations in the wadis on the western extreme of the territory that Edom controlled revealed an extensive and organized copper extraction venture that was operating in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages, centuries before other evidence suggested Edom was a flourishing state. Some scholars saw these important finds as the remains of an extension of King Solomon's vibrant expansion of his empire known from the biblical books of Kings. Others argued that the mines were in operation by local specialists who learned their trade from the nearby Egyptian mines that were opened generations earlier. Regardless of how the copper mining facilities

are interpreted within the broader regional history, the discovery raised important new questions about the origin of Edom, its control over various industries, and its relation to other neighboring polities.

Other debates have grown out of new theories and developments in other fields of research such as anthropology and sociology. Whether Edom should be called a state, a secondary state, a tribal confederacy, a segmentary state, a chiefdom, or, more vaguely, a polity remains part of an open dialogue among anthropologically oriented scholars and archaeologists. What is the relationship between the largest settlement of Busayra and the many villages surrounding it? Did Busayra maintain control over distant towns like Tall al Khalayfi on the northern edge of the Gulf of Aqaba, or was that fortress-like town constructed by some other power for their own purposes? Whatever type of polity did emerge in the highlands of southern Jordan during the Iron Age, Edom continued to change through interaction with and benefits gained from the rapidly expanding Assyrian Empire throughout the remainder of the Iron Age.

This initial chapter will review the various scholarly constructions of the sociopolitical status of Edom during the Iron Age that are operative in the scholarly world. I will present three "types" of Edom, three constructions of the ancient polity that have dominated the academic and popular imagination over the course of the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. For the construction of the first Edom, the biblical narrative served as the primary storyline with the archaeological remains used to illustrate that basic storyline. The second Edom involved attempts to understand the archaeological remains as the primary source for reconstructing the history of Edom, with the biblical narrative used to connect the polity to known events. The third Edom is the result of multidisciplinary efforts of many teams that include archaeologists as well as a range of scientists and historians. The biblical narrative is still used to construct the third Edom, but it is typically used more critically and its accuracy is not assumed.

1.1. The First Edom:
Nelson Glueck, the "Kingdom" of Edom, and the Biblical Narrative

The early twentieth-century archaeologist, university president, and director of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Nelson Glueck (1900–1971), dominated the early modern understanding of the archaeology and

history of Edom.[1] He surveyed much of southern Jordan (between 1934 and 1938) and excavated Tall al Khalayfi on the northern coast of the Gulf of Aqaba (1938–1940). Glueck's fieldwork during a politically wrought period of the Levant and the debates of the future of Palestine became the foundations for his reconstruction of the rise and development of Edom. His historical scheme of an Edom founded in the thirteenth century BCE that quickly became a flourishing kingdom that could oppose the Israelites coming out of Egypt led by Moses dominated the study of Edom for the next fifty years.

According to Glueck, the Edomite kingdom that originated in the late second and early first millennia BCE was a "thriving, prosperous, civilized kingdom, filled with cities and towns and villages."[2] He based that portrait on a collection of painted pottery that he discovered at many sites and on what he considered a line of border fortresses surrounding the Edomite plateau. The painted pottery, Glueck argued, was comparable to Late Bronze Age Midianite ware, a style that could only be made by a "highly developed civilization."[3] For this early American explorer of southern Jordan, the system of "border fortresses" indicated that a highly centralized authority must have controlled Edom at the time.[4]

This system of fortresses was the key to Glueck's construction of ancient Edom as a thriving, centralized, powerful state. Influenced by his understanding of the types of borders maintained by modern nation states, Glueck identified archaeological remains along what he considered the borders of Edom as intended to guard the boundaries of the thriving kingdom.

---

1. For an analysis of Glueck's relationship with political Zionism, see Brooke Sherrard, "American Biblical Archaeologists and Zionism: The Politics of Historical Ethnography" (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 2011), 110–33; and Sherrard, "American Biblical Archaeology and Jewish Nationalism: Rabbi Nelson Glueck, the American Schools of Oriental Research and the Israeli State," *HLS* 11 (2012): 151–74. For a brief biography of Glueck, see Samuel Greengus, "Remembering Nelson Glueck: HUC-JIR Founders' Day, 28 March 2018," *AJAJ* 70 (2018): 119–29.

2. Nelson Glueck, "The Civilization of the Edomites," *BA* 10 (1947): 80.

3. Glueck, "Civilization of the Edomites," 80; Glueck, "Explorations in Eastern Palestine and the Negeb," *BASOR* 55 (1934): 11–12.

4. Nelson Glueck, *Explorations in Eastern Palestine, III* (New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1939), 74, 269.

Table 1.1. "Towers" identified by Glueck

Site Name		Glueck's Comments	Current Assessment
ar Ruwayh	N	Walled site with towers	No Iron Age remains
Rujm Ja'is	N	9 sq. m tower	Iron Age tower
Kh. Bakher	N	24 sq. m tower	Late Roman tower
Rujm Karaka	N	8.5 sq. m tower	Iron Age tower
Kh. Karaka	N	Walls, no Iron Age sherds	Animal pens, few sherds
Kh. Tawil	E	15.5 sq. m tower	Not identified
Rujm Ras al Hala	E	Structure	Iron Age sherds, Nabataean
Rujm Hala al Qarana	E	15.5 sq. m structure	Iron Age sherds only
Kh. Jihayra	E		Iron Age settlement
Kh. Naqb ash Shtar	S	130 x 117 m fortress	Iron Age sherds, Roman fort
Kh. ash Shadayid	S	160 x 76 m fortress	Iron Age settlement
al Himayma	S	Possible tower	Iron Age sherds, later tower
al Kithara	S	Possible tower	Iron Age sherds, Roman structure
Kh. Hamr Ifdan	W	Garrison	Iron Age smelting site
Kh. an Nahas	W	Fortress, prison camp	Iron Age smelting site
Kh. al Ghuwayba	W	Mining camp, tower	Iron Age building
Kh. al Jariya	W	Smelting site	Iron Age walls, furnaces
Faynan	W	Large fort	Iron Age smelting, agriculture
Umm al Amad	W	Square structure	No Iron Age remains

Although he mentioned them many times, Glueck never fully explained his hypothesis of the border fortresses. Upon further exploration, many of the "fortresses" and "towers" were determined to have other functions, and a few were dated later than the Edomite settlement. Glueck's understanding of the Israelite exodus from Egypt influenced both the dating of these sites to the thirteenth century BCE and the interpretation of them as an organized, integrated system of protected fortresses. He stated that during

the Israelite trek, they were "barred by the forts, towns and soldiery of the established kingdoms of Edom and Moab."[5] Pottery typology and chronology, a science that was still in its infancy, limited Glueck to the written stories of the Hebrew Bible to formulate his estimations of the nature and chronology of the Edomite polity.

Glueck, like many American biblical scholars of his time rejected the trend emerging from the biblical research in Europe of dating sources to increasingly later time periods. He followed William F. Albright's reconstruction of the biblical sources, placing their composition much closer to the time that the events supposedly took place. He never explained how he thought the biblical text related to his interpretation of archaeological and historical data. Glueck did seem to employ the Hebrew Bible in two specific ways in his research: to equate preserved sites with biblically attested places and to incorporate archaeological remains into his reconstructed narratives about the biblical text. Proceeding from these two methods, Glueck developed elaborate new narratives that combined biblical and archaeological sources.

One of his most elaborate syncretisms of biblical and archaeological information was his interpretation resulting from his excavations at Tall al Khalayfi and his surveys of copper mining sites in the northern Arabah. He correlated these sites with the biblical narratives of King Solomon (1 Kgs 1–11) to integrate them as part of Solomon's expansive empire. By combining these sources, Glueck elaborated far beyond both the biblical text and the archaeological remains. He argued that Solomon was the world's first "copper magnate" and that the industrial remains at Tall al Khalayfi on the northern coast of the Gulf of Aqaba amounted to King Solomon's "Pittsburgh."[6]

Glueck employed the biblical text as a geographic indicator to locate three specific, previously unidentified locales within what he considered the boundaries of Edom: Teiman, Ezion-geber, and Sela. He took brief

---

5. Glueck, "Civilization of the Edomites," 78–79; Glueck, "Transjordan," *BA* 9 (1946): 55.

6. Nelson Glueck, *The Other Side of the Jordan* (New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1940), 50–113; Glueck, "Solomon's Seaport: Ezion-geber," *Asia* 38 (1938): 591–95; Glueck, "Ezion-geber: Solomon's Naval Base on the Red Sea," *BA* 1 (1938): 13–16; Glueck, "Ezion-geber: Elath—City of Bricks and Straw," *BA* 3 (1940): 51–55; Glueck, "King Solomon's Pittsburgh," in *The Treasures of Time*, ed. Leo Deuel (Cleveland: World Publishing, 1961), 191–206.

comments in the biblical text and connected them with known archaeo-logical sites in Edom to make these identifications. Only one of his identi-fications has withstood subsequent scrutiny because he either misunder-stood the biblical references or interpreted them too narrowly and did not consider the alternative possibilities.

Glueck was the first explorer to survey the Edomite site of Tawilan in the Petra region of southern Jordan.[7] Based primarily on an extensive surface sherd scatter, he was convinced that the site would prove to be a significant Edomite site that rivaled Busayra in both size and importance.[8] After locat-ing and surveying the site of Tawilan, Glueck attempted to connect it with a biblical site. He interpreted Amos 1:12, which mentions Boṣrāh (Busayra) in poetic parallelism with Têmān, as referring to the northern and south-ern regions of Edom.[9] Since Boṣrāh was clearly the central site in northern Edom and, according to Glueck, Tawilan was the central site of southern Edom, he connected the archaeological remains at Tawilan with those of ancient Teman. Subsequent scholars have determined, however, that the Hebrew word *têmān* does not refer to a specific place in southern Edom but is the general word for "south," that is, the southern part of Edom.[10]

Based on the same regional survey, Glueck identified biblical Sela with Umm al Biyara, which proved an even more tenuous argument. The only evidence adduced by Glueck were several biblical descriptions of Sela as a place located in an inaccessible and rocky region (see Jer 49:16; Obad 3–4).[11] He believed that Umm al Biyara was the location of Amaziah's ninth-century BCE attack on Sela mentioned in 2 Kgs 14:7 and 2 Chr 25:12. Glueck was followed by many biblical scholars until Crystal Bennett, the later excavator of the site, demonstrated that Umm al Biyara could not be the biblical Sela since the earliest remains at the site were from the seventh century BCE and not the mid-ninth, which is the approximate date for the raid by King Amaziah of Judah.

---

7. Glueck, *Other Side of the Jordan*, 21–24.

8. Glueck, *Explorations in Eastern Palestine, II* (New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1935), 82–83.

9. Glueck, *Explorations in Eastern Palestine, II,* 83; Glueck, *Other Side of the Jordan*, 24, 26; Glueck, "Civilization of the Edomites," 80.

10. Roland de Vaux, "Teman, ville ou région d'Edom?" *RB* 76 (1969): 379–85; Burton MacDonald, *"East of the Jordan": Territories and Sites of the Hebrew Scriptures* ASORB 6 (Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research, 2000), 192–193.

11. Glueck, *Explorations in Eastern Palestine, II,* 82–83.

Glueck's one identification of a biblical place that is still accepted by many scholars is the equation of Tall al Khalayfi on the northern coast of the Gulf of Aqaba with the biblical site of Ezion-geber. In 1934, Frank Fritz discovered Tall al Khalayfi and identified it as the location of the biblical site.[12] Glueck accepted Fritz's identification and produced what he thought was overwhelming evidence that King Solomon built the site in the tenth century BCE.[13] This identification combined with the biblical references guided his reconstruction of the site as Solomon's industrial center and port city. Glueck went on to publish many popular accounts of his excavations connected with Solomon as a copper magnate and world-wide trader of exotic goods.[14] Since Tall al Khalayfi is the only major Iron Age ruin on the northern shore of the Gulf of Aqaba, many scholars have continued to follow a revised version of Glueck's identification of the site as Ezion-geber.[15]

1.1.1. Glueck and Edomite-Judahite Relations

According to Glueck, the political tensions that existed between Judah and Edom derived from conflicts over the control of the copper supply in the Arabah. David desired to control this essential and lucrative resource, lead-ing to his conquest of Edom and enslavement of the Edomites as laborers in the copper mines. Solomon expanded the mining activities, constructing Ezion-geber as a smelting site and port for his trading ventures to the east. Edomites continued to serve Solomon as slaves in the copper mines. Glueck suggested that the square fortress at Khirbat an Nahas in the Wadi Faynan was constructed by Solomon to function as a prison camp to house the enslaved

---

12. Fritz Frank, "Aus der Araba I: Reiseberichte," *ZDPV* 57 (1934): 191–280, iden-tification on 243–45.

13. Glueck, *Explorations in Eastern Palestine, II,* 47–48; Glueck, "The Boundaries of Edom," *HUCA* 11 (1936): 146–47; Glueck, *Explorations in Eastern Palestine, III*: 3–5; Glueck, "Civilization of the Edomites," 82–83.

14. Glueck, *Other Side of the Jordan*, 50–113; Glueck, "Solomon's Seaport," 591–95; Glueck, "Ezion-geber: Solomon's Naval Base," 13–16; Glueck, "Ezion-geber: Elath," 37–41; "King Solomon's Pittsburgh," 191–206.

15. Gary D. Pratico, *Nelson Glueck's 1938–1940 Excavations at Tell el-Kheleifeh: A Reappraisal*, ASORAR 3 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 1–22. For the role of Glueck and others in mapping the ancients remains of Jordan and their influence, see John R. Bartlett, *Mapping Jordan through Two Millennia*, PEFA 10 (London: Routledge, 2008), 132–45.

Edomites. This situation continued through the reign of Jehoshaphat until an Edomite rebellion against the weak King Joram of Judah allowed Edom to regain control of the Arabah and the important copper mining industry. Edom remained an independent but weakened state until Amaziah attacked Sela and regained control over Edom. After Amaziah's attack Edom never regained its independence, and, according to Glueck, was finally destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar when he marched against Jerusalem.[16]

From this summary of Glueck's understanding of Edom during the "biblical period of the Judean monarchs," two assumptions are clear. First, he followed the biblical text closely to construct his narrative of Edom's political development during the Iron Age. He then expanded on the biblical framework of Edom's history with his interpretation of the archaeological remains. A prime example of Glueck using his interpretation of Edomite material culture to elaborate on the biblical text is his description of David and Solomon having an interest in copper exploitation. There is no hint within the biblical text that David, Solomon, or any other Judahite king attempted to control the copper supply in the Arabah, nor is there a reference to Judahite kings constructing sites like the one at Khirbat an Nahas or forced enslavement of neighboring populations. Furthermore, Glueck's interpretation of Khirbat an Nahas as a prison camp was formed without any evidence from the biblical text or the archaeological remains.

1.1.2. Glueck and the Golden Age of Solomon

The most elaborate example of Glueck's mixture of biblical texts and archaeology is his construction of Solomon as a king ruling over a vast economic empire that encompassed copper exploitation, long-distance sea-borne trade, and the enslavement of foreign populations to serve as laborers in his many economic pursuits. During Glueck's survey of Tall al Khalayfi he found a large amount of what he considered typical tenth-century BCE pottery. The biblical text does credit Solomon with the construction of maritime fleets at Ezion-geber (1 Kgs 9:26; 10:22), so Glueck assumed that Solomon was the architect and builder of that site. He suggested that it must have involved "hundreds and thousands of laborers" to construct Ezion-geber and operate the facilities.[17] He went on to conclude

---

16. Glueck summarized his views of these events several times, see *Explorations in Eastern Palestine, III*, 148–52; Glueck "Civilization of the Edomites," 80–83.

17. Glueck, "Ezion-geber: Elath," 38.

that there was "only one man who possessed the strength, wealth, and wisdom capable of initiating and carrying out the construction of such a highly complex and specialized site as this Ezion-geber. He was King Solomon."[18] Since this wise and powerful Solomon built and maintained Ezion-geber, he must also have controlled the lucrative Arabian trade routes and sea passages in the area.[19]

The site of Ezion-geber was a refinery, according to Glueck, that was built by Solomon intentionally at the head of the Gulf of Aqaba because strong winds prevailed that would flow through the two rows of flues located inside the refinery building.[20] These flues were connected to an elaborate system of air channels to fuel the fires for the copper smelting at the site. The interpretation of the copper smelting facilities is one of Glueck's most notable mistakes that he often repeated, only to recant in a late publication after much criticism.[21] This fortress became for Glueck the center of Solomon's defense plans in addition to its importance for Solomon's copper industry and sea-borne trading ventures. Citing 1 Kgs 9:15–26 as evidence, Glueck noted that Ezion-geber was also "the largest single armament center of the time, and played, for instance, an exceedingly important role in furnishing arms for the tremendous national defense scheme which Solomon planned and completed in record breaking time."[22] This example of the embellishment of Solomon's power in Edom derives from Glueck's method of interpreting ancient remains and weaving those interpretations into a larger narrative with supporting biblical texts. In doing so, Glueck not only supported the biblical text with archaeology, but also ascribed to Solomon grand deeds that the biblical text does not even assign to him.

Glueck did have access to historical inscriptions from Egypt and Assyria and archaeological data that suggested an Edomite settlement during the Iron Age rather than the Late Bronze Age, but he considered the biblical text to be both an accurate and reliable historical source. This perspective led him to postulate several conjectures about Edom that were profoundly influential for later scholarship. First, Glueck posited a Late Bronze Age flourishing kingdom that extended into the highlands

18. Glueck, "Ezion-geber: Elath," 38.

19. Glueck, "Solomon's Seaport," 591; cf. Glueck, "Ezion-geber: Solomon's Naval Base," 16.

20. Glueck, "Solomon's Seaport," 592, 595.

21. Nelson Glueck, "Ezion-geber," *BA* 28 (1965): 70–87.

22. Glueck, "Ezion-geber: Elath," 54.

of Edom based on the Israelite exodus account preserved in Num 20. Second, he thought that Edom was declining in the tenth century BCE because David was able to conquer it and compel Edom to become a Juda-hite vassal. Third, he expanded on the biblical portrait of Solomon, whom Glueck credited with the construction of many Edomite sites. Fourth, the ultimate demise of Edom happened within a context of Assyrian expansion into the southern Levant because Edom was too weak after centuries of Judahite occupation to withstand Assyrian military advances.

Glueck's fieldwork in southern Jordan remains the starting point for all subsequent archaeological research in Edom. He traveled throughout the region and located many sites that were unknown to previous explorers. Glueck attempted to interpret those sites within a framework that was common in his time: the Bible was the starting point; the chronology and history of the sites were interpreted within those parameters. It was his reliance on this frame-work that was most criticized by subsequent archaeologists and historians. Because major single-site excavations in the region were not undertaken for another thirty years, Glueck's reconstruction of Edomite history was assumed to be correct for much of the twentieth century, as evidenced by the repetition of his synthesis in many histories of ancient Israel and Judah.

1.1.3. Edom in the "Histories of Ancient Israel" Based on Glueck's Reconstruction

One way to gauge changing perspectives on ancient Edom is to trace how the polity was discussed and treated within the genre of histories of ancient Israel. This method, while limited to a genre that tends to be conservative and authored by leading scholars who are often generalists, has the ben-efit of providing succinct summaries of the research and prevailing views during various periods throughout the twentieth century.

1.1.4. Albright, *From Stone Age to Christianity*

W. F. Albright remains a towering figure in the scholarly study of the his-tory of ancient Israel and Judah.[23] His legacy of using textual and mate-

---

23. Of the many posthumous appreciations and critiques of Albright's legacy, see Burke O. Long, *Planting and Reaping Albright: Politics, Ideology, and Interpreting the Bible* (University Park, Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997); and the articles in J. Edward Wright, ed., *The House that Albright Built* (*NEA* 65.1 [2002]).

rial sources from the ancient Near East to elaborate upon his rather lit-
eral reading of the biblical text was transmitted to the public through his
many writings and his numerous doctoral students who took important
positions around the United States in the middle of the twentieth century.
Albright's primary contributions came from his numerous technical arti-
cles in journals and several books that survived through many editions,
none of which were exclusively about Edom or any Transjordanian polity.
He did, however, discuss Edom within his larger histories of ancient Israel.
For instance, in *From the Stone Age to Christianity: Monotheism and the
Historical Process*, Albright relied on Glueck's surveys of Edom to suggest
that Moses would have encountered "sedentary occupation" in Edom as
they traversed the wilderness toward the promised land.[24] He noted partic-
ularly the copper mines around the Wadi Arabah that Glueck had recently
identified. Albright also hinted at a nascent theory that the Judahite god
Yahweh originated in the desert regions of Edom or Midian based on what
he deemed early references to Yahweh coming from those regions.[25] Using
biblical references and the early study of Levantine political systems by
Albrecht Alt, Albright posited that Edom was "highly organized" even
in the eleventh-century BCE, with kings and cities.[26] He also followed
Glueck in his identification of Ezion-geber as an "elaborate copper refin-
ery" built by King Solomon, noting that the industry was "so … insignifi-
cant an enterprise that it is not even mentioned in our sources."[27] With
Albright's popular writing style and his towering posture within biblical
studies and the American religious incorporation of his views, Glueck's
vision of Solomon's impact on Edom and his founding of a vibrant trade
center on the Gulf of Aqaba became a standard hypothesis of the polity of
Edom within biblical studies and the history of ancient Israel and Judah.
Only with increased excavation activity in later decades would it become

---

24. William Foxwell Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity: Monotheism
and the Historical Process* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1940), 256–57.

25. Albright, *From Stone Age to Christianity*, 262–63. This theory would become
popular again at the end of the twentieth and the beginning of the twenty-first cen-
turies. See, e.g., Nissim Amzallag, "Furnace Remelting as the Expression of YHWH's
Holiness: Evidence from the Meaning of Qannā' (קנא) in the Divine Context," *JBL* 134
(2015): 233–52; Amzallag, "Some Implications of the Volcanic Theophany of YHWH
on His Primeval Identity," *AO* 12 (2014): 11–38. See also, Justin Kelley, "Toward a New
Synthesis of the God of Edom and Yahweh," *AO* 7 (2009): 255–80.

26. Albright, *From Stone Age to Christianity*, 289.

27. Albright, *From Stone Age to Christianity*, 291.

clear that Albright's reconstruction was questionable and in need of significant revision.

1.1.5. Bright, *A History of Israel*

One of Albright's most successful students was John Bright, whose *History of Ancient Israel* was initially published in 1959 and is now in its fourth edition.[28] This history epitomizes the Albrightian style of closely weaving the biblical text with illustrative material garnered through ancient Near Eastern inscriptional material and archaeological research. Bright rarely engaged in detailed arguments about the relationship of archaeological finds to the biblical text, opting to connect excavations or finds with various biblical passages during his narration of the story. Occasionally, he used ancient Near Eastern material to argue for certain dates or routes. For instance, Edom was important for Bright's dating of the exodus from Egypt in the thirteenth century BCE instead of the fourteenth, which was common at the time, because when the Israelites passed by Edom there was a king with armies in Edom, a level of political organization that Bright believed to not be possible in the fourteenth century BCE because Edom did not appear in Egyptian texts until the thirteenth century BCE.[29] He suggested that the conflict between the king of Edom and Moses reflects the historical era because the king would have been interested in protecting what little arable land his kingdom controlled from the Israelites.[30] Bright ultimately traced the origins of Edom back to the patriarchal period citing the kinship of Edom and Israel in Gen 19 and 36.[31] The kings of Edom, which for Bright stretched back into the fifteenth century BCE, were likely one of the neighboring lands that was an inspiration for King Saul's model of kingship in the Deuteronomistic History.[32]

After these speculations, Bright closely followed the biblical narrative and its estimation of the fortunes of Edom. King David conquered the Edomites, a status maintained by Solomon, who expanded control and built Ezion-geber as a port, a site that Bright identified with

---

28. John Bright, *A History of Israel*, 4th ed. (Philadelphia: Westminster, 2000).
29. Bright, *History of Israel*, 120–24.
30. Bright, *History of Israel*, 128–29.
31. Bright, *History of Israel*, 90.
32. Bright, *History of Israel*, 189.

Tall al Khalayfi.[33] Subsequent Judahite kings lost control of Edom, like Jehoshaphat, only to be retaken by Uzziah.[34] Like many historians, Bright combined Assyrian texts, archaeology, and biblical narratives to reconstruct a rebellion against Assyrian rule during the time of Hezekiah, a rebellion that most, including Bright, suggest included Edom.[35] Finally, also following the biblical narrative because it is the only written record on these events, Bright placed Edom in a treacherous alliance with Babylon to turn against Judah and contribute to the fall of Jerusalem, only to move into Judahite territory during the exile.[36] Thus, while Bright's Edom is a biblically inspired one, he invests that story with inscriptions and knowledge from archaeology and the archives of Assyria and Egypt. Interestingly, Bright did not update his later editions to reflect the results of Bennett's important excavations at Busayra, Umm al Biyara, or Tawilan; his understanding of Edom was basically limited to the surveys of Glueck and his interpretation of those findings.

1.2. The Second Edom:
Bennett's Excavations and Revision of Glueck's Synthesis

Bennett's archaeological work in southern Jordan represents a shift in how Edom was understood.[37] Instead of using the biblical narrative to guide her excavations and analysis of the Iron Age in southern Jordan, she attempted to develop an understanding of the pottery styles, development within that repertoire, and identifiable architectural styles. Bennett's work in Jordan began in the 1960s and included excavations at three major sites. Bennett published the preliminary reports on Umm al Biyara, Tawilan, and Busayra, while Piotr Bienkowski, who worked on those excavations with Bennett, completed the final publications.[38] Bennett never

---

33. Bright, *History of Israel*, 203–4, 214.

34. Bright, *History of Israel*, 248. Bright emends the text as "Edom" not "Aram" like many modern historians.

35. Bright, *History of Israel*, 273–83.

36. Bright, *History of Israel*, 329, 344.

37. For a retrospective of Crystal-M. Bennett and her role, see Kay Prag, "Crystal-M. Bennett OBE, BA, D.Litt., FSA: A Memoir," *PEQ* 142 (2010): 43–63.

38. For Umm al-Biyara, see Crystal Bennett, "Fouilles d'Umm el-Biyara: Rapport préliminaire," *RB* 73 (1966): 372–403; Bennett, "News and Notes," *PEQ* 98 (1966): 123–26, pl. 30; Piotr Bienkowski, *Umm al-Biyara: Excavations by Crystal-M. Bennett in Petra 1960–1965*, LevantSup 10 (Oxford: Oxbow, 2011); Steven G. Schmidt and

attempted to synthesize her view of the history of Edom and the nature of Edomite settlement, but she did make several important contributions to the archaeology and history of Edom. First, she revised the date for the beginning of Edomite settlement from the thirteenth century BCE, as proposed by Glueck, to the late eighth century BCE. Second, Bennett identified the period of Assyrian interaction in the southern Levant as the peak of Edomite florescence. Third, she effectively contested two of Glueck's identifications of biblical sites in Edom. These three contributions and the evidence from Bennett's excavations are the foundation for current archaeological work in southern Jordan as well as historical reconstructions of the polity of Edom.

Bennett excavated Umm al-Biyara, Tawilan, and Busayra based on Glueck's identification of those sites as biblical Sela, Têmān, and Boṣrāh respectively. In an essay written toward the end of Bennett's career, she acknowledged her initial support for Glueck's hypotheses.[39] Her choice to excavate Umm al-Biyara first was to test Glueck's identification of the site with biblical Sela and to obtain a stratified sequence of Edomite pottery.[40] After excavating at the mountaintop site, Bennett concluded that the material remains suggested this settlement was initially occupied only in the seventh century BCE, which was too late for it to be biblical Sela. Her analysis of pottery and architectural parallels as well as an inscribed

---

Piotr Bienkowski, *The International Umm al-Biyara Project* (www.auac.ch/iubp/). For Tawilan, see Bennett, "Tawilan (Jordanie)," *RB* 76 (1969): 386–90; Bennett, "Tawilan (Jordanie)," *RB* 77 (1970): 371–74; Bennett, "A Brief Note on Excavations at Tawilan, Jordan, 1968–1970," *Levant* 3 (1971): v–vii; Bennett and Bienkowski, *Excavations at Tawilan in Southern Jordan*, British Academy Monographs in Archaeology 8 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995). For Busayra, see Bennett, "Excavations at Buseirah, Southern Jordan, 1971: Preliminary Report," *Levant* 5 (1973): 1–11l; Bennett, "Excavations at Buseirah, Southern Jordan, 1972: Preliminary Report," *Levant* 6 (1974): 1–24; Bennett, "Excavations at Buseirah, Southern Jordan, 1973: Third Preliminary Report," *Levant* 7 (1975): 1–19; Bennett, "Excavations at Buseirah, Southern Jordan, 1974: Fourth Preliminary Report," *Levant* 9 (1977): 1–10; Bienkowski, *Busayra Excavations by Crystal-M. Bennett 1971–1980*, British Academy Monographs in Archaeology 13 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

39. Crystal-M. Bennett, "Biblical Traditions and Archaeological Results," in *The Archaeology of Jordan and Other Studies Presented to Siegried H. Horn*, ed. Lawrence T. Geraty and Larry G. Herr (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1986), 75–83.

40. Bennett, "Fouilles d'Umm el-Biyara," 374–76; cf. Piotr Bienkowski, "Umm el-Biyara, Tawilan and Buseirah in Retrospect," *Levant* 22 (1990): 91.

seal all supported a later dating for settlement at the site. According to Bennett, the location of biblical Sela should be sought elsewhere.[41]

Early in her excavations at Tawilan, the site identified by Glueck as biblical Teman, Bennett rejected that connection on the basis of Roland de Vaux's article arguing that the biblical reference to Teman was a reference to "the south" of Edom rather than a particular location within Edom.[42] At the beginning of the excavations, she also thought that since Glueck described it as a major fortified city, the excavations might produce more material for her attempt to refine a stratified pottery sequence for Edom. Yet she demonstrated that Tawilan was not in fact fortified during the Iron Age, and the towers and fortifications identified by Glueck were not earlier than the first century CE. Her search for a stratified pottery sequence was also unsuccessful since the Edomite remains date entirely to the eighth through sixth centuries BCE.[43] Not only did Bennett disprove Glueck's speculations, but her evidence indicated that the initial settlement at sites in Edom was much later than Glueck suspected, and that it did not reach its peak until about the seventh century BCE under Assyrian influence.[44] Bennett's excavations at Busayra also cast doubt on the supposed early account in Num 20 that presented Edom as a powerful monarchy during the period of the exodus.[45] She only found evidence of Edomite occupation beginning in the eighth century BCE. Bennett did discover that Busayra was a fortified site with an acropolis, a residential area, and palatial buildings, but there was no clear development of pottery at Busayra since it too was occupied primarily in the Iron IIB period from the eighth through the mid-sixth centuries BCE.

Bennett's excavations and her new perspectives on Edomite history resulted in a substantial revision of Glueck's synthesis of the Iron Age polity of Edom. Although Bennett initially sought to support Glueck's identification of biblical sties and his early dating of Edomite history beginning in the Late Bronze Age, she concluded over many years of research that the

---

41. Bennett, "Fouilles d'Umm el-Biyara," 383–401, 403.

42. Bennett, "Tawilan (Jordanie)," *RB* 76, 386–87; de Vaux, "Teman," 379–85.

43. Bennett, "Tawilan (Jordanie)," *RB* 76, 389; Bennett, "Tawilan (Jordanie)," *RB* 77, 374.

44. Bennett, "Brief Note on Excavations at Tawilan," vii; Bennett, "Excavations at Tawilan in Southern Jordan," 19.

45. Crystal M. Bennett, "An Archaeological Survey of Biblical Edom," *Perspective: A Journal of the Pittsburgh Theological Seminary* 12 (1971): 35–44.

biblical identifications were often impossible to verify and that sedentary settlement in the highlands of Edom did not begin until the eighth century BCE.[46] After revising the date for the settlement of Edom to the period of Assyrian expansion into the southern Levant, Bennett sought evidence of Assyrian influence in the region. She determined that evidence for Assyrian influence could be seen in certain pottery styles, some important architectural parallels, and in several types of elite artifacts.

According to Bennett's brief evaluation of Assyrian influence in Edom, the reign of Tiglath-pileser III was the apex of Assyrian influence on the small polity.[47] Prior to Tiglath-pileser III, treaties were struck between Assyria and Edom but starting with this king who first extended Assyrian power as far as the Mediterranean, Edom became a vassal state, according to Bennett. It was during this emperor's reign that the Assyrian military began to use the King's Highway running through Edom to facilitate communication throughout this portion of its sphere of influence.[48] Bennett suggested that the Assyrians established a network of forts and stations along this major transportation route, proposing a major reinterpretation of the defensive border towers identified by Glueck.[49]

In addition to identifying Assyrian parallels between several pottery types she discovered at Busayra, Umm al Biyara, and Tawilan, she identified some substantial architectural parallels.[50] A monumental building in Area A at Busayra and a building in Area C with a bathroom both have close parallels with late Assyrian palaces.[51] Finally, several small finds at the excavated sites have affinities with Assyrian artifacts: a cosmetic palette from Umm al Biyara, an ivory animal head from Tawilan, and a stylized *Tridacna squamosa* shell from Busayra.[52] Additional items with Assyrian parallels were found in subsequent excavations (discussed in more detail

---

46. Bennett, "Biblical Traditions and Archaeological Results," 75–83.

47. Crystal-M. Bennett, "Neo-Assyrian Influence in Transjordan," *SHAJ* 1 (1982): 181–87.

48. Bennett, "Neo-Assyrian Influence in Transjordan," 182.

49. To make this point, Bennett relies on Bustanay Oded, "Observations on Methods of Assyrian Rule in Transjordania after the Palestinian Campaign of Tiglath-pileser III," *JNES* 29 (1970): 177–86.

50. Bennett, "Neo-Assyrian Influence in Transjordan," 182, 187, figs. 3d, 4, 5.

51. Bennett, "Neo-Assyrian Influence in Transjordan," 182, 187, fig. 2; see also Geoffrey Turner, "The State Apartments of Late Assyrian Palaces," *Iraq* 32 (1970): 177–213.

52. Bennett, "Neo-Assyrian Influence in Transjordan," fig. 3.

in ch. 9), but Bennett's catalog of Assyrian-influenced artifacts was fundamental for later analyses of the level of Assyrian interaction in Edom. Although Bennett's portrait of Assyrian influence in Edom was based upon these important parallels, she did not attempt to discuss broader social and political influences within Edom. This led to a situation in which subsequent scholars sought specific Assyrian influences and parallels in the archaeological record, but the role of Assyria in the stability of the region, the economic impetus of the increased use of the Arabian trade routes, the necessity of developing a political bureaucratic apparatus to provide tribute to the empire, and the increased need for raw materials were restricted to brief comments only suggestive of their potential importance.

1.2.1. John Bartlett's *Edom and the Edomites*

One of the most important scholarly works in the late twentieth century is John Bartlett's 1989 monograph on Edom.[53] In it, Bartlett based his reconstruction of Edomite history largely on the results of Bennett's earlier excavations. He rejected Glueck's thesis that there was a flourishing thirteenth century BCE in Edom, since at the time of Bartlett's research the earliest settlements in Edom appeared to be only a few minor agricultural settlements in the Wadi al Hasa that were dated to the Early Iron Age.[54] For Bartlett, intensive settlement likely began in the tenth century BCE after the "thorough occupation" of Edom by King David suggested in the biblical text.[55] Bartlett also suggested that the fortresses identified by Glueck should be dated to the time of David.[56] Following the biblical account, he proposed that Edom was occupied and controlled by Judahite kings until the mid-ninth-century BCE reign of Jehoram when the Hebrew Bible suggests that Edom rebelled.[57] The "kingdom of Edom" was then established and tension between Edom and Judah continued as both minor polities sought to control the copper mines in the Arabah and the port of Eziongeber. Only in 732 BCE did Edom become a vassal of Assyria, enjoying a

---

53. John R. Bartlett, *Edom and the Edomites*, JSOTSup 77 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1989).

54. Bartlett, *Edom and the Edomites*, 72–74.

55. Bartlett, *Edom and the Edomites*, 106.

56. John R. Bartlett, "The Rise and Fall of the Kingdom of Edom," *PEQ* 104 (1972): 28–29.

57. Bartlett, *Edom and the Edomites*, 115–17.

period of prosperity and achieving a peak of settlement on the Edomite plateau, as suggested by the mention of Edom in an Assyrian royal inscription.[58] Bartlett, and others, never cite archaeological evidence to demonstrate that Judahite kings ruled Edom, relying entirely on incorporating the biblical narrative as the foundational source for reconstructing that portion of Edomite history. For Bartlett, Assyria does not play a major role in Edomite history other than providing for a period of relative prosperity and increased settlement due to Assyrian garrisons in the area.[59]

1.2.2. Ahlström and Regional History

Gösta Ahlström's magisterial *The History of Ancient Palestine* (1993) pioneered two major advances in this genre.[60] First, he broadened the geographic scope of the history to include the entire southern Levant, shifting the focus away from Judah and Israel to the larger region. While this work remains an important contribution to the history of Israel and Judah, it also attempts to provide complete histories for the neighboring religions, including Edom. Second, Ahlström broadened the chronological scope to extend to the prehistoric era, although most of the book does focus on the Late Bronze and Iron Ages, the eras of the drama of the biblical narrative. More than any other history of ancient Israel and Judah, Ahlström incorporated the findings of Bennett and her revised hypothesis of the polity of Edom.

Within this extended focus of the history of ancient Israel and Judah, the small southeastern neighbor of Edom receives a more significant treatment than in previous histories. For example, Ahlström placed the origin of the administrative states in the Transjordan, including Edom, during the period after the decline of Egyptian hegemony near the end of the Late Bronze Age.[61] He noted the significant mining operations in the Arabah around the settlement of Timna, which was exploited by the Egyptians with the labor of local workers and Midianite workers.[62]

---

58. Bartlett, *Edom and the Edomites*, 128–36.

59. Bartlett, *Edom and the Edomites*, 128–37.

60. Gösta W. Ahlström, *The History of Ancient Palestine* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993).

61. Ahlström, *History of Ancient Palestine*, 407.

62. Ahlström, *History of Ancient Palestine*, 417.

When Ahlström discussed the history of Edom before the Late Bronze Age, he utilized the biblical texts, especially the legendary narratives of Genesis. He suggested that the polity of Edom might have been in place prior to that of Judah, relying on the birth order of Esau followed by Jacob, but also the so-called Edomite king list in Gen 36:31–39, which lists eight kings who ruled before any king in Israel, although he considered them to be petty regional rulers more like the Israelite judges.[63] Still, Ahlström suggested that Edom might have been a model of kingship for Saul, who he hypothesized might even have been born in Edom.[64]

Ahlström followed previous historians in attributing a significant occupation of Edom to King David followed by a weaker control of Solomon who could not subdue the entirety of Edom with the escape of Hadad narrated in 1 Kgs 11.[65] Solomon is portrayed by Ahlström as the architect and builder of Ezion-geber, not as a copper mining facility but as a fortress to protect his maritime trading enterprises in the Gulf of Aqaba. When Solomon began to lose control of Edom, according to Ahlström, he built fortresses in the Negev to protect his route to Ezion-geber and maintain those trading routes.[66]

Ahlström likewise focused on what is known about Edom from Assyrian inscriptions, the primary written source available to modern historians outside the biblical text. He noted, for example, Edom under Qaus-malak participating in the anti-Assyrian coalition with Rezin of Damascus against Tiglath-pileser III, and the rebellion with regional kings like Hezekiah and Yamani against Sargon in 712 BCE.[67] Some major ancient Near Eastern events that Ahlström discussed are still known primarily from the biblical text, like the anti-Babylonian coalition formed in Jerusalem which Edom ultimately rejected and sided with the Babylonians against Judah.[68]

Ahlström provided one of the most well-rounded narratives about Edom, integrating biblical material, ancient Near Eastern inscriptions, and some recent archaeological findings. Since Edom remained for Ahlström at the margins of his interest, he relied on the primary narratives

---

63. Ahlström, *History of Ancient Palestine*, 419.
64. Ahlström, *History of Ancient Palestine*, 435, 439.
65. Ahlström, *History of Ancient Palestine*, 484–85.
66. Ahlström, *History of Ancient Palestine*, 505, 522–23, 526.
67. Ahlström, *History of Ancient Palestine*, 630–32, 690–92.
68. Ahlström, *History of Ancient Palestine*, 792–95.

in place from earlier histories and excavations about Edom's history and archaeology—connecting Ezion-geber with Solomon for instance—which remains problematic.

1.2.3. Piotr Bienkowski, Survey Methodology, and the Construction of Consensus

In addition to new excavation methods and theoretical perspectives, current reconstructions of the history of Edom have the benefit of several important surveys and excavations undertaken during the past twenty-five years. These include Burton MacDonald's surveys of the Wadi al Hasa, the northern Arabah and Busayra region, Manfred Lindner's surveys and excavations in the Petra region, Graeme Barker's surveys of the Wadi Faynan, and Thomas Levy's surveys and excavations related to copper exploitation in the Wadi Faynan area.[69] Indeed, in recent analyses that derive from a multidisciplinary research method, scholars are less bound to incorporate data from the biblical texts into their interpretations. Many insist on an independent understanding of the archaeological record without resolving the sometimes-contradictory statements from the Hebrew Bible.

Within this approach to the history of Edom, Bienkowski has produced a number of syntheses of the archaeology of Edom in addition to his important excavations at ash-Shorbat, his continuation of the excava-

---

69. For the Wadi al-Hasa, see Burton MacDonald, ed., *The Wadi el Hasa Archaeological Survey 1979–1983, West-central Jordan* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1988). For the northern Arabah region, see MacDonald, ed., *The Southern Ghors and Northeast Arabah Archaeological Survey*, SAM 5 (Sheffield: Collis, 1992). For the central highlands, see MacDonald, ed., *The Tafila-Busayra Archaeological Survey 1999–2001, West-central Jordan*, ASORAR 9 (Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research, 2004); and MacDonald, ed., *The Shammakh to Ayl Archaeological Survey, Southern Jordan (2010–2012)*, ASORAR 24 (Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research, 2016). For the Petra region, see Manfred Lindner, "Archaeological Explorations in the Petra Region 1980–1984," *SHAJ* 3 (1987): 291–94. For the Wadi Faynan, see Graeme Barker, "Farmers, Herders and Miners in the Wadi Faynan, Southern Jordan: A 10,000-Year Landscape Archaeology," in *The Archaeology of Drylands: Living at the Margin*, ed. G. Barker and D. Gilbertson, OWA 30 (London: Routledge, 2000), 63–85 and sources cited there; and MacDonald, *The Southern Transjordan Edomite Plateau and the Dead Sea Rift Valley: The Bronze Age to the Islamic Period (3800/3700 BC–AD 1917)* (Oxford: Oxbow, 2015).

tions at Umm al Biyara, and his completion of the final publications of the Busayra and Tawilan excavations.[70]

Research and analysis of the Iron Age polity in southern Jordan during the 1980s and 1990s had reached a consensus about several important issues that suggested political development in Edom reached an apex during the Iron II B and C with a capital at Busayra and at least a basic bureaucracy to gather surplus for tribute to the Assyrians. This consensus is supported by several key observations. First, surveys of the remains from the Middle and Late Bronze Ages have located only a few small sites in Edom, all of which were transitory.[71] The earliest long-term occupation consists of several sites in the copper-mining region of the Arabah, which were at the time dated to the tenth and ninth centuries BCE.[72] There was a late Iron II florescence of settlement in the mountains of Edom during the eighth and seventh centuries BCE, perhaps stimulated by the political stability under the Assyrian Empire.[73] Concurrent with the Iron II expansion was a resumption of copper mining in the Arabah and increased traffic on the Arabian trade routes.[74]

A major point of contention among scholars was the impetus for the settlement in Edom. Although some understood the development of the

---

70. For ash-Shorabat, see Piotr Bienkowski and Russell Adams, "Soundings at Ash-Shorabat and Khirbat Dubab in the Wadi Hasa, Jordan: The Pottery," *Levant* 31 (1999): 149–72; and Bienkowski et al., "Soundings at ash-Shorabat and Khirbat Dubab in the Wadi Hasa, Jordan: The Stratigraphy," *Levant* 29 (1997): 41–70; for Umm al Biyara, see now Bienkowski, *Umm al-Biyara*; Bienkowski, "Iron Age Settlement in Edom: A Revised Framework," in *The World of the Aramaeans II: Studies in History and Archaeology in Honour of Paul-Eugene Dion*, ed. P. M. Michele Daviau, John W. Wevers, and Michael Weigl, JSOTSup 325 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001), 257–69; Bienkowski, "The Edomites: The Archaeological Evidence from Transjordan," in *You Shall Not Abhor an Edomite for He Is Your Brother: Edom and Seir in History and Tradition*, ed. Diana Vikander Edelman, ABS 3 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 41–92; Bienkowski, "The Beginning of the Iron Age in Southern Jordan: A Framework," in *Early Edom and Moab: The Beginning of the Iron Age in Southern Jordan*, ed. Piotr Bienkowski, SAM 7 (Sheffield: Collis, 1992), 1–12.

71. Bienkowski, "Iron Age Settlement in Edom," 257–59, 264–65; Bienkowski, "Edomites," 53–54, 61; Bienkowski, "Beginning of the Iron Age in Southern Jordan," 3, 5.

72. Bienkowski, "Iron Age Settlement in Edom," 257, 259–264; Bienkowski, "Edomites," 45–47, 54; Bienkowski, "Beginning of the Iron Age in Southern Jordan," 6–7.

73. Bienkowski, "Iron Age Settlement in Edom," 257, 266; Bienkowski, "Edomites," 44–45, 61–62; Bienkowski, "Beginning of the Iron Age in Southern Jordan," 3–5, 7–8.

74. Bienkowski, "Iron Age Settlement in Edom," 257, 266.

Edomite polity and the expansion of settlement to be a result of secondary state formation related to the rise of the polities in the Cisjordan and along the Mediterranean coast, most scholars connect this phenomenon with the expansion and reorganization of the Assyrian Empire under Tiglath-pileser III.[75] In spite of the consensus observation that the majority of settlements in Edom appeared during the time of Assyrian expansion, many were reticent to elaborate on that connection. Comments like "the direct relation between the rise of the Assyrian Empire and the settlement and prosperity of Edom is self-evident" reveal a need for a more systematic analysis.[76]

1.2.4. Liverani and the Modestly Minimalistic History

Mario Liverani's 2003 *Oltre la Bibbia: Storia antica di Israele* (ET 2007) represents an advance in the genre of histories of ancient Israel in that it is a multidisciplinary contextual history, but it also recognizes the biblical material about Israel's past as narrative in a way that previous histories do not.[77] Like Ahlström and Bright, Liverani weaves together biblical texts, ancient Near Eastern inscriptions, literary theory, and artifactual material to produce his understanding of Israel's past. Yet compared to previous histories, Liverani's is also more limited: discussing the history of Israel and Judah beginning with the twelfth century BCE through the Iron Age. The broad sweep of Ahlström's Levant since the Paleolithic period becomes in *Israel's History and the History of Israel* a more focused and circumspect endeavor.

Therefore, for Liverani Edom is a side story, significant only when its history intersects that of Judah. For example, Edom first enters the stage in a discussion of the crisis during the twelfth century BCE that occurred when the palatial economic system collapsed at the end of the Late Bronze

---

75. Ernst Axel Knauf, "The Cultural Impact of Secondary State Formation: The Cases of the Edomites and Moabites," in Bienkowski, *Early Edom and Moab*, 47–54; Alexander H. Joffe, "The Rise of Secondary States in the Iron Age Levant," *JESHO* 45 (2002): 425–67.

76. Nadav Na'aman, "Province System and Settlement Pattern in Southern Syria and Palestine in the Neo-Assyrian Period," in *Neo-Assyrian Geography*, ed. Mario Liverani, QGS 5 (Rome: Sargon, 1995), 114.

77. Mario Liverani, *Israel's History and the History of Israel* (New York: Routledge, 2014).

Age and nomadic groups began to appear in Egyptian records as Shasu, with some significant documents referring to the Shasu of Edom.[78] Liverani's use of theory is more substantial than previous histories as he employs sociological studies of ethnogenesis to discuss the gathering of tribes into larger units for mutual protection and economic benefit.[79] For Edom this process possibly occurred as local tribes banded with Midianites after the withdrawal of Egypt from the mining operations at Timna.[80]

Liverani is also more willing to consider biblical material legendary, as in the stories of Saul, and he does not understand the first Judahite encounter with Edom to be the conquests of David, an almost universal theme in discussions of Edom and the Bible, opting to retain the Masoretic tradition referencing Aram as David's enemy in 2 Sam 8:13 rather than emend Edom.[81] This view is now supported by many historians and archaeologists who have reconstructed a flourishing and expansive Damascene polity during this time under the leadership of Hazael.[82] For Liverani, David did control parts of Edom, only to be largely lost by Solomon who focused on building Ezion-geber for his commercial enterprises, leading eventually to a time when Edom became a "satellite" of Judah.[83] As in most histories, the most secure events begin with the arrival of the Assyrians, when Liverani understands Edom as participating in alliances against the empire while profiting significantly from the increased trade economy.[84] Ultimately, Edom allied with Babylon against the Judahite kings, an idea known primarily from Jeremiah and the subsequent hatred of Edom in the biblical material, suggesting that they moved into the Negev as a result of the new open land.[85]

---

78. Liverani, *Israel's History and the History of Israel*, 24, cf. 32, 40–41.

79. Liverani, *Israel's History and the History of Israel*, 58, 78.

80. Liverani, *Israel's History and the History of Israel*, 81.

81. Liverani, *Israel's History and the History of Israel*, 96.

82. See Aren M. Maeir, "The Aramaean Involvement in the Southern Levant: Case Studies for Identifying the Archaeological Evidence," in *In Search of Aram and Israel: Politics, Culture and Identity*, ed. Omer Sergi, Manfred Oeming, and Izaak J. de Hulster, ORA 20 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 79–87; and Israel Finkelstein, "The Southern Steppe of the Levant ca. 1050–750 BCE: A Framework for a Territorial History," *PEQ* 146 (2014): 98–99.

83. Liverani, *Israel's History and the History of Israel*, 101–2, 111.

84. Liverani, *Israel's History and the History of Israel,* 148, 155.

85. Liverani, *Israel's History and the History of Israel*, 196.

1.3. The Third Edom: Theoretical and Interdisciplinary Approaches

Over the past twenty years, many archaeologists, historians, and biblical scholars have integrated other disciplines into their analyses of the history of Edom. Concurrent with this development is the increased utilization of techniques and methods from the natural sciences to understand more precisely the relationship of artifacts from Edom with the wider cultural area of the southern Levant and northwest Arabia. These developments have improved the discussion of Edomite history in two ways. First, the infusion of interdisciplinary fields like anthropology have increased the comparative nature of analyses, providing them with more explanatory power while scholars attempt to understand phenomena using the sparse data available. Second, the incorporation of scientific methods like radiocarbon dating and origin analyses for pottery and other artifacts has helped provide a more precise chronological framework for various sites and added to the discussion of trade networks and craft specialization. The discussion below is intended to outline the major contributions and transformations that have occurred largely in the opening decades of the twenty-first century. Many of these contributions appear in journals or technical field reports; this survey is not intended to be comprehensive.

1.3.1. Regional Survey Methodology

Over the past thirty years the methods and practices of archaeological field surveys have added significant data for the history of Edom, as well as the entire southern Levant. Regional surveys are often performed contemporaneously with excavations, especially in more recent archaeological projects that aim to analyze a region or industry. Glueck initially surveyed the territory of southern Jordan in the 1930s and 1940s. He traveled the region of Jordan with local guides, mapping, making diagrams, and producing brief narratives of his findings. These notes and observations have been indispensible to later archaeologists who often reference Glueck's locations and information to make initial decisions about the viability of excavations. Yet Glueck's survey methods were neither comprehensive nor systematic. He relied on local guides who certainly knew their territory, but not necessarily the importance of certain types of installations or the common sherd scatter.

More scientific and systematic methods were applied to archaeological surveys in the 1980s. For the area of southern Jordan, they were introduced

by MacDonald, who undertook the first systematic survey of the Wadi al Hasa region, typically understood as the demarcation between ancient Edom to the south and ancient Moab to the north of the ravine. MacDonald faithfully published his survey results in journals and then in final publications. He then progressed westward and surveyed the southern Ghors and northeast Arabah region and more recently the territory surrounding Busayra, the largest fortified site in ancient Edom. His most recent surveys include the Ras an-Naqab region and the Shammakh region.[86] Most modern surveys are multidisciplinary and include archaeologists who specialize in different periods participating and writing the reports in their respective specialties. These surveys focus on identifying evidence of human habitation and settlement, categorizing various levels of occupation from sherd scatters to villages and from towers to fortresses. While the final publications do provide important summaries of the findings for each time period, they are more oriented toward presenting the data of the surveys than providing analysis of the result.

MacDonald and his teams have surveyed much of the region of what would be considered northern Edom; other scholars have undertaken small, more specific surveys. These include Lindner in the Petra region, Barker in the northern Arabah copper mining regions, as well as the recent surveys by the Edomite Lowlands Regional Archaeology Project.[87]

1.3.2. The Infusion of Anthropologically Informed Analysis

In recent years, archaeology has become more interdisciplinary. Archaeologists now use comparative material from other similar societies or later time periods to elucidate a more complex and textured understanding

---

86. For MacDonald's surveys, see MacDonald, *Wadi el Hasa Archaeological Survey*; MacDonald, *Southern Ghors*; MacDonald, *Tafila-Busayra Archaeological Survey*; MacDonald, *Shammakh to Ayl Archaeological Survey*. For a synthesis from MacDonald, see *Southern Transjordan Edomite Plateau*.

87. For the Petra region, see Lindner, "Archaeological Explorations," 291–94. For the Wadi Faynan, see Barker, "Farmers, Herders and Miners," 63–85 and sources cited there; and the survey data available in Thomas E. Levy, Mohammad Najjar, and Erez Ben-Yosef, eds., *New Insights into the Iron Age Archaeology of Edom, Southern Jordan: Surveys, Excavations, and Research from the University of California, San Diego-Department of Antiquities of Jordan, Edom Lowlands Regional Archaeology Project (ELRAP)*, 2 vols., Monumenta Archeologica 35 (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2014).

of ancient societies. While this process does involve some imprecision, archaeologists who employ this methodology are careful to construct their comparisons between appropriate cultures.

One example of this approach from a leading contemporary archaeologist working on southern Jordan, Bienkowski, recently critiqued the modernist assumptions employed in many histories of ancient Edom and the ancient Near East, which suggest that the Wadi Arabah formed the western border of the ancient state of Edom.[88] Using anthropological theory as well as ethnographic research into bedouin poetry, Bienkowski argues that the lived-experience of the Wadi Arabah was more of a bridge than a barrier. He compares the "traditional paradigm" on the polity of Edom, which fashioned the Iron Age entity according to a nineteenth-century European model of state formation, with a "tribal kingdom" model based on anthropological comparisons to contemporary and historic tribal polities in the region.[89] This model was previously examined by Bienkowski and Eveline van der Steen.[90] The model suggests that the centralizing factors are weaker and bound by more traditional tribal affiliations than bureaucratic state apparatuses. In doing so, Bienkowski also exposed the problematic assumption as a construct not of the Iron Age or the period of Romanization but of the twentieth-century colonial British attempts to continue to control the territory after decolonization.[91]

Bienkowski then explored the "border" of the Arabah as a territory of exchange and transmission, a place of engagement both economically and emotionally as tribal territories were crossed and relationships were formed and nurtured. To do this, he used an ethnographic reading of bedouin poetry to demonstrate that the Arabah has multiple meanings for the people who experience it: materiality, social, sacred, movement, political, conceptual, sensual, and memory meanings.[92] This reading of the Wadi

---

88. Piotr Bienkowski, "Tribes, Borders, Landscapes and Reciprocal Relations: The Wadi Arabah and Its Meaning," *JMA* 20 (2007): 33–60.

89. Bienkowski, "Tribes, Borders, Landscapes and Reciprocal Relations," 34–36.

90. Bienkowski, "Tribes, Borders, Landscapes and Reciprocal Relations," 37. See also Piotr Bienkowski and Eveline van der Steen, 'Tribes, Trade, and Towns: A New Framework for the Late Iron Age in Southern Jordan and the Negev," *BASOR* 323 (2001): 21–47.

91. Bienkowski, "Tribes, Borders, Landscapes and Reciprocal Relations," 38–41.

92. Bienkowski, "Tribes, Borders, Landscapes and Reciprocal Relations," 42, 45–46. The permeability of borders and frontiers is becoming an increasingly important issue in the early twenty-first century as migration due to war and climate change

Arabah for ancient Edom, or any archaeological time period, transforms the geologic feature into a realm of multifaceted experiences far more meaningful than that of a political barrier. The tribes and supratribal organization centered in Busayra likely experienced the Wadi Arabah in ways that are similar to the ones Bienkowski lays out. The organization in Busayra, however that is understood, would have been interested in maintaining some sort of safeguards to the integrity of their territory, probably understanding the Arabah as some sort of a limit to their domain, but the tribes that maintained a relationship with the supratribal polity would pass through that territory in ways similar to those expressed in Bienkowski's important analysis.

Bienkowski's understanding of the meaning of the Wadi Arabah is related to his earlier attempt, with Van der Steen, to reconstruct Edomite society as a "tribal kingdom."[93] For the authors, the polities of the southern Levant—Edom, Moab, Ammon, Israel, and Judah—are misunderstood when they are analyzed through the lens of the bureaucratic state, especially the understanding of the state as developed in Europe during the early centuries of modernity. Instead Bienkowski and Van der Steen, along with several other archaeologists working in the polities of Iron Age Jordan, employ historical ethnographic information from bedouin tribes in southern Jordan and the Negev during the nineteenth century under Ottoman rule to better understand the activities and relationships that might have been operative during the Iron Age in tribal societies.[94] From this comparison, Bienkowski and Van der Steen develop a tribal model for ancient Edom involving key characteristics: several large tribal groups had different core areas; some tribes controlled trade routes while others raided trading groups; the tribes had strong links to their gateway towns in the vicinity; control by any centralized power was minimal; and though imperial powers tried to control the tribes, they would settle for mutually beneficial relationships.[95]

Bienkowski and Van der Steen understand similar tribal-governing powers and imperial powers operating at other times in history as well,

---

is leading to crises in many parts of the world. For an up-to-date bibliography on this field of study and its relation to ancient history, see Richard Hingley, "Frontiers and Mobilities: The Frontiers of the Roman Empire and Europe," *EurJArch* 21 (2018): 78–95.

93. Bienkowski and Van der Steen, "Tribes, Trade, and Towns."
94. Bienkowski and Van der Steen, 'Tribes, Trade, and Towns," 29–35.
95. Bienkowski and Van der Steen, 'Tribes, Trade, and Towns," 35.

especially during the Roman and Byzantine periods.[96] Other key elements of these tribal kingdoms include large pastoral nomadic populations; tribal social structure that accommodated the changes under kings and empires; most people lived in the rural hinterland where they were administered through fortified towns; power structures were heterarchical and not hierarchical with several centers of political power.[97]

1.3.3. Recent Finds and the Role of New Excavation Methodologies

In addition to the analyses and syntheses of the archaeological and textual material on Iron Age Edom, several important discoveries need to be included. Along with these new discoveries, several relatively recent scientific methodologies have been debated concerning their applicability and usefulness in developing a more comprehensive but refined chronology of Edomite history.

The most important of these finds is the project aimed at understanding the copper mining facilities in the Wadi Faynan by the Edom Lowlands Regional Archaeology Project (ELRAP). This project has produced some important explanations of the process of copper mining in antiquity, as well as excavations and surveys of the settlements along the tributary wadis. The project provoked some controversy after its publication of the radiocarbon data from the excavation of a square fortress at Khirbat an Nahas because the excavators directly associated that find with a construction project of King Solomon of Judah, thereby entering this project into the larger tenth-century debate about the archaeology of ancient Israel and Judah and the historicity of Kings David and Solomon that was current in the early twenty-first century.[98]

---

96. Bienkowski and Van der Steen, 'Tribes, Trade, and Towns," 34–35.

97. Bienkowski and Van der Steen, 'Tribes, Trade, and Towns," 29.

98. This connection was initially made in an early publication of the findings, see Thomas E. Levy et. al., "Reassessing the Chronology of Biblical Edom: New Excavations and ^{14}C Dates from Khirbat en-Nahas (Jordan)," *Antiquity* 78 (2004): 865–79. The connection with "Solomon's mines" was exploited in some popular media accounts, see, e.g., Thomas H. Maugh II, "Ruins Bolster Legend of Solomon," *Los Angeles Times* (October 28, 2008); and the PBS documentary "Quest for King Solomon's Mines," produced and directed by Graham Townsley (NOVA/PBS, aired November 2010). On the latter, see the review by Eric H. Cline in *NEA* 74 (2011): 253–55. See also Zeidan A. Kafafi, "New Insights on the Copper Mines of Wadi Faynan, Jordan," *PEQ* 146 (2014): 264–80; and the response by Mohammad Najjar "Solomonic Phobia or 10th Century

Levy and his team have collected numerous radiocarbon samples from several locations within the Khirbat an Nahas complex, which is a multistrata site with the lowest stratum founded on bedrock during the late eleventh or early tenth century BCE.[99] Though the interpretation of the site has become contentious, if Levy and his team are correct—the mining operations during this phase date to the eleventh or tenth centuries and the mining was a local operation—the findings at Khirbat an Nahas could push the foundation of the polity of Edom back several centuries to the eleventh or tenth century, for Levy "the time of the kingdoms of David and Solomon."[100] This would be a shift from the previous consensus that dated the foundation of Edom to the eighth or early seventh centuries BCE, a consensus formulated by Bennett based on the seal impression of Qausgabar, a king of Edom mentioned in Assyrian inscriptions during the seventh century BCE, found at Umm al Biyara.

In addition to the debate centered on radiocarbon dating at Khirbat an Nahas, Levy has also addressed the social and political structure of this early Edomite society using anthropological methods.[101] Levy argues that

---

BCE Phobia? Response to Zeidan A. Kafafi, 'New Insights on the Copper Mines of Wadi Faynan, Jordan,'" *PEQ* 147 (2015): 247–53.

99. Thomas E. Levy and Mohammad Najjar, "Edom and Copper: The Emergence of Ancient Israel's Rival," *BAR* 32.4 (2006): 32. Levy's initial interpretations were countered by Israel Finkelstein and others. See Finkelstein, "Khirbet en-Nahas, Edom and Biblical History," *TA* 32 (2005): 119–25; Finkelstein and Eli Piasetzky, "Radiocarbon and the History of Copper Production at Khirbet en-Nahas," *TA* 35 (2008): 82–95; Finkelstein and Lily Singer-Avitz, "The Pottery of Khirbet en-Nahas: A Rejoinder," *PEQ* 141 (2009): 207–18. Finkelstein's view has evolved as he integrated the findings into a larger vision of the southern Levant in the Iron I–Iron IIA, see "Southern Steppe of the Levant ca. 1050–750 BCE," 98–99. For the most recent excavations at Khirbet an Nahas, see Levy et al., *New Insights into the Iron Age Archaeology of Edom*.

100. Levy and Najjar, "Edom and Copper," 32. After the initial publication of the radiocarbon data was connected to the Solomonic empire (see Levy, "Reassessing the Chronology of Biblical Edom," 865–79), Finkelstein and Bienkowski separately responded to the interpretations. See Finkelstein, "Khirbet en-Nahas, Edom and Biblical History," 119–25; Finkelstein and Singer-Avitz, "Pottery of Khirbet en-Nahas"; Piotr Bienkowski and Eveline van der Steen, "Radiocarbon Dates from Khirbat en-Nahas: A Methodological Critique," *Antiquity* 80 (2006): 1–3.

101. Thomas E. Levy, "Pastoral Nomads and Iron Age Metal Production in Ancient Edom," in *Nomads, Tribes, and the State in the Ancient Near East: Cross Disciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Jeffrey Szuchman, OIS 5 (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2009), 147–78.

the Iron Age inhabitants of Edom likely participated in an "oscillating tribal segmentary social system" lifestyle.[102] Basing his model on cross-cultural anthropological research, Levy points to this social system as the impetus for the rise of social complexity in Edom during the Early Iron Age, centered on the copper-rich areas along the northern Wadi Arabah. Using the new finds from Khirbat an Nahas and his revised earlier dating of the beginning of social complexity in Edom as a starting point, Levy argues that the social collapse at the end of the Late Bronze Age that interrupted the copper supply from Cyprus opened opportunities for higher levels of social organization in locales in the southern Levant that would have been free from interference for a time from nearby empires.[103] He also includes material from the Wadi Fidan 40 cemetery and the absence of villages with living facilities to suggest that the population of the time was largely nomadic and exploited the mines in addition to agriculture in order to subsist in the stark landscape of southern Jordan.[104] This segmentary social system, for Levy, was a forerunner to the polity that would develop in the next centuries in the highlands of Edom that is better known from the excavations at Busayra, Tawilan, and Umm al-Biyara. The Edomite identity would have been shaped and formed by local interaction and resistance to neighboring threats, including Egyptian expansion.[105] The Edom known later during the Assyrian expansion maintained this earlier Edomite identity through resistance against the imperial demands.

Erez Ben-Yosef further advanced the argument that early Edom represented a "nomadic kingdom" and that the Early Iron Age remains associated with copper exploitation in the Wadi Faynan and Timna should be identified as the polity of Edom.[106] He revived a debate that had flourished

---

102. Levy, "Pastoral Nomads and Iron Age Metal Production," 157–58.

103. Levy, "Pastoral Nomads and Iron Age Metal Production," 149–51.

104. Levy, "Pastoral Nomads and Iron Age Metal Production," 153–55.

105. Levy, "Pastoral Nomads and Iron Age Metal Production," 161.

106. Erez Ben-Yosef, "The Architectural Bias in Current Biblical Archaeology," *VT* 69 (2019): 361–87. This publication prompted a brief debate on social media with Finkelstein; see Israel Finkelstein, "Arabah Copper and the History of Ancient Israel: Can a 'Chance Discovery' Change Everything We Know about Biblical Israel?," *Facebook*, October 25, 2019, https://www.facebook.com/Prof.IsraelFinkelstein/posts/1164550793744423; and Erez Ben-Yosef, "A Nomadic Error: A Reply to Israel Finkelstein," *Facebook*, October 31, 2019, https://www.facebook.com/CentralTimnaValleyProjectCtv/photos/a.556088144470646/2542689592477148. For a further argument from Ben-Yosef, see his forthcoming article "A False Con-

in early 1990s about the visibility of nomadic and pastoral elements of ancient Near Eastern societies. Ben-Yosef argued in his 2019 article that, on account of an "architectural bias," biblical scholars and historians of ancient Israel and Judah have repeatedly misunderstood ancient political formations. He argued that on the basis of the copper mining remains that the nomadic society was in fact a complex society with observable social stratification. He rejected common comparisons to Levantine bedouin cultures of the modern era, opting to compare this polity with the Central Asian Mongol Empire by noting that after a search for the early stages of this nomadic empire, very few architectural remains have been identified beyond graves and some stone fortifications.[107] The point of comparison being that the complex nomadic society that gave rise to an empire also did not construct many permanent structures that archaeologists can study and analyze, so assumptions should not be made regarding political complexity of groups that do not leave many physical remains. This is an important debate concerning early Edom as well as other small states in the region and will likely impact the interpretation of Edom over the next few years.

1.3.4. Pottery, Chronology, and an Interconnected Levant

The modern understanding of the history of Edom is hampered by the lack of secure chronological data and the scarcity of written resources from Edom itself. A detailed pottery analysis that understands Edom in relation to the surrounding territories, a project undertaken by Juan Manuel Tebes within the past decade, has contributed significantly toward understanding the society of Edom and its relationship to the Negev and northern Arabia.[108] Tebes focuses on what he calls the "Southern Transjordan-Negev

---

trast? On the Possibility of an Early Iron Age Nomadic Monarchy in the Arabah (Early Edom) and Its Implications to the Study of Ancient Israel," in *From Nomadism to Monarchy? "The Archaeology of the Settlement Period" Thirty Years Later*, ed. Oded Lipschits, Omer Sergi, and Ido Koch (University Park, PA: Eisenbrauns, forthcoming). I would like to thank Dr. Ben-Yosef for an unpublished version of this article. Finkelstein's more formal response is forthcoming as "The Arabah Copper Polity and the Rise of Edom: An Alternative Model," *VT* (forthcoming).

107. Ben-Yosef, "Architectural Bias in Current Biblical Archaeology," 374–75.

108. See Juan Manuel Tebes, "Investigating the Painted Pottery Traditions of the First Millennium BC Northwestern Arabia and Southern Levant: Contexts of Discovery and Painted Decorative Motives," *ARAM* 27 (2015): 255–82; Tebes, "Investi-

Pottery (STNP)" family of vessels that were produced and used during
the Iron Age in the regions of Edom and the Negev, relying on geogra-
phy to define the corpus rather than ethnic designations.[109] This pottery
group is distinguished by its geographic distribution and specific features
such as "downturned, grooved and denticulated rims; cooking pots with
a steeped-rim; and vessels, mainly carinated bowls, influenced by 'Assyr-
ian ware' pottery."[110] While pottery from neighboring regions is found at
Iron Age sites within southern Jordan, particularly Qurayyah ware from
northwest Arabia dating to the Early Iron Age in the Wadi Faynan, the
dominant pottery types are from the southern Transjordan-Negev pot-
tery family of vessels.[111] Recently, petrographic and neutron activation
analyses also show that this group shares the same compositional material
derived from clays found in the Edomite highlands.[112] Finally, the south-
ern Transjordan-Negev pottery group does have some distinct decoration
patterns: tones of red or black in patterns like bands, triangles, and nets.[113]

Tebes uses his analysis of the pottery, combined with data from Khir-
bat an Nahas, to draw some conclusions about the history of Edom. First,
the settlement at Busayra in the Edomite highlands likely began in the
late eighth century BCE based on pottery found there. Second, the copper
mining area in the Wadi Faynan, particularly the site of Khirbat an Nahas,
yielded pottery that Tebes understands as potentially "early antecedents of
the STNP."[114] This pottery group was also likely the production of a work-
shop industry, that is, the homogeneity of the material and techniques sug-
gests that organized craft specialists were involved in the manufacturing of
the southern Transjordan-Negev pottery vessels.[115] Finally, the bowls were

gating the Painted Pottery Traditions of First-Millennium BC North-western Arabia
and Southern Levant: Chronological Data and Geographical Distribution," *PSAS* 43
(2013): 317–35; Tebes, "The Potter's Will: Spheres of Production, Distribution and
Consumption of the Late Iron Age Southern Transjordan-Negev Pottery," *STRATA*
29 (2011): 61–101; Tebes, "The Pottery from Khirbet en-Nahas: Another View," *Wadi
Arabah Project Website*, 2009, https://tinyurl.com/SBL1733a.

    109. Tebes, "Potter's Will," 63.
    110. Tebes, "Potter's Will," 65.
    111. Tebes, "Investigating the Painted Pottery Traditions: Chronological Data,"
319, 323.
    112. Tebes, "Potter's Will," 65.
    113. Tebes, "Potter's Will," 66.
    114. Tebes, "Potter's Will," 82; Tebes, "Pottery from Khirbet en-Nahas."
    115. Tebes, "Potter's Will," 84–85.

found in elite contexts, suggesting a level of elite emulation during the peak of Assyrian influence in the region.[116] The painted vessels, which are often found in cultic or administrative contexts, tend to be used for more mundane activities within the southern Transjordan-Negev pottery tradition, such as cooking, storage, and trading.[117] Pottery production is a significant means to understanding the social and political apparatuses at the time in southern Transjordan and the Negev, complex and sophisticated analyses like those of Tebes contribute to understanding the networks of trade, political connections, and migratory patterns.

Since the early 2000s, Tebes has also made several additional important contributions to understanding the history, archaeology, and textual material related to Edom. The primary focus of his publications is not necessarily Edom but the interstitial region in the Negev and the Arabah where there is a concentration of archaeological sites that have elements of both Judahite and Edomite material culture. Theoretically, the focus on this region is important as a "borderland," a region between the two political centers where cultures mingle and hybridize.[118]

Tebes has contributed to research about Edom in two important spheres in addition to his reevaluation of the pottery assemblage discussed above. First, research that grew out of his doctoral dissertation, completed at the Universidad de Buenos Aires in 2009, focused on the literary element of the relationship between Judah and Edom found in the Hebrew Bible and was described in terms of legends, oral traditions, and genealogies, many of which are found in the book of Genesis. Tebes orients the textual material about Jacob and Esau as fluid oral traditions that are best studied through the anthropological lens of kinship and segmentation.[119] The interpretations of this material are important for his later emphasis on

---

116. Tebes, "Potter's Will," 88–90.

117. Tebes, "Investigating the Painted Pottery Traditions: Contexts," 260.

118. See also Bienkowski, "Tribes, Borders, Landscapes and Reciprocal Relations." For additional theory about the archaeology of borderlands, see Magdalena Naum, "Re-emerging Frontiers: Postcolonial Theory and Historical Archaeology of the Borderlands," *JAMT* 17 (2010): 101–31; and David Ludden, "The Process of Empire: Frontiers and Borderlands," in *Tributary Empires in Global History*, ed. P. F. Bang and C. A. Bayly, Cambridge Imperial and Post-colonial Studies (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 132–50.

119. Juan Manuel Tebes, "'You Shall Not Abhor an Edomite, for He Is Your Brother': The Tradition of Esau and the Edomite Genealogies from an Anthropological Perspective," *JHebS* 6 (2006), DOI: 10.5508/jhs.2006.v6.a6.

the relationship of Judah and Edom in the prophetic material where Edom is condemned as a disloyal brother, a tradition that Tebes suggests arose out of Edomite encroachment into the Negev during the Babylonian exile of the Judahite elite and not because of Edomite participation in the sack of Jerusalem as is often argued.[120]

A second focus for Tebes is the copper mining region in the wadis of the northern Arabah Valley that appear to have been in operation during the late second millennium and into the early first millennium BCE. Tebes argues that the mining operations were controlled by Egypt during the Late Bronze Age, but by the Iron Age pastoral nomadic groups that lived in the Negev and south Jordan operated the mines.[121] Eventually the Edomite state that was centered around Busayra controlled the mining and likely increased production to meet the demands of the Assyrian Empire. The important site of Khirbat an Nahas, for Tebes, was not an Edomite site as such, although several types within the pottery assemblage do seem to be antecedents of later Edomite wares.[122]

Since Tebes deals with material remains between recognized settlement patterns that have been defined by scholars variously as "chiefdoms" or "states," he has touched on issues of state formation and political constructions in the ancient Near East, particularly small-scale political formations in regions like Judah and Edom.[123] Tebes highlights the approach of Bienkowski and Van der Steen in labeling the Edomite polity as a tribally based society that was organized on the basis of tribes rather than a state, but rejected the continued use of the term "kingdom."[124] He also

---

120. Juan Manuel Tebes, "Memories of Humiliation, Cultures of Resentment towards Edom and the Formation of Ancient Jewish National Identity: Memories of Humiliation," *NatNat* (2017): 1–22; Tebes, "The Edomite Involvement in the Destruction of the First Temple: A Case of Stab-in-the-Back Tradition?" *JSOT* 36 (2011): 219–55.

121. John J. Bimson and Juan Manuel Tebes, "Timna Revisited: Egyptian Chronology and the Copper Mines of the Southern Arabah," *AO* 7 (2009): 75–118; Tebes, "'A Land Whose Stones Are Iron, and Out of Whose Hills You Can Dig Copper': The Exploitation and Circulation of Copper in the Iron Age Negev and Edom," *DavarLogos* 6 (2007): 81–87.

122. Juan Manuel Tebes, "Pottery from Khirbet en-Nahas."

123. The complex question of political complexity in Edom will be more fully addressed in ch. 8.

124. Juan Manuel Tebes, "The Kingdom of Edom? A Critical Reappraisal of the Edomite State Model," in *Framing Archaeology in the Near East: The Application of*

builds his model on the research of Benjamin Porter who identified a series of elite strategies used by the rulers at Busayra to consolidate authority and construct an Edomite identity over the larger area.[125] Tebes argues for a model that he labels the "Buseirah Chiefdom" arguing that Buseirah never was able to coerce or control the entire land of Edom, rather there is strong evidence that there was considerable autonomy among the various tribes and segments of society. While rejecting the evolutionary assumptions of much anthropological research about chiefdoms, he does propose that the term captures the "unusual Edomite social structure."[126] For this model, most of Edom would have been organized along kin-based tribal structures with exchange of products and competition between tribes. The "king" of Edom, referenced in Assyrian inscriptions, local seals, and biblical material, held little power over the tribal units of the region but would have acted as an intermediary with imperial powers, other states, and perhaps between contentious tribal groups.[127]

1.3.5. Connection to Broader Issues

Finkelstein, while contesting some of the detailed findings from Khirbat an Nahas, has integrated those findings into a broader vision of the political and economic changes that were taking place in the southern Levant during the period between the decline of the Egyptian domination in the region and the rise of the Assyrians, a time that experienced significant consolidation of minor kingdoms like Israel, Judah, and Ammon.[128] While Finkelstein's historical reconstructions will be detailed in subsequent

---

Social Theory to Fieldwork, ed. Ianir Milevski and Thomas E. Levy, New Directions in Anthropological Archaeology (Sheffield: Equinox, 2016), 113–14, citing Bienkowski and Van der Steen, "Tribes, Trade, and Towns." See also Tebes, "Socio-Economic Fluctuations and Chiefdom Formation in Edom, the Negev and the Hejaz during the First Millennium BCE," in *Unearthing the Wilderness: Studies in the History and Archaeology of the Negev and Edom in the Iron Age*, ed. Juan Manuel Tebes, ANESSup 45 (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 1–29.

125. Tebes, "Kingdom of Edom? A Critical Reappraisal," 114–15, citing Benjamin W. Porter, "Authority, Polity, and Tenuous Elites in Iron Age Edom (Jordan)," *OJA* 23 (2004): 373–95.

126. Tebes, "Kingdom of Edom? A Critical Reappraisal," 117–19.

127. Tebes, "Kingdom of Edom? A Critical Reappraisal," 118–19.

128. See esp. Finkelstein, ""Southern Steppe of the Levant ca. 1050–750 BCE"; and Ruth Shahack-Gross and Finkelstein, "Settlement Oscillations in the Negev

chapters, his use of a variety of new tools and techniques developed in the natural sciences requires some comment here.[129] Using what he refers to as "microarchaeological" techniques like radiocarbon dating, seed analysis, and pottery-inclusion analysis, he suggests the following scenario for the rise of importance of the copper industry in the Arabah.[130]

During the period between the decline of Egypt and the rise of Assyria, copper became an essential resource for the rising regional powers and their armies. Copper from the Arabah was mined and traded primarily along the Kings Highway leading to the foundation of several Moabite fortresses south of the Wadi Mujib. With the campaign of Pharaoh Sheshonq during a brief resurgence of Egyptian hegemony, the copper flow was diverted from the Kings Highway and Moab to the Beersheba Valley and Egypt prompting the rise of the Tel Masos polity, which also experienced prominence due to the beginning of overland trade from the Arabian Peninsula, probably even carrying spices like cinnamon and nutmeg from south and southeast Asia. Egyptian resurgence was short-lived and the prominence of the Khirbat an Nahas copper industry was ultimately destroyed by Hazael of Damascus who needed to end the competition for the Cypriot copper which was once again flowing into Hazael's port cities on the northern coast of the Levant.

1.4. Toward a Multisourced Historiography of Edom

Reconstructing the history of minor political entities that did not construct elaborate cities or produce extensive literary remains demands a

---

Highlands Revisited: The Impact of Microarchaeological Methods," *Radiocarbon* 57 (2015): 253–64.

129. Israel Finkelstein, Steve Weiner, and Elisabetta Boaretto, "Preface—The Iron Age in Israel: The Exact and Life Sciences Perspectives," *Radiocarbon* 57 (2015): 197–206.

130. For this approach, see Shahack-Gross and Finkelstein, "Settlement Oscillations in the Negev Highlands Revisited"; and Finkelstein, Weiner, and Boaretto, "Iron Age in Israel," 197–206. See also Mario A. S. Martin and Finkelstein, "Iron IIA Pottery from the Negev Highlands: Petrographic Investigation and Historical Implications," *TA* 40 (2013): 38–39; and Yifat Thareani-Sussely, "Desert Outsiders: Extramural Neighborhoods in the Iron Age Negev," in *Bene Israel: Studies in the Archaeology of Israel and the Levant during the Bronze and Iron Ages in Honour of Israel Finkelstein*, ed. Assaf Yasur-Landau and Alexander Fantalkin, CHANE 31 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 197–212.

careful analysis of the available avenues of information. Material culture, epigraphic information, written accounts from neighboring polities as well as those of expansive empires, must be combined with anthropological theories that analyze small-scale political formations. The following chapters will attempt to integrate data from the available sources on the history and society of Edom. Beginning with the material culture of southwestern Jordan during the Iron Age in the next chapter, I will then address the various written accounts about Edom: Egyptian, Assyrian, Edomite, as well as the complex stories available in the Hebrew Bible. Under the Assyrian Empire, the Edomites developed their most complex political apparatus centered around the largest settlement of Busayra. The Edomite leaders attempted to link their own power with that of the Assyrians through a variety of symbolic and architectural connections that will be explored prior to a final chapter focusing on the use of comparative material on the effects of empires as they dominate marginal territories to make some suggestions on the rise and fall of the small Iron Age polity of Edom.

2

THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF
IRON AGE SOUTHWESTERN JORDAN

The material remains from the Iron Age constitutes one of the major sources for reconstructing the social history of ancient Edom. Many sites are known through regional surveys, but only a few have been scientifically excavated and even fewer have been fully published. This survey of the archaeology of Edom focuses on excavated sites as well as surveyed sites that are potentially important for Iron Age settlement. Several major surveys were conducted and published, but the information provided in survey publications is often too limited for detailed analysis.[1] In the published reports of surveys, sites are often typologically categorized

---

1. The major survey publications include: For the Wadi al Hasa, see MacDonald, *Wadi el Hasa Archaeological Survey*. For the northern Arabah region, see MacDonald, *Southern Ghors*. For the central highlands, see MacDonald, *Tafila-Busayra Archaeological Survey*; and MacDonald, *Shammakh to Ayl Archaeological Survey*. For the Petra region, see Lindner, "Archaeological Explorations," 291–94. For the Wadi Faynan, see Barker, "Farmers, Herders and Miners," 63–85; Kyle A. Knabb, Mohammad Najjar, and Thomas E. Levy, "Characterizing the Rural Landscape during the Iron Age and Roman Period (ca. 1200 B.C–A.D. 400): An Intensive Survey of Wadi al-Feidh, Southern Jordan," *JFA* 40 (2015): 365–80; Erez Ben-Yosef, Mohammad Najjar, and Thomas E. Levy, "New Iron Age Excavations at Copper Production Sites, Mines, and Fortresses in Faynan," in Levy et al., *New Insights into the Iron Age Archaeology of Edom*, 2:767–885; Kyle A. Knabb et al., "Patterns of Iron Age Mining and Settlement in Jordan's Faynan District: The Wadi al-Jariya Survey in Context," in Levy et al., *New Insights into the Iron Age Archaeology of Edom*, 2:577–625; and MacDonald, *Southern Transjordan Edomite Plateau*. For an important analysis of the surface pottery relating to the Iron Age collected during MacDonald's surveys, see Larry G. Herr, "The Iron Age Pottery from Burton MacDonald's Last Three Surveys in the Highlands of Southern Jordan," in *Walking through Jordan: Essays in Honour of Burton MacDonald*, ed. Michael P. Neeley, Geoffrey A. Clark, and Michèle P. M. Daviau (Sheffield: Equinox, 2017), 151–81.

according to the major period of architectural remains, leading to poten-
tial confusion concerning the full span of its occupation. When sites
are only reported for the period of major occupation, it is impossible to
determine the relative size of the site for a particular period.[2]

In spite of the difficulties presented by the nature of the material
remains of Edom, the archaeological research provides one of the most
important sources for the Iron Age history of the region. In the early and
mid-twentieth century, the written sources, particularly the Hebrew Bible,
were often interpreted by archaeologists and historians to portray Edom
as a kingdom with a centralized bureaucracy, a standing army, extensive
fortifications, and a complete royal administration similar to other Late
Bronze Age polities in the ancient Near East.[3]
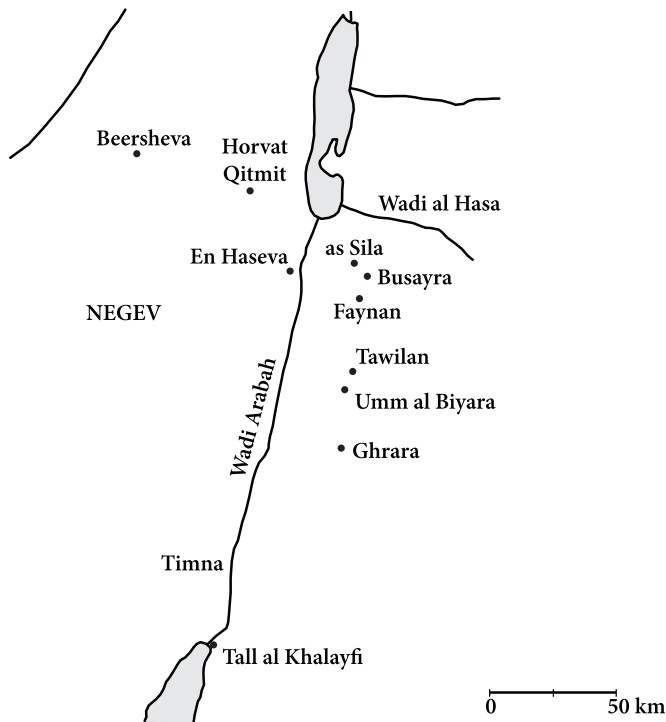
2.1. Map of the southern Levant during the Iron Age.

---

2. See Israel Finkelstein, "From Sherds to History: Review Article," *IEJ* 48 (1998):
120–31.

3. See the discussion of Glueck, Albright, and Bright in ch. 1.

In contrast to this literary-based construction of ancient Edom, archaeological research in southern Jordan, particularly after the excavations of Bennett, intimates a different picture of Edom during this period. The archaeological research of the past fifty years suggests that Iron Age settlement in southern Jordan began with the copper mining operation in the Wadi Arabah that was likely built and operated during the eleventh through ninth centuries BCE, while other settlements and political organization centered around Busayra in the Edomite highlands accelerated in the late eighth century BCE. In any event, the polity that formed there known as Edom was never a highly centralized kingdom as earlier researchers suggested.

This chapter will review the material culture remains of Iron Age Edom by describing the major types of sites in the region. These include large residential settlements, small residential settlements, mountaintop settlements, agricultural complexes, and mining facilities.[4] A brief section on the ecology of the region, the chronological periods, and ceramic typologies will preface the discussion of the archaeology of Edom to set the wider parameters for the subsequent historical study.

2.1. Preliminary Issues

2.1.1. Geography and Ecology

During the Iron Age, the region of modern Jordan provided the topographic stage for three societies: Ammon, Moab, and Edom.[5] The

---

4. The transliteration of Arabic geographical names follows the standards accepted by the Royal Jordanian Geographic Centre. A complete statement of the RJGC standards was published in *Activities in Jordan on the Standardization of Geographic Names* (UNGEGN, Eighteenth Session, August 1996, Working Paper 86). See https://tinyurl.com/SBL1733b. This complies with the spellings used by the *Annual of the Department of Archaeology of Jordan*; see the index published in *ADAJ* in 2003.

5. For overviews of the Iron Age Transjordanian polities, see Joel S. Burnett, "Transjordan: The Ammonites, Moabites, and Edomites," in *The World Around the Old Testament: The Peoples and Places of the Ancient Near East*, ed. Bill T. Arnold and Brent A. Strawn (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2016), 309–52; Bruce Routledge, "Transjordan in the Eighth Century BCE," in *Archaeology and History of Eighth-Century Judah*, ed. Zev I. Farber and Jacob L. Wright, ANEM 23 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2018), 139–60; Piotr Bienkowski, "Edom during the Iron Age II Period," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of the Levant c. 8000–332 BCE*, ed. Margreet L. Steiner and

Edomite Plateau is located in the southern part of the larger Transjordanian Plateau, which is divided by a series of west to northwest trending wadis. These wadis served as landscape boundaries between the Iron Age polities, although such natural borders of cultural and political boundaries were not always fixed. Indeed, the interstitial spaces between polities often became the nexus of significant activity and hybridized cultural productions.[6] Ancient Ammon was located largely to the north of the Wadi Mujib; however, at times it is possible that Moab impinged on the territory of Ammon. The area of ancient Moab was located between the Wadi Mujib and the Wadi al Hasa and was bordered on the west by the Dead Sea. The geologic boundary between Moab and Edom was the Wadi al Hasa.

Ancient Edom likely had the most porous boundaries of the three Iron Age Transjordanian polities. The borders are typically identified as the Wadi al Hasa to the north and the Gulf of Aqaba to the south.[7] There are, however, few Edomite settlements south of Ghrara, between the Wadi Musa region and Tall al Khalayfi on the Gulf of Aqaba. The western boundary appears to be the Wadi Arabah, which is part of the Dead Sea Valley, although movement westward to the southeastern Negev region was likely common and unfettered. The eastern boundaries were probably the desert regions that characterize the Ma'an Basin, the Ras an Naqb, and the Hisma depression. Edom was a land of extreme

Ann E. Killebrew (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 782–94; Øystein LaBianca and Randall W. Younker, "The Kingdoms of Ammon, Moab and Edom: The Archaeology of Society in the Late Bronze/Iron Age Transjordan (ca. 1400–500 BCE)," in *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land*, ed. Thomas E. Levy (New York: Facts on File, 1995), 399–415; Larry G. Herr and Muhammad Najjar, "The Iron Age," in *The Archaeology of Jordan*, ed. Burton MacDonald, Russell Adams, and Piotr Bienkowski, LA 1 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001), 323–45; and MacDonald, *East of the Jordan*.

6. See, e.g., the study of the Wadi Arabah in Bienkowski, "Tribes, Borders, Landscapes and Reciprocal Relations," 33–60.

7. The southern boundary of Edom might not extend beyond the Ras an Naqb and Hisma depression if Nadav Na'aman ("An Assyrian Residence at Ramat Rahel?" *TA* 28 [2001]: 260–80) is correct in his estimation that Tall al Khalayfi is an Assyrian outpost rather than an Edomite site, which is the typical explanation of the site. For this site during the Assyrian period and the buildings that continued to be used into the Persian period, see Oded Lipschits et al., "The 2006 and 2007 Excavation Seasons at Ramat Raḥel: Preliminary Report," *IEJ* 59 (2009): 1–20; and Oded Lipschits, Yuval Gadot, and Dafna Langgut, "The Riddle of Ramat Raḥel: The Archaeology of a Royal Persian Period Edifice," *Transeu* 41 (2012): 57–79.

topographical contrasts, a characteristic of Mediterranean regions, with the highest mountain in the southern Levant, the Jabal Mubarak (1727 m above sea level), being in close proximity to the lowest point in the region, the southern Ghors (396 m below sea level).[8]

The Mediterranean climate in the western region of southern Jordan transitions to a more arid environment in the steppes bordering the Jordanian deserts to the east.[9] This Mediterranean and Irano-turanian type of climate, which prevails in the Jordan Valley and the highlands, is "ecologically unstable, because of the marked seasonal concentration of heavy precipitation, combined with steep slopes, easily eroded soils, and unconsolidated materials."[10] The climate is characterized by a hot/dry season and a wet/cold season, although this greater variability results in periods of seasonal drought and torrential rainfalls.[11] During the Late Bronze Age the climate in the southern Levant was undergoing a severe dry period that likely led to some droughts and political crises, more humid conditions prevailed in the Iron Age resulting in a more moderate climate.[12]

The vegetation of southern Jordan was a critical factor for the development of human societies in the area. Since the climate of the region is semiarid to arid, the types and amount of vegetation are limited. The dryland regime, climate, and soil types combine to produce an ecologically

8. Mark G. Macklin, John Lewin, and Jamie C. Woodward, "Quaternary Fluvial Systems in the Mediterranean Basin," in *Mediterranean Quaternary River Environments*, ed. John Lewin, Mark G. Macklin, and Jamie C. Woodward (Rotterdam: Balkema, 1995), 3; see more broadly, MacDonald, *East of the Jordan*, 26.

9. Carlos E. Cordova, "Geomorphological Evidence of Intense Prehistoric Soil Erosion in the Highlands of Central Jordan," *PhyGeo* 21 (2000): 538; Numan Shehadeh, "The Climate of Jordan in the Past and Present," *SHAJ* 2 (1985): 25; Martin Finné et al., "Climate in the Eastern Mediterranean, and Adjacent Regions, during the Past 6000 Years—a Review," *JAS* 38 (2011): 3153–73; Israel Finkelstein and Dafina Langgut, "Climate, Settlement History, and Olive Cultivation in the Iron Age Southern Levant," *BASOR* 379 (2018): 153–69.

10. Cordova, "Geomorphological Evidence of Intense Prehistoric Soil Erosion," 542.

11. Louise J. Bull and Michael J. Kirkby, "Dryland River Characteristics and Concepts," in *Dryland Rivers: Hydrology and Geomorphology of Semi-Arid Channels*, ed. Louise J. Bull and Michael J. Kirkby (Chichester: Wiley, 2002), 3; MacDonald, *East of the Jordan*, 29–31.

12. For the shifts in climate during these periods, see Dafna Langgut et al., "Vegetation and Climate Changes during the Bronze and Iron Ages (~3600–600 BCE) in the Southern Levant Based on Palynological Records," *Radiocarbon* 57 (2015): 217–35.

marginal environment.[13] The vegetation in such environments is typically diverse in spite of being quantitatively limited.[14] Vegetation largely depends on the rainfall pattern of a region, which includes total annual amount, seasonal distribution, and distribution of intense rainfalls.[15] Because of the environmental marginality of this region, human settlement has long required various techniques to gather water and irrigate crops.[16]

2.1.2. Chronological Framework

The formulation of the chronological framework for the Iron Age in Edom is hampered by the scarcity of remains and the lack of an adequate strati-fied pottery assemblage. Larry Herr and Muhammad Najjur have surveyed the chronology of Jordan during the Iron Age using a scheme of archaeo-logical divisions commonly used in Israeli archaeology.[17] They divide the Iron Age in Jordan into four distinct periods: Iron I (Early Iron Age), and three divisions of Iron II (A, B, C).

---

13. Barker, "Farmers, Herders and Miners," 63–85. A recent review of Late Bronze and Early Iron Age strata in northern Jordan suggests multiple reasons for the Late Bronze Age transformations; see Jesse Michael Millek, "Crisis, Destruction, and the End of the Late Bronze Age in Jordan," *ZDPV* 135 (2019): 119–42.

14. M. M. Ali, G. Dickinson, and K. J. Murphy, "Predictors of Plant Diversity in a Hyperarid Desert Wadi Ecosystem," *JAE* 45 (2000): 215–30; Richard M. Cowling et al., "Plant Diversity in Mediterranean-Climate Regions," *TEE* 11 (1996): 362–66; Shahina A. Ghazanfar, "Present Flora as an Indicator of Palaeoclimate: Examples from the Arabian Peninsula," in *Palaeoenvironmental Reconstruction in Arid Lands*, ed. A. K. Singhvi and Edward Derbyshire (Rotterdam: Balkema, 1999), 263–75.

15. Pua Kuteil, Haim Kutiel, and Hanoch Lavee, "Vegetation Response to Pos-sible Scenarios of Rainfall Variations along a Mediterranean-extreme Arid Climatic Transect," *JAE* 44 (2000): 278–80; see also Willem van Zeist and Sytze Bottema, *Late Quaternary Vegetation of the Near East*, BTAVO A 18 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1991), 24–32 and fig. 4; MacDonald, *East of the Jordan*, 36–38.

16. Brian Beckers, Jonas Berking, and Brigitta Schütt, "Ancient Water Harvesting Methods in the Drylands of the Mediterranean and Western Asia," *eTopoi* 2 (2013): 145–64.

17. Herr and Najjur, "Iron Age"; cf. James A. Sauer, "Transjordan in the Bronze and Iron Ages: A Critique of Glueck's Synthesis," *BASOR* 263 (1986): 1–26; more recently, Bienkowski, "Edom during the Iron II Period," 784–85.

Table 2.1. Chronological divisions of the Late Bronze Age
and Iron Age according to Herr and Najjur (2001)

Archaeological Period	Dates
Late Bronze	1200–1100
Iron I	1100–1000
Iron IIA	1000–900
Iron IIB	900–700
Iron IIC	700–500

This chronological scheme remains the standard in Israel. While there are numerous similarities between the archaeological periods of Israel and Jordan, the extant remains in southern Jordan do not always allow for the detailed chronology used in Israel or in other regions of Jordan.[18] Since this scheme remains the standard chronological framework for archaeological and historical investigations in southern Jordan, it is retained for this study.[19]

The chronology of Iron Age Edom is based on radiocarbon dates, written evidence, and ceramic sequences. Radiocarbon dating of strata in Edom has provided clear evidence of Iron I–IIA settlement in the region, although all the relevant sites are limited to the Wadi Faynan along the Wadi Arabah. The following table contains data derived from recent radiocarbon dates, but this list is not intended to be comprehensive.[20]

---

18. The divisions of the Iron II period are usually dated in Israel according to historically attested destructions, most of which Edom did not experience.

19. Bienkowski ("Edomites," 44) developed a less detailed scheme based solely on the remains from Edom. It divides the Iron Age into three periods: Iron I (ca. 1200–1000), Iron II (ca. 1000–539), and Persian (ca. 539–330).

20. Sources: Thomas E. Levy, Russell B. Adams, and Rula Shafiq, "The Jabal Hamrat Fidan Project: Excavations at the Wadi Fidan 40 Cemetery, Jordan (1997)," *Levant* 3 (1999): 293–308; Andreas Hauptmann, *The Archaeometallurgy of Copper: Evidence from Faynan, Jordan* (Berlin: Springer, 2007); Thomas Engel, "Charcoal Remains from an Iron Age Copper Smelting Slag Heap at Feinan, Wadi Arabah (Jordan)," *VegHistArch* 2 (1993): 205–11; Volkmar Fritz, "Vorbericht über die Grabungen in Barqā el-Hetīye im Gebiet von Fēnān, Wādī el-Araba (Jordanien) 1990," *ZDPV* 110 (1994): 125–50. Fritz, "Ergebnisse diner Sondage in Ḥirbet en-Naḥās, Wādī el-Araba (Jordanien)," *ZDPV* 112 (1996): 1–9; see also Finkelstein and Piasetzky, "Radiocarbon and the History of Copper Production at Khirbet en-Nahas," 82–95.

Table 2.2. Some radiocarbon dates from Edom

Site	Source	Date BP	Calibrated	Reference
Wadi Fidan 40	Fruit	2800 +/- 70	1130–815	Levy et al. 1999, 303
Khirbat al Jariya	Slag heap	2915 +/- 30	1150–1025	Hauptmann 2007, 88–89
Khirbat al Jariya	Slag heap	2886 +/- 56	1125–940	Hauptmann 2007, 88–89
Khirbat al Jariya	Slag heap	2839 +/- 22	1005–925	Hauptmann 2007, 88–89
Khirbat an Nahas	Slag heap	2905 +/- 40	1199–1030	Engel 1993, 209
Khirbat an Nahas	Slag heap	2895 +/- 35	1154–1018	Engel 1993, 209
Khirbat an Nahas	Slag heap	2880 +/- 28	1110–995	
Khirbat an Nahas	Slag heap	2876 +/- 38	1110–945	
Khirbat an Nahas	Slag heap	2864 +/- 46	1110–930	
Khirbat an Nahas	Slag heap	2770 +/- 55	997–844	Engel 1993, 209
Khirbat an Nahas	House 1	2704 +/- 52	900–805	Fritz 1996, 5–6
Barqa al Hattiye	House 2	2743 +/- 23	905–835	Fritz 1994

This representative list of radiocarbon data supports the existence of Iron I settlement in the Wadi Arabah, settlements almost exclusively devoted to the extraction and processing of copper resources. The other regions of Edom do not have many settlements that can be definitively dated earlier than the eighth century BCE.

Attempts to provide an absolute date for settlement in Edom often reference a clay seal impression of Qaus-gabar, referred to as the "king of Edom" in Assyrian inscriptions, excavated at the site of Umm al Biyara.[21] Qaus-gabar is also mentioned twice in Assyrian inscriptions: Prism B

---

21. Because of the significance of this seal, it will be dealt with extensively in ch. 4. However, the interpretation endorsed here that it is associated with the Qaus-gabar mentioned in the Assyrian documents is universally accepted among scholars.

of Esarhaddon (673–672 BCE) and the first campaign of Assurbanipal (667 BCE).[22] This indicates that Qaus-gabar was ruling in Edom at least between 673 and 667 BCE. Since the seal impression was discovered at a single period site (later Nabataean and Roman settlements were not built over the Iron Age remains), the associated pottery and other finds can also be dated to roughly the same period; therefore, the pottery assemblage from Umm al Biyara provides the basis for dating similar pottery assemblages elsewhere in the region. Bennett's dating of the pottery assemblage at Umm al Biyara and other sites has largely been confirmed by ceramic comparisons with other sites in the southern Levant published subsequently.[23] In addition to the seal from Umm al Biyara, there are a few ostraca, seals, weights, and impressions excavated at Busayra that can be dated around 700 BCE +/- 30 years based on paleography and stratigraphy.[24]

The third factor for determining the chronology in southern Jordan, ceramic parallels, is perhaps the most difficult and debatable. Major surveys and excavations in the region use parallels with pottery from other regions in Jordan and Israel to determine their relative age. Recent approaches stress the necessity of seeking more proximate parallels from Jordan and Edom where possible. Furthermore, local imitations of Assyrian ceramics found at these major sites suggest a date after the late eighth century BCE. In southern Jordan, a site's pottery assemblage is often the only available evidence for dating an Edomite settlement, and most excavators and surveyors only refer to the pottery as "Iron II."

These chronological data place the period of Edom's florescence in the highlands of southern Jordan sometime between the late eighth and the sixth centuries BCE. Although, as noted before, there is substantial evidence for an Iron I–IIA settlement in the Wadi Arabah, the extent, nature, and relationship to the later Edomite polity in the highlands remain highly

---

22. For the bulla, see Bennett, "Fouilles d'Umm el-Biyara," 399–401, fig. 14; Bennett, "Notes and News," 123–26, pl. 30. A recent study is Jürg Eggler and Othmar Keel, *Corpus der Siegel-Amulette aus Jordanien: Vom Neolithikum bis zur Perserzeit*, OBO.SA 25 (Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 460–61, s.v. Umm al-Bayyara, no. 1. The final publication of the bulla is in Peter van der Veen, "The Seal Material," in Bienkowski, *Umm al-Biyara*, 79–84. See further in ch. 4.

23. See Israel Finkelstein and Lily Singer-Avitz, "The Pottery of Edom: A Correction," *AO* 6 (2008): 15.

24. Bienkowski, "Edomites," 44–45.

contested.[25] With the recent excavations and surveys in the Wadi Faynan region, there is now an extensive sample of pottery from the early Iron I period that the excavators suggest are forms that can serve as forerunners to later Edomite wares.[26]

2.1.3. The Pottery of Edom

Relative dating based on a regional typology of ceramic vessel forms and production methods is the primary means by which archaeological remains are assigned dates in southern Jordan. This is both a result of the prominence of pottery at the excavated sites and of the fact that many of the major excavations were carried out prior to the widespread use of radiocarbon dating in the southern Levant. Archaeologists categorize the pottery of the region into three major types: wheel-made "Edomite" pottery, so-called Negevite ware, and Midianite (or Qurayyah) ware. Recent petrographic analysis of pottery samples recovered from the Wadi Faynan region where copper exploitation took place for the early centuries of the first millennium BCE suggests that most pottery of that period was manufactured on or near the various excavated sites, although the pot-

---

25. A brief debate on this subject between Piotr Bienkowski and Israel Finkelstein took place in the early 1990s. See Bienkowski, "The Beginning of the Iron Age in Edom: A Reply to Finkelstein," *Levant* 24 (1992): 167–69; Bienkowski, "Beginning of the Iron Age in Southern Jordan," 1–12; Bienkowski, "Edomites." For Finkelstein's contributions, see "Edom in the Iron I," *Levant* 24 (1992): 159–66; Finkelstein, "Stratigraphy, Pottery and Parallels: A Reply to Bienkowski," *Levant* 24 (1992): 171–72; Finkelstein, *Living on the Fringe: The Archaeology and History of the Negev, Sinai and Neighbouring Regions in the Bronze and Iron Ages*, MMA 6 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1995), 127–37. Finkelstein apparently now accepts Bienkowski's arguments (see Finkelstein, "Archaeology and Text in the Third Millennium: A View from the Center," in *Congress Volume: Basel, 2001*, ed. André Lemaire, VTSup 92 [Leiden: Brill, 2002], 332). For general studies of Jordan during the Iron I period, see Larry G. Herr, "The Southern Levant (Transjordan) during the Iron Age I Period," in Steiner and Killebrew, *Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of the Levant*, 649–59; and Herr, "Jordan in the Iron I Period," *SHAJ* 10 (2009): 549–62.

26. The excavators suggest that the similarity of the pottery indicates a relationship between those who settled in the Wadi Faynan and the groups that later settled in the Busayra region. See Neil G. Smith and Thomas E. Levy, "Iron Age Ceramics from Edom: A New Typology," in Levy et al., *New Insights into the Iron Age Archaeology of Edom*, 1:297–459.

tery assemblage at the central site at Khirbat an Nahas did contain a few examples of imported pottery from Cyprus, Phoenicia, and Greece.[27]

Marion F. Oakeshott first distinguished and analyzed the various Edomite pottery forms in 1978, and her analysis remains the standard starting point for discussing Edomite pottery. It also provides a basic starting point for understanding the variety of pottery types commonly used in ancient Edom.[28] The following table summarizes her primary pottery types.

Table 2.3. Pottery types according to Oakeshott

Type	Description
	Bowls
A	Platters and flat dishes
B	Carinated bowls
C	Straight-rimmed carinated bowls
D	Bowls with triangular section rims
E	Like type D but with bar ridge below rim
F	Kraters
G	Negev ware
H	Thin-walled bowls
J	Edomite fine ware
K	Assyrian style bowls
L	Mugs
M	Deep bowls with flaring neck
N	Deep bowls with short neck
O	Straight-sided cups
P	Rough bowls with cut bases
Q	Censers

───────────

27. Neil G. Smith, Yuval Goren, and Thomas E. Levy, "The Petrography of Iron Age Edom: From the Lowlands to the Highlands," in Levy et al., *New Insights into the Iron Age Archaeology of Edom*, 1:461–91; Smith and Levy, "Iron Age Ceramics from Edom," 411.

28. There are substantial issues with Oakeshott's study of Edomite pottery, which was limited by the sample size and methods available at the time of the analysis. For a history of the study of pottery in Edom, see Smith and Levy, "Iron Age Ceramics from Edom," 299–302.

R	Very large bowls
S	Bowls of white fired clay
Cooking pots	
A	Rim continues the line of the shoulder
B	Pots with short necks
C	Miscellaneous pots
D	Pots with simple rims
E	Pots with double-folded rims
Jars	
A	Storage jars
B	Large jugs with ridged rim
C	Decanter with ridged rim
D	Short necked jar
	Flasks
	Lamps

2.1.4. Edomite Pottery

Wheel-made Edomite pottery, also known as "Busayra ware," is found at most sites on the Edomite Plateau and the surrounding areas, including Tawilan, Busayra, and in surrounding regions, such as the Negev and Beersheba Valley, though most was manufactured locally and did not originate on the Edomite Plateau.[29] While there are numerous difficult issues with the terminology—What makes this pottery specifically Edomite? What is the relation between the Edomite people and the pottery?—the terminology will be retained here because it is commonly used in publications and

---

29. Bienkowski , "Edomites," 51. Piotr Bienkowski and Leonie Sedman, "Busayra and Judah: Stylistic Parallels in the Material Culture," in *Studies in the Archaeology of the Iron Age in Israel and Jordan*, ed. Amihai Mazar, JSOTSup 331 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001), 319–21. For similar pottery in surrounding areas, see Liora Freud, "Local Production of Edomite Cooking Pots in the Beersheba Valley: Petrographic Analyses from Tel Malhata, Horvat ʿUza and Horvat Qitmit," in *Unearthing the Wilderness: Studies in the History and Archaeology of the Negev and Edom in the Iron Age*, ed. Juan Manuel Tebes, ANESSup 45 (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 283–306; Lily Singer-Avitz, "Edomite Pottery in Judah in the Eighth Century BCE," in Tebes, *Unearthing the Wilderness*, 267–81. Singer-Avitz suggests that some of the pottery in eighth century BCE contexts could have originated in Edom. See also Singer-Avitz, " 'Busayra Painted Ware' at Tel Beersheba," *TA* 31 (2004): 80–89.

archaeological discourse, and because a suitable alternative has not been identified.[30] The vessel forms of Edomite pottery are fairly uniform across the various strata and different sites, making it difficult to define phases of development, although some have made attempts.[31] Although Edomite vessel forms are similar to those found to the north and west of Edom, Edomite painted ware is distinctive in the region and appears in a variety of colors (red, brown, pink, reddish yellow, gray, and white).[32] Another element of Edomite pottery that is unusual is the character of the decorations that were applied to the exterior, including slips, black-painted bands or slashes, some complex decorated patterns, dot impressions, denticulation, and seal impressions.[33]

The most common vessel forms belong to domestic assemblages and include forms such as platters and flat dishes (type A). This type is often decorated with black bands and slash marks on the rim. Other common types are the carinated bowls and straight-rimmed carinated bowls, which are also commonly decorated with black bands.

It is important to note that "Assyrian-style" pottery is also found at some excavated sites alongside Edomite pottery. This Assyrian-style pottery—mostly carinated cups and bowls—has been identified at most of the larger excavated sites.[34] The locally produced Assyrian-style pottery

30. An important discussion of the terminology is Juan Manuel Tebes's review of *Complexity and Diversity in the Late Iron Age Southern Levant: The Investigations of "Edomite" Archaeology and Scholarly Discourse*, by Charlotte M. Whiting, *PEQ* 142 (2010): 148–50.

31. Such as Stephen Hart, "Area D at Buseirah and Edomite Chronology," in *Trade, Contact and the Movement of Peoples in the Eastern Mediterranean: Studies in Honour of J. Basil Hennessy*, ed. Stephen Bourke and Jean-Paul Descoeudres, MAS 3 (Sydney: Meditarch, 1995), 241–64.

32. Ralph E. Hendrix, Philip R. Drey, and J. Bjørnar Storfjell, *Ancient Pottery of Transjordan: An Introduction Utilizing Published Whole Forms; Late Neolithic through Late Islamic* (Berrien Springs, MI: Institute of Archaeology/Horn Archaeological Museum, Andrews University, 1996), 201–2.

33. Bienkowski, "Edomites," 51.

34. For Busayra, see Piotr Bienkowski, Marion F. Oakeshott, and Andrea M. Berlin, "The Pottery," in Bienkowski, *Busayra Excavations by Crystal-M. Bennett 1971–1980*, 282, 285, fig. 9.2.12–25; for Tall al Khalayfi, see Gary D. Practico, "The Pottery," in Pratico, *Nelson Glueck's 1938–1940 Excavations at Tell el-Kheleifeh*, 41–43 and pls. 25–28; for Tawilan, see Stephen Hart, "The Pottery," in Bennett and Bienkowski, *Excavations at Tawilan in Southern Jordan*, 54 and fig. 6.8; for Umm al-Biyara,
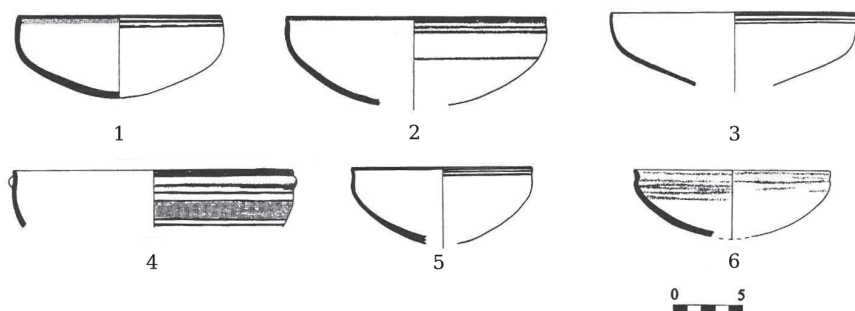
Fig. 2.2a. "Edomite" painted bowls from Busayra. Adapted from Bienkowski, Oake-shott, and Berlin, "The Pottery," fig. 9.26. Type J3b (1 and 3); Type J3c (2, 4, 5, and 6).

is thicker and coarser than imported Assyrian Palace Ware.[35] In fact, the manufacturing technique and decorations of the locally produced Assyrian ware are similar to other locally produced pottery.[36] Petrographic analyses of Assyrian-style pottery in Israel suggest that it was not uncommon for Assyrian-style pottery to be produced locally and not imported from Assyria.[37] As local imitations of typical Assyrian ware, Assyrian-style pottery in Edom serves as an important element in the debates involving the Assyrian influence in the region, an issue detailed in depth in a subsequent chapter (see below in ch. 9)

---

see Piotr Bienkowski, "The Pottery," in Bienkowski, *Umm al-Biyara*, 63–65, and fig. 4.3:4, 6.

35. J. P. Zeitler, "'Edomite' Pottery from the Petra Region," in Bienkowski, *Early Edom and Moab*, 172; Practico, "Pottery," 42. For a broader context of this pottery type in the southern Levant, see Michèle P. M. Daviau and Andrew J. Graham, "Black-Slipped and Burnished Pottery: A Special 7th-Century Technology in Jordan and Syria," *Levant* 41 (2009): 41–58.

36. Bienkowski, Oakeshott, and Berlin, "Pottery," 282.

37. L. C. Courtois and A. M. Doray, "Technologie et céramiques levantines au temps de la domination assyrienne (IXe–VIIe siècles av. J.C.)," in *Comptes rendus du 108e Congrès National des Sociétés Savantes, Grenoble, Section des Sciences, 4: Histoire des sciences* (Paris: Comité des Travaux historiques et scientifiques, 1983), 125–36; Jan Gunneweg and Marta Balla, "Appendix 1: Instrumental Neutron Activation Analysis, Busayra and Judah," in Bienkowski, *Busayra Excavations by Crystal-M. Bennett 1971–1980*, 483–85.
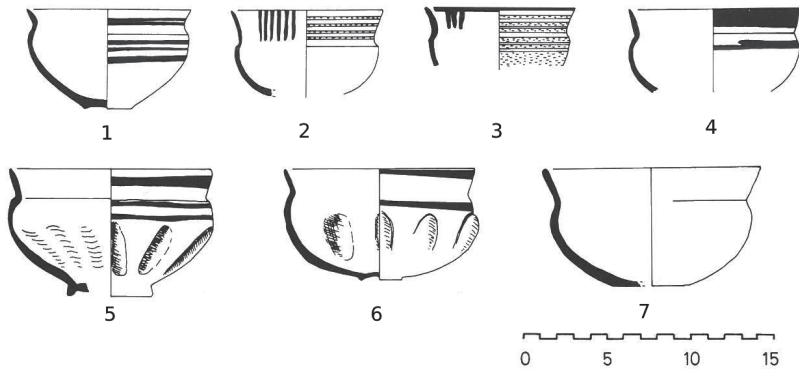
Fig. 2.2b. Type J Edomite painted bowls from Tawilan. Adapted from Stephen Hart, "The Pottery," fig. 6.8:1, 3–5, 9–11.

2.1.5. Negevite Ware

Negevite ware, so-called because of the location of the sites where this type is predominant, was once considered an important chronological indicator for pottery typologies in the larger region. Negevite ware is found at most major excavations in Edom, the Arabah, and the Negev.[38] The Negevite ware is handmade and the range of pottery types is limited to common domestic ware, including cooking pots, bowls, small jars, and cups. [39] Recent lead isotope analysis of the Negevite sherds suggests that the clay used for these vessels was tempered with crushed slag, a by-product of the copper smelting process. Chemical analysis of the slag identifies the Wadi Faynan region as one of the primary places of production of the Negevite ware.[40] Concentrations of Negevite pottery have been found in the Negev

---

38. For Busayra, see Bienkowski, Oakeshott, and Berlin, "Pottery," 276, fig. 9.23.1–4; for Tall al Khalayfi, see Practico, "Pottery," pls. 11–15; for Tawilan, see Hart, "Pottery," figs. 6.36–37; for Ghrareh, see Stephen Hart, "The Archaeology of the Land of Edom" (PhD diss., Macquarie University, 1989), pls. 24 and 28.7–17; for Khirbat an Nahas, see Fritz, "Ergebnisse diner Sondage in Ḥirbet en-Naḥās," fig. 4.1–8; for Barqa al Hattiye, see Fritz, "Vorbericht über die Grabungen," fig. 13.

39. Hendrix, Drey, and Storfjell, *Ancient Pottery of Transjordan*, 201. See Juan Manuel Tebes, "Iron Age 'Negevite' Pottery: A Reassessment," *AO* 4 (2006): 95–117 for a recent survey of this pottery type.

40. Naama Yahalom-Mack et al., "Lead Isotope Analysis of Slag-Tempered Negev Highlands Pottery," *AO* 13 (2015): 83–98; Smith and Levy, "Iron Age Ceramics from Edom," 408–10; Smith, Goren, and Levy, "Petrography of Iron Age Edom," 461–91.

highlands sites, but also at Timna, Tall al Khalayfi, En Ḥaṣeva, at many of
the mining sites along the Wadi Faynan, and at sites in the Edomite high-
lands.[41] The Negevite pottery seems to have been in use for an extended
time; sherds have been identified in strata ranging from the Late Bronze
Age through the end of the Iron Age.[42] Tebes suggests that this pottery was
used primarily by nomadic pastoral populations that grazed their sheep
and goats in the Negev and Arabah Valley.[43] Production likely took place
within pastoral households using simple handmade techniques, without
the use of a wheel or a kiln. Possibly Negevite pottery was manufactured in
the Faynan region of the Arabah and transported by pastoral populations
as they settled in the Negev during the economic expansion created by the
increased exploitation and demand for copper from the Arabah mines in
the early Iron Age.[44] According to Tebes, this pottery was used entirely for
domestic, household use; it is found predominantly in domestic contexts
and the quality of the Negevite pottery is typically not finished for wide
distribution.

2.1.6. Qurayyah Ware

The so-called Midianite ware, or Qurayyah ware (named after the site
where it was first identified), seems to originate from the region south
of Edom in the northern Arabian Peninsula. The Qurayyah ware, which
forms a domestic type of assemblage (mostly bowls and cups), is a

---

41. See Tebes, "Iron Age 'Negevite' Pottery," 99–104; for Tall al Khalayfi, see
Nelson Glueck, "The First Campaign at Tell el-Kheleifeh (Ezion-Geber)," *BASOR* 71
(1938): 11–12; Practico, "Pottery," 37–38, pls. 11–15. The publication of sites along
the Wadi Faynan is continuing, but see Levy, "Reassessing the Chronology of Bib-
lical Edom," 875; for Barqa al Hattiye, see Fritz, "Vorbericht über die Grabungen,"
146, fig. 13; for Busayra, see Bienkowski, Oakeshott, and Berlin, "Pottery," 276, figs.
9.23:1–4; for Tawilan, see Hart, "Pottery," 55, 59, figs. 6.36, 6.37; for Ghrareh, see Hart,
"Archaeology of the Land of Edom," 18, pls. 24, 28; for Ba'ja III, see Manfred Lindner
and Suleiman Farajat, "An Edomite Mountain Stronghold North of Petra (Ba'ja III),"
ADAJ 31 (1987): 180, fig. 4.8; for the Wadi Faynan sites, see Smith and Levy, "Iron
Age Ceramics from Edom," 4.1:15; 4.8:18; 4.9.9–10; 4.11:12; 4.16.1–3, 9, 12; 4.19:4;
4.27:11–12.
42. Tebes, "Iron Age 'Negevite' Pottery," 104.
43. See Tebes, "Iron Age 'Negevite' Pottery," 104–9.
44. Yahalom-Mack et al., "Lead Isotope Analysis," 85–86, 90.

bichrome or polychrome ware with curvilinear and naturalistic designs.[45] Painted representations of humans and birds, sometimes interpreted as ostriches, are characteristic.[46] The pottery is distributed in larger quantities at sites in the Arabah Valley, and its appearance in the Edomite highlands is minimal. Earlier evaluations of this pottery type suggested a context entirely in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages.[47] Recent investigators in northern Arabia and in southern Jordan have identified Qurayyah ware in contexts at Tall al Khalayfi (six sherds), Tawilan (one sherd), Barqa al Hattiye, and at Khirbat an Nahas, among material that is likely dated to the ninth through seventh centuries BCE.[48] This suggests that although this

---

45. Hendrix, Drey, and Storfjell, *Ancient Pottery of Transjordan*, 146–47. For a recent discussion of Qurayyah ware, see Lily Singer-Avitz, "The Date of the Qurayyah Painted Ware in the Southern Levant," *AO* 12 (2014): 123–48.

46. Juan Manuel Tebes, "The Symbolic and Social World of the Qurayyah Pottery Iconography," in Tebes, *Unearthing the Wilderness*, 163–201.

47. Beno Rothenberg and J. Glass, "The Midianite Pottery," in *Midian, Moab and Edom: The History and Archaeology of Late Bronze and Iron Age Jordan and Northwest Arabia*, ed. John F. A. Sawyer and David J. A. Clines, JSOTSup 24 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983), 65–124; Garth Bawden, "Continuity and Disruption in the Ancient Hejaz: An Assessment of Current Archaeological Strategies," *AAE* 3 (1992): 1–22; Christopher Edens and Garth Bawden, "History of Tayma and Hejazi Trade during the First Millennium BC," *JESHO* 32 (1989): 48–103; cf. Peter J. Parr, "The Early History of the Hejaz: A Response to Garth Bawden," *AAE* 4 (1992): 48–58; Parr, "Edom and the Hejaz," in Bienkowski, *Early Edom and Moab*, 41–46; Bimson and Tebes, "Timna Revisited," 85–90; Marta Luciani, "Pottery from the 'Midianite Heartland'? On Tell Kheleifeh and Qurayyah Painted Ware: New Evidence from the Harvard Semitic Museum," in *To the Madbar and Back Again: Studies in the Languages, Archaeology, and Cultures of Arabia Dedicated to Michael C. A. Macdonald*, ed. Laïla Nehmé and Ahmad al-Jallad, SSLL 92 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 392–438; Andrea Intilia, "Qurayyah Painted Ware: A Reassessment of 40 Years of Research on Its Origins, Chronology and Distribution," in *The Archaeology of North Arabia: Oases and Landscapes: Proceedings of the International Congress Held at the University of Vienna, 5–8 December, 2013*, ed. Marta Luciani, OREA 4 (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2016), 175–255.

48. For a review of Qurayyah ware in Edom, see Singer-Avitz, "Date of the Qurayyah Painted Ware," 132–35, Singer-Avitz, "Epilogue: The Dating of Qurayyah Painted Ware in the Southern Levant," in *The Ancient Pottery of Israel and Its Neighbors from the Middle Bronze Age through the Late Bronze Age, Volume 3*, ed. Seymour Gitin (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2019), 388–89; Bienkowski, "Iron Age Settlement in Edom," 261–63. For Tall al Khalayfi, see Practico, "Pottery," 49–50; for Tawilan, see Hart, "Pottery," 60; for Barqa al Hattiye, see Fritz, "Vorbericht über die Grabungen," 144–46, fig. 12. For Khirbat an Nahas, see Smith and Levy, "Iron Age

type of pottery was in use in the early Iron Age, it continued to be used throughout much of the Iron II period. It should be noted, however, that the data for an extended period of use for Qurayyah ware are limited and partial, and it is possible that sherds from later strata are residual or were reused specimens.[49] The relationship between Qurayyah ware and Edomite pottery has been somewhat problematic as they exhibit similar decorative patterns, but Tebes argues that these pottery traditions do have different places of origin and manufacturing techniques.[50]

2.2. A Survey of the Archaeology of Edom

The following survey of the major, published sites in Iron Age Edom attempts to classify the Iron Age remains in southern Jordan.[51] Some commonly identified categories, like sherd scatters, will not be discussed here since they are not well published and without more context yield little useful information. The categories discussed here include larger residential sites (above 1 ha in size), smaller residential sites (less than 1 ha in size), mountaintop settlements (distinguished by the location on nearly inaccessible mountains), agricultural sites (including isolated structures located on arable land), mining sites, towers (rectangular structures located on hilltops), and mortuary sites (with evidence of Iron Age burials). The epigraphic evidence and the major relevant artifacts, such as the lion-headed ivories from Tawilan, and the numerous worked and unworked cosmetic palettes, will be discussed in subsequent chapters.

2.2.1. Busayra: A Unique Edomite Site

Busayra has been extensively studied: it was initially excavated in the early 1970s by Bennett, surveyed by MacDonald in the early 2000s, and

---

Ceramics from Edom," in figs. 4.3:8; 4.4:7; 4.7:9; 4.8:7–8; 4.11:10; 4.16:4–8; 4.17:18; 4.20:9–10, 15–17; 4.22:9–10; 4.24:3; a sherd was possibly found at Ghrareh, see Hart, "Archaeology of the Land of Edom," 239, pl. 25.4.

    49. Singer-Avitz, "Date of the Qurayyah Painted Ware," 125, 137; Intilia, "Qurayyah Painted Ware," 215–17.

    50. Tebes in Bimson and Tebes, "Timna Revisited," 95–96.

    51. Sarah M. Harvey, "The Iron Age II Period in the Central Negev Highlands and Edom: A Comparison of Settlement Intensification and Land Exploitation" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1999).

excavated and surveyed by ground-penetrating radar in the mid 2010s by the Busayra Cultural Heritage Project.[52] Busayra is an 8.16 ha fortified site located about 3 km west of the major north-south trade route in the region.[53] Another route leads past Busayra as it enters the Wadi Dana and continues west into the Arabah near the Faynan mining area.[54] Busayra was established in an area that provided a natural defense, being situated on a spur surrounded by deep ravines on three sides and connected to a plateau on the south.[55] Busayra was the central site in Edom during the seventh and sixth centuries BCE and is unique among Edomite sites. It is one of the only walled sites in Edom; most other settlements were open and did not exhibit any substantial defensive structures. There were numerous ostraca and seals found, suggesting Busayra's administrative function. The palace and temple on the acropolis were likely the location for the administration of Edom, regardless of the strength or size of that bureaucracy.

A perimeter wall surrounded Busayra and parts of the wall were uncovered in Areas B and H. Excavations in Area A focused on much of Busayra's upper town (this area was called the acropolis by the excavators) and determined that the building in this area was built on an artificial platform that separated it from the domestic areas of the settlement. Domestic buildings surrounded the upper area to the west (Area B) and to the northeast (Areas D and DD), while excavations in Area C revealed a second monumental building that was not fully excavated. A recent

52. Bennett, "Excavations at Buseirah, Southern Jordan, 1971," 1–11; Bennett, "Excavations at Buseirah, Southern Jordan, 1972," 1–24; Bennett, "Excavations at Buseirah, Southern Jordan, 1973," 1–19; Bennett, "Excavations at Buseirah, Southern Jordan, 1974," 1–10; Bienkowski, *Busayra Excavations by Crystal-M. Bennett 1971–1980*; MacDonald, *Tafila-Busayra Archaeological Survey*; Glenn J. Corbett et al., "Archaeology in Jordan, 2012 and 2013 Seasons," *AJA* 118 (2014): 627–76; Stephanie H. Brown et al., "Newly Documented Domestic Architecture at Iron Age Busayra Jordan: Preliminary Results from a Geophysical Survey." *Antiquity* 90.350 (2016), https://tinyurl.com/SBL1733c.

53. The sizes of sites are listed as hectares (ha), which is common within archaeological reports; 1 ha is roughly equivalent to 2.5 acres.

54. Erez Ben-Yosef, Mohammad Najjar, and Thomas E. Levy, "Local Iron Age Trade Routes in Northern Edom from the Faynan Copper Ore District to the Highlands," in Levy et al., *New Insights into the Iron Age Archaeology of Edom*, 2:493–575.

55. Burton MacDonald, "The Hinterland of Busayra," in Bienkowski, *Busayra Excavations by Crystal-M. Bennett 1971–1980*, 51–52.
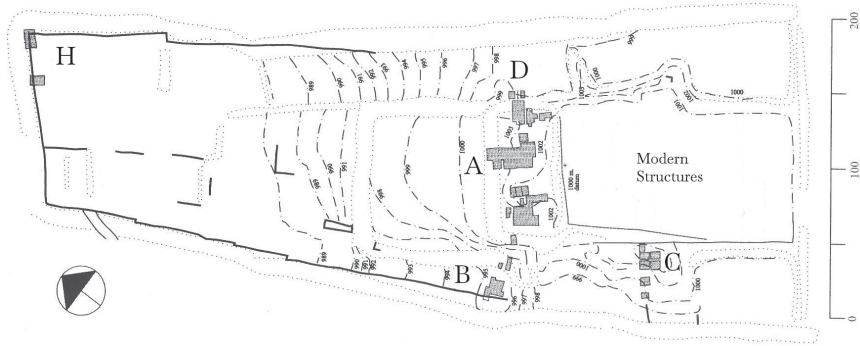
Fig. 2.3. Plan of Busayra. Adapted from Bienkowski, *Busayra Excavations*, fig. 1.2. Area A: possible temple; Area B: gate complex; Area C: palatial building; Area D: domestic structures; Area H: fortification wall.

geo-physical survey identified what appears to be additional residential structures as well as a large rectilinear structure between Areas C and B that is likely a continuation of the Area C monumental complex.[56]

There is little available evidence to date the occupation of Busayra. The ceramic analysis suggests that its earliest occupation began in the late eighth century BCE. Two radiocarbon dates obtained from Area DD by the Busayra Cultural Heritage Project confirm occupation dates ranging from the late eighth century BCE through the mid sixth century BCE.[57] A poorly inscribed seal was found outside the wall in Area B, its paleography dates to the late eighth or early seventh century BCE.[58] Other epigraphic evidence appears to support this period as the time of most intense use of the administrative site of Busayra.[59]

---

56. Brown et al., "Newly Documented Domestic Architecture at Iron Age Busayra." Some of the results of these excavations are published in Stephanie H. Brown, "Dining under Assyrian Rule: Foodways in Iron Age Edom," in *Imperial Peripheries in the Neo-Assyrian Period*, ed. Craig W. Tyson and Virginia R. Herrmann (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2018), 150–76.

57. I would like to thank Stephanie Brown for providing the data from the C14 analysis. A barley seed (DD49 L15 SG18) was dated to 690–545 BCE and a grape seed (DD54 L5) was dated to 765–515 BCE.

58. André Lemaire, "Note on an Edomite Seal-Impression from Buseirah," *Levant* 7 (1975): 18–19. The seal is treated in ch. 3.

59. See Emile Puech, "Documents épigraphiques de Buseirah," *Levant* 9 (1977): 11–20; Alan Millard, "Inscribed Material," in Bienkowski, *Busayra Excavations by Crystal-M. Bennett 1971–1980*, 429–39.

The upper town (Area A) preserved one large building, possibly a temple.[60] The area of this building is about 2,325 m² and was constructed on a 2–4 m high artificial platform or podium. The main building (76.5 x 38 m) had two inner courtyards and two wings with a series of smaller rooms around it.[61] In the middle of the plastered courtyard was a circular stone-lined cistern about 5 m in diameter associated with two drains. At one end of the courtyard were two stone bases, one on each side of the entrance. On the southwest side of the courtyard was an entrance to a narrow, plastered room with two stone podiums and copper alloy chair fittings. After a localized fire, traces of which were found around the steps and in the narrow plastered room, there was a phase of rebuilding and construction of new walls that separated rooms, making smaller spaces. In the absence of direct evidence, Bienkowski suggested that the building was partially destroyed by Nabonidus in 551 BCE and subsequently rebuilt.[62]

The precise function of this building is unclear. Bienkowski provided five reasons to support the interpretation that the building functioned as a temple.[63] First, he considers another building, in Area C, as the palatial structure at Busayra. Second, the long, plastered room that one entered from the courtyard has been considered a cult place in similar buildings that were interpreted as temples.[64] Third, a flight of steps flanked by bases that could support statues or cult objects are also found at several sites in Israel, Syria, and Mesopotamia. Fourth,

---

60. Bennett suggested that there were two phases of construction for this building: Building B was constructed in the seventh century BCE, and Building A was built in the sixth century or even later. P. M. Michèle Daviau ("Diversity in the Cultic Setting: Temples and Shrines in Central Jordan and the Negev," in *Temple Building and Temple Cult: Architecture and Cultic Paraphernalia of Temples in the Levant [2.– 1. Mill. B.C.E.]; Proceedings of a Conference on the Occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the Institute of Biblical Archaeology at the University of Tübingen [28–30 May 2010]*, ed. Jens Kamlah, ADPV 41 [Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012], 435–58); and Margreet Steiner ("Iron Age Cultic Sites in Transjordan," *Religions* 10.3 [2019], DOI: 10.3390/rel10030145) suggest that the building is better considered a more general administrative building due to the minimal religious artifacts discovered in the building.

61. Bienkowski, *Busayra Excavations by Crystal-M. Bennett 1971–1980*, 71–72.

62. Bienkowski, *Busayra Excavations by Crystal-M. Bennett 1971–1980*, 477–78. For the campaign of Nabonidus in Edom, see Bradley L. Crowell, "Nabonidus, as-Silaʿ, and the Beginning of the End of Edom," *BASOR* 348 (2007): 75–88.

63. Bienkowski, *Busayra Excavations by Crystal-M. Bennett 1971–1980*, 94–95.

64. These buildings are often considered to represent a level of Assyrian influence. This issue will be discussed below, in section 2 of ch. 9.

like Temple Complex 650 at Tel Miqne, this building contained a large number of characteristic storage vessels. In the case of Busayra, long cylindrical jars (jar E) served in such a capacity. Finally, the small rooms in the southwest wing of the building were probably storage rooms that could have served as an administrative annex to a temple, like Building 3002 at Hazor. Related to the religious interpretation of the building is a group of hollow statues that Glueck collected during surface surveys. Unfortunately the locations were not recorded.[65]

A domestic area (Area B) extends to the west from Area A to the gate of the enclosure wall, which still stands to 3.8 m. The domestic buildings between the upper town and the wall date to the early seventh century BCE. Three rooms with plastered stone walls and a tabun were discovered inside of the wall. In these rooms excavators found worked shells, whetstones, weights, and loom weights. Outside the wall an inscribed seal (*mlk b'l 'bd hmlk*, see ch. 4) and an Egyptian-style faience vessel were located.[66] A particularly interesting feature of this area is a tunnel leading to two rock-cut chambers with plastered walls, ceilings, and floors. Some paint was identified on the walls, but no form could be determined. The tunnel seemed to go under the wall, but excavation there was not continued.[67]

In Area C, south of the Area A temple, was a second monumental building (about 624 m²). Like the building in Area A, this building was constructed on an artificial platform. The area was not fully excavated, but the excavator did suggest that there was continuity in building style between the building in the upper town and the one in Area C. The building (called the Area C Complex) was probably a small palace.[68] It had a plastered reception room or courtyard, a stone paved storage area

---

65. For these statues, see Glueck, *Explorations in Eastern Palestine, III*, fig. 19; and Lankester Harding, "Some Objects from Transjordan," *PEQ* 69 (1937): 253, pl. 9.1. See recently, Daviau, "Diversity in the Cultic Setting," 440–41. For the terracotta figurines, see Regine Hunziker-Rodewald and Peter Fornaro, "RTI Images for Documentation in Archaeology: The Case of the Iron Age Female Terracotta Figurines from Buşayra, Jordan," *JEMAHS* 7 (2019): 188–204.

66. It is unclear what is inscribed on this faience vessel. Kenneth Kitchen suggested to Millard (Millard, "Inscribed Material," 429) that the signs read *sbk-r'* (Sobek-Re) followed by a lotus flower, but Kitchen also informed Sedman (Leonie Sedman, "The Small Finds," in Bienkowski, *Busayra Excavations by Crystal-M. Bennett 1971–1980*, 264) that it was too fragmentary to read and only the signs *d* over *i/y* were visible.

67. Bienkowski, *Busayra Excavations by Crystal-M. Bennett 1971–1980*, 126–28.

68. Bienkowski, *Busayra Excavations by Crystal-M. Bennett 1971–1980*, 199.

with a plastered bin, and a bathroom. The most distinctive feature of the building is the bathroom, which consisted of a plastered toilet, bath, and steps leading into the room. The building has features similar to palatial buildings at Dhiban, Amman, Megiddo (Building 1369), and possibly Assyrian palaces.[69]

To the northeast of Area A is another residential area (Area D). Only two small trenches were excavated, but a large amount of painted Edomite pottery was found. Additional excavations in this section (Area DD) confirmed the domestic nature of this part of Busayra.[70] Finally, Area H was opened to determine the extent and nature of the fortification wall. In the northeast corner of Area H, a massive wall (4 m wide) was initially constructed in the Iron Age.

The pottery assemblage at Busayra consists almost entirely of seventh and sixth century BCE Edomite pottery, although there were some Persian-period sherds found on the surface of the site. In Area C, Bienkowski identified some stylistic development in the pottery assemblage.[71] In the earliest phase (late eighth and early seventh century BCE) painted Edomite pottery was already present. In later phases, imitation Assyrian bowls (type K) and cooking pots (type D) were found among the typical Edomite ware. While the sample is small, this does suggest that there was some development in the pottery assemblage and that the imitation Assyrian ware began to appear at Busayra in the seventh century BCE.

2.2.2. Large Residential Sites

The category of "large residential settlement" is defined as a site with evidence of a settlement over an area of 1 ha (10,000 m^2) in size. Although this criterion for large residential sites is arbitrary, it does provide a marker that distinguishes larger sites from smaller and sometimes more ephemeral residential sites.[72] Two excavated sites from Iron Age Edom can be identified as large residential sites (Tawilan and Ghrara) and eleven

---

69. See Bienkowski, *Busayra Excavations by Crystal-M. Bennett 1971–1980*, 199; and below in ch. 9.

70. See Brown et al., "Newly Documented Domestic Architecture at Iron Age Busayra"; and Brown, "Dining under Assyrian Rule," 163–71.

71. Bienkowski, Oakeshott, and Berlin, "Pottery," 351

72. Harvey, "Iron Age II Period in the Central Negev Highlands and Edom," 224–26.

surveyed sites could possibly be included in this category.[73] Common features of these sites include wall foundations, cisterns, and residential dwellings. The sites range in size from around 2.5 ha (Tawilan) to just over 1 ha (Ghrara).

Table 2.4. Large residential sites

Site Name	Size	Brief Description	Survey
Umm ar Rih	4.38 ha	Remnants of walls, possible towers, and caves nearby. Pottery is predominantly Iron Age.	WHS
al-Addanin	1.6 ha	Foundation walls in a 100 x 100 m area. Pottery is predominantly Iron Age.	WHS
Kh. Abu Banna	1.23 ha	Rooms, building foundations. Walls remain to 1–2 m	WHS
Kh. al Fatat	1.88 ha	Numerous structures over a large area.	
ad Dayr	2.0 ha	25 x 10 m structure with three rooms.	
al Mabra	2.0 ha	Over forty structures or rooms. Probes exposed olive press, grinding stones, bedrock mortar and basin, millstone.	WHS
Kh. at Tuwanah	1.13 ha	Iron Age remains near a wadi. Large Roman site.	
Kh. Shamakh	1.25 ha	Walls, Iron II pottery.	L2HE
Grayyat Mansur	3.75 ha	Larger village, possible outpost.	L2HE
Kh. am Malay-qtah	1.05 ha	Walls and rooms, loom weights.	L2HE
Kh. al Kur	1.13 ha	Walls, Iron II pottery.	L2HE

----

73. Seven sites in the Wadi al Hasa and one on the northern Edomite plateau could possibly be defined as larger residential sites with Iron Age remains. These sites were surveyed by MacDonald (*Wadi el Hasa Archaeological Survey*). Sites between Busayra and the lowlands of Edom were surveyed by Neil G. Smith, Mohammad Najjar, and Thomas E. Levy ("New Perspectives on the Iron Age Edom Steppe and Highlands: Khirbat al-Malayqtah, Khirbat al-Kur, Khirbat al-Iraq Shmaliya, and Tawilan," in Levy et al., *New Insights into the Iron Age Archaeology of Edom*, 1:247–95).

The larger residential sites provide evidence for domestic architecture in Edom. The domestic units at these sites were typically small stone houses with packed clay or plaster floors. Some larger domestic structures, such as a building with a courtyard and corner towers at Ghrara, also may have had a public function. The small finds excavated from within the residential structures help identify some of the domestic activities of the occupants and include spindle whorls and loom weights, which were used for textile manufacture, and bronze needles, which were used for sewing. Personal items such as cosmetic palettes and decorated shells were found at several of the large residential sites. Agricultural tools, saddle querns, and grinding stones were also common at these sites and were used in grain production.

2.2.2.1. Tawilan

Tawilan is a 2.45 ha site located about 2 km northwest of Ayn Musa on an arable terrace at the western foot of Jabal Hidan. Bennett excavated Tawilan in the late 1960s, but the findings were not fully published until 1995, when Bienkowski, who worked on the excavation with Bennett, collected and revised her field reports.[74] During Bennett's excavations six areas were investigated, three with significant Iron Age remains. Tawilan was an open, unfortified village that dated to the seventh and sixth centuries BCE.[75] Most of the architectural evidence from Tawilan was domestic in nature and included several long, narrow stone houses and three domestic complexes with three or more rooms each. The material culture of Tawilan is predominantly domestic and agricultural, indicating that food preparation, textile manufacture, animal herding, and crop cultivation were common activities in the settlement.

---

74. See Bennett and Bienkowski, *Excavations at Tawilan in Southern Jordan*. For the initial field reports, see Bennett, "Tawilan (Jordanie)," *RB* 76, 386–90; Bennett, "Tawilan (Jordanie)," *RB* 77, 371–74; Bennett, "Brief Note on Excavations at Tawilan," v–viii.

75. The stratigraphy and ceramic typography were confirmed by a probe of the site by the Lowlands to Highlands of Edom Project survey in 2007. Radiocarbon samples collected suggest Tawilan might have been established earlier, perhaps in the late ninth century BCE, although only two samples were studied. For the 2007 probe, see Smith, Najjar, and Levy, "New Perspectives on the Iron Age Edom Steppe and Highlands," 247–95.
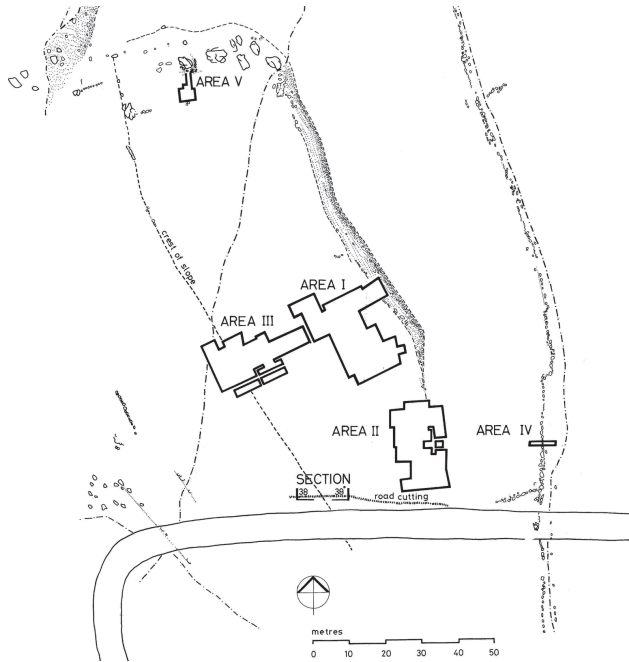
Fig. 2.4. Plan of Tawilan, adapted from Crystal-M. Bennett and Piotr Bienkowski, eds., Excavations at Tawilan in Southern Jordan, British Academy Monographs in Archaeology 8 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), figs. 1.5 and 12.

In Area I, three complexes of buildings made of dry-stone walls were excavated. These units were probably houses roofed with plaster. The excavations in Area II uncovered two major building complexes, identified by the excavators as the Northern and Southern Complexes. The Northern Complex was the earliest and was constructed of dry-stone masonry and mud-bricks. Storage bins were located within the complex and eight pits were dug outside the building. A pillared room within the Northern Complex had three aisles separated by pillars. After the construction of the Northern Complex, the Southern Complex was built and four rooms were identified within this complex.

Area III is located on the western edge of the plateau. Partition walls were constructed on stone fill and bedrock. The walls were one course wide and irregularly sized, these walls would not have been able to support much weight. The major building activity in this area consisted of a square building with large foundation stones. The building had doorways, circulation spaces, and even steps to compensate for the changes in the

level of the bedrock. Fine painted pottery was found along with common domestic ware.

The small finds at Tawilan also point to the domestic nature of the settlement. The pottery at Tawilan was primarily wheel-made Edomite pottery, although there was also a significant amount of Negev ware. Faunal remains suggest that the inhabitants consumed and used shellfish and that they raised sheep and goats (80 percent of the sample) and some cattle (15 percent). Most of the small finds were related to food preparation (about 45 percent) or textile production (about 22 percent). Rare artifacts found at Tawilan include a gold jewelry hoard, cosmetic pallets, a stone incense altar, and an ivory lion's head resembling ivory works from Nimrud. A cuneiform tablet (see more in ch. 3) recording a live-stock transaction, probably at Harran in northeastern Syria, was found in a later abandoned level.[76]

2.2.2.2. Ghrara

West of Rujm al Niswan on a spur at the head of the Wadi Dilagha is the 1 ha settlement of Ghrara. This seventh to sixth century BCE site is located about 1 km east of a primary water source at Ayn ar Risays, where Iron Age sherds were also found. Stephen Hart excavated five areas, including a central building, tombs, and an enclosure.[77] The central building (Area A) measures 15 x 20 m and was constructed of large limestone blocks of over 1 m each. A line of pillars divided a central courtyard with adjoining rooms to the west and south. North of the courtyard was a raised area overlaid with stones. The southern rooms probably functioned as a cooking area with access to a cistern that was dug under the rooms in the southeastern corner. Finds in this building included a cosmetic palette, querns and grindstones, decorated spindle whorls, jewelry, iron tools, and an inscribed sherd (unpublished; it bears the name Ram'il), and a piece of plaster possibly preserving some cuneiform signs.[78]

---

76. Stephanie Dalley, "The Cuneiform Tablet," in Bennett and Bienkowski, *Excavations at Tawilan in Southern Jordan*, 67–68.

77. Stephen Hart, "Excavations at Ghrareh, 1986: Preliminary Report," *Levant* 20 (1988): 89–99.

78. The seal is referenced in Hart's report ("Excavations at Ghrareh") but not published.

In Area B, near the enclosure wall, there were two robbed tombs with circular chambers. There were also mud-brick hearths in an open area. About 2.5 m behind the outer wall (in Area C) was a parallel wall with a doorway; this may be evidence for a casemate type of construction, although excavation did not definitively prove this. Area D consisted of an entrance into the settlement that was protected by a tower. The enclosure wall was definitely not a casemate construction at this point. These remains indicate that Ghrara was the major site in the northern part of the southern Edomite mountains. Its location near the route to the Wadi Arabah made it a strategically placed settlement.

2.2.3. Small Residential Sites

This category is similar to the large residential sites, except the size of the sites varies between 0.1 ha and 1 ha.[79] Three small residential sites have been excavated (Khirbat Ishra, Khirbat Mughayta, and Khirbat Mu'allaq) and thirty possible sites were identified in surveys.[80] The residential dwellings are sometimes clustered but are also found in isolation. It is this characteristic that specifically separates the small residential sites from the category of agricultural sites. The small residential sites all have evidence of multiple houses and domestic activities, while agricultural sites usually consist of single buildings located in arable regions. Common features at the small residential sites include tabuns, cisterns, grinding stones, terrace walls, and pens or enclosures for animals. These features and artifacts suggest that the sites were used for agricultural as well as pastoral activities.

Table 2.5. Representative small residential sites[81]

Site Name	Size	Brief Description	Survey ID
Rujm Muhawish	0.25 ha	Small building with narrow structures (4–5 m wide) evidence of terraces and caves	WHS 248

---

79. Harvey, "Iron Age II Period in the Central Negev Highlands and Edom," 237.

80. Approximately thirty surveyed sites might qualify as smaller residential sites during the Iron Age. Some of these sites, like WHS 615 and Khirbat al Mansuriya, might be important for understanding this type of site in Edom.

81. The table is representative only. Most sites that are part of this category are known only from surveys and do not have adequate area measurements or descriptions.

Rujm Ja'is	0.18 ha	Foundation walls, possible tower (9 x 9 m) on eastern side of site	WHS 311
WHS 615	0.78 ha	Walls of unhewn stones, one building was 30 x 30 m. Second structure was 15–20 m in length.	WHS 615
WHS 647	0.15 ha	Remains of three buildings with walls about 1 m thick	WHS 647
Kh. al Mughayta	0.64 ha	See below	
Kh. al Mu'allaq	0.38 ha	See below	

2.2.3.1. Khirbat al Mughayta

Located 2 km west of as-Sadaqa and Rujm Sadaqa is the Iron II site of Khirbat al Mughayta (0.64 ha). Hart carried out soundings and found three large enclosure walls divided by internal walls. Down the slope to the east, beside the nearby wadi channel, are remains of several buildings and a dam across the wadi, indicating an agricultural function.[82] An open pool or large cistern lies on the eastern side of the site near a small animal enclosure. Upstream several walls channeled water to the cistern. There is evidence for shelters and animal pens at the site, as well as a number of cisterns for water collection.[83]

2.2.3.2. Khirbat al Muʿallaq

Khirbat al Muʿallaq, a 0.38 ha site, is dated to the eighth through sixth centuries BCE based on pottery analysis. The settlement is located about 6 km south of Wadi Musa.[84] The site is close to four springs, the closest being ʿAyn Muʿallaq, about 115 m to the southeast. The ruins cover an area measuring 60 x 48 m. The walls are constructed from roughly cut lime-

---

82. Beckers, Berking, and Schütt, "Ancient Water Harvesting Methods in the Drylands," 153–55.

83. Stephen Hart, "Five Soundings in Southern Jordan," *Levant* 19 (1987): 42–45.

84. Manfred Lindner, Ernst A. Knauf, and J. P. Zeitler, "An Edomite Fortress and a Late Islamic Village Near Petra (Jordan): Khirbat al-Muʿallaq," *ADAJ* 40 (1996): 111–35.

Fig. 2.5. Plan of Khirbat al Mughayta. Adapted from Stephen Hart, "Five Soundings in Southern Jordan," *Levant* 19 (1987): fig. 10.

stone with some sandstone ashlars. The exterior wall is doubled to a width of 1.5 m. Inside the enclosure, walls that form the rooms are doubled to a width of 0.9 m. The artifacts (millstones, querns, storage jars, and sheep, goat, and cattle bones) and features (tabuns, fire pits) discovered at the site suggest an agricultural function, with fertile area to the east of the site. Khirbat al Muʿallaq is an agricultural village with evidence for the collection and processing of produce gathered from the surrounding area.

2.2.4. Mountaintop Settlements

Five sites, all of which were at least partially excavated, can be categorized as mountaintop settlements: Umm al Biyara, Baʿja III, as Sila, Jabal al Qusayr, and Umm al Ala.[85] This type of settlement is found in the steep

---

85. Only two of the most extensively excavated and published mountaintop settlements will be described here. For as-Sila, see Stephan Hart, "Selaʿ: The Rock of Edom?" *PEQ* 118 (1986): 91–95; Crowell, "Nabonidus, as-Silaʿ," 75–88; Rocío Da Riva,
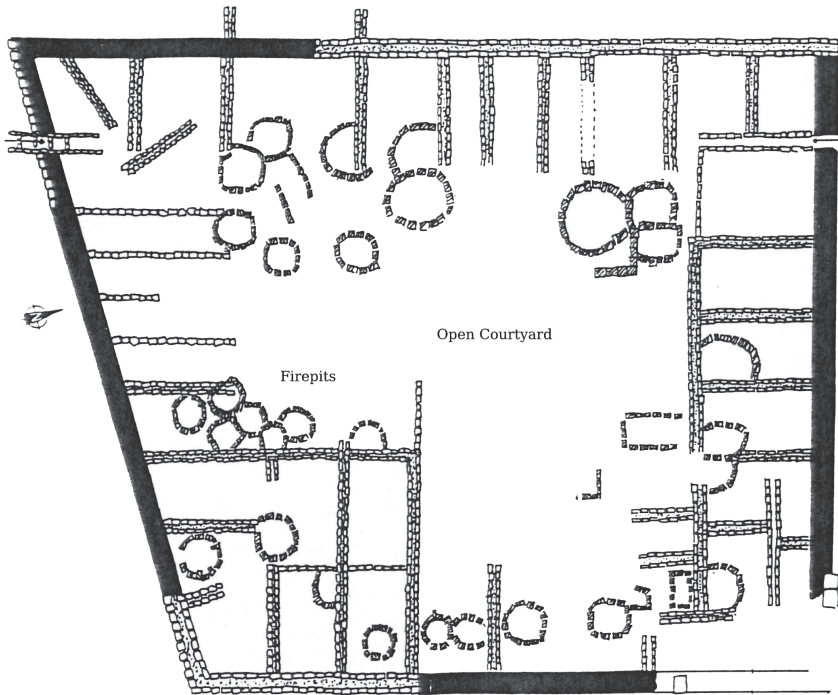
Fig. 2.6. Plan of Khirbat al Mu'allaq, adapted from Manfred Lindner, Ernst A. Knauf, and J. P. Zeitler, "An Edomite Fortress and a Late Islamic Village Near Petra (Jordan): Khirbat al-Mu'allaq," *ADAJ* 40 (1996): fig. 7.

sandstone mountains surrounding the area of Petra as well as running along the steep wadi courses extending from the plateaus westward to the Wadi Arabah, as in the case of Qurayat Mansur.[86] Typologically, these sites are linked by their similar locations on nearly inaccessible mountains, their

---

"El yacimiento de Sela (Jordania): La expansión imperial neo-babilónica en el altiplano de Edom a mediados del I milenio a.C.," *Historiae* 13 (2016): 31–39. For Umm al Ala, see Manfred Lindner et al., "Es-Sadeh—A Lithic-Early Bronze Iron II (Edomite)– Nabataean Site in Southern Jordan: Report on the Second Exploratory Campaign, 1988," *ADAJ* 34 (1990): 193–237. For Jabal al Qusayr, see Lindner, Knauf, and Zeitler, "Edomite Fortress and a Late Islamic Village Near Petra," 111–35.

86. Qurayat Mansur was surveyed in 2009 in the Wadi al-Feidh survey (this site was given the survey number 116), see Knabb, Najjar, and Levy, "Characterizing the Rural Landscape," 371–73. Qurayat Mansur was also briefly excavated by Hübner, see Ulrich Hübner, "Qurayyāt el-Manṣūr und Ḫirbet el-Faiḍ in Südjordanien," *ZDPV* 120 (2004): 141–56.

architecture, and their material remains. Many of the dwellings consisted of walls with a central hole dug into the bedrock located in the middle of the dwelling. These holes were likely for a pole that either supported a roof or tent-like structure. Each site also has long, narrow structures that were probably used for agricultural storage. Near each settlement is some evidence for the use of agricultural terraces. Finally, there is a common pottery repertoire at these sites with no evidence of Edomite painted ware, Assyrian-style pottery, or other types of fine ware.[87] This assemblage has a high percentage of coarsely made storage vessels and domestic wares—storage jars, cooking pots, bowls, and jugs predominate.

Although the function of the mountaintop settlements and their relation to the Edomite polity centered at Busayra is difficult to determine, their location on nearly inaccessible mountaintops and their pottery assemblages that varied from the northern Edomite assemblage at Busayra suggest that there may have been conflict or at least a lack of unity between the two regions. Ernst Axel Knauf proposed that each of the mountaintop settlements was a "citadel" of individual tribes and that there was opposition between the "state" centered at Busayra and the groups that occupied these sites.[88] It is possible that as the elite at Busayra interacted with the Assyrian Empire and attempted to distinguish themselves and increase their status and wealth by means of those connections, other tribal groups resisted such pressures and established the mountaintop settlements to avoid attempts by the elite to control the area. Their location in the southern portion of Edom, near the trade routes through the Wadi Musa, suggests that they may have raided the caravans coming from the Arabian Peninsula. The occupants and function of the mountaintop settlements remain somewhat enigmatic. Perhaps they were centers of resistance against the Busayra elite, the Assyrians, or both.[89] On the other hand, they could have

---

87. See Zeitler, " 'Edomite' Pottery from the Petra Region," 167–76; Lindner et al., "Es-Sadeh," 193–237.

88. See Ernst Axel Knauf, "Edom: The Social and Economic History," in Edelman, *You Shall Not Abhor an Edomite*, 93–117.

89. Survey data in the Petra region suggest two other possible settlements or at least habitations. One is along the terraced fields north of the Petra area surveyed by the Petra Area and Wadi Silaysil Survey. This survey also identified a high Iron Age sherd concentration on the northern edge of the Islamic village of Bayda. See Alex R. Knodell et al., "The Brown University Petra Archaeological Project: Landscape Archaeology in the Northern Hinterland of Petra, Jordan," *AJA* 121 (2017): 621–83; and Susan E. Alcock and Alex R. Knodell, "Landscapes North of Petra: The

been occupied by local tribal affiliates whom the Busayra elite employed to protect the trade routes against other raiding tribes or bandits.

2.2.4.1. Umm al Biyara

Umm al Biyara is located on a large plateau on a nearly inaccessible mountain plateau overlooking the Wadi Musa and the Nabataean settlement at Petra.[90] The only entry is a narrow passage with foot holes carved on the southeastern side of the mountain. Bennett excavated a total of 700 m^2, less than one-third of the site, finding a group of at least ten long corridor rooms with small square rooms projecting off the corridor rooms. A later evaluation of Bennett's excavations by Katherine Baxter suggests that the structures were likely shared space for close kin groups with some demarcated areas that were more private and secure.[91] The domestic pottery assemblage consisted of bowls, storage vessels, and some painted ware, loom weights, spindle whorls, and cosmetic palettes.[92] In some areas specific items were clustered in areas, suggesting some level of specialization of production. For example, fifty-seven of the sixty-two loom weights discovered at the site were clustered in two adjacent rooms in a complex on the eastern side of the site.[93] In one of the rooms, excavators recovered an inscribed royal seal impression of Qaus-gabar, a known king of Edom. Other alphabetic epigraphic finds include an ostracon, a stamped jar, and

---

Petra Area and Wādī Silaysil Survey (Brown University Petra Archaeological Project, 2010–2011)," *PSAS* 42 (2012): 5–15.

90. The original excavation reports for this site include Bennett, "Fouilles d'Umm el-Biyara," 372–403; Bennett, "Notes and News," 123–26, pl. 30, Bienkowski later completed the full publication of those excavations; see Bienkowski *Umm al-Biyara*. Excavations were again undertaken in the mid 2010s by Piotr Bienkowski and Stephan Schmidt, but they focus on the Nabataean structures on the mountain. See Stephen Schmidt and Piotr Bienkowski, "IUBP—The International Umm al-Biyara Project," www.auac.ch/iubp/. See the preliminary excavation reports by Bienkowski, "International Umm al-Biyara Project, 2012," *PEQ* 145 (2013): 72; Bienkowski, "International Umm al-Biyara Project, 2013," *PEQ* 145 (2013): 252–53; Bienkowski, "International Umm al-Biyara Project, 2014," *PEQ* 147 (2015): 338–39.

91. Katherine Baxter, "The Stratigraphy," in Bienkowski, *Umm al-Biyara*, 11–47.

92. For the pottery assemblage, see Bienkowski, "Pottery," 55–78. For the small finds, see Piotr Bienkowski, "The Small Finds," in Bienkowski, *Umm al-Biyara*, 93–105.

93. Katherine Baxter, "A Home High in the Mountains: The Use of Space in Umm al-Biyara," in Bienkowski, *Umm al-Biyara*, 51–52.

Fig. 2.7. Overview of Umm al Biyara. Adapted from the 1965 drawing by G. D. Sykes reproduced in Bienkowski, *Umm al-Biyara*, fig. 1.4.
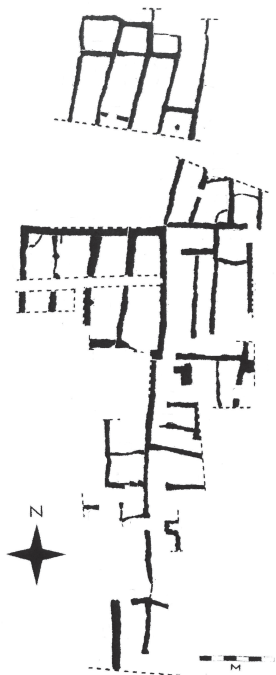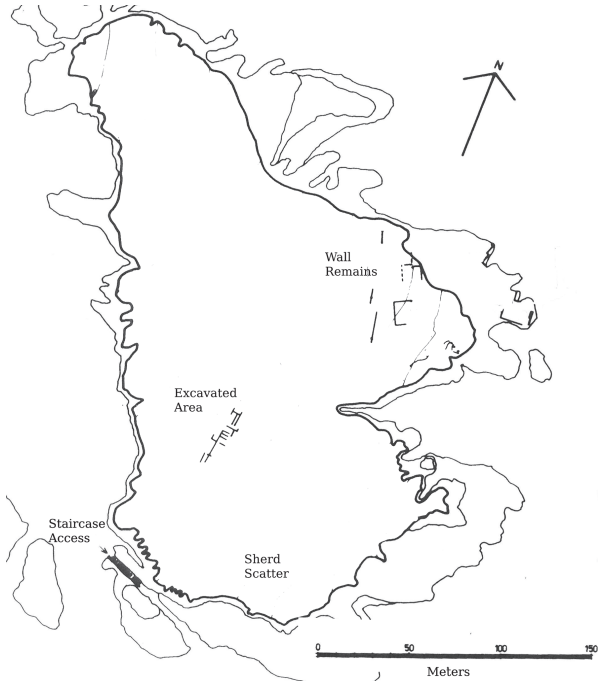

Fig. 2.8. Excavated Iron Age area of Umm al Biyara, adapted from Katherine Baxter, "A Home High in the Mountains: The Use of Space in Umm al-Biyara," in Bienkowski, *Umm al-Biyara*, fig. 2.2.

an inscribed weight. Based on the seal impression of Qaus-gabar and the pottery assemblage, the site has been dated to the first half of the seventh century BCE, although Bennett's attempt to determine phases at the site was ultimately unsuccessful.[94]

2.2.4.2. Baʿja III

Baʿja III (one of several clustered sites named Baʿja) was occupied intermittently from the Pre-pottery Neolithic through the Ottoman period.[95] The settlement at Baʿja III is situated on top of a large rock massif and it is nearly inaccessible except by means of ladders, rock-cut steps, and ropes. The site has numerous rock-cut basins, platforms cut out of the rock, structural walls, terracing walls, water basins, six plastered cisterns, and wine or olive presses. Many of the platforms had a central hole cut into the rock, which was probably designed for the central post of a tent-like structure, like the similar features at Umm al Biyara. Although much of the focus of the excavations at Baʿja III has been the Late Pre-Pottery Neolithic remains, the seventh through sixth century BCE pottery assemblage consisted of cooking pots and storage jars made of coarse material, which in turn clearly demonstrates occupation during the Iron II period.[96]

2.2.5. Tall al Khalayfi: An Edomite Trading Center or an Assyrian Outpost?

Tall al Khalayfi is a unique site among the typology of Edomite sites. It is a 0.48 ha site located 500 m north of the shoreline of the Gulf of Aqaba near the modern boundary between Israel and Jordan. While Glueck identified six major periods of occupation beginning in the twelfth century BCE and extending into the eighth century BCE, a reevaluation by Gary D. Pratico suggested only two major architectural phases, between the eighth and early sixth centuries BCE.[97] The first phase was a casemate fortress with a single

---

94. Bienkowski, "Umm el-Biyara, Tawilan and Buseirah in Retrospect," 95.

95. Hans-Dieter Bienert, Roland Lamprichs, and Dieter Vieweger, "Baʿja—The Archaeology of a Landscape: 9000 Years of Human Occupation; A Preliminary Report on the 1999 Field Season," *ADAJ* 44 (2000): 119–48.

96. See "The Baʿja Project" (www.exoriente.org/baja/) which gathers the preliminary reports and publications.

97. More recent probes suggest that Pratico's phasing might not be correct and that it might be a single period site (see Marie-Louise Mussell, "Tell el-Kheleifeh," *ACOR*
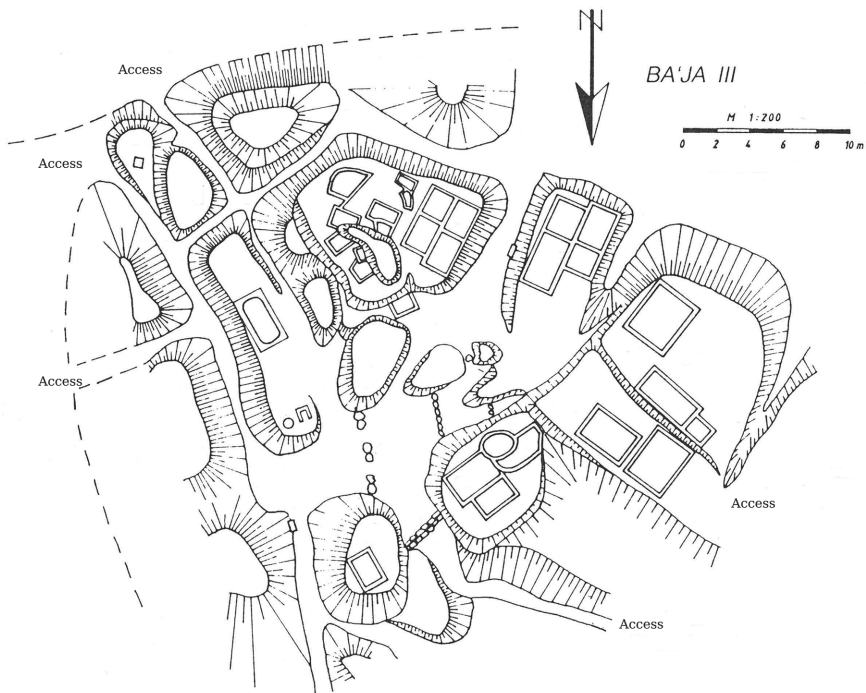
Fig. 2.9. Plan of Baʿja III. From Bienert, Lamprichs, and Vieweger, "Baʿja," fig. 6.

interior building. The entrance passed through a casemate on the southern wall of the fortress. The interior building measured 12.3 x 13.2 m with three large rectangular rooms and three square rooms at the northern end. Glueck dated this structure to the tenth century BCE based on a large quantity of Negevite ware, which he considered to be diagnostic. Unfortunately, he did not save the wheel-made pottery or diagnostic sherds, so analysis must be based on descriptions in Glueck's field notes referenced by Pratico. Pratico suggested that this stratum should be dated to the eighth century BCE, although his proposal cannot be confirmed with absolute confidence.[98]

Newsletter 11.1 [1999]: 5–6; and Mussell, "Tell el-Kheleifeh," *AJA* 104 [2000]: 577–78). For Pratico's publication of Glueck's excavations, *Nelson Glueck's 1938–1940 Excavations at Tell el-Kheleifeh*. Based on some of Mussell's observations, Luciani suggests there might have been an unrelated Late Bronze settlement at the location related to mining activities at Timna. See Luciani, "Pottery from the 'Midianite Heartland'?," 427–29.

98. Robert A. DiVito, "The Tell el-Kheleifeh Inscriptions," in Pratico, *Nelson Glueck's 1938–1940 Excavations at Tell el-Kheleifeh*, 51–64.

The casemate fortress was later replaced by a larger settlement with an offsets/insets wall and a four-chambered gateway. The settlement reused the earlier casemate fortress as an inner enclosure. The newer walls measure 56 m (north) x 59 m (east) x 59 m (south) x 63 m (west), and the walls were between 3.9 and 4.8 m thick. The gate complex was purposely aligned with the entrance of the earlier casemate. Foundational elements for a stairway to an upper level of the gate were located on the eastern side of the gate complex. Interior buildings were positioned between the newer wall and the earlier casemate wall. This level was in use between the eighth century BCE and the fourth century BCE. The date was determined by the presence of epigraphic ostraca and incised sherds with inscriptions written in a late Aramaic script found in the latest phase of occupation.[99]

Most scholars consider Tall al Khalayfi an Edomite site on the basis of the presence of Edomite pottery and the seal impressions of Qaus ʿanal. Nadav Naʾaman, however, has suggested that the site was one of a series of Assyrian outposts in the Negev established to control the trade routes.[100] The sites identified by Naʾaman as Assyrian "emporiums," founded in the late eighth century BCE under Sargon II, include Ruqeish, Blakhiye, Abu Salma, Rishon le-Zion, Tell Jemmeh, ʿEn Ḥaṣeva, and Tall al Khalayfi. In this view, Edomites would have garrisoned the fortresses at Tall al Khalayfi, while Judahites could have garrisoned fortresses like ʿEn Ḥaṣeva.[101] Several factors support the interpretation of this site as an Assyrian rather than an Edomite site. First, the site is over 100 km from the region of intense Edomite settlement. In the hyper-arid environment of the southeastern Wadi Arabah, between the Petra area and the Gulf of Aqaba, there is a remarkable lack of settlements and habitations during the Iron Age with the lone exception being Tall al Khalayfi, at the head of the Gulf of Aqaba.[102] Second, its construction date (late eighth cen-

---

99. The epigraphic material from Tall al Khalayfi is treated in more detail in ch. 4.

100. Naaman, "Assyrian Residence at Ramat Rahel?," 260–80. Israel Finkelstein also interprets the remains of his Phase C as from an Assyrian fortress related to other late eighth century BCE markers of Assyrian presence in the area, including En-Ḥaṣeva and Khirbat an Nahas ("The Archaeology of Tell el-Kheleifeh and the History of Ezion-Geber/Elath," *Sem* 56 [2014]: 105–36.) It should be noted that this interpretation does not follow the interpretations of the excavators of those sites.

101. See Israel Finkelstein, "Jeroboam II in Transjordan," *SJOT* 34 (2020): 19–29.

102. The Southeastern Araba Archaeological Survey (SAAS) identified only one area that had Iron Age remains, sherds, and perhaps a wall at the mouth of the Wadi Yutim. See Tina M. Niemi and Andrew M. Smith, "Initial Results of the Southeastern

tury BCE) coincides with the construction of the other well-established Assyrian fortresses in the Negev, such as Tell Qudadi, Rishon Letzion, Ashdod-Yam, and Tell Abu Salima.[103] Third, the overall similarity to the fortresses in the Negev (a square fortress with an offsets-insets outer wall, a gate, a large courtyard, and numerous smaller rooms) as well as its contrast with the design of most Edomite sites suggest that Tall al Khalayfi was Assyrian. Fourth, the site has a large assemblage of imitation Assyrian pottery. And finally, the distribution of Assyrian fortresses in the region indicates imperial interest in controlling the trade routes and Tall al Khalayfi is strategically located to monitor one of the possible routes leading to the Mediterranean. If Na'aman is correct, Tall al Khalayfi was a peripheral Assyrian outpost established in the late eighth century BCE, probably by Sargon II, to monitor and protect the trade route that ran from the Arabian Peninsula to the Beersheba Valley and then on to the Mediterranean coast.
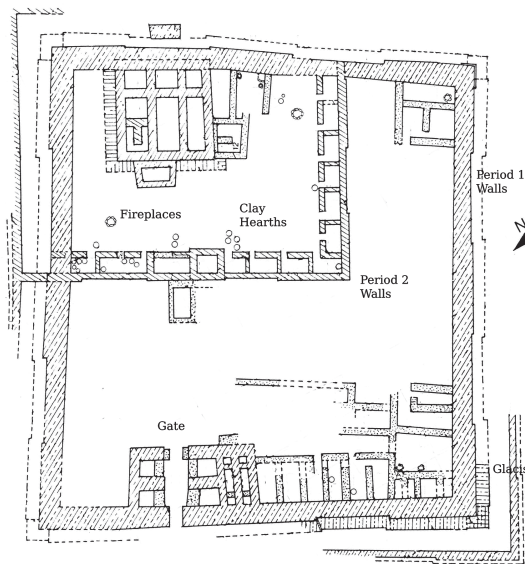
Fig. 2.10. Plan of Tall al Khalayfi. Adapted from Gary D. Pratico, *Nelson Glueck's 1938–1940 Excavations*, fig. 7.

Wadi Araba, Jordan Geoarchaeological Study: Implications for Shifts in Late Quaternary Aridity," *Geoarch* 14 (1999): 800.

103. See the analysis of Yifat Thareani, "The Empire and the 'Upper Sea': Assyrian Control Strategies along the Southern Levantine Coast," *BASOR* 375 (2016): 77–102.

2.2.6. Agricultural Sites

The site category of agricultural sites, often called "farms" in the literature, has not been extensively investigated in Edom. Only one agricultural site was excavated, though twenty-six surveyed sites could be included in this category. On the basis of surveys and the one excavation, it is possible to determine some basic criteria for what constituted such sites in the Iron Age. They are typically single isolated structures with evidence of nearby cultivation or pastoral activity.[104] Features often associated with the agricultural sites are terrace walls, caves, and animal pens. Since these sites have not been extensively excavated or surveyed, it is difficult to determine how often or to what extent they were in use during the Iron Age, but it is probable that the sites were at least used seasonally and that their use was interlinked with other nearby sites. The agricultural sites were determined to be Iron Age based on surface pottery. Agricultural fields near the wadis related to mining were often highly polluted, even in the Iron Age.[105]

Table 2.6. Representative agricultural sites

Site Name	Size	Brief Description	Survey ID
WHS 288	0.21 ha	Stone fences, foundation walls. There are remnants of a building (6 x 8 m) to the north with stone enclosures.	WHS 288
WHS 624	0.64 ha	Rectangular structure (10 x 6 m) near terrace walls in nearby wadi.	WHS 624
Kh. al Draj	0.36 ha	Stone enclosure with possible square towers at corners.	WHS 282
Kh. Umm Ra's	--	Small site near a spring, Edomite pottery on surface.	
Raikes Site H	--	Terrace walls run for about 200 m in an agricultural area.	SGNAS

---

104. Harvey, "Iron Age II Period in the Central Negev Highlands and Edom," 243–44.

105. Chris Hunt and Hwedi el-Rishi, "Human Paleoecology in the Ancient Metal-Smelting and Farming Complex in the Wadi Faynan, SW Jordan, at the Desert Margin in the Middle East," in *Landscapes and Societies: Selected Cases*, ed. I. Peter Martini and Ward Chesworth (Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 2010), 121–34.

TBAS 21	--	Building measuring 6 m x 8.4 m. Other smaller structures.	TBAS 21

2.2.6.1. Ash Shorabat

The 1 ha site of ash Shorabat is located at the confluence of the Wadi ath Thamad and the Wadi al Hasa. Bienkowski surveyed the site to determine its potential for excavation because of the possibility of finding a Late Bronze to Early Iron Age pottery sequence.[106] While residual Early Bronze Age pottery was found, the excavators did not locate any Late Bronze or Early Iron Age pottery; the pottery associated with the structures was entirely Iron II (eighth through sixth centuries BCE). Important architectural elements included hearths and walls constructed of unhewn limestone blocks. Domestic artifacts included grinding stones, stone pounders, hearths, and late Iron II storage jars and cooking pots. The site of ash Shorabat is located in an agriculturally productive area with immediate access to water.

2.2.7. Mining Sites

Three areas in southern Jordan have dense copper ore deposits: along the Wadi Fidan, west of Petra, and Timna in the southwestern Arabah. In these regions there are significant outcroppings of the Burj dolomite-shale formation, the primary source for copper ore in the southern Levant.[107] During the tenth through late ninth or early eighth centuries BCE, the deposits along the Wadi Fidan were heavily exploited with numerous small mines located along this wadi and the wadis Ghuwayba, Khalid, and Dana. The predominant identifying characteristic of these complexes is the accumulation of extensive heaps of slag as a by-product of the copper

---

106. Piotr Bienkowski, "Observations on Late Bronze Age Sites in the Wadi Hasa, Jordan," *Levant* 27 (1995): 30–31. For the excavation reports, see Bienkowski et al., "Soundings at Ash-Shorabat and Khirbat Dubab," 41–70; and Bienkowski and Adams, "Soundings at Ash-Shorabat and Khirbat Dubab," 149–72.

107. Thomas E. Levy, Megan Bettilyon, and Margie M. Burton, "The Iron Age Copper Industrial Complex: A Preliminary Study of the Role of Ground Stone Tools at Khirbat en-Nahas, Jordan," *JLS* 3 (2016): 314–16; Levy, Erez Ben-Yosef, and Mohammad Najjar, "Iron Age Edom Lowlands Regional Archaeology Project," in Levy et al., *New Insights into the Iron Age Archaeology of Edom*, 1:12–21.

smelting process. The material remains from these manufacturing efforts suggest that copper extraction and processing was the exclusive function of the sites since there is little evidence in the area for agricultural endeavors or local storage of such products.[108]

During the excavation of this region, currently under the auspices of the Edom Lowlands Regional Archaeological Project (ELRAP) of the University of California, San Diego and the Department of Antiquities of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, the researchers have collected numerous radiocarbon samples that suggest the operation of the copper mines was active during the Early Iron Age.[109] This is several hundred years prior to the settlements in the nearby highland areas of southern Jordan leading to numerous questions about the relationship between the population that operated the mines along the Wadi Faynan, the near simultaneous settlements near Tel Masos in the Negev, and the later population who settled the Edomite highlands around Busayra. Several radiocarbon dates from this area indicate that the mines were used centuries before the rise of the Iron Age polity and could have in some way contributed to the rise of that polity. The mining, along with the increased use of trade routes that go through the region of Edom, could have been a contributing factor to the economic development of Edom and were possibly an important impetus for the development of the early Edomite polity. These issues will be taken up again in later chapters.[110]

---

108. Levy, Bettilyon, and Burton, "Iron Age Copper Industrial Complex," 315.

109. The Edom Lowlands Regional Archaeology Project (ELRAP) is a joint effort of the University of California at San Diego and the Department of Antiquities of Jordan (see http://levlab.ucsd.edu/projects/elrap/). For an introduction to the goals and early results of this project, see Levy, Ben-Yosef, and Najjar, "Iron Age Edom Lowlands Regional Archaeology Project," 1–88. A similar project, focused on the Barqa Region of the Wadi Faynan, is sponsored by McMaster University in Canada and directed by Russell B. Adams and James Anderson. See Russell B Adams et al., "Report on First Season of the Barqa Landscape Survey, South-West Jordan," *ADAJ* 54 (2009): 55–120. This report and updates on the project are available at the Barqa Landscape Project website at https://barqalandscapeproject.com/.

110. The mining processes and remains along these wadis are the subject of several important regional archaeological projects. For the small settlement at Wadi Faynan site 424, see Barker, "Farmers, Herders and Miners," 63–85; Erez Ben-Yosef, "Technology and Social Process: Oscillations in Iron Age Copper Production and Power in Southern Jordan" (PhD diss., University of California, San Diego, 2010); for an excavated four-room house at Barqa al Hattiye, see Fritz, "Vorbericht über die Grabungen."
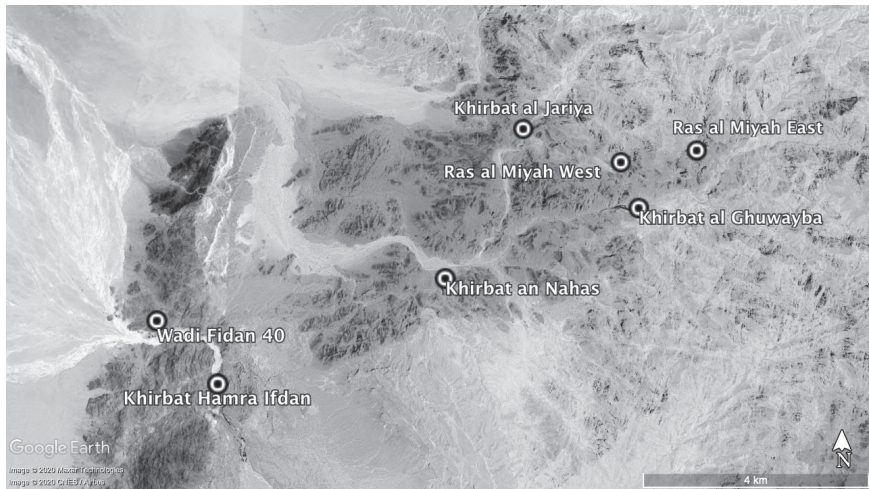
Fig. 2.11. Sites associated with copper production in the Wadi Faynan. Map created with Google Earth.

Copper was exploited in the region from the Pre-Pottery Neolithic to Chalcolithic, during the Early Bronze Age, the Iron Age, the Roman period, and during the Early Islamic period.[111] There was a disruption of exploitation during the Middle Bronze that also extended into much of the Late Bronze period. The reasons for this disruption are debated.[112] Evidence for Early Iron Age copper exploitation has been discovered at most of the excavated sites within the Wadi Faynan catchment area and its tributaries. Artifacts associated with copper production include charcoal remains, ore, flux, various types of furnaces, tuyères (the nozzles for the bellows), bellow pipes, slag heaps, and molds and ingots from final processing before transportation and trade.[113] From north to south, these

---

111. A good overview of the periods of copper exploitation in this region is Andreas Hauptmann, *Zur frühen Metallurgie des Kupfers in Fenan/Jordanien*, Der Anschnitt 11 (Bochum: Deutches Bergbau-Museum, 2001). For an updated summary, see Graeme Barker and David Mattingly, "Cores and Peripheries Revisited: The Mining Landscapes of Wadi Faynan (Southern Jordan) 5000 BC–AD 700," in *Communities and Connections: Essays in Honour of Barry Cunliffe*, ed. Chris Gosden et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 95–124.

112. Tebes, " 'Land Whose Stones Are Iron," 74–75.

113. The most extensive and complete discussion of the material culture associated with the production of copper during the Iron Age is Erez Ben-Yosef and Thomas E. Levy, "Material Culture of Iron Age Copper Production in Faynan," in Levy et al.,

sites include: Khirbat al-Jariya along the Wadi al-Jariya, the Khirbat an Nahas complex along the Wadi al Ghuwayba, and the Wadi Fidan 40 cemetery along the Wadi Fidan.

2.2.7.1. Khirbat al Jariya

Twenty-seven Iron Age sites have been identified and surveyed along with Wadi al Jariya, and the area controlled by the site of Khirbat al Jariya.[114] Surveyors have identified the remains of a small square tower and rectilinear structures in clusters with mounds of slag throughout the site. The complex at Khirbat al Jariya extends over 7 ha and spreads onto both banks of the Wadi al Jariya. This site includes slag heaps, walls, installations, and some structures. One structure measuring 6.5 x 3.2 m, labeled Structure 276, was partially excavated revealing an entrance and tools for copper extraction and processing. According to radiocarbon results, this complex was one of the earliest in operation during the Early Iron Age, perhaps even prior to the Khirbat an Nahas complex.[115]

2.2.7.2. Khirbat an Nahas Complex

Khirbat an Nahas is a sprawling collection of buildings, structures, and slag deposits located on the south side of the Wadi al Ghuwayba. Initially identified by Glueck as a mining facility, the site was only surveyed in the early twenty-first century when a joint team led by Levy and Najjar studied the site as part of a larger regional investigation of the mining practices. The area at Khirbat an Nahas includes a square enclosure, labeled by the excavators as a fortress, with a wall 2 m thick and measuring 76 x 76 m; this wall includes a four-chambered gate that was likely constructed in the tenth century BCE that was quickly decommis-

---

New Insights into the Iron Age Archaeology of Edom, 1:887–959. Ben-Yosef's dissertation contains extensive explanations of the operations and material culture involved in copper production; see "Technology and Social Process," 622–768, 881–954.

114. See Tebes, "Land Whose Stones Are Iron," 76.

115. For Khirbat al-Jariya and its surrounding sites, see Erez Ben-Yosef et al., "The Beginning of Iron Age Copper Production in the Southern Levant: New Evidence from Khirbat al-Jariya, Faynan, Jordan," *Antiquity* 84.325 (2010): 724–46. A more extensive treatment is Ben-Yosef, "Technology and Social Process," 340–73 and 466–99 for the mines in the area.

sioned and used for copper ore processing.[116] The four-chambered gate
room (Area A) is one of the earliest known structures of this type in the
southern Levant. Similar structures are found at Megiddo Palace 1567,
En Ḥaṣeva (Stratum V), Tell en Nasbeh's inner gate, and Tell Dan's inner
gate.[117] The gate structure was used as an entrance for a brief period,
but the next stratum contained industrial and discarded waste from the
copper smelting process.[118] Inside the fortress, excavators uncovered a
small structure close to the outer wall. The structure consisted of two
small rooms and a series of installations for copper working including
ceramics, bowls, bellows, furnace fragments, anvils, ash, and slag. This
building was constructed after the Area A fortress gate began to be used
for smelting refuse; with C14 dates suggesting the end of the tenth cen-
tury BCE through the mid-ninth century BCE.[119] Interpretations of this
structure vary, including the date of construction, and these options will
be discussed in subsequent chapters.[120] The faunal remains indicate that
workers and elite shared a diet consisting primarily of goat and sheep, but
was supplemented with cattle and local wild species such as gazelle and
hare. Analysis of the bones and the find spots suggests that those at the
Khirbat an Nahas complex, both workers and elite, had relatively equal
access to the various types of food.[121] The recent excavations also studied
a slag mound (Area M) where they determined individual, distinct met-
allurgical horizons. Beneath the slag mound was a structure that dated
to the Late Bronze Age before it was filled in with metallurgical debris in
the tenth century BCE and later.[122]

---

116. The gate and fortress are in Area A and Area F of the excavation, see Levy,
Bettilyon, and Burton, "Iron Age Copper Industrial Complex," 316–17.

117. Thomas E. Levy et al. "Excavations at Khirbat en-Nahas 2002–2009: An Iron
Age Copper Production Center in the Lowlands of Edom," in Levy et al., *New Insights
into the Iron Age Archaeology of Edom*, 1:101.

118. Levy et al. "Excavations at Khirbat en-Nahas 2002–2009," 120.

119. Levy et al. "Excavations at Khirbat en-Nahas 2002–2009," 129–30.

120. See the recent critique by Finkelstein, "Arabah Copper Polity and the Rise
of Edom," forthcoming; and Finkelstein, "Khirbet en-Nahas, Edom and Biblical His-
tory," 119–25.

121. For the analysis of the faunal remains, see Adolfo Muniz and Thomas E.
Levy, "Feeding the Iron Age Metalworkers at Khirbat en-Nahas," in Levy et al., *New
Insights into the Iron Age Archaeology of Edom*, 2:627–63.

122. Levy et al. "Excavations at Khirbat en-Nahas 2002–2009," 136, 150–51.

Other areas of the excavation revealed a large building surrounded by a low stone fence (Area R) that was an early tenth century BCE elite residence.[123] This monumental structure was surrounded by a perimeter wall with several metallurgical installations and furnaces in the open area in between. The building had a second floor, evidenced by a staircase in one of the rooms. Scarabs and votive vessels within the residence suggest higher status occupants.[124] Another elite residence constructed in the tenth century BCE overlooks the major smelting areas (Area T). This building has four rooms, an interior courtyard, and what appears to be a tower with steps leading up to it. Ceramic finds in this building included Cypro-Phoenician ware, suggesting elite status of its occupants.[125]

Furnaces and slag heaps were found throughout the site. One particular building, House 200, revealed significant information about the copper industry in the northern Wadi Arabah region.[126] The building, approximately 10 x 5 m, had two phases. The first phase was dated by the initial excavators to the eighth century BCE based on pottery and radiocarbon data. The second phase, consisting of some additions and new walls in the previous building, was probably in operation for much of the remainder of the Iron II period. The buildings surrounding House 200—Building 225 and Rooms 203, 204, and 224—all had large amounts of slag suggesting copper working at the site.

In the wadi beds around the industrial complex there are some signs of agricultural terracing and attempts at agricultural production. While the slag heaps scattered throughout the site contain environmentally dangerous levels of lead (Pb) and copper (Cu), the soil in the terraces had relatively low levels of these elements.[127] Studies of the human remains in the nearby Wadi Fidan 40 cemetery also suggest that these elements had

_____

123. Levy, Bettilyon, and Burton, "Iron Age Copper Industrial Complex," 319–20; Levy et al. "Excavations at Khirbat en-Nahas 2002–2009," 202–30.

124. For the collection of Egyptian amulets excavated at the Wadi Faynan sites, see Stefan Münger and Thomas E. Levy, "The Iron Age Egyptian Amulet Assemblage," in Levy et al., *New Insights into the Iron Age Archaeology of Edom*, 2:741–65. The scarab seals from the Area R building are nos. 11–12, pp. 754–56; see also, Stefan Münger, "References to the Pharaoh in the Local Glyptic Assemblage of the Southern Levant during the First Part of the 1st Millennium BCE," *JAEI* 18 (2018): 40–62.

125. Levy, Bettilyon, and Burton, "Iron Age Copper Industrial Complex," 321; Levy et al. "Excavations at Khirbat en-Nahas 2002–2009," 169–84.

126. On this building, see Fritz, "Ergebnisse einer Sondage in Ḫirbet en-Naḥās," 1–9.

127. Kyle A. Knabb et al., "Environmental Impacts of Ancient Copper Mining

little impact on the early Iron Age humans who likely worked the mines and ate the local crops.[128]

2.2.7.3. Wadi Fidan 40

Thirteen sites in southern Jordan during the Iron Age have tombs associated with them.[129] The few tomb-only sites are located in the northern section of the Wadi Arabah along the tributary wadis and slopes. Most of the graves are oval or rectangular (between 2 and 4 m long), have stone outlines, stone pavers, and are sometimes filled with gravel.[130] Some have small standing stones in the center of the stone outline. Most, but not all, of the burials are oriented north-south, with the head of the interred turned toward the west.[131] Unfortunately, most of the graves were looted, and only one cemetery site was excavated.

Excavations at the Wadi Fidan 40 cemetery, a 3.45 ha area overlooking the Wadi Fidan to the south and the Arabah Valley to the west, recovered some 245 tombs containing a total of 87 skeletons.[132] The tombs date largely to the eleventh and tenth centuries BCE, determined on the basis

---

and Metallurgy: Multi-Proxy Investigation of Human-Landscape Dynamics in the Faynan Valley, Southern Jordan," *JAS* 74 (2016): 85–101.

128. Marc A. Beherec et al., "Iron Age Nomads and Their Relation to Copper Smelting in Faynan (Jordan): Trace Metal and Pb and Sr Isotopic Measurements from the Wadi Fidan 40 Cemetery," *JAS* 65 (2016): 70–83.

129. Most of the tombs were robbed and the only reason provided by surveyors for attributing many of them to the Iron Age is the presence of a few sherds.

130. See Harvey, "Iron Age II Period in the Central Negev Highlands and Edom," 253–54.

131. For this burial pattern at Wadi Fidan 4 and Wadi Fidan 40, see Marc A. Beherec, Mohammad Najjar, and Thomas E. Levy, "Wadi Fidan 40 and Mortuary Archaeology in the Edom Lowlands," in Levy et al., *New Insights into the Iron Age Archaeology of Edom*, 2:685, 704–5. For an analysis and description of other possible Edomite burials, see Piotr Bienkowski, "In Search of Edomite Burials," in *Exploring the Narrative: Jerusalem and Jordan in the Bronze and Iron Ages*, ed. Eveline van der Steen, Jeanette Boertien, and Noor Mulder-Hymans, LHBOTS 583 (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 194–211.

132. See Levy, Adams, and Shafiq, "Jabal Hamrat Fidan Project," 293–308. Beherec et al., "Iron Age Nomads and Their Relation to Copper Smelting"; Thomas E. Levy et al., "Iron Age Burial in the Lowlands of Edom: The 2004 Excavations at Wadi Fidan 40, Jordan," *ADAJ* 49 (2005): 443–87; Beherec, Najjar, and Levy, "Wadi Fidan 40 and Mortuary Archaeology," 665–721.

of the radiocarbon dating of a pomegranate found in a sealed cave. The graves all had the same basic structure: a pit with a limestone or sandstone capped cist at the bottom for the primary burial. The capstones were sealed with plaster. The tombs were then marked with an above-ground stone circle.[133] Material remains within the graves included beads, shrouds, fruit, wooden bowls (but no ceramic bowls), copper and iron rings, and one Middle Bronze Age scarab, which was probably kept as an heirloom.[134] Levy suggests that Wadi Fidan 40 was a burial site for nomadic tribes, possibly the Shasu of Egyptian documents (see below in ch. 3). It is likely that this cemetery is associated with the mining operations at the sites in the area. Analysis of the tooth enamel of some of the skeletons suggests that most individuals worked in the copper extraction process and were exposed to toxic metals from living in the polluted conditions.[135]

2.2.8. Towers

In the published surveys of southern Jordan, twenty-three sites were identified as either "towers" or "watchtowers." They are typically rectangular or square structures located on hilltops with good views of the surrounding areas.[136] The towers are often associated with terrace walls, pens, cisterns, and cultivated fields. It is questionable whether a separate category should be devoted to these sites since all the tower sites also have extensive evidence of agricultural and pastoral activities. Raz Kletter, in his analysis of similar structures located around Amman, suggested that the sites were not defensive in nature, but are part of larger, more complex sites that functioned as agricultural complexes with possible defensive aspects.[137] However, sufficient published information on these towers and their associated settlements is lacking to justify classifying these sites under any other category.

---

133. Levy, Adams, and Shafiq, "Jabal Hamrat Fidan Project," 296–97.

134. For examples, see Beherec, Najjar, and Levy, "Wadi Fidan 40 and Mortuary Archaeology," 673–76. For the scarab seal, see Münger and Levy, "Iron Age Egyptian Amulet Assemblage," 745–47, cat. No. 4.

135. Beherec et al., "Iron Age Nomads and Their Relation to Copper Smelting," 70–83.

136. Harvey, "Iron Age II Period in the Central Negev Highlands and Edom," 221–22.

137. Raz Kletter, "The Rujm el-Malfuf Buildings and the Assyrian Vassal State of Ammon," *BASOR* 284 (1991): 33–50.

Table 5.7. Possible "tower" sites

Site Name	Size	Description	Survey
Rujm Karaka	0.04 ha	Small (8.5 m^2) tower made of chert blocks, nearby cistern with Iron Age pottery.	WHS
Kh. Ayn Subala	3 ha	Structure (31 x 14 m) near foundation walls and fences.	WHS
al Manatir East	3 ha	Possible tower with stone foundations and terraces.	WHS
Rujm Mughames	8 m^2	Small tower of flint blocks on a small hill.	NEP
Kh. Zubri	--	Labeled "watchtower" by surveyors.	NEP
Kh. Masala	--	Labeled "watchtower" by surveyors.	NEP
Kh. ar Ruways	--	Labeled "watchtower" by surveyors.	SEM
Rās āl Miyāh		See below.	ELRAP

One site that Glueck identified as a watchtower has been studied more extensively by the Edomite Lowlands Regional Archaeology Project: Rujm Hamra Ifdan. Two salvage probes were excavated at this site located 5 km southwest of Khirbat an Nahas on a wadi ridge with views of approaches to the Arabah Valley, the Wadi Fidan, and the Wadi Faynan, which includes the path to Khirbat an Nahas.[138] In this location, the site, which now only has the base of what might have been a tower, could have functioned as a place to monitor and control groups that were approaching the vital copper mining facilities. The excavators determined that the tower site at the top of the wadi dated to the tenth and ninth centuries BCE, according to radiocarbon samples, while the larger domestic settlement that included animal enclosures at the bed of the wadi dated to the seventh and sixth centuries BCE.[139] This suggests

---

138. Neil G. Smith, Mohammad Najjar, and Thomas E. Levy, "A Picture of the Early and Late Iron Age II in the Lowlands: Preliminary Soundings at Rujm Hamra Ifdan," in Levy et al., *New Insights into the Iron Age Archaeology of Edom*, 2:723–39. See also Ben-Yosef, "Technology and Social Process," 451–65.

139. Smith, Najjar, and Levy, "Picture of the Early and Late Iron Age II in the

that during the early Iron Age the communities extracting and processing the copper ore took efforts to monitor and protect the approaches to the center of the facilities.

Two small enclosures with towers were examined in association with copper exploitation facilities near the site of Khirbat al Ghuwayba. These enclosures—labeled Rās al Miyāh East and Rās al Miyāh West—are on a ridge about 12 km northeast of Busayra on the route to the Wadi Faynan. These structures were in close proximity to some mines that were worked during the Iron Age. The structures were built out of local stone and included a large square tower associated with a rectangular enclosure. There were many Iron II sherds, suggesting a significant period of occupation, but the pottery was mostly utilitarian. These towers and enclosures required significant organization and administration, suggesting that the emerging Busayra leaders were interested in continuing to exploit the mines and protect them from bandits or other threats.[140] Notably, it is unclear where the copper mined at these sites was processed as the nearby smelting site at Khirbat al Ghuwayba was likely active during the early Iron Age but not during this period.[141]

More excavation and study of the possible tower locations is necessary to determine when they were in use and how the sites functioned. Digital archaeology could offer a novel approach to the towers of Edom. Using GIS, satellite imagery, and the Higuchi Viewshed method, Will M. Kennedy analyzed the connections between proposed mountaintop towers from the Nabataean era in the Petra region.[142] He connected the view from

---

Lowlands," 736–37.

140. The probes of these two sites are published in Erez Ben-Yosef, Thomas E Levy, and Mohammad Najjar, "Rās al-Miyāh Fortresses: New Discoveries at One of the Gateways to the Iron Age Copper Production District of Faynān, Jordan," *SHAJ* 10 (2009): 823–41. For a more complete treatment of these sites, see Ben-Yosef, "Technology and Social Process," 374–429.

141. Ceramics and radiocarbon data excavated at the site point to early Iron Age and Nabataean-Roman era activity. See Erez Ben-Yosef and Thomas E. Levy, "Challenges for a Regional Perspective on Iron Age Metal Production in Faynān: Results of the 2009 Prope [*sic*] at Khirbat al-Ghuwayba, Jordan," *SHAJ* 11 (2013): 277–90.

142. Will M. Kennedy, "Ein Versuch einer Higuchi-Viewshed-Analyse am Beispiel eines Wachturms auf der Umm al-Biyara in Petra, Jordanien," in *3D-Anwendungen in der Archäologie: Computeranwendungen und quantitative Methoden in der Archäologie; Workshop der AG CAA und des Exzellenzclusters Topoi 2013*, ed. Undine Lieberwirth and Irmela Herzog, BSAW 34 (Berlin: Topoi, 2016), 157–79.

a proposed tower (Structure 10) on the plateau at Umm al Biyara with nearby proposed Nabataean towers at Qasr Umm Rattam, Jabal Qarun, and Rajif. Kennedy found that there were no direct visual relationships between the locations, but that the presumed locations of the watchtowers did offer clear views of the routes and surrounding areas. It is possible that these tower sites could have been connected with signaling mechanisms or human communications to provide a robust, interconnected surveillance and defensive system. Similar, though likely less dense, systems could have been used during the Iron Age; studies like the innovative approach of Kennedy could be performed on the proposed Edomite tower sites to identify the possible functions of these structures.

2.3. Summary and Conclusions

During the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age settlement began in southwestern Jordan, as suggested by the radiocarbon data from sites in the mining district of the Wadi Arabah. The historical implications of these remains are still debated and will be discussed in later chapters, but the material culture and architecture at the mining sites suggest that the robust, specialized operations were most active during the period when the copper supply from Cyprus was disrupted and that these mines were exploited by a local, seminomadic population. The major sites in the Edomite highlands, including Busayra, Tawilan, and Umm al Biyara, were constructed and occupied between 800 and 700 BCE. More intensive settlement and the construction of smaller villages expanded in the highlands during the seventh century BCE when more intense political differentiation and bureaucratic expansion began, perhaps in response to the pressures of Assyrian domination in the region. While specific evidence for dating many of the agricultural and small residential sites is lacking, they were most likely inhabited at approximately the same time.

Formal labels applied to Edomite society, such as "tribal kingdom" and "supratribal monarchy," are attempts to describe the level of centralization and development in Edom at the time that is observable in the archaeological record.[143] Edom was a limited monarchy with a ruler who struggled

---

143. This issue will be extensively explored in the final chapter. See discussions in LaBianca and Younker, "Kingdoms of Ammon, Moab and Edom," 399–415; Øystein LaBianca, "Salient Features of Iron Age Tribal Kingdoms," in *Ancient Ammon*, ed. Burton MacDonald and Randall W. Younker, CHANE 17 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 19–23;

to secure fealty from the central site of Busayra (8.16 ha) and its various kin-based groups. Edomite society remained essentially tribal and kin-based even though a loosely constructed monarchy and administration developed as the society became part of the expanding and interconnected economy of the Iron Age. There was little centralization, but sites such as Ghrara (1 ha) and Khirbat al Mu'allaq (0.38 ha) suggest that the rural hinterland was possibly administered from these small walled villages. These "administrative" centers of Ghrara and Khirbat al Mu'allaq were established in strategic locales that would have been ideal for facilitating the protection and administration of the trade routes in the southern part of Edom and the copper mining district in the Wadi Arabah. However, Tall al Khalayfi might not have been an Edomite trading center. Its architecture and location far from other Edomite settlements (140 km from Busayra) suggest that it functioned as an outpost to monitor the trade routes that ran along the Gulf of Aqaba.

The period of the expansion of Edomite settlement in the highlands coincides with the spread of the Assyrian Empire into the southern Levant, when a political apparatus began to develop in Edom to interact with the recently arrived Assyrians and with the surrounding polities. The expansion of Assyria also saw an increase in traffic along the trading routes that transected Edom. There is some evidence for the rise of an administrative (sealing and record keeping) and political elite (kings and royal officials) and the production of craft goods (some copper production, worked and unworked shells) centered at Busayra. The numerous agricultural sites surrounding Busayra likely provided support for the administrative elite and growing bureaucracy. The issue of political and social complexity in Edom will be addressed again in the final chapter.

The material culture of Edom provides a schematic outline of the history of and developments in Iron Age Edom: from a nomadic tribal society active in copper exploitation in the Wadi Faynan during the last years of the second millennium BCE to the formation of a small scale, minimally centralized polity as it began to interact with surrounding regions and the Assyrian Empire. The archaeological data offers a counterbalance and complementary image to the sparse comments regarding Edom in Assyrian and Edomite documents (chs. 3 and 4) and to the constructed

Bienkowski and Van der Steen, "Tribes, Trade, and Towns," 29; Tebes, "Kingdom of Edom? A Critical Reappraisal," 113–22.

history of Edom found in the Hebrew Bible (chs. 5 and 6). The material culture of Edom serves both to enhance the information derived from Assyrian and local records and to counter the portrayal of the major Late Bronze Age centralized Edomite kingdom that some have identified in the Hebrew Bible.

3

Egyptian and Mesopotamian Sources
for the History of Edom

Many reconstructions of the history of Edom prioritize either the textual or archaeological data, primarily because of the specialization of the scholar or narrow focus of the publication. For example, Manfred Weippert treats the references to Ammon, Moab, and Edom in Assyrian documents but does not employ the epigraphic material from the Jordanian polities, biblical texts, or Egyptian references to the region in his reconstruction.[1] On the other hand, scholars like Bennett and Bienkowski deal extensively with the archaeological remains without bringing texts into their analyses at any significant level.[2] Some archaeological studies appear in edited volumes in which texts are discussed, but the lack of a systematic and consistent treatment within these works precludes the full integration of the available material into a comprehensive social and political history of Edom.

Edom first appeared in Egyptian texts of the late second millennium BCE that mention the Shasu of Edom or Seir. These references suggest that the inhabitants of southern Jordan posed a threat to Egyptian interests in the region. Assyrian documents dating to the early and mid-first millennium BCE that relate to Edom are more diverse. Edom appeared in various royal inscriptions and administrative documents, often in lists of polities that submitted to the empire and fulfilled the Assyrian tribute demands. During the same period, seals and ostraca written in a Northwest Semitic ("Edomite") alphabetic script appear in southern Jordan (see

---

1. Manfred Weippert, "The Relations of the States East of the Jordan with the Mesopotamian Powers during the First Millennium BC," *SHAJ* 3 (1987): 97–105.

2. Bennett, "Neo-Assyrian Influence in Transjordan," 181–87; Bienkowski, "Beginning of the Iron Age in Southern Jordan," 1–12; Bienkowski, "Edomites," 41–92.

ch. 4). Biblical texts that refer to Edom also date to the mid-first millennium BCE (see chs. 5 and 6). While these texts are sometimes difficult to date precisely, some of the references to Edom provide information on the history and society of Edom during the eighth and seventh centuries BCE, the time of the florescence of the Edomite polity.

3.1. Egyptian Documents concerning Edom

References to Edom in Egyptian documents fall into three categories: topographical lists, royal inscriptions, and literary texts. All the texts are from the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age and are therefore significant because they potentially provide information on social and political developments in southern Jordan before the rise of the Iron Age Edomite polity. Two aspects of these documents should be noted before the texts are presented. First, all of the texts refer to the Shasu (*šꜣśw*), a group that appears in Egyptian documents from the reign of Thutmosis II through the Twentieth Dynasty.[3] This group seems to refer to tribal elements in the southern parts of the Levant, while the term *ʿpr.w* was reserved for northern tribes.[4] In spite of the evidence available concerning the Shasu, they remain an enigmatic referent in Egyptian documents from the New Kingdom.[5] Few references describe the lifestyle of the Shasu or their social

---

3. A discussion of the role of the Shasu in Ammon is Randall W. Younker, "The Emergence of the Ammonites," in *Ancient Ammon*, ed. Burton MacDonald and Randall W. Younker, SHCANE 17 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 189–218. Discussions of the Shasu are often connected with the subject of the emergent Israelites and their appearance on the Merenptah Stele. This is the primary focus of the book on the subject by Michael Hasel, *Domination and Resistance: Egyptian Military Activity in the Southern Levant, ca. 1300–1185 B.C.*, PAe 10 (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

4. Julien Cooper, "Toponymy on the Periphery: Placenames of the Eastern Desert, Red Sea, and South Sinai in Egyptian Documents from the Early Dynastic until the End of the New Kingdom" (PhD diss., Macquarie University, 2015), 68–70.

5. The textual and material evidence is collected in Raphael Giveon, *Les Bédouins Shosou des documents égyptiens*, DMAO 18 (Leiden: Brill, 1971). See also the important reviews by William A. Ward ("The Shasu 'Bedouin': Notes on a Recent Publication," *JESHO* 15 [1972]: 35–60) and Manfred Weippert ("Semitische Nomaden des zweiten Jahrtausends: Über die šꜣsw der ägyptischen Quellen," *Bib* 55 [1974]: 265–80, 427–33). Thomas Staubli collects and discusses images and texts related to Levantine nomadic groups, including the Shasu in *Das Image der Nomaden: Im Alten Israel und in der Ikonographie seiner sesshaften Nachbarn*, OBO 107 (Fribourg: Presses Universitaires; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991).

organization. According to some texts, they were divided into tribes. They were often described as rebellious and unfriendly by Egyptian sources in which they appear as less than amiable to Egyptian imperial intentions. Yet the Shasu tribes also seem to have served as mercenaries both in the Egyptian army and in forces allied against the Egyptians. During the reign of Merenptah, Shasu tribes were portrayed in a more peaceful manner driving herds to pasturage in Egyptian-controlled areas. At times, the pharaohs treated the Shasu as threats at the margins of their control, and during times of peace as active participants in the social and political fabric of the region.[6]

Second, the Egyptian documents relating to southern Jordan usually referred to the region as "Seir," and only once as "Edom," in Papyrus Anastasi, a Ramesside text dating to the thirteenth or twelfth century BCE. The precise location of Seir is debated, although its connection with Edom is made in biblical texts that often use the two terms as near synonyms.[7] While this could be the result of a conflation of biblical traditions by a later scribe, the references seem to describe a mountainous region within the area that was later known as Edom. It is probable that the "Seir" referred to the wooded mountains that ran north to south and descended from the Jordanian plateau westward to the Wadi Arabah, perhaps including the region that was exploited for its copper reserves around the same time as the Egyptian documents were written.[8] Others have suggested that Seir refers specifically to the southern section of the mountain range called aš-Šara or to the northern section because of the name of an Iron Age ruin—Khirbat Umm Šaʿir.[9] In spite of the difficulties of locating Seir precisely, the geographical name likely referred to the mountainous region south of the Wadi al Hasa that later became nearly synonymous with Edom after Edom as a polity began to develop.

---

6. For the various modes of interaction between the Shasu and Egyptian royalty, see recently Silvia Crochetti, "The Shasu and Their Relationship with Egypt," *OrAnt* NS 1 (2019): 33–37.

7. Ernst Axel Knauf, "Seir," *ABD* 5:1072–73.

8. Bartlett (*Edom and the Edomites*, 41–44, 76–79) argued that the unsettled region of the Wadi Arabah was the referent of "Seir" before excavations suggested that there was an occupation in the Wadi Arabah during that period.

9. For other views, see Knauf, "Seir."

3.1.1. Some Unlikely Bronze Age References to Edom

At times scholars have attempted to identify Edom in documents from
the Amarna period, in the fourteenth century BCE. In an Amarna letter
from Abdi-Heba of Jerusalem, the ruler complained that he was engaged
in skirmishes with local disaffected groups "from the land of Šeru to Ginti-
Kirmil" (*a-di* kur *še-e-ri*[ki] *a-di* [uru]*gin²-ti-ki-ir-mi-il*).[10] But the Akkadian
construction *adi … adi* typically referred to two places that were located
in the same direction, the first being closer than the second.[11] This would
locate Šeru somewhere northwest of Jerusalem, not southeast in the direc-
tion of Edom. On the other hand, Julien Cooper suggested that the con-
struction refers to each location representing a distant location in opposite
directions with Ginti-kirmil in the far north and Šeru in the far south, the
region later known as Edom.[12] Wayne Horowitz considered an additional
Amarna tablet as the earliest mention of Edom. He referenced the letter
EA 256:24, which mentioned a place name [uru]*ú-du-mu*.[13] Yet due to the
location of that city in relation to the other cities mentioned in the text,
the geographical name likely referred to Duma, a village between Hebron and
Beersheba, possibly Khirbat ad-Dayr Duma.[14]

3.1.2. A Topographical List from Amara West

The earliest certain Egyptian text that mentions Seir is a topographical list
from Amara West copied during the reign of Ramesses II (ca. 1290–1224
BCE) from an earlier list at Soleb. Amara West was a settlement along

---

10. EA 288:26; VAT 1643. See J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, 2 vols.
(Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1915), 1:870–871, 2:1340; On this text, see also Kenneth A. Kitchen,
"The Egyptian Evidence on Ancient Jordan," in Bienkowski, *Early Edom and Moab*,
26; Götz Schmitt, "Gaba, Getta und Gintikirmil," *ZDPV* 130 (1987): 43; and Wolfgang
Helck, "Se'ir," in *Lexikon der Agyptologie*, ed. Wolfgang Helck et al., 7 vols. (Wiesbaden:
Harrassowitz, 1984), 5:828–29. Unless otherwise noted, translations of Akkadian and
biblical texts are mine; translations of Egyptian texts are from the sources cited.

11. Nadav Na'aman, "Canaanite Jerusalem and Its Central Hill Country Neigh-
bors in the Second Millennium B.C.E.," *UF* 24 (1992): 287.

12. Cooper, "Toponymy on the Periphery," 208–9.

13. Wayne Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, MC 8 (Winona Lake, IN:
Eisenbrauns, 1998), 93; Horowitz, "Moab and Edom in the Sargon Geography," *IEJ* 43
(1993): 155.

14. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln* 1:816–817, 2:1319.

the Nile established during the Egyptian colonization of Nubia featuring monuments as projections of power and Egyptian superiority, including textual demonstrations of the vastness of the Egyptian-controlled territory.[15] The list from Soleb, which was composed during the reign of Amenophis II (ca. 1417–1379 BCE), did not mention Edom or Seir, although this may be due to a lacuna in the text.[16] The document from Amara West, however, lists a number of Shasu tribes including the "Shasu of Seir" (*šsw s'rr*).[17] The place names in this list have not all been identified, but the reading of the first name as Seir (spelled *s'rr*) is commonly accepted, in spite of the apparent dittography of the second *r* in the name.[18] The Amara West list mentions tribes of Shasu in the region of Seir. It is likely that the toponymic reference "Edom" was not yet in use during this early period.

3.1.3. The Tanis Obelisk and the Gebel Shaluf Stela

The east face of the shaft of Tanis Obelisk I describes Ramesses II as a "ferocious lion, one that rages, destroying the land of Shasu, plundering the Mountain of Seir with his valiant arm."[19] In this text, "the land of Shasu" (*tꜣ šꜣśw*) and "the Mountain of Seir" (*ḏw s'r*) occur in parallel phrases, suggesting that

---

15. Neal Spencer, "Creating and Re-Shaping Egypt in Kush: Responses at Amara West," *JAEI* 6 (2014): 42–61.

16. For this text, see Giveon, *Les Bédouins Shosou*, 26–28, document 6a; Giveon, "Toponymes ouest-asiatiques à Soleb," *VT* 14 (1964): 239–55. See also, Kitchen, "Egyptian Evidence on Ancient Jordan," 26; Hasel, *Domination and Resistance*, 154, 230; Cooper, "Toponymy on the Periphery," 87–88.

17. For this text, see Giveon, *Les Bédouins Shosou*, 74–77, document 16a. This transliteration is from Hasel, *Domination and Resistance*, 230.

18. Kitchen, "Egyptian Evidence on Ancient Jordan," 26; Donald B. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 272.

19. For this text, see Giveon, *Les Bédouins Shosou*, 100–101, document 25. This translation follows Kenneth A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated and Annotated: Translations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), 2:235. See also Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), 2:273–75. On the elaborate propaganda and theology of the Ramesside monuments, with some reference to those at Tanis, see Anthony Spalinger, "Ramesses II at Luxor: Mental Gymnastics," *Or* 79 (2010): 425–79. On the complex strategies that were often simplified by ancient scribes, see Spalinger, *Leadership under Fire: The Pressures of Warfare in Ancient Egypt*, EdE 20 (Paris: Soleb, 2019), 36–38.

the two references are related.[20] The inscription on face A of Stela II at Gebel Shaluf is similar. Ramesses II describes himself as the one "who plunders the Mountain of Se[ir with his valiant arm…]."[21] The text is broken at the end of the third line, but most scholars reconstruct "Seir" on the basis of the parallelism with the Tanis Obelisk. Both of these texts, despite their difficulties, were meant to celebrate the victory of Ramesses II over the Shasu tribes in the region of Seir, likely in the area of the Wadi Arabah.[22] As in the previous document, the Shasu of Seir are mentioned, but "Edom" was still not used to refer to the area of southern Jordan where the later Edomite polity would develop. Although the information in these texts is limited, it is apparent that in the thirteenth century BCE, Ramesses II either raided the region or at least claimed to have raided it.[23]

3.1.4. Papyrus Anastasi VI: 51–61

During the reign of Merenptah, around 1200 BCE, the name "Edom" appears in an Egyptian document for the first time. Papyrus Anastasi VI is a scribal copy of a report from a frontier official given as a first-person account, perhaps an administrative report of a process that was to be emulated by other scribes.[24] The following lines discuss the access of Shasu tribes to Egyptian-controlled territory for the purposes of watering their flocks.

> We have finished admitting the Shasu tribes of Edom [*mhwt šꜣśw ʾIdm*] through the fortress of Merenptah-hotpe-hi-maꜣat which is in Tjeku to the pools [*brkt*] of the House of Atum-of-Merenptah-hotpe-hi-maꜣat in Tjeku, for their own subsistence and that of their flocks, by the great *Ku* of Pharaoh (life, prosperity, health), the good Sun of every land in year

---

20. For attempts to locate the "land of Shasu," see Alexandre Vassiliev, "The Localization of the Shasu-land of Ramses II's Rhetorical Texts," in *Current Research in Egyptology 2006: Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Symposium Which Took Place at the University of Oxford, April 2006*, ed. Maria Cannata (Oxford: Oxbow, 2007), 162–68.

21. For this text, see Giveon, *Les Bédouins Shosou*, 116–18, document 33. This translation follows Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated and Annotated: Translations*, 2:138.

22. Cooper, "Toponymy on the Periphery," 209.

23. Kitchen, "Egyptian Evidence on Ancient Jordan," 27.

24. See Hans Goedicke, "Papyrus Anastasi VI 51–61," *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 14 (1987): 83–98.

8, epagomenal days, [birth of Seth]. I have sent a columned document to the place where my master is with the other specified days on which the fortress may be passed.[25]

Here the inhabitants of Edom are called *mhwt šꜣśw ꜣIdm*, preceded by the determinative man + plural, indicating that the translation should be "Shasu tribesmen."[26] The Shasu of Edom were not the object of Merenptah's wrath as in the texts from the era of Ramesses II; rather, the image is one of pastoral tribes being admitted into Egyptian-controlled territory to obtain water for the people and their livestock, possibly near the fortress at Tell el Retabeh.[27] This location is a distance from what is considered Edomite territory, leading Hans Goedicke to suggest that the term could refer to any "red region," though he does not suggest others that were so referenced in the Late Bronze Age.[28]

3.1.5. Papyrus Harris I, 76:9–11

The scribes of Ramesses III (ca. 1184–1153 BCE) recorded an account of a raid on the Shasu of Seir between accounts of his conflict with the Sea Peoples and the Libyans on Papyrus Harris I, 76, lines 9–11. The text reads as follows: "I destroyed the people of Seir, the Shasu tribesmen [*mhwt šꜣśw*]. I pillaged their tents along with their people, their property, and their livestock without limit."[29] The most important aspect of Ramesses III's claim to have destroyed the Shasu of Seir is the information that the text provides on the manner of subsistence. Some of the Shasu of Seir were seasonal pastoralists

---

25. Papyrus Anastasi VI: 51–61. For this text, see Giveon, *Les Bédouins Shosou*, 131–34, document 37. The translation follows Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times*, 228; cf. Ricardo A. Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, BEStud 1 (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), 293–96; Kitchen, "Egyptian Evidence on Ancient Jordan," 27.

26. Hasel, *Domination and Resistance*, 224, 229; Giveon, *Les Bédouins Shosou*, 256–58.

27. James K. Hoffmeier, Thomas W. Davis, and Rexine Hummel, "New Archaeological Evidence for Ancient Bedouin (Shasu) on Egypt's Eastern Frontier at Tell el-Borg," *AeL* 26 (2016): 286–87.

28. Goedicke, "Papyrus Anastasi VI 51–61," 90–91; Cooper ("Toponymy on the Periphery," 184–85) argues that the distance from the Egyptian homeland does not rule out Edom.

29. For this text, see Giveon, *Les Bédouins Shosou*, 134–37, document 38.

who lived in tents. These data suggest that they were either seminomadic or entirely nomadic.[30] Although nomadic and seminomadic groups are visible in the archaeological record, the identification of the inhabitants of southern Jordan with the seminomadic tribes of the Shasu could explain the scarcity of identifiable archaeological remains in the region during this period.[31]

Egypt had established trading routes that would have traversed southern Jordan during the reign of Ramesses III. Recent surveys and excavations at Taymaʾ in northern Arabia have revealed significant connections during the reign of this pharaoh, including several engraved cartouches of Ramesses III.[32] Other cartouches and scarab seals from the reign of Ramesses III have been found at Timna, the copper reserves in the Arabah exploited by the Egyptians during this era.[33]

3.1.6. Papyrus Moscow 127, Column 5:4–5

Papyrus Moscow 127, also known as the Tale of Woe, is a scribal copy of a literary letter from around 1000 BCE, although the historical setting is most

---

30. Kitchen, "Egyptian Evidence on Ancient Jordan," 27; Weippert, "Semitische Nomaden des zweiten Jahrtausends," 275–277; Hasel, *Domination and Resistance*, 224.

31. See Anthony J. Frendo, "The Capabilities and Limitations of Ancient Near Eastern Nomadic Archaeology," *Or* 65 (1996): 1–23; and William Honeychurch and Cheryl A. Makarewicz, "The Archaeology of Pastoral Nomadism," *ARA* 45 (2016): 341–59. Note that Hoffmeier, Davis, and Hummel ("New Archaeological Evidence for Ancient Bedouin") suggest the huts at Tell el-Borg could be habitations of seminomadic Shasu tribes.

32. See esp., Claire Somaglino and Pierre Tallet, "Une mystérieuse route sud-orientale sous le règne de Ramsès III," *BIFAO* 111 (2011): 361–70. Another inscription from Taymaʾ mentions a location *mdyn*, perhaps an early reference to Madyan or Midan; see Christian Robin and Alî al-Ghabbân, "Une première mention de Madyan dans un texte épigraphique d'Arabie," *CRAIBL* (2017): 363–96. I would like to thank an anonymous reviewer for these references. The first article was republished in English as Claire Somaglino and Pierre Tallet, "A Road to the Arabian Peninsula in the Reign of Ramesses III," in *Desert Road Archaeology in Ancient Egypt and Beyond*, ed. Frank Förster and Heiko Riemer, AfrPrae 27 (Cologne: Heinrich-Barth-Institut, 2013), 511–18.

33. For Egypt at Timna, see Uzi Avner, "Egyptian Timna—Reconsidered," in Tebes, *Unearthing the Wilderness*, 103–62. For the Egyptian inscriptions from Timna, see Deborah Sweeney, "The Inscription of Ramessesempere in Context," in *Mining for Ancient Copper: Essays in Memory of Beno Rothenberg*, ed. Erez Ben-Yosef, SMNIA 37 (University Park, PA: Eisenbrauns; Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology, 2018), 109–17.

likely the late Twentieth Dynasty.[34] The letter is from an Egyptian official, named Wermai, who is begging an individual to relieve his dire circumstances. Wermai, who was wrongfully removed from his position at the temple at Heliopolis, fled to a distant area that was controlled by an unnamed ruler. The official says, "Oh that I could send him [his oppressor] off to Nahar, to fetch the hidden *tmrgn* ("guide"?), with whom he had gone to those of Seir [*nꜣy-sʿr*]."[35] This text is a letter in form, but literary in content.[36] Unfortunately, it provides little information other than that "Seir" was still in use as a toponym into the early first millennium BCE and that it was located far from Egypt.[37]

3.1.7. Discussion

Egyptian interaction with the southern Levant during the Late Bronze Age was most intense during the long reign of Ramesses II, who led military campaigns to Syria and Canaan.[38] Only one known campaign was made to the Transjordanian regions, probably during his ninth year, which focused on Moab, the region just north of Edom.[39] Two of the Transjordanian places listed in the report of the campaign at the Temple of Luxor—*M(w)-i-b* (Moab) and *Ti-bw-iniw* (Dibon)—were located north of the Wadi al Hasa. Locations south of the Wadi al Hasa were not mentioned in this list, but this does not eliminate the possibility that there was interaction between the Egyptians and the regions south of the Wadi al Hasa. In fact, the excavations at the copper mining facilities in the Wadi Arabah, at Timna, and the Sinai Peninsula point to significant Egyptian interests in this region from the reign of Seti I through Ramesses III, with the most intensive exploitation of the copper mines at Timna during the reign of Ramesses II.[40] It is likely that the documents from the time of Ramesses II

---

34. John Baines, "Classicism and Modernism in the Literature of the New Kingdom," in *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms*, ed. Antonio Loprieno, PAe 10 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 171–72; Antonio Loprieno, "Defining Egyptian Literature: Ancient Texts and Modern Theories," in Loprieno, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 51.

35. Translation follows Kitchen, "Egyptian Evidence on Ancient Jordan," 27.

36. On the complexity of genre in this text, see Stephen G. Quirke, "Archive," in Loprieno, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 386, 389.

37. Cooper, "Toponymy on the Periphery," 208–9.

38. See the summary in Hasel, *Domination and Resistance*, 151–78.

39. David Warburton, "Egyptian Campaigns in Jordan Revisited," *SHAJ* 7 (2001): 235.

40. Beno Rothenberg, "Archaeo-metallurgical Researches in the Southern Arabah 1959–1990, Part 2: Egyptian New Kingdom (Ramesside) to Early Islam," *PEQ*

and Ramesses III concerning Seir were accounts of punitive or preventative attacks against the local Shasu tribes undertaken by the Egyptians to protect their mining interests in the area.

Although it is difficult to identify pastoral-nomadic groups in the archaeological record, Levy recently suggested that the Early Iron Age cemetery, Wadi Fidan 40, could provisionally be linked with the Shasu tribes of Edom.[41] This site is on the north bank of the Wadi Fidan near the sites of Khirbat Hamrat Fidan, Faynan, and Khirbat an Nahas. Levy cites three aspects of the material remains of the site that indicate a pastoral group similar to the Shasu: the absence of nearby settlement sites attributable to this time period, the absence of ceramic grave goods, and the presence of wooden bowl offerings.[42]

A number of copper mines were in use during the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age in the nearby Wadi Faynan region during this period: Khirbat al Jariya, Khirbat an Nahas, and Wadi Khalid 42, all of which provided radiocarbon dates between the twelfth and tenth centuries BCE. However, the archaeological surveys of some of the mining areas have not recovered significant structures or houses in the area from this period. The use of the copper mines in the Wadi Faynan region during the twelfth through the tenth centuries BCE may indicate an Egyptian expansion of mining expeditions to the northeast of Timna, or this could imply a local attempt to exploit the copper reserves in the area.

To summarize the Egyptian textual evidence during the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age, seminomadic pastoral tribes, referred to as Shasu

---

131 (1999): 149–62; Ian Shaw, "Quarries and Mines," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, ed. Donald B. Redford, 3 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 3:99–104; Shaw, "Pharaonic Quarrying and Mining: Settlement and Procurement in Egypt's Marginal Regions," *Antiquity* 68 (1994): 108–19; Jack Ogden, "Metals," in *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, ed. Paul T. Nicholson and Ian Shaw (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 148–76.

41. Thomas E. Levy and Augustin F. C. Holl, "Migrations, Ethnogenesis, and Settlement Dynamics: Israelites in Iron Age Canaan and Shuwa-Arabs in the Chad Basin," *J Anthropol Archaeol* 21 (2002): 83–118; Beherec, Najjar, and Levy, "Wadi Fidan 40 and Mortuary Archaeology," 665–721; Levy, Russell B Adams, and Adolfo Muniz, "Archaeology and the Shasu Nomads: Recent Excavations in the Jabal Hamrat Fidan, Jordan," in *Le-David Maskil: A Birthday Tribute for David Noel Freedman*, ed. Richard Elliot Friedman and William H. C. Propp, BJSUCSD 9 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2004), 63–89.

42. Levy and Holl, "Migrations, Ethnogenesis, and Settlement Dynamics," 97.

by the Egyptians, inhabited among other regions the area in which the Edomite polity would later develop. Although the inhabitants of southern Jordan were likely mentioned as the Shasu of Seir as early as the time of Ramesses II (thirteenth century BCE), any reference to this area as Edom first occurs during the time of Ramesses III (early twelfth century BCE). The Shasu tribes in the area caused problems for the Egyptian mining interests at Timna and in the Wadi Arabah and so were the object of punitive or preventative attacks by the Egyptians. The only region in southern Jordan where significant Early Iron Age remains were recovered is the mining area of the Arabah, including the site of Wadi Fidan 40, where there could have been either an Egyptian interest in exploiting the mines or local attempts to initiate mining ventures. Yet material remains from the other areas of Edom, which were possibly inhabited by the Shasu tribes, have not been recovered due to the difficulty of locating and identifying the remains of nomadic populations in these regions. Edom does not appear in the historical record again until the early eighth century BCE when the Assyrian king Adad-nirari III (810–783 BCE) claimed to have imposed a tribute on Edom.[43]

3.2. Assyrian Documents concerning Edom

Two types of Assyrian texts mention Edom: royal inscriptions and administrative documents. Located at the margins of the Assyrian spheres of control, Edom was never incorporated into the larger literary imagination of imperial scribes. While the nature of the relationship between Assyria and Edom is uncertain, it becomes clear in these documents that there was a level of political organization in Edom during this period that interacted with the regional Assyrian administration. The relevant Assyrian royal inscriptions range from the reign of Adad-nirari III to Assurbanipal, spanning the early eighth century BCE through the late seventh century BCE.

Assyriologists generally refer to three kinds of territories administered by the Assyrians: a province, a vassal, or a tributary state. A province was a region that Assyria occupied and administered after dismantling the local political system. A vassal or client was a polity that had diplomatic relations with Assyria; Assyria retained the local leaders but required them to

---

43. Egyptian trading ventures and other types of interactions certainly continued on a much smaller scale. See the summary in Shirly Ben-Dor Evian, "Egypt and Israel: The Never-Ending Story," *NEA* 80 (2017): 30–39.

pay regular tribute under threat of destruction or incorporation into the empire. A tributary was responsible for an arranged payment of goods or services to Assyria in order to avoid destruction, but this payment was not regular and Assyria held no interests in occupying or even administering the territory otherwise. These types of Assyrian interactions with controlled territories resulted in various levels of interaction, occupation, and construction projects.[44] In this scheme, the data concerning Edom in the Assyrian documents suggest that it was likely a tributary polity, paying only occasional tribute to the empire while the elite of Edom would have been responsible for maintaining authority and control in order to extract tribute and dissuade the population from insubordinate actions against the empire.[45]

The information provided by the Assyrian documents is slim since the references to Edom are almost entirely within lists of areas located on the southwestern frontier of the empire. This southwestern region of the Assyrian domain—consisting of Philistia, Judah, Samaria, the Phoenician cities and the Jordanian regions—was an important buffer zone between the empires of Assyria and Egypt.[46] Yet not all of the polities were equally vital to the Assyrians.[47] For example, Philistia was on the important route between the Levant and Egypt and was therefore indispensable to the Assyrians. Although Edom did not hold any immediate military or major economic importance for the Assyrians, it did at times act as a buffer

---

44. See Nathan Morello, "Building the Frontier: Frontier Fortifications in the Assyrian Empire," in *Focus on Fortifications: New Research on Fortifications in the Ancient Mediterranean and the Near East*, ed. Rune Frederiksen et al., MoDIA 18 (Oxford: Oxbow, 2016), 43–52.

45. These types of relationships were typically solidified with loyalty oaths or treaties between the Assyrians and the local rulers. For the use of these treaties, see Jacob Lauinger, "The Neo-Assyrian *adê*: Treaty, Oath, or Something Else?" *ZABR* 19 (2013): 99–115.

46. For a recent treatment of the early history of the Assyrian interests in the west, see K. Lawson Younger, "Assyria's Expansion West of the Euphrates (ca. 870–701 BCE)," in Farber and Wright, *Archaeology and History of Eighth-Century Judah*, 17–33.

47. For the importance of buffer states in the Neo-Assyrian Empire, see Karen Radner, "Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Muṣaṣir, Kumme, Ukku and Šubria—the Buffer States between Assyria and Urarṭu," in *Biainili-Urartu: The Proceedings of the Symposium Held in Munich 12–14 October* 2007, ed. Stephan Kroll, Acta Iranica 51 (Leuven: Peeters, 2012), 243–64. Note that the buffer states that Radner treats are better attested due to their location between the Assyrian homeland and the rising power of Urartu.

against the Arabian tribes to the east and, throughout its brief history as a polity that functioned as one segment along the Arabian trade routes.

3.2.1. Adad-nirari III

The Nimrud Stela of Adad-nirari III (810–783 BCE) is a commemorative inscription that describes his campaign to Syria in support of Zakkur, the king of Hamath and Lu'ath, against Bir-Hadad of Damascus in 796 BCE.[48] The text begins with the royal name and epithets, followed by a general description of the extent of Adad-nirari III's conquests. Two events described are the submission of Bir-Hadad of Damascus and Adad-nirari III's activities in Babylonia. In the description of the extent of Adad-nirari III's influence, he claimed to have subdued the entire region from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean Sea (line 11). Within the list of areas on which he imposed tribute, he mentioned the regions of the southern Levant including Tyre, Sidon, Samaria, Edom, and Philistia.

> The Nimrud Stela of Adad-nirari III[49]
> 11   *šá na-pah* ᵈutu-*ši* ta ugu* ⁱᵈa.rad* ᵏᵘʳ*Ḫat-ti* ᵏᵘʳ*A-mur-ri ana si-hir-ti-šá*
> 12   ᵏᵘʳ*Ṣur-ru* ᵏᵘʳ*Ṣi-du-nu* ᵏᵘʳ *Ḫu-um-ri-i* ᵏᵘʳ*Ú-du-mu* ᵏᵘʳ*Pa-la-as-tú*
> 13   *a-di* ugu *tam-tim* gal-*ti šá* silim-*mu* ᵈutu-*ši ana* gìr.II-*ia*
> 14   *ú-šék-niš* gun *ma-da-tú* ugu-*šú-nu ú-kín*

---

48. See Edward Lipiński, *The Aramaeans: Their Ancient History, Culture, Religion*, OLA 100 (Leuven: Peeters, 2000), 254–58; Manfred Weippert, "Die Feldzuge Adadnararis III. nach Syrien Voraussetzungen, Verlauf, Folgen," *ZDPV* 108 (1992): 42–67; Walter Mayer, *Politik und Kriegskunst der Assyrer*, ALASP 9 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1995); Eckhart Frahm, "The Neo-Assyrian Period (ca. 1000–609 B.C.E.)," in *A Companion to Assyria*, ed. Eckhart Frahm, BCAW (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley, 2017), 174–75; Ariel M. Bagg, "Assyria and the West: Syria and the Levant," in Frahm, *Companion to Assyria*, 270–71.

49. I rev. 35, 1. For the text, see Hayim Tadmor, "The Historical Inscriptions of Adad-nirari III," *Iraq* 35 (1973): 148–50; and A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC I (1114–859 BC)*, RIMA 2 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), A.0.104.7. For recent translations, see K. Lawson Younger Jr., "Calah Orthostat Slab," *COS* 2.114G:276–77; Jeffery Kah-Jin Kuan, *Neo-Assyrian Historical Inscriptions and Syria-Palestine: Israelite/Judean-Tyrian-Damascene Political and Commercial Relations in the Ninth–Eighth Centuries BCE*, Jian Dao Dissertation Series 1, Bible and Literature 1 (Hong Kong: Alliance Bible Seminary, 1995), 81–84.

> From the east, I subdued (the territory stretching) from the bank of the Euphrates, Hatti, Amurru in its entirety, Tyre, Sidon, Ḫumri (i.e., the land of Omri), Edom, and Philistia, as far as the Great Sea in the west. I imposed a *biltu*-payment and a *maddattu*-payment upon them.

The text mentions two types of payments imposed by Adad-nirari III: a *maddattu* payment (a compulsory, annual payment) and a *biltu* payment (probably a one-time payment), although the construction that refers to both types of tribute may be an instance of hendiadys, meaning simply "tribute."[50] The locations mentioned in this part of the Nimrud stela represent the earliest expansion of Assyrian influence to the west of the Assyrian homeland.[51] Scholars speculate that the reference to Edom in this text suggests that the polity had diplomatic links with Damascus or, more likely, that it took this opportunity to pay a one-time tribute to Assyria, perhaps to gain some level of Assyrian diplomatic support.[52] Otherwise, the text supplies no information about these regions, such as the amount of tribute or the nature of their relations with Assyria. What is clear is that Edom made early attempts to placate the Assyrians. While no ruler of Edom is mentioned and there is no reason to suppose that Edom had a single, clear leader, at this time there was apparently enough centralized organization in Edom to gather resources for a payment to Assyria. Assyria remained only a distant threat to Edom during the ninth century BCE. After this campaign, Adad-nirari III and his successors engaged with Assyria's immediate neighbors to the north and the south. Assyria did not campaign again in the west until the reign of Tiglath-pileser III after he had subjugated Urartu and Babylon.

---

50. The payment of tribute is a constant theme in royal Assyrian inscriptions, and will be further explored in both the discussion of individual texts and in the concluding discussion. For *maddattu,* see J. N. Postgate, *Taxation and Conscription in the Assyrian Empire*, Studia Pohl 3 (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1974), 119; Kuan, *Neo-Assyrian Historical Inscriptions and Syria-Palestine*, 23. For *biltu*, see Shigeo Yamada, *The Construction of the Assyrian Empire: A Historical Study of the Inscriptions of Shalmaneser III (859–824 BC) Relating to His Campaigns to the West*, CHANE 3 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 236–37.

51. Luis Siddall, *The Reign of Adad-nīrārī III: An Historical and Ideological Analysis of an Assyrian King and His Times*, CM 45 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 58–59.

52. See Alan Millard, "Assyrian Involvement in Edom," in Bienkowski, *Early Edom and Moab*, 35; Weippert, "Relations of the States East of the Jordan," 98; Bartlett, *Edom and the Edomites*, 124.

3.2.2. Tiglath-pileser III

Tiglath-pileser III (744–727 BCE) began a policy of western expansion and consolidation with campaigns to Urartu and northern Syria from 745 BCE until 738 BCE.[53] In 734 BCE, he campaigned in southern Syria and Palestine until he reached the borders of Egypt in 732 BCE. The series of campaigns to the west in the late 730s BCE served to reclaim territory that was lost during the preceding period of weakness, suppress an anti-Assyrian coalition led by Aram, and secure control of the trade routes in the southern Levant.[54] Tiglath-pileser III's exploits are described in his annals and summary inscriptions found at Nimrud.

Tiglath-pileser III marched on the southern Levant between 734 and 732 BCE when he defeated Damascus, Tyre, Gaza, and Samsi, the queen of the Arabs.[55] This is narrated in Summary Inscription 7, the most detailed of Tiglath-pileser III's inscriptions, composed on the occasion of the building of his royal palace in Nimrud.[56] It was written during his seventeenth regnal year (*palû*), although the campaign itself must have taken place in his twelfth regnal year (734 BCE), since Mitinti king of Ashkelon only ruled during that year.[57] Also, the eponym texts that provide lists of Assyrian year names record 734 BCE (= Bēl-dān) as the year that a campaign

---

53. A. K. Grayson, "Assyria: Tiglath-pileser III to Sargon II (744–705 B.C.)," in *The Assyrian and Babylonian Empire and Other States in the Near East, from the Eighth to the Sixth Centuries B.C.*, ed. John Boardman et. al., 2nd ed., CAH 3.2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 74–77; Frahm, "Neo-Assyrian Period (ca. 1000–609 B.C.E.)," 176–78.

54. See Lipiński, *Aramaeans*, 405–6; and Kuan, *Neo-Assyrian Historical Inscriptions and Syria-Palestine*, 187–89.

55. For historical reconstructions of this campaign, see Grayson, "Assyria: Tiglath-pileser III to Sargon II (744–705 B.C.)," 77–79; Mayer, *Politik und Kriegskunst der Assyrer*, 307–10; Manfred Weippert, "Menahem von Israel und seine Zeitgenossen in einer Steleninschrift des assyrischen Königs Tiglathpileser III. aus dem Iran," *ZDPV* 89 (1973): 26–53. For more on Samsi, queen of the Arabs, see Israel Ephʿal, *The Ancient Arabs: Nomads on the Borders of the Fertile Crescent 9th–5th Centuries B.C.* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1982), 83–87.

56. Hayim Tadmor, *The Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III King of Assyria: Critical Edition, with Introductions, Translations and Commentary* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1994), 154.

57. Tadmor, *Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III King of Assyria*, 268; Kuan, *Neo-Assyrian Historical Inscriptions and Syria-Palestine*, 162–63; Ephraim Stern, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible, Volume II: The Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian Periods*

was made against Philistia.[58] A small section of Summary Inscription 7 (rev. 7′–13′) records a list of kings who paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser III on the occasion of these campaigns.

> Summary Inscription 7 of Tiglath-pileser III rev. 7′–13′[59]
>
> 7′   [*ma-da-at*]-˹*tu*˺ *ša* ᵐ*Ku-uš-ta-áš-pi* ᵏᵘʳ*Ku-muḫ-a-a* ᵐ*Ú-ri-ik* ᵏᵘʳ*Qu-u-a-a* ᵐ*Si-bi-it-ti-bi-ʾi-il* ᵘʳᵘ[*Gu-ub-la-a-a*]
>
> 8′   [ᵐ*E-ni*]-*ìl* ᵏᵘʳ *Ḫa-am-ma-ta-a-a* ᵐ*Pa-na-am-mu-u* ᵘʳᵘ*Sa-am-ʾa-la-a-a* ᵐ*Tar-ḫu-la-ra* ᵏᵘʳ*Gúr-gu-ma-a-a* ᵐ*Su-˹lu˺-*[*ma-al* ᵏᵘʳ*Me-lid-da-a-a*]
>
> 9′   [ᵐ*Ú*]-˹*aš*˺-*sur-me* ᵏᵘʳ*Ta-bal-a-a* ᵐ*Uš-ḫi-it-ti* ᵘʳᵘ*Tu-na-a-a* ᵐ*Ur-bal-la-a* ᵘʳᵘ*Tu-ḫa-na-a-a* ᵐ*Tu-ḫa-na-a-a* ᵐ*Tu-ḫa-am-*[*me* ᵘʳᵘ*Iš-tu-un-da-a-a*
>
> 10′ [ᵐ*Ma*]-*ta-an-bi-ʾi-il* ᵘʳᵘ*Ar-ma-da-a-a* ᵐ*Sa-ni-pu* ᵘʳᵘ*É-Am-ma-na-a-a* ᵐ*Sa-la-ma-nu* ᵏᵘʳ*Ma-ʾa-ba-a-a* ᵐ[…
>
> 11′ [ᵐ*Mi*]-*ti-in-ti* ᵏᵘʳ*As-qa-lu-na-a-a* ᵐ*Ia-ú-ḫa-zi* ᵏᵘʳ*Ia-ú-da-a-a* ᵐ*Qa-uš-ma-la-ka* ᵏᵘʳ*Ú-du-mu-a-a* ᵐ*Mu-uṣ-x-*[…
>
> 12′ [ᵐ *Ḫa*]-*a-nu-ú-nu* ᵘʳᵘ *Ḫa-za-at-a-a* kù.gi kù.babbar an.na an.bar a.bár *lu-bul-ti bir-me* ᵗᵘᵍgada *lu-bul-ti* kur.meš-*šú-nu* ˢⁱᵍza.gìn.sa₅ […]
>
> 13′ [*mim-ma*] *aq-ru bi-nu-ut tam-tim na-ba-li ṣi-bu-ta-at* kur-*šú-nu ni-ṣir-ti* lugal-*ti* anše.kur.ra.meš anše.gìr.nun.meš lal-*at* giš-*ni*-[*i-ri* … *am-ḫur*]

[I received the tribute] of Kuštašpi of the land of Kummuh, Urik of the land of Que, Sibittibiʾil of [the city of Byblos, Hiram of the land of Tyre, Pisīris of the city of Carchemish,] [Eni]-il of the land of Hamath, Panammu of the city of Samʾal, Tarḫulara of the city of Gurgum, Sulu[mal of the land of Melid, Dadi-ilu of the city of Kaška,] [U]assurme of the land of Tabal, Ušḫitti of the city of Tuna, Urballâ of the city of Tuḫana, Tuḫam[mi of the city of Ištunda, Urimmi of the city of Ḫubišna,] [Ma]

(732–332 B.C.E.), ABRL (New York: Doubleday, 2001), 104; Bagg, "Assyria and the West," 270–71.

58. For the eponym texts, see Alan Millard, *The Eponyms of the Assyrian Empire 910–612 BC*, SAA 2 (Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1994), 44, 59.

59. II rev. 67 (lines 57–63) = K 3751. The most recent edition of this text is Hayim Tadmor and Shigeo Yamada, *The Royal Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III (744–727 BC) and Shalmaneser V (726–722 BC), Kings of Assyria*, RINAP 1 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2011), no. 47, which is based on Tadmor, *Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III King of Assyria*, 168–71. For recent translations, see K. Lawson Younger Jr., "Summary Inscription 7," *COS* 2.117D:289–90.

tanbi'il of the city of Arwad, Sanīpu of the land of Bīt-Ammon, Salāmānu
of the land of Moab, […][Mi]tinti of the land of Ashkelon, Jehoahaz of
the land of Judah, Qauš-malaka of the land of Edom, Muṣ…[…of…]
(and) Ḫanūnu of the city of Gaza: gold, silver, lead, iron, tin, multicol-
ored garments, linen garments, the garments of the lands, wool (dyed)
red-purple, [all kinds of] costly articles, produce of the sea (and) dry
land, the commodities of their lands, royal treasures, horses (and) mules
broken to the yo[ke].

Lines 9′–12′ of the text list the leaders of the region, including Qaus-
malak of Edom.[60] The list is followed by an enumeration of the items sent
as tribute to Tiglath-pileser III. Unfortunately, it is not possible to deter-
mine what items Edom or any other polity provided. This text mentions
Qaus-malak along with the names of other leaders in the area. Signifi-
cantly, the text does not refer to these leaders as "kings," as in later texts, so
the status of Qaus-malak and how he was understood by the Assyrians is
unclear. Tiglath-pileser III's Summary Inscription does provide a relatively
firm date for Qaus-malak, perhaps one of the first rulers of a new Edomite
elite, around 735 BCE.

The nature of the relationship of Edom to Assyria during the reign of
Tiglath-pileser III is sometimes described as that of a vassal state. Accord-
ing to Bartlett, it is at this point that Edom becomes an Assyrian vassal with
obligations to pay regular tribute and aid in military operations.[61] He also
suggests that Assyrian officials were probably stationed in Edom to super-
vise their diplomatic and economic interests. It is likely that the campaign
of Tiglath-pileser III in the area does mark the point that Edom became

---

60. See Jaume Llop, "Qauš-malaka," in *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian
Empire, Volume 3, Part I*, ed. Heather D. Baker (Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus
Project, 2002), 1011. Note that there are some variations between the Assyrian and
Edomite spellings of personal names. First, the theophoric element is written in the
Assyrian sources with an UŠ sign, but in the Edomite texts it is invariably written with
a *samek*, yielding Qaus. Second, the second element of the personal names in Assyrian
sources retains a final vowel indicating grammatical case. This vowel was not used in
the first millennium BCE West Semitic languages and/or scripts (see Bruce K. Waltke
and Michael O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* [Winona Lake, IN:
Eisenbrauns, 1990], 125–26). I will follow the Assyrian spelling only in the translation
of the text, otherwise the Edomite spelling is used.

61. Bartlett, *Edom and the Edomites*, 128. See also Bennett, "Neo-Assyrian Influ-
ence in Transjordan," 181; Tadmor, *Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III King of Assyria*, 9;
Ahlström, *History of Palestine*, 642.

some kind of a client polity (a term preferable to vassal state), but there is no reason to suppose that high Assyrian officials were stationed in Edom, which was the usual procedure only after a region was annexed to Assyria.[62] In any case, Edom never became a province of Assyria.[63] The Assyrian royal inscriptions typically used two specific phrases to indicate that a certain region was annexed: GN *ana miṣir māt Aššur utirra* ("I returned GN to the border of Assyria") and *šūt-rēštiya bēl pīhāti elišunu aškun* ("I placed my official over them as governor").[64] Such phraseology is never applied to Edom. This summary inscription of Tiglath-pileser III also states that the type of tribute was a *maddattu*-payment, which was probably a compulsory annual payment that was imposed on polities that recognized Assyrian rule but were not annexed into the administration of the empire.[65] During this period Edom could be considered either a tributary or a client polity, but certainly not a province or annexed state of the Assyrian Empire.

3.2.3. Sargon II

3.2.3.1. Sargon II's Campaign against Ashdod

After Sargon II's (721–705 BCE) problematic accession to the Assyrian throne, a series of rebellions in the west necessitated a campaign in 720 BCE into Syria and then south to reconquer Gaza and defeat the Egyptian army at Raphia.[66] In 713 BCE, Sargon II accused Azuri, the king

---

62. For the modern terminology of client state and vassal state, see J. N. Postgate, "The Land of Assur and the Yoke of Assur," *WA* 23 (1992): 247–63.

63. With Piotr Bienkowski, "Transjordan and Assyria," in *The Archaeology of Jordan and Beyond: Essays in Honor of James A. Sauer*, ed. Lawrence E. Stager, Joseph A. Greene, and Michael D. Coogan, SAHL 1 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2000), 47; Weippert, "Relations of the States East of the Jordan," 99; Grayson, "Assyria: Tiglath-pileser III to Sargon II (744–705 B.C.)," 78; Frahm, "Neo-Assyrian Period (ca. 1000–609 B.C.E.)," 180–83; Bagg, "Assyria and the West," 271–72.

64. See the discussion of the wording of various levels of occupation in Tadmor, *Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III King of Assyria*, 43–44.

65. Postgate, *Taxation and Conscription in the Assyrian Empire*, 119–20.

66. Grayson, "Assyria: Tiglath-pileser III to Sargon II (744–705 B.C.)," 86–89; Mayer, *Politik und Kriegskunst der Assyrer*, 336–37. For a recent treatment of Sargon's reign, see Josette Elayi, *Sargon II: King of Assyria*, ABS 22 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2017). For an analysis of the rebellions in the Neo-Assyrian Empire, see Karen Radner, "Revolts in the Assyrian Empire: Succession Wars, Rebellions Against a False King and

of Ashdod, of conspiring against him. Sargon II replaced him with his brother Aḫî-Mîti, who was disliked by the people of Ashdod. The elite of Ashdod subsequently installed Yamani in 712 BCE, a ruler who attempted to garner the support of the surrounding regions, including Judah, Edom, Moab, and Egypt. In 711 BCE Sargon II sent troops to Philistia to quell the rebellion.[67]

The Yamani Affair (lines 25b–33a)[68]

25b *a-na* lu[gal.meš]
26   *ša* ^{kur}*Pi-liš-te* ^{kur}*Ia-ú-di* ^{kur}*Ú-du-*[*mu*]
27   ^{kur}*Ma-a-bi a-ši-bu-ut tam-tim na-áš bil-*[*ti u*]
28   *ta-mar-ti ša* ^d*A-šur₄ be-li-i*[*a*]
29   *da-bab sa-ar-ra-a-ti at-me-e nu-ul-la-a-te*
30   *ša it-ti-ia a-na šum-ku-ri* ugu ^I*Pi-ir-ʾu-u*
31   lugal ^{kur}*Mu-uṣ-ri mal-ku la mu-še-zi-bi-šú-nu*
32   *šul-man-na-šú-nu iš-šu-ú-ma e-ter-ri-šu-uš*
33   *ki-it-ra*

Independence Movements," in *Revolt and Resistance in the Ancient Classical World and the Near East: In the Crucible of Empire*, ed. John J. Collins and J. G. Manning, CHANE 85 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 41–54.

67. On this rebellion, see Weippert, "Relations of the States East of the Jordan," 99; Grayson, "Assyria: Tiglath-pileser III to Sargon II (744–705 B.C.)," 89; Millard, "Assyrian Involvement in Edom," 36; Bartlett, *Edom and the Edomites*, 130; Hayim Tadmor, "The Campaigns of Sargon II of Assur: A Chronological-Historical Study," *JCS* 12 (1958): 79–80; Stern, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible*, 105–6; Andreas Fuchs *Die Inschriften Sargons II. aus Khorsabad* (Göttingen: Cuvillier, 1994), 124–31; Elayi, *Sargon II*, 57–60; Bagg, "Assyria and the West," 182. For a similar removal of a local ruler in southern Anatolia who claimed too much authority, see Mark Weeden, "Tuwati and Wasusarma: Imitating the Behaviour of Assyria," *Iraq* 72 (2010): 39–61.

68. K 1668 + K 1671. Andreas Fuchs provides the most recent handcopy (*Die Annalen des Jahres 711 v. Chr.*, SAA 8 [Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1998], pl. 8), transliteration (pp. 44–46), and translation (pp. 73–75). There are numerous Assyrian documents related to this episode, of which only this fragment of the Nimrud Prism discusses the involvement of Edom. Other Inscriptions include the "Small Summary Inscription" lines 11–15 (Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons II. aus Khorsabad*, 76, 308), the Annals of Sargon lines 241–251 (pp. 132–34, 326), the Great Summary Inscription lines 90–112a (pp. 219–22, 348–49), and the Tang-i Var Inscription ll. 19–21 (Grant Frame, "The Inscription of Sargon II at Tang-i Var," *Or* 68 [1999]: 31–57). A summary of this material is in K. Lawson Younger, Jr., "Recent Study on Sargon II, King of Assyria: Implications for Biblical Studies," in *Mesopotamia and the Bible: Comparative Explorations*, ed. Mark W. Chavalas and K. Lawson Younger Jr., JSOTSup 341 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2002), 313–18.

> To the kings of Philistia, Judah, Edo[m], Moab (and) those who live by
> the sea, bearers of *biltu*-payment [and] *tāmartu*-payment to my Lord
> Assur, (they spread) countless falsehoods (and) treacherous words to
> incite enmity with me. They brought their good-will gifts and sought an
> alliance with Pirʾu, king of Egypt—a king who is unable to save them.

This text is particularly interesting because it states that Judah, Edom, and
Moab had previously brought tribute and a *tāmartu*-payment to Assur.
This could imply that these regions had regular diplomatic dealings with
Assyria and the Ashdodite rebellion would have disrupted the Assyrian
connections with the entire southern Levant. The text does not state that
any of these kings participated in the rebellion, and the lack of any trace
of retaliation in Edom and Moab would suggest that these regions were
intimidated into compliance or valued the benefits of their Assyrian rela-
tions and either declined Yamani's offer or quickly submitted to Sargon
II upon his arrival. According to the inscription, two types of payment
were imposed upon these western regions: a tribute (*biltu*) and a *tāmartu*-
payment. The word *tāmartu* is the Babylonian form of *nāmurtu*, which
was probably an "audience-gift" that was brought to the king on the occa-
sion of visits by local rulers. In the Neo-Assyrian period it appears to be
a compulsory payment that accompanied other forms of payments when
they were delivered, but its distinct significance is unclear.[69]

3.2.3.2. The Sargon Geography

In the 1990s, Horowitz published a later Babylonian copy of the Sargon
Geography, a version that preserved the name of both Moab and Edom.[70]
The Sargon Geography was an Assyrian geographic treatise composed
either during the reign of Sargon II or that of his son Sennacherib. There
are two concentrations of place names on the tablet. The first section (lines
6–29) consists of archaic geographic references that are derived from tradi-
tional sources; the second section (lines 45–57) is more recent in origin and
the place names are not found in previous Neo-Assyrian geographic texts.[71]

---

69. Postgate, *Taxation and Conscription in the Assyrian Empire*, 154–55, 217.

70. Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 67–95; Horowitz, "Moab and
Edom in the Sargon Geography," 151–56.

71. Mario Liverani, "The Sargon Geography and the Late Assyrian Mensuration
of the Earth," *SAAB* 13 (1999–2001): 59.

The relevant section of the Sargon Geography lists what appears to be the borders of the empire during the reign of Sargon II. This section preserves twenty place-names, of which only eleven can be securely identified.[72]

The following transliteration is from Horowitz, whose edition of the text used the Babylonian fragments (BM 64382 + BM 82955) to reconstruct the broken sections of the Assyrian tablet (VAT 8006).[73] The relevant section is found on lines 45–47 of the Assyrian tablet and lines 4′–9′ of the reverse of the Babylonian tablet.

45   *ultu an-za-an*^{ki} *adi m[iṣ]-ri-i*^{ki} *ṣur-r[u]*^{ki} *ṣur-šà-tak*^{ki}
46   *gab-la-*PÍ^{ki} *adi* x[x x]^{ki} *lu-lu-*[PÚ]*-un*^{ki} *má-gan-na*^{ki}
47   [*b*]*a-za*^{ki} x[x x (x)]^{ki} *u* ^{kur}*ú-da-ni-i*^{ki} *mi-ṣir šú-me-ra ma-la ba-šu-ú*
48   [...... *ma*]*-ʾ-bu-*[*ú*][$^{[k]i}$ x-x-*ú*^{ki} *te-ma-a*: *tíl te-em-ma-ni-ia*^{ki}
49   [......]*-x-ki-ia*$^{k[i]}$ [*ú*]*-d*[*u-u*]*m-mu gi-in-nir-tum*
50   [......*m*]*u-un-ni*^{ki} x-x-*d*[*u-d*]*u*^{ki} *là-pú-ú*: *tíl ha-la-pu-ú*^{ki}

45   From Ansan to Egypt, Tyre and Sursatak;
46   from Byblos to ...... Lullupun and Magan;
47   [B]aza ... and the land of Udani at the border of Sumer, as much as there is
48   ......[..M]oab ...... Tema/Til Temania
49   ......E[d]om, Ginnirtum.
50   [......]......[M]unni, ..., Lapu/Til Halapu

Although other portions of the Sargon Geography may date to earlier periods, this section belongs to the middle of the first millennium BCE since a number of the locations, including Edom, are not attested in sources earlier than the Neo-Assyrian period.[74] The significance of this text is diminished by its unknown function, which was probably not administrative.[75]

_____

72. Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 89.

73. Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 68–75.

74. Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*, 93; Liverani, "Sargon Geography and the Late Assyrian Mensuration of the Earth," 80.

75. Zucconi's supposition that this text implies that "Edom maintained dominance of the region" (Laura M. Zucconi, "From the Wilderness of Zin alongside Edom: Edomite Territory in the Eastern Negev during the Eighth–Sixth Centuries B.C.E.," in *Milk and Honey: Essays on Ancient Israel and the Bible in Appreciation of the Judaic Studies Program at the University of California, San Diego*, ed. Sarah Malena and David Miano [Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2007], 251) is reading too much into this laconic text of uncertain function.

3.2.4. Sennacherib

The next major campaign to the west by an Assyrian king was Sennacherib's (704–681 BCE) third campaign in 701 BCE.[76] The campaign was directed against Hezekiah of Judah. The Jordanian rulers, including Aya-rāmu of Edom, either refused to become involved or submitted upon the arrival of Sennacherib's forces to the area.[77] Alternatively, William Gallagher suggests that the eight rulers listed in this section began to withhold payment from Assyria in 705 BCE, at the end of Sargon II's reign, and were required to make back payments of four years of tribute (*adi* 4-*šú*) before the campaign.[78]

> Sennacherib's Account of the Campaign[79]
> 36   *ša* [m]*Mi-nu-ḫi-im-mu* [uru]*Sam-si-mu-ru-na-a-a* [m]*Tu-ba-aʾ-lu* [uru]*Ṣi-*

---

76. See Eckart Frahm, *Einleitung in die Sanherib-Inschriften*, AfOB 26 (Vienna: Institut für Orientalistik der Universität Wein, 1997), 10–11; Walter Mayer, "Sennacherib's Campaign of 701 BCE: The Assyrian View," in *"Like a Bird in a Cage": The Invasion of Sennacherib in 701 BCE*, ed. Lester L. Grabbe, JSOTSup 363, ESHM 4 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2003), 168–200; Frahm, "The Neo-Assyrian Period (ca. 1000–609 B.C.E.)," 183–187; Bagg, "Assyria and the West," 272.

77. F. M. Fales and Karen Radner, "Aia-rāmu," in *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire. Volume 1, Part I*, ed. Karen Radner (Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1998), 92; Weippert, "Relations of the States East of the Jordan," 99; A. K. Grayson, "Assyrians," *OEANE* 1:20; Grayson, "Assyria: Sennacherib and Esarhaddon (704–669 B.C.)," in John Boardman et. al., *Assyrian and Babylonian Empire and Other States in the Near East, from the Eighth to the Sixth Centuries B.C.*, 109–11; Mayer, *Politik und Kriegskunst der Assyrer*, 350–63; Millard, "Assyrian Involvement in Edom," 36; Bartlett, *Edom and the Edomites*, 131–32; Ahlström, *History of Palestine*, 657, 664.

78. William R. Gallagher, *Sennacherib's Campaign to Judah: New Studies*, SHCANE 18 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 106–9.

79. The text is found on the Chicago Prism (II: 50–60) and the Taylor Prism (II: 47–57 = 1 rev. 37–42, col. 2:47–57). For a recent translation of this text, see Mayer ("Sennacherib's Campaign of 701 BCE," 186–192) and Mordechai Cogan ("Sennacherib's Siege of Jerusalem," *COS* 2.119B:302–3). The transliteration follows Frahm's composite edition (*Einleitung in die Sanherib-Inschriften*, text T4). The most recent edition of the text is that of A. K. Grayson and Jamie Novotny, *The Royal Inscriptions of Sennacherib, King of Assyria (704–681), Part 1* RINAP 3.1 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2012), Sennacherib 4. Note that there are additional corresponding copies of this text that are nearly identical. See Grayson and Novotny, *Royal Inscriptions of Sennacherib*, Sennacherib 16, 17, 22, 23, 140, 142.

du-un-na-a-a [I]*Ab-di-li-i'-ti* [uru]*A-ru-da-a-a* [I]*Ú-ru-mil-ki* [uru]*Gu-ub-la-a-a*

37 [m]*Mi-ti-in-ti* [uru]*As-du-da-a-a* [m]*Bu-du-*dingir [kur]*é-Am-ma-na-a-a* [m]*Kam-mu-su-na-ad-bi* [kur]*Ma-'a-ba-a-a* [md]*A-a-ram-mu* [kur]*Ú-du-um-ma-a-a*

38 lugal.meš-*ni* [kur]mar-tu[ki] *ka-li-šú-nu* igi-sá-*e šad-lu-ti ta-mar-ta-šú-nu ka-bit-tu a-di* 4-*šú a-na maḫ-ri-ia iš-šu-nim-ma iš-ši-qu* gìr[II]-*ia*

As for all of the kings of Amurru—Minuḫimmu of the city of Sam-simurruna, Tu-Ba'lu of the city of Sidon, Abdi-Li'ti of the city of Arwad, Ūru-Milki of the city of Byblos, Mitinti of the city of Ašdod, Būdi-ilu of the city of Bīt-Ammon, Kemoš-nadbi of the land of Moab (and) Aya-rāmu of the land of Edom—they brought sumptuous gifts [*igisû šadluti*] and fourfold of their heavy *tāmartu* gifts to me and kissed my feet.

This campaign of Sennacherib resulted in major destructions in Judah, but there are no destruction levels dating to this period in southwestern Jordan, suggesting that Edom was unharmed by the advancing Assyrian army, perhaps due to their early capitulation to Sennacherib's demands. In texts relating to Edom, this is the only appearance of *igisû*, which is probably a synonym of the other terms for tribute.

There are two other Sennacherib-era inscriptions that may be relevant to the history of Edom during this period; the texts possibly presuppose the inclusion of Edom under the collective term "the kings of Amurru," although Edom is not explicitly mentioned. Edom may have been included under this collective term in the Adad-nirari III text and in the above Sennacherib text. Yet, it is possible that Edom also participated in these actions.

Bull Inscription 4 is a text inscribed on a pair of bulls that flanked the entrance to Sennacherib's throne room.[80] The inscription summarizes Sennacherib's first five campaigns and the beginning of the sixth. It states that "all of the kings of Amurru brought their heavy tribute before me at Ushu" (lines 19–20: lugal[meš] [kur]mar.tu[ki] *ka-li-šú-un* gun *ka-bit-tú i-na ta-mir-ti* [uru]*Ú-šu-ú a-di mah-ri-ia ú-bi-lu-ni*).[81] The land of Amurru is

---

80. Gallagher, *Sennacherib's Campaign to Judah*, 12.

81. III rev. 12 Slab 1. Translations and transliterations include Mayer, "Sennacherib's Campaign of 701 BCE," 194–97; and Frahm, *Einleitung in die Sanherib-Inschriften*, T 29.

also mentioned in a broken context in Sennacherib's "Letter to the God Assur." Line 18 states, "I made the troops of Amurru build up ear[th mas] ses an[d…" (…*u*]*m-ma-na-at* ᵏᵘʳmar.tuᵏⁱ dù-*šú-un* sa[har.h]i.a *ú-šá-az-bíl-šu-nu-ti-m*[*a*…).[82] The significance of this text, if the troops or laborers of Edom are to be included with those of Amurru more generally, is that during Sennacherib's campaign Edomites were employed in building siege ramps against a royal city of Philistia (described in lines 11–16).[83] The broken context and lack of an explicit mention of Edom preclude firm conclusions. It is possible that Edom not only paid its tribute on the occasion of Sennacherib's third campaign but also provided troops as workers for the campaign.

3.2.5. Esarhaddon

Esarhaddon (680–669 BCE) was the first Assyrian ruler to invade Egypt (in 674 BCE), which marked the greatest extent of the Assyrian imperialistic expansion. After a failed first attempt, Esarhaddon's armies successfully invaded the northern part of Egypt two years later.[84] In order to accomplish this, Esarhaddon was dependent upon the pacification of Syria-Palestine that was accomplished under Sennacherib. A relatively peaceful situation prevailed, since only Sidon is recorded as causing disruptions during this period. The other kings in the area, including Qaus-gabar of Edom as well as the kings of Ammon and Moab, were listed as supplying building materials for a new palace of Esarhaddon in Nineveh.[85]

---

82. K 6205 + BM 82-3-23, 131. See Nadav Na'aman, "Sennacherib's 'Letter to God' on His Campaign to Judah," *BASOR* 214 (1974): 25–39. Tadmor ("Campaigns of Sargon II of Assur," 80–84) attributes the text to Sargon II. Translations and transliterations include Mayer, "Sennacherib's Campaign of 701 BCE," 198–200; and Frahm, *Einleitung in die Sanherib-Inschriften*, 229–32.

83. On this campaign against Padi, king of Ekron, see Peter Dubovský, "Assyrians under the Walls of Jerusalem and the Confinement of Padi," *JNES* 75 (2016): 109–26.

84. Israel Eph'al, "Stages and Aims in the Royal Historiography of Esarhaddon," *Orient* 49 (2014): 51–68; Frahm, "Neo-Assyrian Period (ca. 1000–609 B.C.E.)," 189–90; Karen Radner, "Esarhaddon's Expedition from Palestine to Egypt in 671 BCE: A Trek through Negev and Sinai," in *Fundstellen: Gesammelte Schriften zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altvorderasiens ad honorem Hartmut Kühne*, ed. Dominik Bonatz, Rainer M Czichon, and F. Janoscha Kreppner (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008), 305–14.

85. On Qaus-gabar, see J. Llop, "Qauš-gabri," in Baker, *Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire. Volume 3, Part I*, 1011.

The Esarhaddon Prism col. V: 54–83[86]

54   *ad-ke-e-ma* lugal^meš ^kur*Ḫat-ti u e-ber* [ÍD]
55   ^m*Ba-ʾa-lu* lugal ^uru*Ṣur-ri* ^m*Me-na-si-i* lugal ^uru*Ia-ú-di*
56   ^m*Qa-uš-gab-ri* lugal ^uru*Ú-du-me* ^m*Mu-ṣur-i* lugal ^uru*Ma-ʾa-ab*
57   ^m*Ṣil*-en lugal ^uru*Ḫa-zi-ti* ^m*Me-ti-in-ti* lugal ^uru*Is-ka-lu-na*
58   ^m*I-ka-ú-su* lugal ^uru*Am-qar-ru-na*
59   ^m*Mil-ki-a-šá-pa* lugal ^uru*Gu-ub-li*
60   ^m*Ma-ta-an-ba-ʾa-al* lugal ^uru*A-ru-ad-da*
61   ^m*A-bi-ba-ʾa-li* lugal ^uru*Sam-si-mur-ru-na*
62   ^m*Bu-du*-dingir lugal ^uruÉ *Am-ma-an* ^mpap-*mil-ki* lugal ^uru*As-du-di*
63   12 lugal.meš *šá ki-šá-di tam-tim*
 [lines 63b–70 list ten kings of Cyprus]
71   lugal.meš *ša* ^kur*Ia-at-na-na*
72   murub₄ *tam-tim* šu.nigin 22 lugal.meš ^kur *Ḫat-ti a-ḫi tam-tim*
73   *u* murub₄ *tam-tim ka-li-šú-nu ú-ma-ʾi-ir-šú-nu-ti-ma*
74   giš.ùr.meš gal.meš *tim-me* maḫ.meš ^giš*a-dáp-ti šu-ḫu-u-ti*
75   *ša* giš.eren giš.šur.mìn *tar-bit* ^kur*Si-ra-ra u* ^kur*Lab-na-na*
76   *ša ul-tu* ud-*me pa-ni ma-gal ik-bi-ru-ma i-ši-ḫu la-a-nu*
77   ^d alad.^dlamma.meš *ša* na₄.^dše.tir
78   ^mi ^dlamma^meš ^mi áb.za.za-*a-ti* na₄.kun₄.meš *a-gúr-ri*
79   *ša* na₄.giš.nu₁₁.gal na₄.^dše.tir na₄.dúr.mi.na
80   na₄.dúr.mi.na.bàn.da na₄.*a-lal-lum* na₄.gi.rim.ḫi.li.ba
81   *ul-tu qé-reb ḫur-šá-a-ni a-šar nab-ni-te-šú-nu*
82   *a-na ḫi-šiḫ-ti* é.gal-*ia gig-iš pa-áš-qí-iš*
83   *a-na* ^kurnina^ki uru *be-lu-ti-ia ú-šal-di-du-u-ni*

I assembled the kings of the country of Hatti and on the other side of
the river: Baʿlu king of Tyre, Manasseh king of Judah, Qaʾuš-gabri king
of Edom, Muṣurī king of Moab, Ṣil-bēl king of Gaza, Metinti king of
Ashkelon, Ikausu king of Ekron, Milki-ašapa king of Byblos, Matan-
Baal king of Arwad, Abī-Baal king of Samsimuruna, Būdi-il king of
Bīt-Ammon, and Aḫī-Milki king of Ashdod—twelve kings from the sea-
coast [the text then lists ten kings from Cyprus] ten kings from Cyprus
in the midst of the sea, altogether twenty-two kings from Hatti, the sea-
shore, and the islands. All of these I sent out and made them transport
under terrible difficulties to Nineveh, the town of my rulership, as build-

---

ing material for my palace: large logs, long beams and thin boards from
cedar and cypress trees, products of the Sirāra and Lebanon mountains,
which had grown for a long time into tall and strong timber, (also) from
the quarries in the mountains, statues of human-headed bulls made of
ašnan-stone, statues of *abzaztu*, thresholds, slabs of alabaster, of *ašnan*-
stone, of large and small grained breccia, of *alallu*-stone (and) of gi.rin.
hi.li.ba stone.

The Esarhaddon prism records that the kings from the regions of the
Levant, southwestern Syria, and Cyprus gave various kinds of wood
and precious stones to Esarhaddon for the construction of his palace in
Nineveh. Unfortunately, the list is not categorized in any discernible way
so it is difficult to ascertain what material was provided by Edom, but once
again Edom acquiesced to the demands of Assyria. This is the first time in
the Assyrian documents that the Edomite ruler is qualified as the "king"
(*šarru*) of Edom. Perhaps this indicates a new, recognized status for the
Edomite ruler by the Assyrian administration.

3.2.6. Ashurbanipal

During the reign of Ashurbanipal (668–635 BCE), the Assyrian Empire
maintained its control over Egypt with two campaigns in 667 BCE and
663 BCE.[87] As in the reign of Esarhaddon, the kings of Syria-Palestine,
except Tyre, did not attempt to rebel and many rulers provided support
for the Assyrian interests in the region. The first mention of Edom in the
texts of Ashurbanipal is in the account of the rebellion of Taharqa, the king
of Ethiopia in 667 BCE ([I]*Tar-qu-ú* lugal [kur]*Mu-ṣur-u* [kur]*Ku-ú-si*: A I 52 || B
I 52 || C II 18).[88] The text referring to Edom is only recorded in Prism C,
written around 647 BCE.

---

87. A. K. Grayson, "Assyria 668–635 B.C.: The Reign of Ashurbanipal," in Board-
man et. al., *Assyrian and Babylonian Empire and Other States in the Near East, from the
Eighth to the Sixth Centuries B.C.*, 142–61.

88. Herbert Verreth, "The Egyptian Eastern Border Region in Assyrian Sources,"
JAOS 119 (1999): 238–39; Donald B. Redford, "Taharqa in Western Asia and Libya,"
ErIsr 24 (1993): 188*–191*; Frahm, "Neo-Assyrian Period (ca. 1000–609 B.C.E.)," 190;
Bagg, "Assyria and the West," 273; Radner, "Esarhaddon's Expedition from Palestine,"
308–9.

Prism C II 37–67 = RINAP 5.1 Ashurbanipal 6 ii 25′–52′[89]

37 *ina me-ti-iq ger-ri-ia*
38 ᵐ*Ba-ʾa-lu* lugal ᵏᵘʳ*Ṣur-ri*
39 ᵐ*Mi-in-se-e* lugal ᵏᵘʳ*Ia-ú-di*
40 ᵐ*Qa-uš-gab-ri* lugal ᵏᵘʳ*Ú-du-me*
41 ᵐ*Mu-ṣur-i* lugal ᵏᵘʳ*Ma-ʾa-ba*
42 ᵐgissu.en lugal ᵏᵘʳ *Ḫa-zi-ti*
43 ᵐ*Mi-ti-in-ti* lugal ᵏᵘʳ*Is-qa-lu-na*
44 ᵐ*I-ka-ú-su* lugal ᵏᵘʳ*Am-qar-u-na*
[lines 45–59 list 15 other kings]
60 šu.nigin 22 lugalᵐᵉˢ *ša a-ḫi tam-tim*
61 murub₄ *tam-tim ù na-ba-li*
62 aradᵐᵉˢ *da-gíl pa-ni-ia*
63 *ta-mar-ta-šú-nu ka-bit-tu*
64 *ina ma-ri-ia iš-šu-nim-ma ú-na-áš-ši-qu* gìrᴵᴵ-*ia*
65 lugalᵐᵉˢ *šá-a-tú-nu a-di e-mu-qi-šú-nu* ᵍⁱˢmáᵐᵉˢ-*šú-nu*
66 *ina tam-tim u na-ba-li it-ti* erim.ḫi.a-*ia*
67 *ur-ḫu pa-da-nu ú-šá-aṣ-bit-su-nu-ti*

In the course of my campaign—Baal king of Tyre, Manasseh king of
Judah, Qauš-gabri king of Edom, Muṣuri king of Moab, Ṣilbel king of
Gaza, Mitinti king of Ashkelon, Ikasu king of Ekron [plus 15 other kings
from the region]—a total of twenty-two kings from the coast, the middle
of the sea, and the dry land, my obedient servants brought their heavy
tāmartu-payment to me and kissed my feet. Those kings, together with
their forces and their ships, I caused them to take the same route as my
troops over sea and by dry land.

Twenty-two kings of the region provided troops and ships, along with a
tāmartu-payment, to Assurbanipal for his campaign to Egypt. The inclu-
sion of foreign troops, particularly in distant territories, was a common
practice in the Assyrian army.[90] Qaus-gabar, the Edomite king at this time,

---

89. For transliteration and translation, see most recently Jamie Novotny and
Joshua Jeffers, *The Royal Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal (668–631 BC), Aššur-etel-ilāni
(630–627 BC), and Sîn-šarra-iškun (626–612 BC), Kings of Assyria, Part 1*, RINAP 5.1
(University Park, PA: Eisenbrauns, 2018), Ashurbanipal 6; and Rykle Borger, *Beiträge
zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals: Die Prismenklassen A, B, C = K, D, E, F, G, H, J,
und T sowie andere Inschriften* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996), 18–20, 212 (C §14).
The line divisions here follow the handcopy of the text in Borger.

90. J. N. Postgate, "The Assyrian Army in Zamua," *Iraq* 62 (2000): 100–107;
Mayer, *Politik und Kriegskunst der Assyrer*, 472–73.

provided troops and assistance to the Assyrian king for his campaign in the region.

Edom is also mentioned in an account of Assurbanipal's raids on the Arab tribes. This Assyrian text is one of the most debated because it survives in numerous versions.[91] The prism was written sometime after the event that probably took place in 667 BCE.[92] The tablet recounts Assurbanipal's campaign against the Qedarean Arabs. The text lists a number of places, many of which cannot be identified, in which Assyrian troops (line 107) are located.[93] In this episode of Assurbanipal's dealings with the Arabs, Uaite' the king of the Arabs ([I]*Ú-a-a-te-e' lugal* [kur]*A-ri-bi*: A VII 83) rebelled so Assurbanipal called upon his troops in the region to quell the rebellion.

Prism A VII 107–124 = RINAP 5.1 Ashurbanipal 11 vii 107–124[94]

107 *ina qí-bit* an.šár *u* [d]15 erim.ḫi.a-*ia*
108 *ina gi-ra-a* [uru]*A-za-ar*-dingir
109 [uru]*Ḫi-ra-ta-a-qa-ṣa-a-a ina* [uru]*Ú-du-me*
110 *ina né-reb* [uru]*Ia-ab-ru-du ina* [uru]é-[m]*Am-ma-ni*
111 *ina na-ge-e šá* [uru]*Ḫa-ú-ri-i-na*
112 *ina* [uru]*Mu-'a-a-ba ina* [uru]*Sa-'a-ar-ri*
113 *ina* [uru]*Ḫa-ar-ge-e ina na-ge-e*
114 *ša* [uru]*Ṣu-bi-ti di-ik-ta-šú*
115 *ma-'a-at-tu a-duk*
116 *ina la mì-ni áš-kun* bad₅-bad₅-*šú*
117 un[meš] [kur]*A-ri-bi ma-la it-ti-šú it-bu-u-ni*
118 *ú-ra-as-sib ina* [giš]tukul[meš]
119 *ù šu-ú la-pa-an* [giš]tukul<[meš]> an.šár *dan-nu-ti*
120 *ip-par-šid-ma in-na-bit a-na ru-qé-e-ti*
121 é edin *kul-ta-ra-a-te mu-šá-bi-šú-nu*

---

91. See Pamela Gerardi, "The Arab Campaigns of Aššurbanipal: Scribal Reconstruction of the Past," *SAAB* 6 (1992): 67–103; Eph'al, *Ancient Arabs*, 142–65; Borger, *Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals*.

92. Millard, "Assyrian Involvement in Edom," 36; Grayson, "Assyrians," 20; Grayson, "Assyria 668–635 B.C.," 154–55; Bennett, "Neo-Assyrian Influence in Transjordan," 181; Weippert, "Relations of the States East of the Jordan," 99–100.

93. For an attempt to identify the geographic terms, see Eph'al, *Ancient Arabs*, 149–150, and n. 514.

94. Borger, *Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals*, 61–62, 245 (A §65); Novotny and Jeffers, *Royal Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal (668–631 BC)*, Ashurbanipal 11.

122 izi *ú-šá-ḫi-zu iq-mu-u ina* ᵈgiš.bar
123 ᵐ*Ú-a-a-te-eʾ ma-ru-uš-tú im-ḫur-šú-u-ma*
124 *e-diš-ši-šú in-na-bit a-na* ᵏᵘʳ*Na-ba-a-a-te*

By the command of Assur and Ishtar, my troops in the *girū* of Azarilu
and Ḫiratāqaṣāya, in Edom, in the pass of Yabrūdu, in Bīt-Ammon, in
the region of Ḫāurīna, in Moab, in Saʾarri, in Hargê, and in the region
of Ṣubiti, inflicted on his (i.e., those of Uaiteʾ) numerous troops a great
defeat, I brought on them innumerable defeats. The people of Arabia, as
many as had revolted with him, I struck with my weapons. But he (i.e.,
Uaiteʾ) fled before the mighty weapons of Assur to a distant region. I set
on fire the steppe-houses, the tents in which they live, and burnt them
with fire. Uaiteʾ faced misfortune, so he fled to Nabate.

It is an overstatement to consider these troops as garrisons or military
encampments.[95] Possibly there were Assyrian troops stationed at the capi-
tals of these regions (note the use of the determinative URU for city rather
than the expected KUR for land). It is also possible that Assurbanipal
called upon the troops of the local rulers to help in the campaign, since it
is apparent from the previous text that they did have some level of mili-
tary capacity.

The reign of Assurbanipal represents the pinnacle of Assyrian engage-
ment in the southern Levant generally, but with Edom in particular. Not only
did he call upon Qaus-gabar to provide troops for his military campaign in
Egypt, but Assurbanipal used Edom as one of the staging areas—either for
Assyrian or Edomite troops—for the raids against the Arab tribes in the east.

3.2.6.1. K. 4384: A List of Regions during the Reign of Assurbanipal

 Beyond the royal inscriptions, a few letters and administrative texts men-
tion Edom. The text K. 4384 is an administrative document or possibly a
scribal exercise dating to the reign of Assurbanipal (668–635 BCE).[96] It

---

95. Cf. Ephʿal, *Ancient Arabs*, 149; and Oded, "Observations on Methods of
Assyrian Rule in Transjordania," 177–86.

96. For the text, see F. M. Fales and J. N. Postgate, *Imperial Administrative
Records, Part II: Provincial and Military Administration*, SAA 11 (Helsinki: Helsinki
University Press, 1995), 4–6. See also Millard, "Assyrian Involvement in Edom," 36;
and Weippert, "Relations of the States East of the Jordan," 100. Nadav Naʾaman ("Was
Dor the Capital of an Assyrian Province?" *TA* 36 [2009]: 98) dates the text to the end

lists political entities without a meaningful order. The initial part of the document is a list of cities and tribal names in Babylonia (i 1–14), followed by some provinces listed in geographic order from Assyria to the northwest. The second column is less orderly, with a mixture of polities from various regions.

9   ᵏᵘʳ*me-li-di* ᵘʳᵘ*pi-l[i]-iš-tú*
10   ᵘʳᵘ*ši-bar-tú* ᵘʳᵘ*is-q[a-lu-na]*
11   ᵘʳᵘ*ú-du-u-mu* ᵘʳᵘ [x x]
12   ᵘʳᵘ*am-ma-a-[na]*
13   ᵏᵘʳ*ku-ú-su* [x x]

9   Land of Melid, Philistia
10   Sardis, Ash[kelon]
11   Edom […]
12   Ammo[n]
13   Land of Cush

Edom (ii 11) occurs in a section that refers to polities in the southern Levant and is found between Ashkelon and Ammon. The text was once thought to list the provinces of the Assyrian Empire. The most recent publication of the text, however, F. M. Fales and J. N. Postgate suggest that it is a scribal exercise with no apparent administrative function.[97] It not only lists provinces, but also vassals, tributaries, and cities under Assyrian influence.

3.2.6.2. Nimrud Letter 16

A letter from Nimrud (Letter 16; ND 2765) reports the arrival of envoys from the west between 720 and 715 BCE.[98] The list included delegates from

---

of Sargon II's reign because the list concludes with Dur-Sharuken, a new capital constructed by Sargon II around 707.

97. Fales and Postgate, *Imperial Administrative Records*, xiii–xiv.

98. For the publication of the letter, see H. W. F. Saggs, "The Nimrud Letters, 1952—Part II," *Iraq* 17 (1955): 134–35, pl. 33; and Saggs, *The Nimrud Letters, 1952*, CTN 5 (London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 2001), 219–21, pl. 43; and Mikko Luukko, *The Correspondence of Tiglath-Pileser III and Sargon II from Calah/Nimrud*, SAA 19 (Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2012), 159. For analysis, see Postgate, *Taxation and Conscription in the Assyrian Empire*, 118; and Karlheinz Deller, "SAG.DU UR.MAH 'Löwenkopfsitula, Löwenkopfbecher,'" *BaghM* 16 (1985):

Egypt, Gaza, Judah, Moab, Ammon, and Edom. Edom is listed toward the end of the tablet with two other undecipherable entries. The gifts of Edom are not preserved although the other envoys delivered horses.

> ND 2765, rev. 33–46
> 33   45 anše.kur.ra^meš *ša* [….*a*]*t-ta-ḫar*
> 34   ^lú*maḫ*^meš ^kur*mu-ṣur-a-a*
> 35   ^kur*ḫa-za-ta-a-a* ^kur*ia-ú-du-a-a*
> 36   ^kur*ma-ʾa-ba-a-a* ^kur*ba-an-am-ma-na-a-a*
> 37   u₄ 12 (kám) *ina* ^uru*kal-ḫi e-tar-bu-u-ni*
> 38   *m*[*a*]-*da-na-t*[*e*]-*šú-nu ina* šu.2-*šú-nu*
> 39   25 anše.kur.ra^meš
> 40   *ša* ^kur*ḫa-za-ta-a-a ina* šu.2-*šú*
> 41   ^kur*ú-du-mu-a-a* ^kur*á*[*š*]-*du-da-a-a*
> 42   ^kur*a*[*k-r*]*u-na-a-a* [………]
> 43   [………] ^lú[m]*aḫ*…-x-*a-a*
> 44   [………] *ú-ṣa-a*
> 45   [*a-na* ^ur]^u *zab-ban il-la-ka*
> 46   …x [š]*a* ^lú*tar-ta-ni* ki-*šú*

(33) I have received forty-five horses from … (34–38) The emissaries of Egypt, Gaza, Judah, Moab, Ammon, entered Kalah on the twelfth (with) their tribute in their hands. (39–40) Twenty-five horses from Gaza were in his hands. (41–42) The Edomites, the Ashdodites, the Ekronites, … (43) …………… (44) He set out [from…] (45) and is going to Zabban. [An official] of the tartan is with him.

In the late eighth century BCE, Edom sent emissaries to Kalah to deliver tribute. The emissaries (^lú*maḫ*^meš) are officials from areas that were not under direct Assyrian control (i.e., polities that may have paid regular tribute, but were not annexed provinces of the Assyrian Empire), but who were charged with delivering tribute to Assyria.[99] While it can reasonably be assumed that the polities listed in lines 41–42 also sent these types of

---

328–29. For other cases of horses as tribute to the Assyrian rulers, see Tamás Dezsö, *The Assyrian Army, II: Recruitment and Logistics*, Antiqua et Orientalia 2.6 (Budapest: Eötvös University Press, 2012), 161–63.

99. Saggs, "Nimrud Letters, 1952—Part II," 135; Postgate, *Taxation and Conscription in the Assyrian Empire*, 123–24; Jürgen Bär, *Der assyrische Tribut und seine Darstellung: Eine Untersuchung zur imperialen Ideologie im neuassyrischen Reich*, AOAT 243 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag; Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker,

officials, the text is broken at the point where the details would be listed
(note that there are traces of ^lúmaḫ in line 43). Like the emissaries from
Egypt, Gaza, Judah, Moab, and Ammon, the officials from Edom, Ashdod,
and Ekron probably also brought tribute on the occasion of the trip.

3.2.6.3. Nimrud Wine Lists

A fragmentary wine list cites allocations of wine to men from a variety of
western regions, including Edom (ND 10078).[100]

    1   2ˀ *qa* sur igi ^d[imˀ] é x
    2   2 *qa* lú x x x *li*
    3   1 *qa* lú a.kin *ša* ^fmanˀ-*te-ia*
    4   sag.du [ur.maḫ] [x] x *ú* x *ia du*
    5   ^mkaskalˀ-umun-pap
    6   2 ^kur*a*]*s*ˀ *-du-da-a-a*
    7   1 [^kur] *ú-du-ma-a-a*
    8   1 ^k[ur] *ḫa-za-ta-a-a*
    9   2 ^kur*ia-si*ˀ*-[x]a-a ur-ki-i-u-tu*ˀ
    10 2 ^kur*sa-du-u*[*p -*]
    11 2 ^kur*ia-ú-da*ˀ*-[a-a u]r-ki-i-u-tu*
    12 2 [^kur]*ú-li-ma*ˀ*-a-a ur-ki-i-u-tu*
    13 [   ] [x-*qa-ša*ˀ]*-a-a*
    14 [   ] [*bi*ˀ X x]*-a-a*
    15 [x] + [20ˀ] du[gˀ.ša]bˀ

Lines 6–12 list several regions from the southern Levant: Ashdod, Edom,
Gaza, Judah, and possibly Ekron in line 13.[101] The list includes the amount
of wine either allotted to or collected from the representatives of the

---

1996), 218–22; Nadav Naʾaman, "Samaria and Judah in an Early 8th-Century Assyrian
Wine List," *TA* 46 (2019): 12–20.

100. The text is published in Stephanie Dalley and J. N. Postgate, *The Tablets from
Fort Shalmaneser*, CTN 3 (London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 1984), no.
135, pl. 41. See also Millard, "Assyrian Involvement in Edom," 36; Weippert, "The
Relations of the States East of the Jordan," 100; Deller, "SAG.DU UR.MAH 'Löwen-
kopfsitula, Löwenkopfbecher,'" 328.

101. There are other notable points about this wine list (see Dalley and Post-
gate, *Tablets from Fort Shalmaneser*, 247). Line 1 may refer to a type of offering (sur
= *ṣurāri*) made to the god Adad (^dim). Line 3 has the name of a woman, possibly a
foreign queen, who is represented by a messenger (^lúa.kin = *mār šipri*). The next line,

regions. Since the names of the regions in the southern Levant are listed, several scholars have suggested that the list is in some way connected with the campaigns of Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II into the region. Karlheinz Deller proposed that the list should be associated with the arrival of the envoys mentioned in Nimrud Letter 16 (above).[102] This is possible since a number of the geographic names are listed in both; however, it cannot be proven and must remain only a possibility.

3.2.6.4. K. 1295: A List of Gifts from Western Regions

K. 1295 is a list of amounts of gold and silver delivered by Ammon, Moab, Judah, and [x x]-a-a to Assyria.[103] The name of Edom is not extant, but some scholars restore it in the break on the obverse of the tablet.[104] The restoration of "Edom" is based on the location of the other areas mentioned, although others note that this would require an unusual spelling for Edom but allow for the reconstruction on the basis of context. It is not possible to be certain, but the restoration of Edom is a reasonable suggestion.

3.2.6.5. NL 14: A Letter from Qurdi-Aššur

A letter found at Nimrud (ND 2773) may mention a messenger from Tafileh.[105] The letter is from Qurdi-Aššur back to the Assyrian homeland concerning an invasion of Moab by the men of Gidira (^{kur}*gi-di-ra-a-a*).[106] The message was originally from Ayya-nuri and was

---

sag.du ur.mah, may refer to a vessel in the shape of a lion head (see Deller, "SAG.DU UR.MAH 'Löwenkopfsitula, Löwenkopfbecher'").

102. Deller, "SAG.DU UR.MAH 'Löwenkopfsitula, Löwenkopfbecher,'" 328.

103. K. 1295 = ABL 0632 = SAA 11 033. This text was republished in Fales and Postgate, *Imperial Administrative Records*, no. 33.

104. Millard, "Assyrian Involvement in Edom," 36; Weippert, "The Relations of the States East of the Jordan," 100 n. 40; Bartlett, *Edom and the Edomites*, 132.

105. ND 2773 = IM 64164 = CTN 5, 160 = SAA 19 029. This letter was initially published by Saggs as Nimrud Letter 14. For the publication of the letter, see Saggs, "Nimrud Letters, 1952—Part II," 132–33; and Saggs, *Nimrud Letters, 1952*, 160–61, pl. 31.

106. On this toponym, see recently, Alexander Ahrens, "^{KUR}*Gi-di-ra-a* in Nimrud Letter 14 (ND 2773): A Rejoinder to Its Location in Transjordan," *NABU* 2018.2 (2018): 83–85.

delivered to Qurdi-Aššur. In addition to the connection with central Transjordan, Siegfried Mittman and Weippert both suggest that the gentilic connected with Ayya-nuri should be associated with Tafileh (^{kur}DA-*ab-i-la-a-a*). H. W. F. Saggs initially considered the spelling a mistake for the Moabite city Dibon.[107] He also noted that there is no other occurrence of a Tab-ilu, which would be the only other possible reading. Mittman read the place name as Tap-ilu and suggested that it referred to modern Tafileh.[108] There are three problems with this interpretation. First, the context of the letter concerns an incident in Moab, so a report from an official in Dibon would be more likely than a report concerning Moab coming from Edom. Second, the archaeological remains at Tafileh are lacking from the Iron Age. Finally, an official who had connections with Qurdi-Aššur, almost certainly a shortened form of the high-ranking Assyrian official Qurdi-Aššur-lamur who was stationed at Tyre, would likely be stationed at Busayra, the primary Edomite administrative center.[109]

3.2.6. Discussion

Edom appears in the royal inscriptions of several of the Assyrian emperors who campaigned in the western regions of their empire. It is, however, conspicuously absent from the annals of Shalmaneser III (858–824 BCE), whose Monolith Inscription does mention the southern Levantine polities of Israel and Ammon. Jeffrey Kah-Jin Kuan speculated that this absence is due to a close military alignment between Israel, Judah, Moab, and Edom and that Edom was therefore included under the moniker of Israel. It is more probable that before the campaigns of Adad-nirari III the polities of Judah, Moab, and Edom did not have the political or military capacity and/or desire to send troops to Syria to face the advancing Assyr-

---

107. Saggs, "Nimrud Letters, 1952—Part II," 132.

108. Siegfried Mittmann, "Das südliche Ostjordanland im Lichte eines neuassyrischen Keilschrifttextes aus Nimrūd," *ZDPV* 89 (1973): 16–18.

109. On the importance of Qurdi-Aššur-lamur and his correspondence, see Shigeo Yamada, "Qurdi-Assur-Lamur: His Letters and Career," in *Treasures on Camels' Humps: Historical and Literary Studies from the Ancient Near East Presented to Israel Eph'al*, ed. Mordechai Cogan and Dan'el Kahn (Jerusalem: Hebrew University Magnes Press, 2008), 296–311; and Nadav Na'aman, "Qurdi-Aššur-Lamur as Governor in Phoenicia and South Syria," *NABU* 2018.1 (2018): 42–45.

ian army. Although Edom was first mentioned in an inscription from the time of Adad-nirari III, Assyria did not campaign in the southern Levant at that time. Assyria increased its involvement in this region during and after the reign of Tiglath-pileser III in the middle of the eighth century BCE. This is also the period when settlement in Edom began to intensify in the area east of the Wadi Arabah and south of the Wadi al Hasa.

The Assyrian texts in which Edom appears are lists of other polities in the area that document the payment of tribute to the Assyrian kings. Four of the major forms of tribute—*maddattu*, *biltu*, *igisû*, and *tāmartu/nāmurtu*—are attested from Edom; however, it is never stated what those payments included. Without further information, it is impossible to determine what the nuances of the first three terms were since in most cases they appear to be synonyms or literary variants and used in similar contexts.[110]

Several of the texts suggest that there was an established, perhaps regular, tribute that was required of Edom. First, the wording of the Adad-nirari stela—*biltu maddattu elīšunu ukīn* (line 14)—is similar to the standardized phrases in Assyrian royal inscriptions referring to annual tribute; however, this phrase is commonly followed by the qualifying phrase "I received it annually (at my city Assur)" (*šattišamma* [*ina ālīya Aššur*] *amhur*), which is lacking in this text.[111] Second, both the Sargon II and the Sennacherib royal inscriptions state that the kings paid both tribute (*biltu* in the case of Sargon II and *igisû* in the case of Sennacherib) and a *tāmartu*-payment that accompanied regular tribute on the occasion of the arrival of envoys to the capital city. Third, Deller suggested that both the Nimrud letter (NL 16) and the wine list from Nimrud (ND 10078) were related to the envoys that delivered the regular tribute to Assur.[112] None of this evidence is unambiguous. It is difficult to consider the payment presented to Adad-nirari III as anything more than a one-time payment given to mark the acquiescence of the southern polities on the occasion of his campaign to Syria, since he never led campaigns in the southern Levant and did not have enough control of that area to compel the imposition of regular tribute.

In spite of the ambiguity and the paucity of the data, there is evidence that Edom did send tribute often, and it is likely that if the Edomites did

---

110. See Yamada, *Construction of the Assyrian Empire*, 236–41.

111. For this phrase, see discussions in Yamada, *Construction of the Assyrian Empire*, 240; and Bär, *Der assyrische Tribut und seine Darstellung*, 7, 240–41.

112. Deller, "SAG.DU UR.MAH 'Löwenkopfsitula, Löwenkopfbecher.'"

not acquiesce there would have been retribution on the part of the Assyrian Empire. There were opportunities to join with neighboring polities in rebellious activities, like the halting of regular payments and Edom possibly participated in such activities during the reigns of Sargon II and Sennacherib. Yet, it is apparent from these texts that Edom was one of the regions that paid tribute to Assyria, and that it was occasionally expected to provide materials for the building projects of the Assyrian rulers (Esarhaddon) and assistance to Assyrian troops when it was required for campaigns or raids in the area (Sargon II and Assurbanipal). Within the tripartite administrative system of the Assyrian Empire—provinces, client (or vassal) polities, and tributary polities—Edom should be considered a client polity with the obligations of regular tribute and assistance during Assyrian campaigns in the region.

Table 3.1. References to Edom in Assyrian royal inscriptions

Assyrian Ruler	Date	Edom	Type
Adad-nirari III	796	Edom	*maddattu*-payment *biltu*-payment
Tiglath-pileser III	734	Qaus-malak	*maddattu*-payment
Sargon II	712	Edom	*tāmartu*-payment
Sennacherib	701	Ayyarammu	*tāmartu*-payment *šadlu*-payment troops?
Esarhaddon	680	Qaus-gabar	building material
Assurbanipal	667	Qaus-gabar	*tāmartu*-payment troops
	641	Edom	troops

3.3. Texts Relating to Edom during and after the Neo-Babylonian Period

Assyrian control of the southern Levant declined at the end of the seventh century BCE, perhaps due to a decades-long drought that precipitated a dramatic collapse in the Assyrian homeland's agricultural productivity.[113]

---

113. Ashish Sinha et al., "Role of Climate in the Rise and Fall of the Neo-Assyrian Empire," *Science Advances* 5.11 (2019): eaax6656.

The area was not controlled again by a major imperial power until Nebuchadnezzar campaigned in the region during the early sixth century BCE. His polices differed from those of the Assyrians in certain key areas. Independent kings were once again in control of local governance, and Nebuchadnezzar did not continue the Assyrian provincial system. Similar to the Assyrian policy, however, he did extract tribute from local kings and maintained political relations to prevent Egyptian encroachment in the region.[114] The most famous event of this period in the southern Levant was the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 BCE and the subsequent deportation of large numbers of the Judahite elite.[115]

3.3.1. The as-Silaʿ Sculpture of Nabonidus

It is generally accepted that the polity of Edom continued after the campaigns of Nebuchadnezzar (605–562 BCE), possibly by cooperating with the Babylonians, before being diminished by Nabonidus during his campaign south from Harran to Taymaʾ around 553 BCE.[116] The problem with the proposal that Edom was destroyed at this time is that there is little evidence for it, only a possible reconstruction of "Edom" in the Nabonidus

---

114. David S. Vanderhooft, "Babylonian Strategies of Imperial Control in the West: Royal Practice and Rhetoric," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Neo-Babylonian Period*, ed. Oded Lipschits and Joseph Blenkinsopp (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 248.

115. The historical reality of the "Babylonian exile" of a portion of the Judahite population has been questioned in recent years. The study by Oded Lipschits ("Demographic Changes in Judah between the Seventh and the Fifth Centuries B.C.E.," in Lipschits and Blenkinsopp, *Judah and the Judeans in the Neo-Babylonian Period*, 323–76) states that there was a 70 percent decline in settlement between the end of the seventh and the beginning of the fifth century BCE. In sum, Lipschitz understands that there was an exile, but that the "return to Zion" consisted of only a few thousand elites.

116. John Lindsay, "The Babylonian Kings and Edom, 605–550 B.C.," *PEQ* 108 (1976): 32–38. For the epigraphic evidence of Nabonidus at Taymaʾ, see Yaakov Gruntfest and Michael Heltzer, "Nabonid, King of Babylon (556–539 B.C.E.) in Arabia in Light of New Evidence," *BN* 110 (2001): 25–30; and Hani Hayajneh, "First Evidence of Nabonidus in the Ancient North Arabian Inscriptions from the Region of Taymāʾ," *PSAS* 31 (2001): 81–95. For the larger context of the reign of Nabonidus related to other inscriptions, see Piotr Michalowski, "Biography of a Sentence: Assurbanipal, Nabonidus, and Cyrus," in *Extraction and Control: Studies in Honor of Matthew W. Stolper*, ed. Michael Kozuh et al., SAOC 68 (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2014), 203–10.

Chronicle. However, the discovery of an inscribed Neo-Babylonian rock relief near the Edomite site of as-Silaʿ northwest of Busayra has provided further support for this proposition.[117]

The relief is located at the midway point of a 150 m tall rock face in a 3 x 2 m recess near a mountaintop settlement that was occupied during the Early Bronze Age and then during the Iron Age, Nabataean, and Roman periods.[118] The most prominent feature of this relief is a sculpture of a Mesopotamian king facing right toward three symbols: a winged disk, a moon disk, and a star. After a comparison of similar reliefs of Nebuchadnezzar at Wadi Brisa and of Nabonidus at Harran, Stephanie Dalley and Anne Goguel concluded that the king represented in the as-Silaʿ relief is Nabonidus.[119] A long cuneiform inscription is located below the three symbols, but it is badly eroded and only a few signs are legible. Dalley and Goguel published squeezes of portions of the inscription, and Paolo Gentili and Claudio Saporetti later published handcopies of the signs.[120]

Most of the signs are isolated and surrounded by eroded passages, although several words are visible. First, the name of King Nabonidus appears in line 1 of Area 4: "[I am] Nabonid[us], [ki]ng of Bab[ylon]" ([*ana-ku*] idMUATI-[*i*] [LU]GAL E[ki …]. Below this line the names of two deities are partially visible: Shamash bēl (dUTU EN) and Sîn (dE[N+ZU]). The only other portion of the inscription for which a reading is possible is in Area 1. Line 5 reads "In year 5 of Ki[ng Nabonidus" (MU 5 LU[GAL]). This reading revises the standard chronology of Nabonidus's campaign through the Levant and his journey to Taymaʾ.[121] According to Paul-Alain Beaulieu, Nabonidus was in Edom during his third year, but this date was arrived at by counting back from his return to Babylon thirteen

---

117. For archaeological surveys of the site of as-Sila, see Da Riva, "El yacimiento de Sela," 31–39; and Da Riva and Roser Marsal, "Estudio preliminar del yacimiento de Sela (Tafila, Jordania)," *Akros, Revista de Patrimonio* 15 (2017): 7–14.

118. Da Riva, "El yacimiento de Sela," 33.

119. Stephanie Dalley and Anne Goguel, "The Sela Sculpture: A Neo-Babylonian Rock Relief in Southern Jordan," *ADAJ* 41 (1997): 173–174; see also Hanspeter Schaudig, *Die Inschriften Nabonids von Babylon und Kyros' des Grossen samt den in ihrem Umfeld entstandenen Tendenzschriften: Textausgabe und Grammatik*, AOAT 256 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2001), 35–40; M. Roaf, "Nabonid. B. Archäologisch," *RlA* 9:11–12.

120. See Dalley and Goguel, "Sela Sculpture"; Paolo Gentili and Claudio Saporetti, "Nabonedo a Sela," *Geo-Archeologia* 2001 (2001): 39–58.

121. Crowell, "Nabonidus, as-Sila," 75–88.

years later.[122] The first year that is extant in the Nabonidus Chronicle is his seventh year and the preceding lines are too broken to develop an adequate chronology. Two other questionable words appear in line 7 of Area 1—KÁ.GAL—and in line 8—LÚ[meš].

Significantly, the date of the relief roughly coincides with destruction levels at Busayra, Tawilan, and Tall al Khalayfi.[123] It is unfortunate that the remainder of this inscription is virtually undecipherable since it probably narrated his campaign through the region, but the relief depicting a victorious Nabonidus does suggest that he campaigned in the region on his way to Tayma' and that he was responsible for the limited destructions in Edom.

3.3.2. The Nabonidus Chronicle

The Nabonidus Chronicle records the events from the beginning of his reign in 556 BCE to the capture of Babylon by Cyrus in 539 BCE.[124] Near the beginning of the first column, in a broken context, the text states that in his second year Nabonidus was in Hamath in central Syria. On his way to Tayma' in Arabia during his third year (late 553 or early 552 BCE), his troops camped (*nadû*) at a place that ends with the signs *-du-um-mu* (line 17).[125] This line was reconstructed in the past to read: *eli* [kur/uru*A*]*-du-*

---

122. Paul-Alain Beaulieu, *The Reign of Nabonidus, King of Babylon, 556–539 B.C.*, YNER 10 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 166; M. A. Dandamayev, "Nabonid (Nabû-nā'id). A." *RlA* 9:6–11.

123. Fawzi Zayadine, "Le relief Néo-Babylonien à Sela' près de Tafileh interpretation historique," *Syria* 76 (1999): 88–89; Dalley and Goguel, "Sela Sculpture," 175; Bartlett, *Edom and the Edomites*, 159. For the individual destructions, see Bienkowski, *Busayra Excavations*, 477–78 for Busayra; Pratico, *Nelson Glueck's 1938–1940 Excavations at Tell el-Kheleifeh*, 72 for Tall al Khalayfi; and Bennett and Bienkowski, *Excavations at Tawilan in Southern Jordan*, 105 for Tawilan.

124. BM 35382. Sidney Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts Relating to the Capture and Downfall of Babylon* (London: Methuen, 1924), provides a handcopy (pl. XI), transliteration (pp. 110–14), and translation (pp. 114–18). A photo of the text is available in A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, TCS 5 (Locust Valley, NY: Augustin, 1975), pl. XVII.

125. See Beaulieu, *Reign of Nabonidus, King of Babylon*, 165–69; Dandamayev, "Nabonid (Nabû-nā'id). A," 8. If the above reading of the Nabonidus Stele at as-Sila is correct, the date of Nabonidus's campaign in Edom would be in late 551 or early 550 BCE. For new inscriptions from Tayma relating to the sojourn of Nabonidus, see André Lemaire, "Nabonidus in Arabia and Judah in the Neo-Babylonian Period,"

um-mu it-ta-du-ú and the place was understood to be Adummatu in the Arabian desert. If the place mentioned is Adummatu in Arabia, Nabonidus and his troops took an unusually circuitous route to travel to Tayma'. Smith had recognized this problem and understood the writing Adummu to refer to Edom.[126] A. K. Grayson, after initially restoring Adummu changed the reading of the first restored sign to ᵏᵘʳ*Ú]-du-um-mu*.[127] With the addition of the as-Silaʿ relief, it is now practically certain that Nabonidus traveled through Edom en route to Tayma' in 551 BCE and executed limited destructions at some of the major Edomite sites in order to subjugate the region. While the motives for Nabonidus' stay in Tayma' remain unclear, from Tayma' he was able to exert control over the three major Arabian caravan routes that branched off near the city to the west toward Edom and to the east toward Babylon.[128]

3.3.3. A Letter from Harran at Tawilan

The excavators at Tawilan found an unbaked cuneiform tablet in an accumulation deposit. The tablet is dated to the accession year of one of the three Persian kings named Darius (ITI ŠE U₄.24.KAM MU SAG NAM. LUGAL ¹*Da-ru-ú-me-šú* LUGAL KUR.KUR; lines 15–17).[129] Francis Joannès excludes Darius III since cuneiform texts are rare during his reign, and Israel Ephʿal excludes Darius I because he did not use the title "King of the Lands" (LUGAL KUR.KUR) in the first year of his reign.[130] It is most likely that the tablet was written in 423 BCE during the first year of Darius II.[131] The tablet records the disputed sale of two rams of Samsa-idri from Harran to Qūsū-yadāʾ. The tablet suggests that there was some level of occupation or that nonsettled groups used the site after the end of occupa-

---

in Lipschits and Blenkinsopp, *Judah and the Judeans in the Neo-Babylonian Period*, 285–98.

126. Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts Relating to the Capture and Downfall of Babylon*, 77.

127. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, 282, 293; Beaulieu, *Reign of Nabonidus, King of Babylon*, 166.

128. See discussion in Beaulieu, *Reign of Nabonidus, King of Babylon*, 178–85.

129. Dalley, "Cuneiform Tablet," 67.

130. Francis Joannès, "A Propos de la Tablette Cunéiforme de Tell Tawilan," *RA* 81 (1987): 165–66; Israel Ephʿal, "Changes in Palestine during the Persian Period in Light of Epigraphic Sources," *IEJ* 48 (1988): 115.

131. Dalley "Cuneiform Tablet," 67.

tion at Tawilan during the middle of the fifth century BCE and that Qaus (here as Qūsu) continued to be used as the theophoric element in personal names.[132]

3.3.4. Edomite Personal Names in the Neo-Babylonian and Persian Periods

Edomite presence in the Negev and southern Jordan is also indicated from the onomastic evidence of the sixth century BCE and later that appear in the documents from the region. The available documentation from this period includes about seven hundred Aramaic ostraca from sites throughout southern Jordan, the northern Negev, and Tall al Khalayfi.[133] The sources appear to indicate that Edomites and Arabs predominantly inhabited the Negev, while Phoenicians lived along the coastal plain, and Judeans resided in the central hill country. Such a generalization does not do justice to the complexity of the settlement in these regions in the sixth century BCE and later, but adequate prosopographical studies of this data are currently lacking.

3.3.5. Discussion

There is considerable evidence for the continuation of a polity named Edom after the campaigns of Nebuchadnezzar in the early sixth century BCE. Most significantly, Edom was involved in the affairs of the northern Negev just south of the boundaries of Judah. The two Arad letters suggest that Edom was involved in domestic affairs (Letter 21) and that it presented a threat to Judah in the eastern Negev (Letter 24) just before the destruction of Jerusalem. Unfortunately, neither of the letters provides enough information to fill in the details. The onomastic evidence, both from this period and later periods, implies that there was substantial Edomite settlement in

---

132. See Bennett and Bienkowski, *Excavations at Tawilan in Southern Jordan*, 102–5 for the discussion of the end of sedentary occupation at Tawilan.

133. See Eph'al "Changes in Palestine during the Persian Period," 107–8; DiVito, "Tell el-Kheleifeh Inscriptions," 58–62. It is not necessary to list all the presumably Edomite names in these sources. See Ran Zadok ("A Prosopography of Samaria and Edom/Idumea," UF 30 [1998]: 788–92) and Felice Israel ("Miscellanea idumea," *RivB* 27 [1979]: 184–91; Israel, "Supplementum idumeum I," *RivB* 35 [1987]: 342–49) for compilations of this data. See most recently, Tania Notarius, "The Syntax of Clan Names in Aramaic Ostraca from Idumea," *MAARAV* 22 (2018): 21–43.

this region during the later sixth and fifth centuries BCE. The decline of
the Edomite political entity, located in the mountainous region east of the
Wadi Arabah, began in 551 BCE when Nabonidus passed through Edom
on his way to Taymaʾ. Several sites were partially destroyed around this
time, but it is not clear if this caused the end of the Edomite polity or if the
economic conditions that prevailed after Nabonidus began to control the
trade routes from Taymaʾ led to the ultimate demise of the political entity
of Edom, which likely resulted in a return of many who lived in Edom to
pastoral and nomadic means of subsistence, although some evidence of
settlement continues as some sites, including Busayra.

3.4. Summary

The region of Edom first appears in historical documents in the thir-
teenth century BCE in Egyptian records referring to the Shasu of Seir/
Edom. The Shasu were nomadic or seminomadic tribes who were located
throughout Syria-Palestine, but the geographic indicator of Seir or Edom
further identifies some of these groups as inhabitants of the southern Jor-
danian region that would eventually be the location of the Iron Age II
polity of Edom. The few extant Egyptian texts that refer to this group
indicate that the kings, particularly Ramesses II, usually had an antago-
nistic relationship with the Shasu of Seir/Edom, although the reference
dating to the reign of Merenptah suggests that this animosity was not
always the case. Egyptian mining interests on the Sinai Peninsula and
along the Wadi Arabah may have led to this hostility, but details regard-
ing this are lacking.

   In the eighth century BCE, Edom reappears in historical documents
as it becomes a client polity on the periphery of the southwestern fron-
tier of the Assyrian Empire. The Assyrian texts suggest that Edom was a
client, not a province, of the Assyrians. Edomite rulers paid tribute, pro-
vided material for construction in the Assyrian capital and sent troops
on at least one Assyrian campaign. The earliest appearance of Edom is on
a stela of Adad-nirari III, but it is unclear if this marks the beginning of
Edomite vassalage or if it merely indicates that they began to respond to
the expanding Assyrian sphere of influence. Edom became a client polity
during the expansive phase of Tiglath-pileser III's reign, a relationship
that continued through the reigns of Sargon II and Sennacherib. Assyr-
ian desires to expand the borders of the empire to Egypt during the reigns
of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal marked the peak of Assyrian involve-

ment in the southern Levant in general and Edom in particular. Edom was required to supply building material for Esarhaddon's palace in Nineveh and provided troops for Ashurbanipal's campaign to Egypt, as well as his campaign against the Arab tribes.

The period of Assyrian interaction coincides with the beginning of a low level of administrative writing in Edom indicated by seals, bullae, and ostraca written in a local script. This material contains limited information, but it does demonstrate that there were royal officials, documents sent by the king, and receipts recording certain transactions. Edomite seals and ostraca found in the Negev, as well as letters in Judah regarding the Edomites, constitutes evidence that Edomites were involved in this region, probably for the purposes of trade. The late eighth century BCE letter from Arad also illustrates that the relationship between Edom and Judah was sometimes problematic.

After the decline of the Assyrian Empire and the rise of the Babylonians, Edom continued to prosper. The two Arad letters from this period suggest that Edom was still involved in the trade routes to the Mediterranean coast. Edom was not destroyed during Nebuchadnezzar's campaign to the region; this may have allowed for expansion or migration into the Negev, which is suggested by the copious onomastic evidence from later periods. The polity began its decline after Nabonidus perhaps campaigned through the region on his way to Tayma' on the Arabian Peninsula and began to control the Arabian trading routes.

The Egyptian texts indicate that the earlier inhabitants of the region did not reside in permanent settlements. There is little material dated to this period in southern Jordan. It is predominantly the copper-mining region of the Wadi Arabah that was used to any significant level for settlement and exploitation. Significant expansion of Edomite settlement did not occur until the late eighth or early seventh century BCE, which is the period when the Assyrians became notably involved in the region and required tribute from the nascent polity Edom. The limited destructions at Busayra, Tall al Khalayfi, and Tawilan all date to the middle of the sixth century and can reasonably be ascribed to the campaign of Nabonidus. This marked the beginning of the slow abandonment of many of the other Iron Age sites in Edom. The historical information presented in this chapter supplements the portrait of Edom derived from the material remains. The other written sources concerning Edom are found in the Hebrew Bible. The biblical sources, which are discussed in chapters 5 and 6, are also an important historical resource, but their interpretation is compli-

cated by the history of the composition of the texts and their particular ideological presentation of history.

Iron Age Epigraphs from Edom

One of the most important sources for the reconstruction of ancient societies is locally produced documents.[1] The number and nature of these texts vary from region to region, thereby generating a somewhat uneven amount of data with which to reconstruct the history of individual societies. A difficulty confronting any attempt to reconstruct Iron Age Edomite society is the small quantity of available local texts and the lack of diversity in the types of extant texts. There are four primary types of written evidence from Edom: inscribed seals, seal impressions, ostraca, and texts deposited in Edom (like cuneiform texts composed by other groups). Some of the seals are significant. For example, there are two copies of a seal of Qaus-gabar that help to articulate the chronology of Edom, but others contain little more than personal names. This section will discuss the seals and ostraca from Edom, with particular attention to their historical relevance.

A preliminary issue is the criteria used to determine whether a seal or ostracon is "Edomite." This is particularly important for Edomite texts since there are so few and many do not come from controlled excavations. Three characteristics are useful to identify an Edomite text: provenance, script, and theophoric elements. First, if a textual artifact from the Iron Age was discovered in situ within the area of ancient Edom, it can initially be considered Edomite. However, if various elements suggest otherwise, such as a script that is clearly from another area, the situation becomes more complicated. Second, although the Edomite language is virtually identical to the other West Semitic languages like Moabite, Ammonite,

---

1. See the discussion in John Bodel, "Epigraphy and the Ancient Historian," in *Epigraphic Evidence: Ancient History from Inscriptions*, ed. John Bodel, Approaching the Ancient World (London: Routledge, 2001), 1–56.

and Hebrew, certain characteristics of the Edomite script distinguish it from other alphabetic scripts.[2] While the small number of available texts limits the paleographic study of the Edomite script, the forms of four letters are distinct. These letters are the *samek* (the vertical stroke extends through all three horizontals and protrudes above them), the *mem* and *nun* (both are lengthened beyond what is typical of other scripts in the region), and the *dalet* is inverted in all certain Edomite texts, perhaps to distinguish the letter from the *resh*.[3] The paleographic analysis of texts is the least reliable method since it is becoming increasingly clear that there is a certain level of variability in the forms of letters, and this variability is not necessarily dependent upon chronology or region.[4] Third, names with the theophoric element Qaus, perhaps the dynastic deity of Edom, can be considered Edomite, although there are instances where this element is found in texts outside of the region.[5] But when this factor is combined with provenance and paleography it becomes a most compelling case for Edomite origins.

---

2. Simon B. Parker, "Ammonite, Edomite, and Moabite," in *Beyond Babel: A Handbook for Biblical Hebrew and Related Languages*, ed. John Kaltner and Steven L. McKenzie, RBS 42 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2002), 43–60; Stanislav Segert, "Phoenician and the Eastern Canaanite Languages," in *The Semitic Languages*, ed. Robert Hetzron (London: Routledge, 1997), 174–86.

3. For discussions of the distinctive characteristics of the Edomite script, see André Lemaire, "Les critères non-iconographiques de la classification des sceaux nord-ouest sémitiques inscrits," in *Studies in the Iconography of Northwest Semitic Inscribed Seals: Proceedings of a Symposium Held in Fribourg on April 17–20, 1991*, ed. Benjamin Sass and Christoph Uehlinger, OBO 125 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht; Fribourg: Presses Universitaires, 1993), 5; Larry Herr, "The Formal Scripts of Iron Age Transjordan," *BASOR* 238 (1980): 29–31; Parker, "Ammonite, Edomite, and Moabite," 48; Lemaire, "Les langues de la Transjordanie dans la première moitié du Ier millénaire av J.-C.," in *Sprachen in Palästina im 2. und 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, ed. Ulrich Hübner and Herbert Niehr, ADPV 43 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2017), 307–8. For some important methodological warnings, see Christopher A. Rollston, "The Iron Age Edomite Script and Language Methodological Strictures and Preliminary Statements," in Levy et al., *New Insights into the Iron Age Archaeology of Edom*, 2:961–65.

4. See, e.g., Andrew G. Vaughn, "Palaeographic Dating of Judean Seals and Its Significance for Biblical Research," *BASOR* 313 (1999): 43–64.

5. See Ernst Axel Knauf, "Qôs," in *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, ed. Karel van der Toorn, Bob Becking, and Pieter W. van der Horst (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 674–77; Mitka Golub, "The Distribution of Personal Names in the Land of Israel and Transjordan during the Iron II Period," *JAOS* 134 (2014): 640.

4.1. Seals

Nine seals and five seal impressions are often cited as Edomite. Of these, only seven are from controlled excavations. Most of the seals or impressions are identified as Edomite because the name of the god Qaus is part of the name of the owner. In spite of the minimal information available about these seals or impressions, a few of the texts are important for understanding the chronology and society of Edom. One seal impression mentions the only local attestation of a king of Edom, Qaus-gabar, while the twenty-two similar seal impressions from Tall al Khalayfi refer to an Edomite official. Other seals or impressions from the Negev suggest that Edomites, or at least individuals with Qaus-names, participated in trading activities in that area.

4.1.1. The Seal of Qaus-gabar

One seal impression and a scaraboid seal bear the inscription "(Belonging to) Qaus-gabar, king of Edom." Both the impression and the seal are broken, although the inscription can be restored with confidence. The impression on a clay bulla from Umm al Biyara reads *lqwsg*[*br*] *mlk* *ʾd*[*m*].[6] Bennett and all subsequent scholars were unable to identify the

---

6. The bulla was initially published by Bennett, "Fouilles d'Umm el-Biyara," 399–401, fig. 14; and Bennett, "Notes and News," 123–126, pl. 30. Important studies include: Israel, "Miscellanea idumea," 172, no. 5; Bartlett, *Edom and the Edomites*, 213, no. 5; Pierre Bordreuil, "Sceaux inscrits des pays du Levant," in *Supplément au dictionnaire de la Bible*, ed. Jacques Briend and Édouard Cothenet (Paris: Letouzey & Ane, 1992), 12:163, 181, 194–195, fig. 38a; André Lemaire, "Recherches sur les ateliers sigillaires jordaniens au Fer II," *SHAJ* 5 (1995): 488; Lemaire, "Les critères non-iconographiques de la classification des sceaux nord-ouest sémitiques inscrits," 5; David S. Vanderhooft, "The Edomite Dialect and Script: A Review of Evidence," in Edelman, *You Shall Not Abhor an Edomite*, 151, no. 1; Nahman Avigad and Benjamin Sass, *Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1997), no. 1049; Rollston, "Iron Age Edomite Script," 966; Eggler and Keel, *Corpus der Siegel-Amulette aus Jordanien*, 460–61, s.v. Umm al-Bayyara, no. 1. A complete study of the script, iconography and archaeological context can be found in Pieter Gert van der Veen, "The Final Phase of Iron Age IIC and the Babylonian Conquest: A Reassessment with Special Emphasis on Names and Bureaucratic Titles on Provenanced Seals and Bullae from Israel and Jordan" (PhD diss., University of Bristol, 2005), 185–225. The final publication of Umm al Biyara includes a new study of the bulla. See Van der Veen, "Seal Material," 79–84.

dalet on the second line of the inscription; however, after André Lemaire determined that this letter is commonly inverted in the Edomite script, he reassessed the impression and identified traces of the *dalet*.[7] The bulla was once attached to a document, since thread marks are visible on the back of the sealing. The impression has three registers with the inscription divided between the top and bottom registers; a winged, kilted sphinx occupies the middle register. The seal had a metal mount that left an imprint around the impression.

Bennett immediately recognized the importance of the impression. After restoring the second line as *mlk ʾ[dm]*, she connected the name with a known king of Edom: Qaus-gabar, mentioned in Assyrian inscriptions as Qaus-gabri from the time of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal. She could also date the impression to the second quarter of the seventh century BCE based on the other kings mentioned as Qaus-gabar's contemporaries. Scholars almost universally accept Bennett's interpretation.[8] Dissenters note that even the *aleph* of the word "Edom" is partially destroyed and that other possibilities, like Malkiʾel, were never considered.[9] Given the converging pieces of evidence—the beginning of the name having the letters *qwsg* … and the reference to the owner of the seal as the king of Edom (especially if Lemaire is correct in finding traces of the inverted *dalet*)—the reading initially proposed by Bennett remains highly probable.

A limestone scaraboid seal with the name of Qaus-gabar was excavated outside of a temple in Babylon. The two-line text reads *lqwsgbr* […]*m*.[10]

---

7. Lemaire, "Les critères non-iconographiques de la classification des sceaux nord-ouest sémitiques inscrits," 5.

8. E.g., Bienkowski, "Beginning of the Iron Age in Southern Jordan," 99; Bienkowski, "Edomites," 44–45; Knauf, "Edom," 100.

9. Vanderhooft, "Edomite Dialect and Script," 151.

10. Excavation number: Bab. 14157; Museum number: Berlin VA Bab. 1641. See Liane Jacob-Rost, *Die Stempelsiegel im Vorderasiatischen Museum* (Mainz: von Zabern, 1997), no. 186, fig. 15. While some scholars do not mention this seal—most notably Bartlett, *Edom and the Edomites;* and Vanderhooft, "Edomite Dialect and Script"—several epigraphers have studied the seal in connection with the Umm al Biyara impression. See Israel, "Miscellanea idumea," 177, no. 17, 186, 189, 192; Bordreuil, "Sceaux inscrits des pays du Levant," 163, 181; André Lemaire, "Ammon, Moab, Edom: L'époque du fer en Jordanie," in *La Jordanie de l'âge de la pierre a l'époque byzantine* (Paris: Recontres de l'École du Louvre, 1987), 68–69; Lemaire, "Recherches sur les ateliers sigillaires jordaniens au Fer II," 488; Van der Veen, "Final Phase of Iron Age IIC and the Babylonian Conquest," 223–25; Eggler and Keel,

Lemaire, on the basis of the seal discovered at Umm al Biyara, reconstructed the text to read *lqwsgbr* [*mlk ʾd*]*m*.[11] Two lotus buds extending from a central element, a common motif in West Semitic seals, divide the inscription.[12] Although the location where this seal was found, in Babylon, complicates the matter, the seal does attest to the full name of Qaus-gabar.

Fig. 4.1. Drawing of Qaus-gabar bulla from Umm al Biyara. 1.5 x 1.3 cm. From Eggler and Keel, *Corpus der Siegel-Amulette aus Jordanien*, s.v. Umm al-Bayyara, no. 1.

4.1.2. The Seals of Royal Officials

Two seal impressions found in archaeological contexts mention royal officials (*ʿbd hmlk*) of Edom. The first was discovered at Busayra and published by Lemaire. The reading of the inscription is clear and is divided over three registers: *lmlkl / bʿ ʿbd / hmlk*; however, the name of the owner is most likely a mistake. Lemaire proposed that it should be read as *mlkbʿl* and suggested that the error was due to an illiterate engraver attempting to produce symmetry on the seal. Although there is no reason to rely on the assumption of illiterate engravers or the desire for symmetry to explain an error, Lemaire's reading remains the only adequate explanation for the

Corpus der Siegel-Amulette aus Jordanien, 104–5, s.v. Buseira no. 7. For a recent edition, see Avigad and Sass, *Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals*, no. 1048.

11. Lemaire, "Ammon, Moab, Edom," 68–69; Lemaire, "Recherches sur les ateliers sigillaires jordaniens au Fer II," 488.

12. Benjamin Sass, "The Pre-exilic Hebrew Seals: Iconism vs. Aniconism," in Sass and Uehlinger, *Studies in the Iconography of Northwest Semitic Inscribed Seals*, 205.

name.[13] The seal is dated on both stratigraphic and paleographic grounds to the late eighth or seventh century BCE.[14]

Fig. 4.2. Drawing of *mlklb*ʿ bulla from Busayra. 1.5 x 1.3 cm. From Bienkowski, *Busayra Excavations*, fig. 11.4.

Glueck excavated a number of stamped seal impressions in several rooms at Tall al Khalayfi in 1938.[15] Between twenty-two and twenty-five impres-

---

13. See Scott C. Layton, "A New Interpretation of an Edomite Seal Impression," *JNES* 50 (1991): 37–43; and Millard, "Inscribed Material," 431; Van der Veen, "Final Phase of Iron Age IIC and the Babylonian Conquest," 227–229; Van der Veen, "Arabian Seals and Bullae along the Trade Routes of Judah and Edom," *JERD* 3 (2009): 29–31; and Van der Veen and François Bron, "Arabian and Arabizing Epigraphic Finds from the Iron Age Southern Levant," in Tebes, *Unearthing the Wilderness,* 210–12.

14. Larry G. Herr, *The Scripts of Ancient Northwest Semitic Seals*, HSM 18 (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1978); Herr, "The Palaeography of West Semitic Stamp Seals," *BASOR* 312 (1998): 68; Vanderhooft, "Edomite Dialect and Script," 151–52.

15. The best study of these impressions is DiVito, "Tell el-Kheleifeh Inscriptions," 53–55, and pls. 74–78. He located and recorded the registration numbers for all the available impressions. A recent study of the seal impressions is Bruce Zuckerman, "Shading the Difference: A Perspective on Epigraphic Perspectives of the Kheleifeh Jar Stamp Impressions," *MAARAV* 11 (2004): 233–52 (note that the URL of the images is now http://maarav.com/current11_2.shtml). Important publications include Glueck, "First Campaign at Tell el-Kheleifeh (Ezion-Geber)," 15–16; Glueck, "The Topography and History of Ezion-Geber and Elath," *BASOR* 72 (1938): 11–13; Glueck, "Tell el-Kheleifeh Inscriptions," in *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William Foxwell Albright*, ed. Hans Goedicke (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1971), 225–42; W. F. Albright, "Note to Glueck 1938," *BASOR* 71 (1938): 17–18; Albright, "Note to Glueck 1938," *BASOR* 72 (1938): 13 n. 45; Herr, *Scripts of Ancient Northwest Semitic Seals*, 164–165; Herr, "Palaeography of West Semitic Stamp Seals," 68; Israel, "Miscellanea

sions were reported, but in a recent study DiVito identified and located only twenty-two impressions. These impressions were stamped on jar handles that were found in a late seventh or early sixth century BCE context. All were in a poor state of preservation, and none have a fully intact inscription. The composite reading, however, is clear. The reading of *lqws* *ʿnl // ʿbd hmlk* ("[belonging to] Qaus-ʿanal, servant of the king") is certain and has been recognized as such since Glueck's original reading in 1938.[16] The stamped jar handles were found in a complex of rooms in the inner part of the seventh through sixth century BCE fortified settlement at Tall al Khalayfi, with seven found together in one room (Room 27). Depending on how Tall al Khalayfi is understood to relate to other Edomite sites farther north, the seal impressions could indicate that Qaus-ʿanal was a royal official who either stamped vessels before delivery to the outpost or he was in charge of overseeing their delivery or collection.[17]

4.1.3. Other Excavated Edomite Seals and Seal Impressions

Three other seals or impressions were found during controlled excavations. Although they provide limited information on the history and society of Edom, they are significant for various reasons. One seal was excavated at Tall al Khalayfi with the inscription *lytm*, "belonging to Yatom."[18]

---

idumea," 174, no. 12; Bartlett, *Edom and the Edomites*, 214, no. 6; Bordreuil, "Sceaux inscrits des pays du Levant," 163, 181, 185; Vanderhooft, "Edomite Dialect and Script," 153, no. 7; Rollston, "Iron Age Edomite Script," 96; Van der Veen, "Final Phase of Iron Age IIC and the Babylonian Conquest," 229–32. A recent edition is that of Avigad and Sass, *Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals*, no. 1051.

16. Zuckerman ("Shading the Difference," 246–47) reads the fifth letter, the *ʿayin*, as a *ṭet*. This would be the only identified *ṭet* in Edomite inscriptions. The resulting name, *qwsṭnl*, does not have any parallels and has not been accepted by subsequent commentators.

17. Naʾaman, "Assyrian Residence at Ramat Rahel?," 268; Edward Lipiński, "Edom at the Crossroads of 'Incense Routes' in the 8th–7th Centuries B.C.," *RO* 66 (2013): 67–68.

18. Excavation number 7022; the seal is currently in the Smithsonian collection (NMNH 388291). Significant studies of the seal include Herr, *Scripts of Ancient Northwest Semitic Seals*, 163; Herr, "Palaeography of West Semitic Stamp Seals," 68; Israel, "Miscellanea idumea," 174–75, no. 13; Bartlett, *Edom and the Edomites*, 211–12, no. 1; Bordreuil, "Sceaux inscrits des pays du Levant," 163; DiVito, "Tell el-Kheleifeh Inscriptions," 53, pl. 79; Lemaire, "Recherches sur les ateliers sigillaires jordaniens au Fer II," 488; Vanderhooft, "Edomite Dialect and Script," 152, no. 6; Van der Veen, "Final Phase

The seal, still enclosed in a copper casing, was found by Glueck in Room 63A. The inscription is incised above the image of a striding horned ram and another figure that has been variously interpreted as a man, a portable bellows, a copper ingot, or a scarab-beetle.[19] While the interpretation of the second figure as a bellows or copper ingot is unlikely since they are based on Glueck's theory that Tall al Khalayfi was a major copper smelting facility built by Solomon, it has yet to be conclusively identified. Glueck initially equated the owner of the seal with the eighth century BCE figure from the Hebrew Bible, Jotham the son of Uzziah, but the script and the stratigraphic context preclude this identification since both point to the late seventh or early sixth century BCE.[20] Furthermore, the name is not uncommon and it is known from other West Semitic inscriptions.

An enigmatic seal impression was discovered at Busayra and initially published by Emile Puech.[21] The seal has the inscription *ltw* surrounded by a hatched geometric design on the upper and side edges. The name on the seal, *tw*, remains a problem. Puech noted that the name is not Semitic and made the unlikely suggestion that it is Hurrian, Hittite, or Luwian.[22] On the basis of the foreign origin of the owner of the seal, he suggested that

---

of Iron Age IIC and the Babylonian Conquest," 232–35. The most recent edition is that of Avigad and Sass, *Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals*, no. 1054.

19. See Nelson Glueck, "The Third Season of Excavations at Tell el-Kheleifeh," *BASOR* 79 (1940): 13 (man); Nahman Avigad, "The Jotham Seal from Elath," *BASOR* 163 (1961): 18–22 (portable bellows). Lipiński ("Edom at the Crossroads of 'Incense Routes,'" 68) connects the ram with the Old Arabian *'ayl* and suggests a connection with the toponym Aylat.

20. See Glueck "Third Season of Excavations at Tell el-Kheleifeh," 15 n. 9; Herr "Palaeography of West Semitic Stamp Seals," 68; DiVito "Tell el-Kheleifeh Inscriptions," 53.

21. Excavation number 856. The seal was initially published by Puech, "Documents épigraphiques de Buseirah," 17–18, no. 7, fig. 6, pl. VI B. Important studies are Israel, "Miscellanea idumea," 173, no. 9 (note that this seal is mistakenly referred to by the wrong excavation number, 581); Israel, "Supplementum idumeum," 338; Bartlett, *Edom and the Edomites*, 215, no. 8; Lemaire, "Recherches sur les ateliers sigillaires jordaniens au Fer II," 487; Vanderhooft, "Edomite Dialect and Script," 152, no. 4. Van der Veen, "Arabian Seals and Bullae along the Trade Routes of Judah and Edom," 32–33, Van der Veen and Bron, "Arabian and Arabizing Epigraphic Finds," 214. The seal has been republished for the final report of the Busayra excavations, see Millard, "Inscribed Material," 429–30, pl. 11.3.

22. Puech, "Documents épigraphiques de Buseirah," 18 n. 43. Millard ("Inscribed Material," 430) suggests an Arabic etymology but does not provide any parallels.

the seal might have belonged to a mercenary, a foreign Assyrian administrator, a trader, or a military officer. These proposals are problematic, leading Bartlett to suggest that the inscription meant simply "for a mark," which does not necessarily solve the problem since that would be the only occurrence of this phrase on a seal.[23]

A small stamped jar handle was found at the site of Ghrara during the 1986 excavations led by Hart.[24] The jar was found near a pit where several large storage vessels were discarded. The seal measured approximately 2 x 1.8 cm. According to Knauf, the script should be identified as Hijazi-Thamudic. He read the seal as a boustrophedon (top line is read right to left and the bottom line in a left-to-right direction) and deciphered the name as ʾNūrat (daughter of) Nūrʾil.[25] This stamped jar handle suggests that women from the northern Hijaz were at least involved in trade that traversed Edom during the seventh and sixth centuries BCE, though little more can be said about this impression.[26]

A fourth excavated seal impression was discovered at the site of Aroer in the Negev with the inscription *lqwsʾ* ("Belonging to Qausa").[27] The seal is considered Edomite on the basis of the theophoric element in the name, but also because the *samek* is similar to others found in Edomite inscriptions.[28] The impression is located below a dividing line with the image of a crouching griffin and a tilted ankh in the upper register.[29] The archaeo-

---

23. Bartlett, *Edom and the Edomites*, 215.

24. Hart, "Excavations at Ghrareh," 90.

25. E. A. Knauf, "The Thamudic Seal Impression, Appendix," *Levant* 20 (1988): 98–99.

26. See also Van der Veen, "Arabian Seals and Bullae along the Trade Routes of Judah and Edom," 26–27; and Van der Veen and Bron, "Arabian and Arabizing Epigraphic Finds," 206–8.

27. Excavation number 361/1. The seal is currently in the Israel Museum in Jerusalem (IAA 80-4). Studies of this seal include Herr, *Scripts of Ancient Northwest Semitic Seals*, 165–66; Herr, "Palaeography of West Semitic Stamp Seals," 68; Israel, "Miscellanea idumea," 176, no. 16; Bartlett, *Edom and the Edomites*, 213, no. 4; Bordreuil, "Sceaux inscrits des pays du Levant," 163; Lemaire, "Recherches sur les ateliers sigillaires jordaniens au Fer II," 487, fig. 50; Vanderhooft, "Edomite Dialect and Script," 153, no. 8. The most recent edition is that of Avigad and Sass, *Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals*, no. 1055.

28. Herr, *Scripts of Ancient Northwest Semitic Seals*, 165–166; Herr, "Palaeography of West Semitic Stamp Seals," 68.

29. See Lemaire, "Recherches sur les ateliers sigillaires jordaniens au Fer II," 487. Bartlett (*Edom and the Edomites*, 213) interprets the iconography as letters, which to him yielded the reading ʿrʿr, which he took to reference the name of the site of ʿAroʿer.

logical context of the paleography of the inscription confirms a date in the middle of the seventh century BCE. The most interesting aspect of this seal is that it might have belonged to an Edomite, yet it was excavated in the Negev. The location of the seal is likely evidence that Edomites were participating in or traveling along the trade routes through Edom and the Negev to the Mediterranean Sea.

A bronze pendant stamp seal excavated at Ḥorvat Qitmit in the Negev belonged to an individual with an Edomite name.[30] It was discovered on the surface close to Complex A, so it was not found in a stratified context. When read as a typical seal with two lines the seal has the inscription *šwb // nswq*, which yields no immediately comprehensible meaning. Beit-Arieh suggested that the seal should be read in a boustrophedon manner, that is, the top line should be read in a right to left direction while the bottom line in a left to right direction. This approach yields the inscription *šwbnqws*, interpreted as the name Šub-na-qaus. This name has three elements: *šub* (an imperative meaning "return, come back"), *na* (a particle often associated with requests), and *qaus* (the name of a deity often associated with Edom). Most seals that are read in this manner date to the Persian period, including a parallel to this inscription that reads šbnyhw. The lack of an archaeological context—it was discovered on the surface of the site—and the lack of Iron Age II parallels for boustrophedon seals make it difficult to be confident with this interpretation. However, if the reading is correct and it belongs to a seventh century BCE context, as the excavator suggests, this seal could provide further evidence for Edomite interaction with the Negev during this period.

4.1.4. Unprovenanced Edomite Seals

Eight seals or seal impressions are often interpreted as Edomite on the basis of either paleography or because of where they were acquired. Since these seals are of limited value, they are treated only briefly here with reference to the pertinent debates. The authenticity and cultural attribution of these seals are debatable because they were all purchased on the antiquities market with limited documentation of their provenance and date. The only

---

30. Excavation number 575/1. The seal was published by Itzhaq Beit-Arieh ("Inscriptions," in *Horvat Qitmit: An Edomite Shrine in the Biblical Negev*, ed. Itzhaq Beit-Arieh, SMNIA 11 [Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology, 1995], 264–67, no. 7; fig. 5.7) who also studied the bronze artifact.

methods for attributing these seals to an Edomite origin is the presence of the theophoric element Qaus and on the basis of paleography. Unfortunately, many do not have distinctive forms of the relevant letters.

G. R. Driver purchased a seal with the inscription *lbʿzrʾl ʿbd hbʿl* ("Belonging to Beʿazarʾel servant of Baal" [or "the lord"]) in Petra in 1940.[31] The seal is divided into four registers with the inscription in the center two, a worn crescent in the top register, and a destroyed motif in the bottom register. It is dated to the sixth century BCE on paleographic grounds primarily because of the open *ayin*s. Notably the *dalet* is not inverted. Driver initially interpreted the inscription as Bē-ʿēzer-ʾēl (son of) ʿAbdî-Baal, but Pierre Bordreuil reads the second name as a cultic officer after interpreting the *yod* as a *he*: *ʿbd hbʿl*. The only reason to consider this seal Edomite is the location of the purchase; neither the names nor the script are distinctively Edomite. If Bordreuil is correct in his reading, this seal possibly belonged to a religious functionary in a sanctuary somewhere in southern Jordan; however, the lack of an archaeological context and the unclear cultural attribution makes the interpretation of this seal inconclusive.

The seal of "Menaḥemet the wife of Padamelek" (*lmnḥmt ʾšt pdmlk*) was purchased in Jerusalem in the middle of the nineteenth century.[32] The

---

31. The seal is now located in the Amman Archaeological Museum no. J.5192 (the seal was previously labeled PAM 40.451). It was initially published by G. R. Driver ("Seals from Amman and Petra," *QDAP* 11 [1945]: no. 2). Important studies include Herr, *Scripts of Ancient Northwest Semitic Seals*, 166–67; Herr, "Palaeography of West Semitic Stamp Seals," 68; Israel, "Miscellanea idumea," 176, no. 16; Israel, "Supplementum idumeum," 338–39; Bartlett, *Edom and the Edomites*, 211, no. 1; Bordreuil, "Sceaux inscrits des pays du Levant," 163, 181, 197, fig. 38b; Lemaire, "Les critères non-iconographiques de la classification des sceaux nord-ouest sémitiques inscrits," 11 nn. 7 and 9; Vanderhooft, "Edomite Dialect and Script," 152, no. 5. A recent edition is that of Avigad and Sass, *Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals*, no. 1052.

32. The seal is currently in the British Museum (BM 136202). Important recent studies include Israel, "Miscellanea idumea," 176, no. 15; Israel, "Supplementum idumeum," 338; Bordreuil, "Sceaux inscrits des pays du Levant," 162; Lemaire, "Les critères non-iconographiques de la classification des sceaux nord-ouest sémitiques inscrits," 16 n. 15, fig. 23; Lemaire, "Recherches sur les ateliers sigillaires jordaniens au Fer II," 487; Vanderhooft, "Edomite Dialect and Script," 153, no. 9; Tallay Ornan, "The Mesopotamian Influence on West Semitic Inscribed Seals: A Preference for the Depiction of Mortals," in Sass and Uehlinger, *Studies in the Iconography of Northwest Semitic Inscribed Seals*, 64, 66, fig. 52; Dominique Parayre, "A propos des sceaux ouest-sémitiques: Le role de l'iconographie dans l'attribution d'un sceau à une aire Culturelle ou à un atelier," in Sass and Uehlinger, *Studies in the Iconography of Northwest Semitic*

inscription is divided into two registers on one side with a hatched pattern
in a register below the inscription and an ankh-shaped stand at the end
of the first inscribed line. The other side of the seal has a scene depicting
two worshipers flanking a crescent and a star with an anthropomorphic
winged sun above.[33] The strongest evidence that the seal is Edomite is the
inverted *dalet*, and this combined with a three-stroked *shin* suggested a
date in the early sixth century BCE.[34]

Lemaire studied a seal with the inscription [*lqws*] *ʾmʾ lʿdʾl* ("[Belong-
ing to Qaus]ʾam [son of] Laʿdʾel") after it was published in the catalog of
an antiquities auction.[35] The inscription on the seal is found in the top
and bottom registers with a kilted griffin or sphinx in the center register.
Lemaire reconstructed the beginning of the owner's name as Qausʾam,
although the *dalet* in the bottom register is not inverted and the theophoric
element is broken. The seal would provide little relevant information as
the lack of an archaeological context and the large amount of reconstruc-
tion makes attribution of the seal to an Edomite origin tentative at best.

A limestone scaraboid seal was purchased in the middle of the nine-
teenth century and is reportedly located in the British Museum (there is
not an available artifact number).[36] The seal is inscribed on one side with
the inscription *lqws ʾdny* and the other side has a scene of two worshipers
in long garments facing a seated deity on top of a striding bull. The owner
of the seal did have a name with the theophoric element of an Edomite
deity and the shape of the *qoph* is also found on other Edomite seals, but

---

Inscribed Seals, 31, fig. 12; Othmar Keel, *Corpus des Stempelsiegel-Amulette aus Paläs-
tina/Israel: Von den Anfängen bis zur Perserzeit; Katalog Band V; Von Tell el-ʿIdham
bis Tel Kitan*, OBO.SA 35 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; Fribourg: Presses
Universitaires, 2017), 278–79, Jerusalem 1. The most recent edition is Avigad and Sass,
Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals, no. 1053.

33. Ornan, "Mesopotamian Influence on West Semitic Inscribed Seals," 64.

34. Herr, "Palaeography of West Semitic Stamp Seals," 68; Lemaire, "Les critères
non-iconographiques de la classification des sceaux nord-ouest sémitiques inscrits," 16.

35. The seal is currently in the Rosen Collection, no. 438. It appeared in the auc-
tion catalog, Alexander Wolfe, *Objects with Semitic Inscriptions 1100 B.C.–A.D. 700.
Auktion XXIII, 20 nov. 1989* (Zurich: Sternberg, 1989), no. 24. It has only been studied
by Lemaire ("Les critères non-iconographiques de la classification des sceaux nord-
ouest sémitiques inscrits," 17 n. 17; Lemaire, "Recherches sur les ateliers sigillaires
jordaniens au Fer II," 487 n. 16) and has recently been published in Avigad and Sass,
Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals, no. 1056.

36. See Avigad and Sass, *Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals*, no. 1057.

the *dalet* is not inverted as is typical in other Edomite texts. An Edomite origin of this seal is at best probable.

The inscription *lḥkm* is situated on the bottom register of a limestone scaraboid seal. The top register has a scene with two worshipers, a crescent on a pole and an ankh-shaped stand behind each figure.[37] The seal has a *mem* that is similar to others on Edomite seals, but the script is not distinct. Stefan Timm considers the seal to be Moabite or Aramaean because of the iconographic scene, but since the known iconography of Edomite seals is so limited this is a questionable argument. Yet, the only distinguishing feature of this seal for an Edomite attribution is the shape of the *mem*, so it is not a secure identification.

A carnelian seal with the image of a winged sun disk in the bottom register and the inscription *lmšˁ* in the top register was purchased in Damascus in the early twentieth century.[38] The shape of the *mem*, *shin*, and *ayin* are all typically Edomite, although the name Meshaˁ is common in Moabite texts.[39] The name also occurs on the next seal that is considered Edomite because of the inverted *dalet* in the second name. This suggests that the name was not confined to Moab.

The inscription *lmšˁ ˁdˀl* ("Belonging to Mešaˁ [son of] ˁAdaˀel") is divided between two registers on a quartz scaraboid seal that was first published in 1938.[40] The location of the seal is now unknown, and it was

---

37. The museum number is Paris Chabouillet 105/2 (K 1830). Recent studies include Herr, *Scripts of Ancient Northwest Semitic Seals*, 51; Herr, "Palaeography of West Semitic Stamp Seals," 68; Lemaire, "Les critères non-iconographiques de la classification des sceaux nord-ouest sémitiques inscrits," 16–17, fig. 25; Ornan, "Mesopotamian Influence on West Semitic Inscribed Seals," 53, 68, 71, fig. 57; Stefan Timm, "Das ikonographische Repertoire der moabitischen Siegel und seine Entwicklung: Von Maximalismus zum Minimalismus," in Sass and Uehlinger, *Studies in the Iconography of Northwest Semitic Inscribed Seals*, 181, 193, fig. 15. The most recent edition is that of Avigad and Sass, *Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals*, no. 1058.

38. The seal is currently in the Israel Museum (71.46.93). Recent studies that consider the seal to be Edomite are Herr, "Palaeography of West Semitic Stamp Seals," 68; Lemaire, "Les critères non-iconographiques de la classification des sceaux nord-ouest sémitiques inscrits," 13; Lemaire, "Recherches sur les ateliers sigillaires jordaniens au Fer II," 487. A recent edition is that of Avigad and Sass, *Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals*, no. 1061.

39. Herr, "Palaeography of West Semitic Stamp Seals," 68.

40. The seal is currently in the Israel Museum (71.46.108). Recent studies that consider the seal to be Edomite include Herr, "Palaeography of West Semitic Stamp Seals," 68; Lemaire, "Les critères non-iconographiques de la classification des sceaux

purchased on the antiquities market. Modern epigraphers must work from photos of the seal. The shape of the *dalet*, which is inverted, and the *mem* both suggest that this seal is Edomite, probably from the early sixth century BCE.[41] The paleography is nearly identical to the previous seal, so both should be either considered Edomite or Moabite.

The seal of Šemaʿʾel (*šmʿl*) was purchased in Tafileh, north of the Edomite site of Busayra, and published by Lankester Harding in 1937.[42] There is a crescent and another worn symbol in the top register and a stylized winged sun in the bottom register with the inscription in the center. This seal has been considered Edomite since its publication because of the location where the seal was purchased. The *mem* is the only letter that has an Edomite form, while the other letters are indistinguishable from other scripts. The script suggests a date in the seventh century BCE.

4.2. Ostraca and Inscribed Objects

Brief Edomite texts are also found on ostraca, jars, and weights excavated at Busayra, Umm al Biyara, Tall al Khalayfi, and at several sites in the Negev. Ostraca, short inscriptions on pottery sherds written in ink or incised with a tool, were provisional notes or administrative documents that sometimes provide data like personal names and bureaucratic systems.[43] Others

---

nord-ouest sémitiques inscrits," 16–17; Vanderhooft, "Edomite Dialect and Script," 153, no. 10. The most recent edition is that of Avigad and Sass, *Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals*, no. 1062.

41. Lemaire, "Les critères non-iconographiques de la classification des sceaux nord-ouest sémitiques inscrits," 16–17; Herr, "Palaeography of West Semitic Stamp Seals," 68; Vanderhooft, "Edomite Dialect and Script," 153. A recent edition is that of Avigad and Sass, *Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals*, no. 1061.

42. The seal was reported to have been in the Halil Bey Zaza collection in Amman, but the present location of the seal is unknown. Recent studies that consider the seal to be Edomite are Herr, *Scripts of Ancient Northwest Semitic Seals*, 165; Herr, "Palaeography of West Semitic Stamp Seals," 68; Israel, "Miscellanea idumea," 172, no. 2; Bartlett, *Edom and the Edomites*, 214–15, no. 7; Bordreuil, "Sceaux inscrits des pays du Levant," 163; Lemaire, "Les critères non-iconographiques de la classification des sceaux nord-ouest sémitiques inscrits," 11 n. 7; Lemaire, "Recherches sur les ateliers sigillaires jordaniens au Fer II," 487–88; Vanderhooft, "Edomite Dialect and Script," 152, no. 3. The most recent edition is that of Avigad and Sass, *Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals*, no. 1064.

43. See generally, André Lemaire, "D'édom à l'idumée et à Rome," in *Des Sumériens aux Romain d'Orient la perception géographique du Monde: Espaces et territoires au*

record receipts of oil, commodities, or brief letters. The incised jars do not record much information, usually the name of the vessel's owner, but several have been interpreted as inscriptions of religious dedication.

4.2.1. Busayra

The seven inscribed objects excavated at Busayra can be grouped into three categories: jars incised with names, ostraca or objects of an economic nature, and inscriptions with uncertain meaning.[44] Only one object should be placed into the final category, an ostracon inscribed with the letters …] *hkrkb* [… (Busayra no. 816).[45] The ostracon is broken and it is unclear if anything preceded or followed it. Puech suggested that the word is comparable to Hebrew *krkb*, which refers to the "rim" of an altar in Exod 27:5 and 38:4, but it is unclear what that word would mean in this context. This word is probably part of a longer text that has been lost and its interpretation remains elusive.[46]

There are three fragmentary inscriptions that consist of personal names. A fragment of a stone incense-burner is incised with the letters …] *lk* [… (Busayra no. 157).[47] This broken inscription is possibly the final two letters of a personal name that ended with the common element *mlk* (perhaps something like *qwsmlk*). An incised body fragment of a bichrome painted bowl is more interesting because the inscription is possibly more

---

Proche-orient ancien; Acts de la table ronde du 16 novembre 1996 organisée par l'URA 1062 'Études sémitiques, ed. Arnaud Sérandour, AntSem 2 (Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1997), 81–103.

44. There are several possibly inscribed objects from Busayra that are not discussed here (nos. 889, 891, 992, 1215). Millard ("Inscribed Material") notes that these objects have lines but these lines do not form any identifiable letters.

45. Initially published by Puech ("Documents épigraphiques de Buseirah," 17, pl. Vb) and republished by Millard ("Inscribed Material," 432, pl. 11.6). Brief discussions of this object are Bartlett (*Edom and the Edomites*, 216, no. 2), Vanderhooft ("Edomite Dialect and Script," 141, no. 2), and Israel ("Miscellanea idumea," 173, no. 8).

46. Bartlett's (*Edom and the Edomites*, 216) attempt to read the letters as *kdkd*, which is a precious stone associated with Edom in Ezek 27:16, falters on paleographic grounds (Vanderhooft, "Edomite Dialect and Script," 141).

47. The incised fragment was initially published by Puech ("Documents épigraphiques de Buseirah," 11–12, fig. 1, pl. IVa) and republished by Millard ("Inscribed Material," 429, pl. 11.1). Only Bartlett (*Edom and the Edomites*, 222, no. 1) has published an analysis of it.

complete. The inscription reads …]*rk . qws* and the text includes a word divider before *qws* (Busayra no. 583).[48] The inscription could be a personal name consisting of Qaus as the theophoric element and preceded by an element ending in *rk*. Alternatively, the first word could be the end of the verb *brk* ("to bless") yielding the reading of either *brk qws* or *ybrk qws* and meaning "Qaus has blessed." This second interpretation is supported by the word-divider incised between the two words. Finally, an inscription was discovered on a body fragment of a jug. It reads *l ʾdnš* (Busayra no. 802), which is likely the personal name *ʾdnš*, comparable to a Phoenician name (*ʾdnšˁ*).[49]

Three other ostraca from Busayra provide some limited insight into economic matters. One such text is an ostracon with traces of letters on the first line, but the second line reads *ḥṭn . kr . 1* (seah symbol) *2* (Busayra no. 1191) and is translated as "wheat, 1 *kor*, 2 *seahs*."[50] Puech calculated the amount of wheat for which the ostracon is apparently a receipt. According to Puech, there are 30 *seahs* per *kor* and one *kor* is either 360 or 240 liters. Transferring between ancient and modern systems of measurement should be approached with caution, but it is unclear how Puech arrives at a total of 480 liters for approximately 32 *seahs* of wheat. Puech did offer an alternative solution to this text, reading the signs as *yy*]*n . kd* 1 x 2 ("jug of wine 1 [symbol] 2") with "x" being a symbol of liquid measurement that is at present indeterminable. This interpretation does yield an acceptable formula without appealing to an Aramaic form to explain *ḥṭn*.

---

48. Puech published and studied the text ("Documents épigraphiques de Buseirah," 14–15, fig. 4, pl. Va). It was also published by Bennett ("Excavations at Buseirah, Southern Jordan, 1973," 14, fig. 8.1) in her pottery analysis and republished by Millard ("Inscribed Material," 432–33, pl. 11.9). Bartlett (*Edom and the Edomites*, 223, no. 3) is the only subsequent scholar to mention this text.

49. This incised body fragment was not studied by Puech but was published as part of a reconstructed jug by Bennett ("Excavations at Buseirah, Southern Jordan, 1973," 14, fig. 8.3). It was republished and studied by Millard ("Inscribed Material," 433, pl. 11.10). Studies include Bartlett (*Edom and the Edomites*, 223, no. 4) and Israel ("Miscellanea idumea," 173, no. 7). Millard ("Inscribed Material," 433) suggested the inscription yields the name Sî (= "Sîn is (my) lord") although he does not mention parallels or other explanations.

50. The ostracon was published initially by Puech ("Documents épigraphiques de Buseirah," 19–20, fig. 8, pl. VId). Bartlett (*Edom and the Edomites*, 216, no. 3) follow's Puech's alternative reading. Millard ("Inscribed Material," 431–32, pl. 11.5) has republished the ostracon.

A second text on the handle of a jar reads ʿb (Busayra no. 487).[51] Puech interpreted the two letters as an abbreviation for ʿśryt bt meaning "a tenth of a *bath*." The abbreviation for *bath* is also found in sixth century BCE ostraca from Arad, but the abbreviation for a numeral is unattested.[52] This is a reasonable conclusion since the jar could contain about four or five liters and, according to Puech, a *bath* is a liquid measurement of about forty-five liters. The conclusion is tentative, however, since recent estimations of the measurement for a *bath* are considerably less (around twenty-one to twenty-four liters). The third inscribed object is an irregularly shaped chalk cube that probably served as a weight. The cube has an *n* incised on one face and *nṣ* on the other (Busayra no. 621).[53] This has been interpreted as an abbreviation for *nṣp*, although it is equally likely that the engraver was unable to fit the entire word on the object. An *nṣp* weight is considered a "half shekel" or a "light shekel." The object weighs 9.5 g, which is within the range of what was considered a light shekel. But the study by Kletter on inscribed weights considers the *nṣp* to be part of a series of smaller units of measurement that includes the *nṣp* weight (five-sixths of a shekel), the *pym* weight (two-thirds of a shekel) and the *bqʿ* weight (one-half of a shekel).[54] This would place the Busayra weight within the range of other *nṣp* weights that average 9.66 g. This interpretation is dependent upon the data from Judah, since there is not enough evidence to analyze the Edomite metrological system.

4.2.2. Umm al Biyara and the Wadi Rum Region

Three inscribed objects from the Wadi Rum region include a weight purchased in 1922 in Petra and a weight and inscribed ostracon from Umm

---

51. The sherd was first published by Puech ("Documents épigraphiques de Buseirah," fig. 3, pl. IVe) while the jar was studied by Bennett ("Excavations at Buseirah, Southern Jordan, 1973," 12–13, fig. 76). The only subsequent studies are that of Bartlett (*Edom and the Edomites*, 222–23, no. 2) and Millard ("Inscribed Material," 434, pl. 11.14).

52. In Sandra Gogel's (*A Grammar of Epigraphic Hebrew*, RBS 23 [Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998]) corpus, see Arad 1.3, 2.2, 3.2, 4.3, 8.5, 9.3, 10.2, 11.3; Lachish 29.3.

53. The weight was first studied by Puech ("Documents épigraphiques de Buseirah," 15–17, fig. 5, pl. VIa). Bartlett (*Edom and the Edomites*, 227–228, no. 3) also mentions the object. The weight was included in Raz Kletter's study of inscribed weights ("The Inscribed Weights of the Kingdom of Judah," *TA* 18 [1991]: table 6, no. 21). Millard republished the object ("Inscribed Material," 434–35, pl. 11.52).

54. See Kletter, "Inscribed Weights of the Kingdom of Judah," 135 and the data in tables 6–8.

al Biyara. The Umm al Biyara weight is a dome-shaped stone inscribed with the sign for a shekel and a sign for four, meaning that the weight should be equal to four shekels.[55] There is no need to take recourse to the "light shekel" as Bartlett does, since at 42.46 g this weight does fit within the acceptable range of weight for four shekels, which averages 45.24 g. A bronze weight (at 45.36 g) purchased in Petra is more difficult to interpret since it is inscribed with the word *ḥmšt* "five."[56] Bartlett suggested that the number indicates that the weight is five "light shekels," yet the numbers on weights found in this region are generally not spelled out but are referred to with hieratic numbers.[57] Furthermore, this weight is roughly equal to the Umm al Biyara weight, which is only four shekels. Also, if Kletter is correct this system was based on multiples of four of the standard shekel and there is no evidence of other weights inscribed with *ḥmšt*.

An ostracon from Umm al Biyara (reg. no. 239), apparently a docket recording the delivery of olive oil, reads as follows:

šmn . rḥṣ…	Refined oil, [x measures
mʿr […] *n* [	from ??
bd . bn[…] *t* [	by … the son of ….

The second word in the first line is likely *rḥṣ* designating "pure" or "refined" oil and is probably followed by a notation of liquid measurement.[58] The second line designates the sender and is a personal name preceded by an elided *mn*. The third line records the patronymic of the sender of the oil. The second legible word is read by David Vanderhooft as *br*, which is the Aramaic form for "son" on the basis of the published photo, but the initial epigrapher, J. T. Milik, read the word as *bn* which is more typical of the

---

55. Initially published by Bennett ("Fouilles d'Umm el-Biyara," 395–96, pl. XXIVb). Bartlett (*Edom and the Edomites*, 227, no. 2) also mentions this weight. This weight is included in Kletter's study of inscribed weights ("Inscribed Weights of the Kingdom of Judah," table 3, no. 32). The final publication of this weight is in Bienkowski, "Small Finds," 101, fig. 7.2:25.

56. The weight was purchased and published by E. J. Pilcher ("Bronze Weight from Petra," *PEQ* 54 [1922]: 71–73). It was noted by Bartlett (*Edom and the Edomites*, 227, no. 2) and Israel ("Miscellanea idumea," 172, no. 1).

57. Bartlett, *Edom and the Edomites*, 227.

58. Baruch Rosen, "Wine and Oil Allocations in the Samaria Ostraca," *TA* 13 (1986): 39–40.

southern Levantine dialects.[59] The archaeological context and the paleo-
graphic analysis both suggest that the ostracon dates to the seventh cen-
tury BCE.[60]

4.2.3. Tall al Khalayfi

The documents discovered at Tall al Khalayfi are complicated by the
numerous problems with the stratification proposed by Glueck. Four
inscribed objects can be confidently attributed to the Iron Age, although
many other documents were found in the final phases of occupation at the
site. Two sherds with inscriptions are of South Arabian origin (see ch. 7),
but there are also two other legible documents.

Glueck excavated two texts attributable to this period. An incised jug
with the name of the owner was found in Room 49 of the inner casemate
wall (Tall al Khalayfi no. 374).[61] The inscription reads *lʿmyrw* "(Belong-
ing to) ʿAmîrû." Another text, found in Room 70 near the outer wall of the
same stratum, is a list of names written in ink on a sherd of a cooking pot
(Tall al Khalayfi no. 6043).[62] It was written in an Edomite cursive script
of the seventh and sixth century BCE and is missing at least two lines at

---

59. Vanderhooft, "Edomite Dialect and Script," 140–41; Rollston, "Iron Age
Edomite Script," 961–65. For J. T. Milik's initial publication, see his contribution in
Bennett, "Fouilles d'Umm el-Biyara," 398–99 and pl. XXIIa.

60. Bennett, "Fouilles d'Umm el-Biyara"; Vanderhooft, "Edomite Dialect and
Script." See also the new edition of Umm al Biyara no. 239 in Omar al-Ghul, "The
Ostracon," in Bienkowski, *Umm al-Biyara*, 85–92.

61. The initial publication is found in Glueck ("First Campaign at Tell el-Khel-
eifeh [Ezion-Geber]," 17, fig. 7 [handcopy by Albright]). It was republished by Glueck
with a handcopy by Lankester Harding (Glueck, "Topography and History of Ezion-
Geber and Elath," 9, fig. 2). Subsequent studies include Israel ("Miscellanea idumea,"
173–74, no. 10), Bartlett (*Edom and the Edomites*, 224, no. 5), and DiVito ("Tell el-
Kheleifeh Inscriptions," 57–58, pl. 80A).

62. The ostracon was first published by Glueck ("Ostraca from Elath," *BASOR* 82
[1941]: 3–10). Important studies of this text were made by Albright ("Ostracon No.
6043 from Ezion-geber," *BASOR* 82 [1941]: 11–15), Joseph Naveh ("The Scripts of Two
Ostraca from Elath," *BASOR* 183 [1966]: 27–30), Israel ("Miscellanea idumea," 174,
no. 11), Bartlett (*Edom and the Edomites*, 219–20, no. 7), DiVito ("Tell el-Kheleifeh
Inscriptions," 55–57, plate 82), Vanderhooft ("Edomite Dialect and Script," 143–144,
no. 5), and Rollston ("Iron Age Edomite Script," 968–67). When DiVito republished the
ostracon, the ink was too faded for decipherment and all subsequent studies are there-
fore based on the initial published photos and drawings. For a recent transliteration

the top and one at the bottom of the ostracon. The following list of names comes from the study of the text by DiVito.

1   *rᵓl*
2   *bdq*[*ws*]
3   *šlm*
4   *qwsb*[*nh*]
5   *pgᶜqws*
6   *nᶜm*
7   *škk*
8   *rp*ᵓ
9   *pgᶜq*[*ws*]
10   *qwsny*

The presence of Qaus names suggest that the ostracon is Edomite; however, it could be a list of traders from various areas since many of the names are not typically Edomite or even Northwest Semitic. It is likely that a disbursement or a patronymic followed each entry on the list. The ostracon probably functions within the administrative system at the site and possibly lists laborers, recipients of disbursements, or individuals that officials interacted with. However, at present the text only offers information on personal names. Notably five of the ten names have Qaus as the theophoric element.

4.2.4. The Negev

Several objects from the Negev preserve Edomite inscriptions.[63] It is important to note that although Edomite objects were discovered in the Negev, this does not validate the theory of a westward Edomite expansion in the eighth and seventh centuries BCE.[64] Rather it provides support

---

and study, see Shmuel Aḥituv, *Echoes from the Past: Hebrew and Cognate Inscriptions from the Biblical Period*, Carta Handbook (Jerusalem: Carta, 2008), 354–56.

63. For a recent analysis of the written material from the Negev, see Nadav Naʾaman, "Literacy in the Negev in the Late Monarchical Period," in *Contextualizing Israel's Sacred Writing: Ancient Literacy, Orality, and Literary Production*, ed. Brian B. Schmidt, AIL 22 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2015), 47–70.

64. The main proponent of this theory is Beit-Arieh. This is a significant theory and the excavation of these artifacts have been used to support it. There will be a full discussion of the nature of the Edomite presence in the Negev in ch. 7.

for the presence of Edomites, whether as traders, travelers, or small settler communities, in the Negev during the Iron Age. Three texts are from Ḥorvat Qitmit, one letter was found at Ḥorvat Uza, eight broken and faded ostraca from Tel Malḥata, and three Iron Age letters from Arad are related to Edom.

Three texts from Ḥorvat Qitmit are incised pottery sherds that consist of personal names or brief inscriptions. These artifacts were all excavated in Complex B at the site. The first is a small sherd (5 x 5 cm) incised after firing with the letters -]*lkqw*[- (Ḥorvat Qitmit no. 2).[65] This is likely a personal name with the theophoric element Qaus. The first two letters are the remnants of the first element of the name, probably *mlk*. A second inscription was engraved on the lip of a krater before firing; the text reads *lqws* (Ḥorvat Qitmit no. 4).[66] The first three letters are clear and the top of a *samek* is visible. It is unclear whether this was part of a larger inscription, perhaps the beginning of a personal name, or if this is the entire inscription.

The third inscription from Ḥorvat Qitmit is longer and the interpretive options are more complicated. Seven letters are engraved under the lip of a wide-mouthed vessel. The inscription reads]*blqwshp*[and is part of a longer inscription (Ḥorvat Qitmit no. 3).[67] The name of the deity Qaus is immediately identifiable, but the remaining letters are more difficult. Beit-Arieh offered three possible interpretations. First, the letters could be divided into two units (*blqws* / *hp*) with the first unit serving as the end of a personal name and the second unit the beginning of an infinitive. Second, the letters could be divided into three units (*b* / *lqws* / *hp*). In this interpretation, the first unit would be the end of an infinitive related to the second unit, the name Qaus with a genitival *lamed*. The letters could also be part of a longer inscription with the *b* being the end of a personal name and the remainder would be a dedication to Qaus (*brk* . PN . *lqws*), similar to the dedication formula from Khirbat el-Kom (*brk* . ʾ*ryhw* . *lyhwh*). Unfortunately, none of the possibilities are unproblematic. The only characteristic of this ostracon that can be identified as Edomite is the name of the deity

---

65. Excavation number 518/1. The initial publication is Beit-Arieh ("Inscriptions," 259–60, no. 2, fig. 5.2).

66. Excavation number 550/1. The initial publication is Beit-Arieh ("Inscriptions," 261–62, no. 4, fig. 5.4).

67. Excavation number 554/1. The initial publication is Beit-Arieh ("Inscriptions," 260–61, no. 3, fig. 5.3).

Qaus, and the possibility that there were non-Edomite Qaus worshipers in the Negev should not be eliminated. Beit-Arieh decided that the importance of the inscription is that it mentions Qaus and that the vessel was inscribed with either the name of a donor or a dedication inscription.[68]

The ostracon from Ḥorvat ʿUza is perhaps the most important find for the study of Edomite epigraphy and dialect.[69] The site is a small (0.2 ha) fortress on the southeastern extreme of the Beersheba Valley, that likely monitored activity along the route that ran southeast from the Negev to the Arabah. This single-period site was built during the seventh century BCE and destroyed in the early sixth century BCE.[70] The ostracon was found in a late eighth to early seventh century BCE context, on the floor of the front room of the gatehouse along with five Hebrew ostraca.[71] Note that excavations at the nearby site of Ḥorvat Radum south east of Ḥorvat Uza yielded four mostly illegible ostraca, but none of these

---

68. Beit-Arieh, "Inscriptions," 260.

69. Ḥorvat ʿUza Inscription no. 7, Reg. No. 1523/1. The discovery and initial photograph of the text was published in Itzhaq Beit-Arieh and Bruce Cresson ("Notes and News: Horvat Uza, 1983," *IEJ* 32 [1983]: 271–72, pl. 32). It was published along with a transliteration, translation, and study in Beit-Arieh and Cresson ("An Edomite Ostracon from Horvat ʿUza," *TA* 12 [1985]: 96–101.). The final publication with the archaeological reports is found in Beit-Arieh, "Epigraphic Finds," in *Ḥorvat ʿUza and Ḥorvat Radum: Two Fortresses in the Biblical Negev*, ed. Itzhaq Beit-Arieh, SMNIA 25 (Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology, 2007), 133–37, text no. 7. Important subsequent studies include Israel ("Supplementum idumeum," 339–42, no. 1b), Wolfgang Zwickel ("Das 'edomitische' Ostrakon aus Hirbet Gazza [Horvat Uza]," *BN* 41 [1988]: 36–40), Bartlett (*Edom and the Edomites*, 221–22, no. 10), Vanderhooft ("Edomite Dialect and Script," 142–43, no. 4), Bob Becking and Meindert Dijkstra ("'A Message from the King…': Some Remarks on an Edomite Ostracon from Horvat ʾUza," *JNSL* 37 [2011]: 109–16), Rollston, ("Iron Age Edomite Script," 967), and Nadav Naʾaman ("A New Look at the Epigraphic Finds from Horvat ʾUza," *TA* 39 [2012]: 84–101). For the context of this ostracon in relation to the Hebrew texts, see Anat Mendel, "Who Wrote the Aḥiqam Ostracon from Ḥorvat ʿUza?" *IEJ* 61 (2011): 54–67. For a recent transliteration and study, see Aḥituv, *Echoes from the Past*, 351–54.

70. See the summary of the finds in Naʾaman, "Literacy in the Negev in the Late Monarchical Period," 52–53.

71. Itzhaq Beit-Arieh and Bruce Cresson, "Notes and News: Horvat Uza, 1982," *IEJ* 32 (1982): 262–63, pl. 44; Beit-Arieh and Cresson, "Notes and News: Horvat Uza, 1983;" Naʾaman, "New Look at the Epigraphic Finds from Horvat ʾUza," 86–87. The final publication of the gatehouse is in Beit-Arieh and Cresson, "Stratigraphy and Architecture," in Beit-Arieh, *Ḥorvat ʿUza and Ḥorvat Radum*, 23–27.

texts appear to have been written in the Edomite script.[72] Two aspects of this text suggest that it is Edomite. First, there is a blessing from the sender to the recipient in the name of Qaus. Second, the script has some features that are distinctive to the Edomite script. Most notably, the *dalet* in line 4 is inverted, the *mem* has a wide head, and the *ʿayin* is open as in other secure Edomite texts.[73]

1   *ʾmr lmlk . ʾmr . lblbl*
2   *hšlm . ʾt . whbrktk*
3   *lqws . wʿt . tn . ʾt . hʾkl*
4   *ʾšr . ʿmd . ʾḥʾmh . p[ṣ]ʿ*
5   *whrm ʿz ʾl . ʿlmz[bḥ…*
6   ⌜*wysp*⌝ *ḥmr . hʾkl*

1   (Thus) says Limilk, "Say to Blbl,
2   'Are you well? I bless you
3   by Qaus. Now, deliver the grain
4   with ʾAḥiʾummīh which is da[ma]ged
5   and ʿUzziʾil will offer upon the al[tarʾ…
6   [adding] a homer of the grain.'"

The ostracon records a letter from Limilk, possibly located in Edom, to Blbl (Bulbul). The first three lines are clear and comparable to an ostracon found at Kuntillet ʿAjrud that opens: [ʾ]*mr / ʾmryw ʾ / mr l.ʾdny / hšlm . ʾ*[*t*] */ brktk . ly / hwh* (Kuntillet ʿAjrud 15).[74] The first problem is the name of the sender of the letter: *lmlk*. The parallel with the Kuntillet ʿAjrud ostracon suggests that the full name is *lmlk* (Limilk or <E>limelek, if an initial aleph is elided), not *mlk* with a *lamed*, which would make the sender of the letter anonymous and the recipient a king. It is possible that the recipient of the letter was a king if *lmlk* and *lblbl* are parallel phrases with the first element as a title and the second element a personal name.[75] The Kuntillet

---

72. Naʾaman, "Literacy in the Negev in the Late Monarchical Period," 54–55. For the initial publication of the texts from Ḥorvat Radum, see Beit-Arieh, "Epigraphic Finds," 323–26.

73. See the discussion of the paleography of this text in Vanderhooft, "Edomite Dialect and Script," 145–51.

74. See Gogel, *Grammar of Epigraphic Hebrew.*

75. Ernst Axel Knauf, "Supplementa Ismaelitica 13: Edom und Arabien," *BN* 45 (1988): 78–79.

'Ajrud letter could be understood in the same way if 'dny is considered
an epithet of 'mryw. If the opening line of the letter is understood this
way, the translation "Say to the king, Blbl" would be more appropriate.
Bob Becking and Meindert Dijkstra, following a proposal of James Lin-
denberger and Manfred Weippert, suggest that 'mr should be interpreted
as a noun, yielding "A message from the king."[76] However, the letter refers
to mundane matters, and it is unlikely that a letter would be sent to the
king of Edom to order the delivery of grain. The only situation that might
necessitate royal authority is if the final word of line 5 is mz[bḥ] ("altar")
and the king retained some authority over religious matters.

The most unusual aspect of the second line is that the verb brk is in
the hiphil, which is unknown in other texts, including those of epigraphic
and Biblical Hebrew.[77] The letter is a request from Limilk that Blbl deliver
the grain that is in the possession of another individual, 'Aḥi'ummīh.[78]
The unusual absolute form of the preposition 'md should be retained
and not read as 'mr.[79] The final two lines are difficult, partially due to
the preservation of the text. A fourth individual is mentioned who is the
subject of the verb (rwm). The name begins with an 'ayin and ends with
a lamed; this led Itzhaq Beit-Arieh and Bruce Cresson to suggest 'Uzi'el.[80]
This individual will "lift" or "offer" a sheaf of grain (from line 6, which
Na'aman reconstructs as wysp) upon an object that begins with mz. The
text of line 5 appears to be damaged at this point, so the reconstruc-
tion of the editors as mzbḥ is likely, and could have been followed by the
divine name Qaus. Felice Israel and Wolfgang Zwickel both suggest that
the word is mzw and connect it with the noun māzû, which is only found

76. Becking and Dijkstra, "A Message from the King," 112–13. They cite James M.
Lindenberger, Ancient Aramaic and Hebrew Letters, 2nd ed., WAW 14 (Atlanta: Soci-
ety of Biblical Literature, 2003), 13; and Manfred Weippert, Historisches Textbuch zum
Alten Testament, GAT 10 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), 364.

77. The proposal by Zwickel ("Das 'edomitische' Ostrakon") to read the initial
he as an interrogative he destroys the formula and yields an awkward and otherwise
unattested formula.

78. The vocalization of this name follows Na'aman, "New Look at the Epigraphic
Finds from Horvat 'Uza," 87–88.

79. As suggested by Israel, "Supplementum idumeum"; see also Vanderhooft,
"Edomite Dialect and Script," 142–43 n. 28; and Becking and Dijkstra, "Message from
the King," 113.

80. Beit-Arieh and Cresson, "Edomite Ostracon from Horvat 'Uza."

in Biblical Hebrew in Ps 144:13 and means a "storehouse" or "granary."[81] This reading does not require the reconstruction of the final word of line 5 and does yield an appropriate meaning: "and PN will place a sheaf of grain into the storehouse."

4.2.5. Tel Malḥata

A collection of ink-inscribed ostraca was excavated at the fortress site of Tel Malḥata during the 1990s by a team lead by Itzhaq Beit-Arieh, the publication of which only appeared in 2015. This small fortress (1.8 ha) was built at the beginning of the eighth century BCE, and was destroyed during the Assyrian invasion of 701 BCE (Stratum IV). The fortress was rebuilt along the lines of the earlier construction in the seventh century BCE only to be destroyed less than a century later in the early sixth century BCE (Stratum III). The excavators assigned the eighteen inscriptions discovered at Tel Malḥata to the later fortress.[82] Eight of the thirteen legible ink-inscribed ostraca (nos. 1–8) were written in the Edomite script. These documents are largely administrative, but do contain names of fathers and sons, and one ostracon might be a letter (no. 4).[83] The eight inscriptions from Tel Malḥata are identified as Edomite based entirely on the diagnostic elements within the script of the ostraca, namely the open-headed ʿayin, the inverted dalet, and the open-headed bet, all of which are problematic and some of these texts do not have clear diagnostic elements.[84]

Beit-Arieh labeled the Edomite texts as numbers 1–8 and published them with the final archaeological report for Tel Malḥata.[85] One ostracon

---

81. Israel, "Supplementum idumeum"; Zwickel, "Das 'edomitische' Ostrakon."

82. For the archaeology and history of the site, see the summary in Itzhaq Beit-Arieh, "Excavations at Tel Malḥata: An Interim Report," in *The Fire Signals of Lachish: Studies in the Archaeology and History of Israel in the Late Bronze Age, Iron Age, and Persian Period in Honor of David Ussishkin*, ed. Israel Finkelstein and Nadav Naʾaman (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 17–32; and the final report in Itzhaq Beit-Arieh, "Tel Malḥata: The Site," in *Tel Malḥata: A Central City in the Biblical Negev*, ed. Itzhaq Beit-Arieh and Liora Freud, SMNIA 32 (Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology, 2015), 11–16.

83. See Naʾaman, "Literacy in the Negev in the Late Monarchical Period," 55–56.

84. See above for a discussion of the script and sources cited at 142 n. 3, above.

85. Itzhaq Beit-Arieh, "Inscriptions: Epigraphic Finds from the Iron Age," in Beit-Arieh and Freud, *Tel Malḥata*, 487–504; see also Naʾaman, "Literacy in the Negev in the Late Monarchical Period," 55–56.

is a broken list of names found in a room dated to the seventh century BCE, discovered during an earlier excavation.[86] The only element that identifies this ostracon as Edomite is the presence of a clear, open-headed ʿayin, in line 2, yet the next line does not have the characteristic inverted dalet. The list of names also does not include any names with Qaus as the theophoric element. The names include: 2. ʿAzanʾel (ʿznʾl), 3. Danʾe[l] (dnʾ[l]), 4. Elisham[ʿa] (ʾlšm[ʿ]), 5. Elipe[let] (ʾlp[lt]). The longest text is a nine-line list of names with patronymics written in ink on a broken jug. This text was also identified as Edomite with characteristic letters, here the open-headed bet and an Aramaic-style tav.[87] None of the names in the list appear to be complete. The extant parts of the names include: 3. Naʿam (nʿm), 5. ʿAmy- (ʿmy[x]), 7. Shaphat- (špt[x]), 8. Nqy- (nqy[x]).

An eight-line broken ostracon (Malḥata no. 3) was recovered from a building in the seventh-century BCE stratum. This ostracon is both broken and the ink is faded, so while letters are identifiable, only a few words are extant on the text.[88] The text was identified as Edomite on the basis of an open-headed ʿayin, in line 1. Text 3 might be a list of names, with the word nephesh (npš), "person," appearing in line 3. The only identifiable names are ʾAḥaz (ʾḥz) in line 6 and what appears to be an unknown name, šmṣʾl, in line 6. These names do not have any known Edomite parallels, although the onomastica of Edom is sparse.

The most complex text was found in a seventh-century BCE context on an ostracon that was broken into four pieces.[89] The six-line broken text was written on the exterior of a sherd in a "well-preserved Edomite script," except line 4, which Beit-Arieh surmised was inserted some time later. Letters were written on the inside of the sherd, but there are no identifiable words. The exterior text reads as follows:

1   rbḥ--
2   krgrhwʿln
3   lt gdʿ . np[š]   -lt cut down a person

---

86. Malḥata no. 1. Reg. No. 2057/1. See Beit-Arieh, "Inscriptions: Epigraphic Finds," 487–88, fig. 5.1.

87. Malḥata no. 2. Reg. No. 122/1. See Beit-Arieh, "Inscriptions: Epigraphic Finds," 489–90, fig. 5.2.

88. Malḥata no. 3. Reg. No. 3559/1. See Beit-Arieh, "Inscriptions: Epigraphic Finds," 490–92, fig. 5.3.

89. Malḥata no. 4. Reg. No. 4189/1. See Beit-Arieh, "Inscriptions: Epigraphic Finds," 492–94, fig. 5.4.

4	ˀ . ḥsr	… lacking 20 (?)
5	hksp hbˀ	… bring the silver
6	šy-	

Beit-Arieh read the first word in line 3 as the ending of a personal name with the verb *g-d-ˁ* with *n-p- š*, a lexical combination that does occur in Biblical Hebrew (1 Sam 2:31; Ezek 6:6; 2 Chr 31:1), which Beit-Arieh interprets as "to kill, cut down." Line 4 of this inscription is problematic, and was likely a later addition. Beit-Arieh makes several notes to suggest that conclusion: the script is characteristically Hebrew not Edomite, the letters are larger than the other lines, and the color of the ink for this line is lighter than the other lines.

Unfortunately, the remaining four inscriptions are too faded or broken to yield any meaning. Inscription 5 includes four fragmentary lines with the word *npš* occurring in lines 1 and 2.[90] Inscription 6 has four lines, probably of a list of names, but the only clear word is *bnw* "his son," in lines 2 and 3.[91] Inscription 7 reads III *npš*, but the ostracon is small and broken.[92] Inscription 8, like inscription 6, was likely a list of names with one the word *bnw* "his son," appearing in two lines.[93]

4.3. Three Letters from Arad

Three of the 112 Iron Age ostraca excavated at Arad in the Beersheba Valley mention Edom. Two of these texts (Arad nos. 40 and 24) appear to mention a military threat to Arad and the Judahite outposts in the Negev posed by Edom. The letters do not provide a specific context for this threat, whether it was an organized military expedition or if there were bands of Edomite traders or bandits who caused problems for the outposts. The third letter (Arad no. 21) is a faded ostracon on which the writer sends blessings from Yahweh. The letter mentions Edom in a broken context and it is unclear why Edom is referred to in this situation.

---

90. Malḥata no. 5. Reg. No. 4264/1. See Beit-Arieh, "Inscriptions: Epigraphic Finds," 494–95, fig. 5.5.

91. Malḥata no. 6. Reg. No. 4189/2. See Beit-Arieh, "Inscriptions: Epigraphic Finds," 495, fig. 5.6.

92. Malḥata no. 7. Reg. No. 4190/1. See Beit-Arieh, "Inscriptions: Epigraphic Finds," 495–96, fig. 5.7.

93. Malḥata no. 8. Reg. No. 4264/1. See Beit-Arieh, "Inscriptions: Epigraphic Finds," 496, fig. 5.8.

The earliest Arad letter (no. 40) relating to Edomite affairs was found in Stratum VIII that was destroyed during the campaign of Sennacherib in 701 BCE.[94] But based on a computer-assisted handwriting analysis, an interdisciplinary team from Tel Aviv University has recently suggested that this letter was written by the same author of Arad no. 24 and should be dated to the end of the seventh century BCE and placed into the context of the conflicts between Judah and Edom as the Assyrian Empire declined.[95] The partially preserved letter was from Gemar-yahu and Nehem-yahu to Malki-yahu. Malki-yahu was probably the commander of the Arad fortress during this period, while Gemar-yahu and Nehem-yahu were likely officials at a nearby outposts, possibly Ḥorvat ʿUza.[96] After some typical opening blessings, the letter discusses the arrival of ʾEshyahu from Arad. The letter then mentions reports from Edom that were sent to the recipient of the previous message. The final line apparently refers to this report as describing the "objectionable thing that Edom has done."[97]

1   *bnkm . gmr*[*yhw*] *wnḥ*
2   *myhw . šlḥ* [*w lšlm*]
3   *mlkyhw brkt*[*k lyhw*]*h*
4   *wʿt . ḥṭh* [ʿ]*bdk* [*l*]*bh*
5   ʾ*l .*ʾ*šr* ʾ*m*[*rt wktbt*]*y*
6   ʾ*l* ʾ*dny* [ʾ*t kl* ʾ*šr r*]
7   *ṣh . h*ʾ*yš* [*w* ʾ*šyhw b*]
8   ʾ *. m*ʾ*tk . w*ʾ*yš* [*l*ʾ *ntn l*]
9   *hm . whn . yd*ʿ*th* [*hmktbm m*]
10 ʾ*dm . nttm l*ʾ*dn*[*y bṭrm y*]
11 *rd ym . w*[ʾ]*š*[*y*]*hw . ln* [*bbyty*]
12 *wh*ʾ *. hmktb . bqš* [*wl* ʾ*ntt*]

---

94. Yohanan Aharoni, "Three Hebrew Ostraca from Arad," *BASOR* 197 (1970): 28–29.

95. Shira Faigenbaum-Golovin et al., "Algorithmic Handwriting Analysis of Judah's Military Correspondence Sheds Light on Composition of Biblical Texts," *PNAS* 113 (2016): 4664–69.

96. Yohanan Aharoni, *Arad Inscriptions* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1981), 142, 148.

97. Arad C329/5. The ostracon was initially published by Aharoni ("Three Hebrew Ostraca from Arad") as the Nehemyahu ostracon. The official publication is found in Aharoni, *Arad Inscriptions*, 70–74. A transliteration and translation is available in Gogel, *A Grammar of Epigraphic Hebrew*, 396–97. For a recent transliteration and study, see Aḥituv, *Echoes from the Past*, 142–45.

13 *y . ydʿ . mlk . yhwd*[*h ky ʾy*]
14 *nnw . yklm . lšlḥ . ʾt h*[*wz*]
15 *ʾt hr ʿh . ʾš*[*r*] *ʾd*[*m ʿśth*]

1   Your son Gemar[-yahu] and Nehem-yahu
2   sen[d greetings to (you)]
3   Malki-yahu. I bless [you by Yahwe]h
4   And now, your [ser]vant has applied himself
5   to what you ord[ered]. I [write]
6   to my lord [everything that the man]
7   [wa]nted. [ʾEshyahu has co]me
8   from you but [he has not given]
9   [th]em any men. Surely you know [the reports from]
10   Edom. I sent them to [my] lord [before]
11   [ev]ening. ʾEshyahu is staying [in my house.]
12   He tried to obtain the report [but I would not give (it to him).]
13   The king of Juda[h] should know [that] we [are
14   un] able to send the […]. [This]
15   is the objectionable (thing) whi[ch] Edo[m has done.]

Arad Letter 40: 9–10 mentions the "reports from Edom" (*mktb* is reconstructed in line 9 from line 12) that contained information essential to Malki-yahu. The content of these reports and whether Malki-yahu ever received them are unknown, but they seem to have described the "objectionable (thing)" (*hr ʿh* in line 15) in which Edom had participated. The writer might have referenced Edom as a polity officially sanctioning aggressive actions or as a group of people from Edom, perhaps traders or pastoral populations engaging in detrimental actions for the soldiers at Arad. In spite of these difficulties, two aspects of Edomite-Judahite relations can be learned from this text. First, there was interaction, perhaps even royal and official, between Edom and Judah in the northern Negev during the late seventh and early sixth centuries BCE. Second, Edom acted in a way that was detrimental to its relationship with Judah. What this action was and what prompted it is unknown. It is possible that Edom was attempting to take advantage of the weakness of Judah after the destructions wrought by Sennacherib and the power dynamics that existed as the Assyrian Empire began to decline.[98] But the letter could reference more

98. Aharoni, *Arad Inscriptions*, 149.

mundane transgressions such as encroaching on arable land or disputes over grazing rights, as noted by Philip Guillaume.[99]

Arad Letter 21 was found in a casemate room in Stratum VI of the Iron Age fortress at Arad, which was destroyed between 598 and 587 BCE. Only the first five lines are legible, although the letter was originally longer. The letter is from Yehukal to his father to whom he sends blessings in the name of Yahweh.[100]

1   *bnk . yhwkl . šlḥ . lšlm . gdlyhw* [*bn*]
2   *ʾlyʾr . wlšlm . bytk . brktk l*[*yhw*]
3   *h . wʿt . hn . ʿš . ʾdny .* [   ]
4   [   ]*yšlm . yhwh . lʾ dn*[*y*   ]
5   [   ]*ʾdm* [   ] *ḥyh* [*wh*   ]

1   Your son Yehukal sends greetings to Gedalyahu, [son of]
2   Elyaʾir and greetings to your house. I bless you by [Yahwe]h.
3   Now, if my lord has done…..
4   ….May Yahweh reward [my] lord.
5   …Edom….. as Yah[weh] lives

The reference to Edom is in a context that is too broken to determine a clear meaning. If this letter is connected to the context of the following letter, Edom appears to have posed some sort of a threat, although the nature of that threat is unclear.

Arad letter 24 is also from Stratum VI. It was written to ʾElyashib, who was a prominent officer stationed at Arad during the end of the Judahite monarchy and the recipient of many of the Arad letters.[101] This letter was

---

99. Philippe Guillaume, "The Myth of the Edomite Threat: Arad Letters # 24 and 40," in *"Schrift und Sprache": Papers Read at the 10th Mainz International Colloquium on Ancient Hebrew (MICAH), Mainz, 28–30 October 2011*, ed. Reinhard G. Lehmann and Anna Elise Zernecke, KUSATU 15 (Kamen: Spenner, 2013): 97–108.

100. Arad 2833/1. The letter was originally published by Aharoni (*Arad Inscriptions*, 42–43). A transliteration and translation is available in Gogel (*Grammar of Epigraphic Hebrew*, 391). Dennis Pardee ("Arad 21: A Son's Letter," *COS* 3.43J:84) only translates the beginning of the ostracon (lines 1–4) since the remainder of this text is not well preserved. For a transliteration and study, see Aḥituv, *Echoes from the Past*, 123–25.

101. Nadav Naʾaman, "Textual and Historical Notes on the Eliashib Archive from Arad," *TA* 38 (2011): 83–93.

likely written by the same author of Arad letter 40, discussed above.[102] This letter is a royal order sent to 'Elyashib that he should send troops from Arad and Qinah to Elisha who was at Ramat-Negev. The troops were commissioned to defend Ramat-Negev against an Edomite threat. What this threat consisted of is vague and it could range from an Edomite militia to a few Edomite traders who for some reason were to be stopped from entering the region south of Judah. The writing on the obverse of the ostracon is almost entirely worn away, but the name of 'Elyashib (line 2), the word "king" (or a name ending in *mlk*; line 3) and the word "army" (*ḥyl*; line 4) are visible among the traces of other letters. The reverse, on the other hand, is well preserved, and nine lines are visible.[103]

1   *mʿrd 5 wmqyn[h   ]*
2   *ḥ . wšlḥtm . ʾtm . rmt ng[b by]*
3   *d . mlkyhw bn qrb ʾwr . whb*
4   *qydm . ʿl . yd ʾlyšʿ bn yrmy*
5   *hw . brmt ngb . pn . yqrh . ʾt h*
6   *ʿyr . dbr . wdbr hmlk ʾtkm*
7   *bnbškm . hnh šlḥty . lhʿyd*
8   *bkm . hym . hʾnšm . ʾt . ʾlyš*
9   *ʿ . pn . tbʾ . ʾdm . šmh*

1   From Arad five and from Qina[h]
2   and send them to Ramat-Nege[v unde]r
3   Malkiyahu, son of Qerabur. He is to hand
4   them over to Elîshaʿ, son of Yirmeyahu
5   at Ramat-Negev lest (anything) happen to the
6   city. This is an order of the king concerning your
7   lives. I have sent (this message) to warn
8   you today: The men (must be) with Elîshaʿ
9   lest Edom come there.

The letter records a royal order to 'Elyashib and perhaps other officials (note the use of plurals throughout) at Arad and Qinah. They were ordered

---

102. Faigenbaum-Golovin, et. al., "Algorithmic Handwriting Analysis," 4667.

103. Arad 6005/1. The ostracon was initially published in Aharoni ("Three Hebrew Ostraca from Arad") as the "Ramath-negeb ostracon." The official publication is found in Aharoni, *Arad Inscriptions*, 46–49. A transliteration and translation is available in Gogel (*A Grammar of Epigraphic Hebrew*, 392–93) and Aḥituv (*Echoes from the Past*, 127–33).

to send a certain number of men to Ramat-Negev. It is not clear from the letter how many troops were sent to the outpost. The number, written in hieratic, in line 1 is either a symbol for five or fifty; the symbol for five is clearly visible, although Yohanan Aharoni suggests that the remainder of the symbol is broken and it should be read as fifty.[104] In either case, there was probably also a number written after *qynh* in line 1 mentioning the troops to be sent from that fortress. The location of Qinah is unknown, although Aharoni suggested that it should be identified with Ḥorvat Tov located 5.5 km northeast of Arad.[105] The letter ordered the troops to Ramat-Negev, possibly Ḥorvat ʿUza located along the route to Edom.[106] It is not possible to determine many of the details of the situation that led to the order in this letter, but it does indicate that Edomites were present in the Negev and there were strained relations between Judah and Edom during the early sixth century BCE.[107]

4.4. Discussion

Little historical or social information can be inferred from Edomite seals and inscriptions. The most immediately relevant artifact is the bulla of Qaus-gabar found at Umm al Biyara, who is mentioned in Assyrian inscriptions from the time of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal. The seal impression can be dated to the middle of the seventh century BCE.[108] Not only did the bulla provide confirmation of a king named Qaus-gabar, but it also helped to establish a working chronology for dating other sites in the Edomite highlands. The seals of *mlkbʿl* and *qwsʿnl* are both seals of royal officials as indicated by their official designations - *ʿbd mlk*. Unfortu-

---

104. Aharoni, *Arad Inscriptions*, 49 n. 7; Aharoni, "Three Hebrew Ostraca from Arad," 19 n. 9.

105. Aharoni, "Three Hebrew Ostraca from Arad," 21.

106. Aharoni, *Arad Inscriptions*, 146–47, map on p. 147; Aharoni, "Three Hebrew Ostraca from Arad," 23–24, map on p. 26.

107. Guillaume offers a very different reading of this text by understanding *bnbškm* in line 7 as derived from *nbs* (a "plant that sprouts from the soil") instead of the more common understanding that *nbš* was a mistake for *npš* ("life"). See Guillaume, "Myth of the Edomite Threat," 100. His overall reading of the Arad texts concerning Edom is that they involved disputes over grazing rights and not a military threat. Guillaume raises important questions about the militaristic reading of this collection of texts.

108. Bienkowski, "Edomites," 44–45.

nately, there is not enough information to attempt to describe their functions or roles within the administration. A similar problem exists for the few inscribed objects with evidence about economic practices: namely, the ostracon concerning the receipt of wheat or wine (Busayra no. 1191), oil (Umm al Biyara), and the three inscribed weights (Busayra no. 621; Petra weight; Umm al Biyara weight).

There is some information concerning religion in the Edomite material. The deity that appears as the theophoric element in most personal names is Qaus.[109] It is significant that Edomite names did not exclusively use Qaus as the theophoric element: both El and Baal appear as well.[110] The blessing recorded in the Ḥorvat ʿUza ostracon suggests that at least some of the religious practices and blessing formulas were similar to those of the surrounding areas. Besides the sparse evidence about economic and religious matters, many of the texts are difficult to interpret (e.g., Busayra no. 816; Tall al Khalayfi 9027 and 369; Ḥorvat Qitmit 554/1), and most of the seals and seal impressions were purchased in markets making their Edomite attribution uncertain.

It is also clear from the inscriptions and two seals that there was some Edomite interaction with communities in the Negev in the seventh and sixth centuries BCE. Two seals were found in the Negev, one at Aroer (361/1) and one at Ḥorvat Qitmit (575/1), and three inscribed ostraca were found at Ḥorvat Qitmit (518/1, 550/1, and 554/1). All of these inscriptions are damaged and probably consist of only personal names. Further evidence of Edomite interaction with the Negev is the letter written on the ostraca from Ḥorvat ʿUza and Tel Malḥata. The Ḥorvat ʿUza text provides the primary evidence for the Edomite dialect (it is the only Edomite text that contains verbs), which is similar in structure and vocabulary to the dialects of the surrounding area. Some information concerning the rela-

---

109. For a comprehensive attempt to collect Edomite names from the eighth through fourth century BCE, see Zadok, "Prosopography of Samaria and Edom/Idumea," 781–828. Notarius ("Syntax of Clan Names," 21–43) argues that a prosopography of the Aramaic ostraca from Idumea is not possible because the names do not reference individuals but rather clans and tribes.

110. The data presented by Ian Stern ("The Population of Persian-Period Idumea according to the Ostraca: A Study of Ethnic Boundaries and Ethnogenesis," in *A Time of Change: Judah and Its Neighbours in the Persian and Early Hellenistic Period*, ed. Yigal Levin, LSTS 65 [London: T&T Clark, 2007], 205–38) suggests that the population of the region had various origins, including Phoenicia, Judah, Arabia, but the names connected to Idumea are substantial.

tions between Judah and Edom is available in the Arad ostraca (21, 24, 40), which attest to a troubled relationship during the period preceding the end of the Judahite monarchy.

Many of the Edomite ostraca and seals were found during formal excavations and can be reasonably dated with stratigraphic criteria. Others are more difficult to date since the number of available texts limits the paleographic study of the Edomite script. The following table is an attempt to provide a chronological context for the seals and inscribed objects based on the stratigraphic context and the paleography of the texts.

Inscriptions		Seals	
Inscription	Context	Inscription	Context
seventh century			
hkrkb	Busayra 816	*lqwsg*[*br*] *mlk ʾd*[*m*]	Umm al Biyara
lk	Busayra 157	*mlklbʿ ʿbd hmlk*	Busayra 368
b]*rkqws*	Busayra 583	*lytm*	Khalayfi 7022
lʾdnš	Busayra 802	*lqwsʾ*	Aroer 361/1
wheat receipt	Busayra 1191	*ltw*	Busayra 856
ʿb	Busayra 487	*šwbnqws*	Qitmit 575/1
nṣ[*p*]	Busayra 621	**lḥkm*	K 1830
oil receipt	Umm al Biyara	**šmʿʾl*	--
]*lkqw*[	Qitmit 518/1		
]*lqws*[	Qitmit 550/1		
]*blqwshp*[	Qitmit 554/1		
letter	Ḥorvat ʿUza		
seventh and sixth centuries			
lʿmyrw	Khalayfi 374	*lqwsgbr* [*mlk ʾd*]m	Bab. 14157
name list	Khalayfi 6043	*lqwsʿnl ʿbd hmlk*	Khalayfi
		*lbʿzrʾl	---
letter	Arad 21		
letter	Arad 40		
sixth century			
inscribed sherd	Khalayfi 9027	**lmnḥmt ʾšt pdmlk*	BM 136202
inscribed sherd	Khalayfi 469	**lmšʿ*	IM 71.46.93
		*lmšʿ ʿdʾl	IM 71.46.108

Narrative Biblical Sources
for the History of Edom

The most vivid and detailed descriptions of Edom are found in the Hebrew Bible. For all of the benefits of this source, it presents numerous difficulties for deriving historical information, especially data about Judah's minor neighboring region, Edom. In a previous generation, some biblical historians accepted certain sources as accurately portraying Edom in the Middle Bronze Age, whereas others used the narratives of the Israelite exodus from Egypt to date the rise of the Edomites to the thirteenth century BCE.[1] Recently it is more commonly accepted among historians of ancient Israel and Judah that biblical descriptions of Edom after the victories of Saul in the Early Iron Age (see 1 Sam 14:47–48) preserve more accurate and reliable sources for the history of Edom.[2]

Epigraphers, historians, and biblical scholars debate when ancient Israelite and Judahite societies began producing bureaucratic and literary texts that could reasonably have provided sources for the later formation of the texts of the Hebrew Bible. Three major factors are usually considered: the nature and quantity of extant texts (largely epigraphic seals, ostraca, and monumental inscriptions), the expansion of the nascent polities in Samaria and Jerusalem that might have generated an increasingly complex scribal apparatus that produced texts of primarily bureaucratic genres, and the role of non-Israelite or Judahite epigraphic texts in determining the level of literacy and literary production in Israel

---

1. For the Middle Bronze Age, see Bright, *History of Israel*, 90–117. For a portrayal of Edom's rise in the thirteenth century BCE, see J. Maxwell Miller and John H. Hayes, *A History of Ancient Israel and Judah* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1986), 57, 71.

2. E.g., Bright, *History of Israel*, 189; Miller and Hayes, *History of Ancient Israel and Judah*, 123, 141; Ahlström, *History of Palestine*, 36, 439, 444.

and Judah. Several scholars have recently suggested that a level of literacy capable of producing source texts existed in Israel and Judah in the ninth century BCE and perhaps even in the late tenth century BCE.[3] Yet, other scholars continued to challenge the accuracy of the biblical sources for the history of Israel prior to the eighth century BCE.[4] That being said, the texts cited to support a date in the tenth or ninth century for increased literacy in the southern Levant were produced by larger states such as Aram.[5]

Only a few, very short inscriptions are attributed to Iron IIA Judah, most of which have been debated on archaeological grounds.[6] In Jerusalem, Elat Mazar's Ophel excavations revealed an inscribed rim of a pithos possibly dating to the tenth century BCE, but the inscription itself is difficult to date on paleographic grounds.[7] Three inked ostraca with the inscription ḥmš, "five," were found at Es-Semuʿ south of Hebron that are dated to the late ninth century BCE. An incised jar handle from Khirbat Radana, north of Jerusalem, is dated to the eleventh century BCE based on paleography alone since the handle was found on the surface. Other inscriptions might date to this period but their attribution to Judah is uncertain, like the inscriptions found during the excavations at Tel Reḥov.[8]

---

3. For a recent argument to this effect, see André Lemaire, "Levantine Literacy ca. 1000–750 BCE," in Schmidt, *Contextualizing Israel's Sacred Writing*, 11–45; and Matthieu Richelle, "Elusive Scrolls: Could Any Hebrew Literature Have Been Written Prior to the Eighth Century BCE?" *VT* 66 (2016): 556–94.

4. The list of scholars who raise questions about the relationship between early biblical texts and the history they purport to represent is extensive. See, e.g., Israel Finkelstein and Neil Asher Silberman, *The Bible Unearthed: Archaeology's New Vision of Ancient Israel and the Origin of Its Sacred Texts* (New York: Free Press, 2001); John Van Seters, *The Pentateuch: A Social-Science Commentary*, Trajectories 1 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999); Lester L. Grabbe, *Ancient Israel: What Do We Know and How Do We Know It?*, rev. ed. (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2017), 206–9, 263–69.

5. See, e.g., Brian B. Schmidt, "Memorializing Conflict: Toward an Iron Age 'Shadow' History of Israel's Earliest Literature," in Schmidt, *Contextualizing Israel's Sacred Writing*, 103–32.

6. See the summary in Lemaire, "Levantine Literacy ca. 1000–750 BCE," 20–22.

7. See Eilat Mazar, David Ben-Shlomo, Shmuel Aḥituv, "An Inscribed Pithos from the Ophel, Jerusalem," *IEJ* 63 (2013): 39–49.

8. See Amihai Mazar, "Three 10th–9th Century B.C.E. Inscriptions from Tēl Reḥōv," in *Saxa Loquentur: Studien zur Archäologie Palästinas/Israel; Festschrift für Vokmar Fritz*, ed. Cornelius G. den Hertog, AOAT 302 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2003), 171–84.

These inscriptions do suggest that a certain level of literacy and scribal activity was current in at least the ninth century BCE, but also that this activity increases exponentially in the eighth century BCE.[9]

Even if underlying primary sources, such as king lists and royal inscriptions, were employed in the construction of the narratives in the Hebrew Bible, their subsequent incorporation into narratives and the later editorial process requires careful evaluation. Importantly, some of these biblical texts that purport to be about events in the Iron I and Iron IIA must be carefully considered to reveal anachronisms or later ideological biases. Unfortunately, alternative perspectives of the relationship between Edom and Judah in Edomite or Assyrian sources do not exist— as is the case for Sennacherib's attack on Hezekiah—so any discussion of the biblical texts must include an internal, critical analysis of the dating of the source and the rationale of the authors and/or redactors.[10]

5.1. A Preliminary Outline of the Compositional History of Biblical Texts

Since the expansion of the historical-critical approach to the texts of the Hebrew Bible in the nineteenth century, scholars have debated the relative and absolute compositional histories of these texts. Most scholars conclude that the earliest texts found in the Hebrew Bible were some prophetic oracles now preserved in books like Amos, Hosea, and First Isaiah, although these prophetic books went through a series of subsequent editions and updates. The references to Edom in the prophetic books, such as Isa 34 and 63, all fall into this category of revisions and redactional activity in their inscribed medium, which cannot be dated earlier than the exilic period.[11]

---

9. Christopher A. Rollston, "Scripture and Inscriptions: Eighth-Century Israel and Judah in Writing," in Farber and Wright, *Archaeology and History of Eighth-Century Judah*, 457–73. See also, Rollston, "Scribal Curriculum during the First Temple Period: Epigraphic Hebrew and Biblical Evidence," in Schmidt, *Ancient Literacy, Orality, and Literary Production*, 71–102; and Rollston, "Inscriptional Evidence for the Writing of the Earliest Texts of the Bible: Intellectual Infrastructure in Tenth- and Ninth-Century Israel, Judah, and the Southern Levant," in *The Formation of the Pentateuch: Bridging the Academic Cultures of Europe, Israel, and North America*, ed. Jan Christian Gertz et al., FAT 111 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 15–45.

10. For the historical issues involved in Sennacherib's interaction with Hezekiah, see Lester L. Grabbe, "Introduction," in Grabbe, *"Like a Bird in a Cage,"* 2–43.

11. Prophetic traditions will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter, but

The composition and dating of the narrative portions of the Hebrew Bible remain some of the most complex and debated issues among scholars who take a historical-critical approach to the text. The traditional documentary hypothesis advanced by Julius Wellhausen and refined by a century of biblical scholarship in Europe and the United States remains the dominant model. The relative chronology of the sources in this model is significant for the understanding of how Edom is portrayed: a preexilic Yahwistic source along with Elohistic sources and a later preexilic Deuteronomistic editing followed by an exilic or postexilic Priestly redaction that included major supplements.[12] While debates about individual passages and the nature of individual sources (such as the existence of the Elohistic source or the coherence of a Yahwistic narrative) continue, the identification of those sources that contributed to the formation of the Pentateuch remain one of the most important contributions of historical-criticism of biblical literature.[13]

The Deuteronomistic History (= DtrH), which likely used some written sources from the period of the Judahite monarchy (eighth through the early sixth centuries BCE), was finally composed, edited, and expanded after the elite of Judah were exiled in Babylon in the early sixth century BCE. These sources may have consisted of earlier pro-Josiah tractates and possibly a king list with the basic chronology of the Judahite and Israelite kings.[14] As with the Pentateuch, the contemporary understanding of

---

it should be noted that the written oracles captured a more ancient tradition. The inscribed tradition may or may not reflect the origins of that tradition.

12. For reviews of contemporary positions on the Pentateuch and its sources in one variation or another, see Rainer Albertz, "The Recent Discussion on the Formation of the Pentateuch/Hexateuch," *HS* 59 (2019): 65–92; Thomas B. Dozeman, *The Pentateuch: Introducing the Torah*, Introducing Israel's Scriptures (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2017); Jean-Louis Ska, *Introduction to Reading the Pentateuch*, trans. Pascale Dominique (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2006). An important collection of articles on this issue is Gertz et al., *Formation of the Pentateuch*.

13. Significant recent treatments supporting the Documentary Hypothesis include Joel S. Baden, *The Composition of the Pentateuch: Renewing the Documentary Hypothesis*, ABRL (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012); and Jeffrey Stackert, *A Prophet Like Moses: Prophecy, Law, and Israelite Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014). See also the important multidisciplinary reconstruction of this process in David M. Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

14. Thomas C. Römer, "Transformations in Deuteronomistic and Biblical Historiography: On Book-Finding and Other Literary Strategies," *ZAW* 109 (1997): 1–11.

the composition of the Deuteronomistic History largely follows the out-line developed by Martin Noth in the early twentieth century. He pos-ited a historian working in the late monarchic period who artfully com-bined sources with narratives understood through the lens of the ideology espoused in the book of Deuteronomy.[15] Subsequent scholars have refined and altered some positions—Frank M. Cross, for instance, argued for an additional exilic layer of redaction to the DtrH—but the idea of a rather coherent narrative of the past driven by the theological views of a Deuter-onomistic ideology continue to dominate the field.[16]

The writers of the non-Priestly compositions of the Torah, prob-ably writing in the exile during the mid-sixth century BCE, added to this Deuteronomistic work a kind of historical prologue, which is found in portions of Genesis through Numbers.[17] A Priestly editor supple-mented the combined Deuteronomistic and Pentateuchal writings with several episodes and collections and a genealogical and chronological scheme in the later fifth century BCE. The Chronicler, writing in the

---

The Deuteronomistic History, its sources, and its redactions have been the subject of much debate. The position here is based on the supplemental model proposed by Thomas Römer. See esp., Thomas C. Römer, *The So-Called Deuteronomistic History: A Sociological, Historical and Literary Introduction* (London: T&T Clark, 2005). See also some of the reviews in Raymond F. Person Jr. et al, "In Conversation with Thomas Römer, *The So-Called Deuteronomistic History: A Sociological, Historical and Literary Introduction* (London: T&T Clark, 2005)," *JHebS* 9 (2009): article 17, DOI: 10.5508/jhs.2009.v9.a17.

15. Martin Noth, *The Deuteronomistic History*, JSOTSup 15 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1981); translation of Noth, Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien: Die sam-melnden und bearbeitenden Geschichtswerke im Alten Testament, 2nd ed. (Tübin-gen: Niemeyer, 1957).

16. For reviews of debates about the composition of the Deuteronomistic History, see Michael Avioz, "The Book of Kings in Recent Research (Part I)," *CurBR* 4 (2005): 11–55; and Avioz, "The Book of Kings in Recent Research (Part II)," *CurBR* 5 (2006): 11–57.

17. Instrumental in the recent attempts to question the documentary hypothesis and especially the diachronic relationship of the sources is the work of Van Seters, *Pentateuch*; Van Seters, "In the Babylonian Exile with J: Between Judgment in Ezekiel and Salvation in Second Isaiah," in *The Crisis of Israelite Religion: Transformations of Religious Tradition in Exilic and Post-exilic Times*, ed. Bob Becking and Marjo C. A. Korpel, OTS 42 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 71–89; Van Seters, *The Life of Moses: The Yahwist as Historian in Exodus-Numbers*, CBET 10 (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1994); Van Seters, *Prologue to History: The Yahwist as Historian in Genesis* (Louisville: West-minster John Knox, 1992).

late fifth or fourth century BCE, composed a new history using some of the above sources along with others with different emphases and some new narratives, the origins of which—inscribed or oral—are unclear in many cases.

This chapter will examine the traditions concerning Edom within the narrative sources that purport to describe the history or "remembered past" of Israel and Judah. The "histories" found in the so-called Deuteronomistic History and in the Chronicler's revision of that narrative account are complex redacted collections of sources and creations of editorial frameworks along with legendary stories from a Yahweh-centric and Deuteronomistic perspective. In other words, these histories are not transparent and simple representations of the past.[18] While preserving some historical data, the very form of the biblical narratives that are used to reconstruct the history of Edom often have characteristics—such as plot, characterization, ideological emphases—that make them almost indistinguishable from fictional narratives.[19] This analysis of the documents will consider the literary history, sources, and ideological perspective of the authors and redactors of the texts by analyzing several complexes of traditions concerning Edom. The first will be the wilderness traditions in which Edom refused the wandering Israelites passage through their territory en route to their conquest of the hill country. Second, the traditions of conflict and occupation during the monarchies of Judah, often found in Deuteronomistic editorial comments, will be considered. Third, the important traditions of Judah's role in controlling Ezion-geber as a port to the Gulf of Aqaba is discussed. These three strands of traditions are the dominant themes that involve Edom in the narrative books of the Hebrew Bible. Within these larger stories, individual narratives of events (like the failed invasion of Moab in 2 Kgs 3) and characters (like Doeg, the servant of Saul) are discussed. After analyzing these foundational traditions, the next chapter will examine the evolution of the deep animosity that developed within Judahite scribal circles that was expressed in prophetic and lament literature of the exilic and postexilic eras. Yet, for all of the animosity against Edom

---

18. See, e.g., Alexander Rofé, "Properties of Biblical Historiography and Historical Thought," *VT* 66 (2016): 433–55.

19. On the narrative nature of biblical histories, see recently, Ian D. Wilson, "History and the Hebrew Bible: Culture, Narrative, and Memory," *Brill Research Perspectives in Biblical Interpretation* 3.2 (2018): 14–21.

in the postexilic era there seems to be hints of alternative, more positive perspectives within the Yehudite community, especially within the writings of the Chronicler.

5.2. Edom in the Wilderness Traditions

There are three related and slightly different accounts of a confrontation between a wandering Israel and a sedentary Edom, which according to the biblical narrative's chronology took place in the period after the exodus from Egypt and before Joshua's conquest of Canaan.[20] Source-critical scholars typically assign the account in Deut 2 to the Deuteronomist who wrote this historical framework for the legal codes and integrated it into the larger Deuteronomistic History.[21] The account in Num 20:14–21 is typically assigned to one of the Priestly redactors of the material in Numbers. According to John Van Seters, this episode should be attributed to the Yahwist and it represents one of his clearest examples of why the Yahwistic history is a composition that was composed subsequent to the Deuteronomistic accounts. Van Seters understands this text as a confirmation of his theory of the compilation of the Pentateuch.[22] Many scholars currently attribute this narrative in Numbers, however, to a non-Priestly source, and not specifically to the Yahwist.[23]

---

20. According to the biblical chronology, the narratives of Jacob and Esau are the earliest references to Edom. Since these stories come from later sources and all relate to the theme of the brotherhood of Edom, they are discussed in the next chapter.

21. See recent reviews of research on this episode in Rainer Albertz, "Das Buch Numeri jenseits der Quellentheorie: Eine Redaktionsgeschichte von Num 20–24 (Teil I)," *ZAW* 123 (2011): 171–83; Nathan MacDonald, "Edom and Seir in the Narratives and Itineraries of Numbers 20–21 and Deuteronomy 1–3," in *Deuteronomium: Tora für eine neue Generation*, ed. Georg Fischer, Dominik Markl, and Simone Paganini, BZABR 17 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2011), 83–103.

22. But cf. David Glatt-Gilad, "The Re-interpretation of the Edomite-Israelite Encounter in Deuteronomy II," *VT* 474 (1997): 441–55; and Raik Heckl, "'Deep Is the Well of the Past': Reconsidering the Origins of the Exodus Motif in Its Cultural Context," *VeEc* 34.2 (2013): 1–6. Christian Frevel surveys some of the dramatic shifts in the study of Numbers in recent years; see his "The Importance of the Book of Numbers in Pentateuchal Research," *HBAI* 8 (2019): 203–12.

23. See discussions in MacDonald, "Edom and Seir in the Narratives and Itineraries," 83–103; and MacDonald, "Deuteronomy and Numbers: Common Narratives concerning the Wilderness and Transjordan," *JAJ* 3 (2012): 141–65. This position is discussed further below.

In the historical prologue to the core material in the book of Deuter-onomy (chs. 12–26), the Deuteronomist recounts an episode (Deut 2:4–9) in which Yahweh tells Moses that the people are to leave Qadesh and pass through the territory of Seir (2:2–5). In 2:5 and 6, the Deuteronomist displays his perspective of the promised land and Israel's claim to it. Yahweh tells Moses that he is not to provoke the sons of Esau (i.e., Edom) because their land (here called Mount Śēʿîr) was divinely allotted to their ancestor as his possession (*kî yəruššâ lə ʿēśāw nātaytî ʾet har śēʿîr*), a concept that perhaps alludes to the memory of the head of the pantheon allotting land to tribal deities.[24] Notably, the Deuteronomy version of the encounter with Edom stresses the kinship between Israelites and the "sons of Esau" rather than the political designation "Edomites," according to the Num 20 version.[25] In fact, Yahweh further commands Moses to compensate Edom for all of the food and water the Israelites consume while they are traversing Edomite territory (Deut 2:6). In the Deuteronomy version of the encounter with Edom, there was no request for passage and therefore no Edomite denial, a significant difference in perspective or memory about the Israelite relationship with Edom.[26]

Deuteronomy 2:8 of the Masoretic Text then recounts the movement of the Israelites through Edom to the border with Moab. The Israelites journeyed on the "road of the Arabah" and away from Elath and Ezion-geber toward the border with Moab.[27] There are textual problems with this

---

24. See the discussion in Raik Heckl, "Remembering Jacob in the Late Persian/Early Hellenistic Era," in *Remembering Biblical Figures in the Late Persian and Early Hellenistic Periods: Social Memory and Imagination*, ed. Diana V. Edelman and Ehud Ben Zvi (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 50–51.

25. Mark E. Biddle, *Deuteronomy*, SHBC 4 (Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2003), 44; see also Christian Frevel, "'Esau, der Vater Edoms' (Gen 36,9.43): Ein Vergleich der Edom-Überlieferungen in Genesis und Numeri vor dem Hintergrund der histo-rischen Entwicklung," in *The Politics of the Ancestors Exegetical and Historical Perspectives on Genesis 12–36*, ed. Mark G. Brett and Jakob Wöhrle, FAT 124 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018), 329–64.

26. See Moshe Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy 1–11: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 5 (New York: Doubleday, 1991), 165–67; Carolyn Pressler, *Numbers*, AOTC (Nashville: Abingdon, 2017), 182.

27. Angela Roskop Erisman argues that this passage contains two itineraries, one of which has the Israelites skirting Moab by traveling along the route to the east. According to Erisman, these texts could have been written by the same author attempting to solve internal problems, see "Transjordan in Deuteronomy: The Promised Land and the Formation of the Pentateuch," *JBL* 132 (2013): 769–89. Some commentators

verse in the Masoretic Text, which has the Israelites moving in the oppo-
site direction, away from the land of Edom (note that the preposition *min*
is used throughout this verse). The Septuagint, however, probably retains
the correct reading and is followed here. After a similar divine command
not to provoke the Moabites (2:9–12), Moses tells the people to cross the
Wadi Zered, which is the biblical name for the Wadi al Hasa (2:13: *ʿattâ
qumû wəʿibrû lākem ʾet naḥal zāred*). Although there is no opposition from
the Edomites or a request for royal permission, and the Israelites traveled
directly through the land of Edom, there is a command not to provoke the
Edomites since Yahweh had allotted the land to them.

An account of the same episode is included in Judg 11:16–18. This
short account is given within the context of a series of messages between
Jephthah and an Ammonite king. In one of Jephthah's messages, he recounts
the movement of the Israelites through the Transjordanian territories
when they were coming out of Egypt. Jephthah announced that Israel had
sent messengers to the king of Edom requesting safe passage through their
territory, but the king refused, as did the king of the Moabites (11:17). So,
the Israelites traveled through the wilderness and "went around the land
of Edom and Moab" (11:18: *wayyēlek bammidbār wayyāsob ʾet ʾereṣ ʾĕdôm
wəʾet ʾereṣ môʾāb*). This account adds two aspects to the story. The Israelites
sent messengers to a "king of Edom" who refused them passage through
their land, so they did not go through Edom, but went around it.

This Deuteronomistic addition in Judges is essential to the argument
that the version in Num 20:14–20 is dependent upon the previous two
versions.[28] The Numbers and Deuteronomy versions of this episode are

------

note that this passage through the land of Edom must have been through the Desert
Highway east of the Edomite highlands and that they must have passed through the
territory between Ezion-geber and Wadi Musa to avoid encountering the Edomites
(see, e.g., Jack R. Lundbom, *Deuteronomy: A Commentary* [Grand Rapids: Eerd-
mans, 2013], 191–93). A similar issue of geographic dislocation exists for the journey
through the Moabite territory, see Christian Frevel, "The Various Shapes of Moab in
the Book of Numbers: Relating Text and Archaeology," *HBAI* 8 (2019): 257–86.

28. See Van Seters, *Pentateuch*, 383–91. Like Van Seters, Rolf P. Knierim and
George W. Coats (*Numbers*, FOTL 4 [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005], 230–31)
consider this version (a "report of a negotiated dialogue") to be composed by the
Yahwist. Baruch A. Levine (*Numbers 1–20: A New Translation with Introduction
and Commentary*, AB 4 [New York: Doubleday, 1993], 491) considered this story to
be part of JE historiography, but notes that it is primarily E. MacDonald ("Deuter-
onomy and Numbers," 141–65) references the "apparent indebtedness" of the Num

indeed of different types: the Deuteronomy account does not offer a narrative of an encounter at all, but rather the command of Yahweh to not make conflict with the Edomites while Numbers involves a story of a messenger delivering the request to the king of Edom.[29] The narrative takes the general plot of the Deuteronomy version, adds the confrontation episode with the king of Edom from the Judges narrative, and combines them to form a new story that not only includes a brief account of the sojourn of Israel in Egypt (absent from the other accounts), but also adds several details that betray the relative date of the construction of the Num 20 account.[30]

After Moses told the king of Edom about the difficulties they faced while in Egypt (20:14–16), he announced that they were now in Qadesh-Barnea, "a city on the border of your territory" (20:16: *wehinnēh ʾănaḥnû bəqādēš ʿîr qəṣēh gəbûlekā*). This addition by the late redactor also accords with the Edomite territory during the exilic period when some Edomites settled in the Negev. Qadesh-Barnea was far to the west from the likely extent of Edomite territory prior to the Babylonian conquests.[31] Moses then tells the king that the Israelites will follow the "Way of the King" (20:17: *derek hammelek*) better known as the King's Highway, which was not a discrete passage until the mid-first millennium BCE during the Assyrian through Persian periods.

The Edomite king, in the Numbers version, denied the Israelites passage through his land, even threatening to use force in order to restrain

---

20 version to Deuteronomic theology (151). On this point, see esp. Eckart Otto, *Deuteronomium 1,1–4,43*, HThKAT (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 2012), 418–21; and Siegfried Mittmann, "Num 20,14–21: Eine redaktionelle Kompilation," in *Wort und Geschichte: Festschrift für Karl Elliger zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Hartmut Gese and Hans Peter Rüger, AOAT 18 (Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1973), 143–49.

29. See MacDonald, "Deuteronomy and Numbers," 151.

30. See Jacques Briend, "La marche des Hébreux au-delà du Jourdain," in *La Jordanie de l'âge de la pierre a l'époque byzantine*, Recontres de l'École du Louvre (Paris: La Documentation française, 1987), 41–46.

31. Rainer Albertz ("A Pentateuchal Redaction in the Book of Numbers?" *ZAW* 125 [2013]: 229) considers this text a late addition by the Hexateuchal redactor who tied Joshua into the first five books. The later Pentateuchal redactor relocated Mount Hor in Num 33:37 to the border of Edom to coincide with this passage. For the role of Numbers in recent German biblical scholarship, and its late date as a kind of bridge between Genesis–Leviticus and the Deuteronomist, see Thomas Römer, "Zwischen Urkunden, Fragmenten und Ergänzungen: Zum Stand der Pentateuchforschung," *ZAW* 125 (2013): 19–20.

them (20:18: *lōʾ taʿăbōr bî pen baḥereb ʾēṣēʾ liqrāʾtekā*). The king of Edom, apparently not trusting the Israelites to find another route, went out against them with a heavily armed force (20:20: *wayyēṣēʾ ʾĕdôm liqrāʾtô baʿam kābēd ûbəyād ḥăzāqâ*). This reaction of the king of Edom is more comparable to the animosity between Edom and Judah during the postexilic period than during earlier periods.[32]

While Van Seters argued that the element about the refusal of entrance by the king of Edom was an addition of a Deuteronomistic historian that was adapted by the Yahwist in Num 20, scholars influenced by recent trends in European scholarship concerning the development of the Pentateuch suggest that a late Priestly redactor adapted the story from Deut 2 in Num 20. They added the refusal by the king either in order to explain the confusing references to Seir in Deut 2 or to reflect the anti-Edomite ideology and undermine the notion of the brotherhood of Edom found in earlier Deuteronomistic thinking.[33] Indeed, Num 20:14–21 may have been composed by a late Priestly redactor to expose the inconsistency of the Deuteronomistic thinking expressed in Deut 23:4–6 that used the brotherhood of Edom to admit Edomites into the community of Yahweh after the development of the exilic notion of Edom's complicity in the fall of Jerusalem.[34]

---

32. Wolfgang Oswald ("Die Revision des Edombildes in Numeri XX 14–21," *VT* 50 [2000]: 218–32) argues that this narrative is the product of a post-Priestly addition that disputed the Deuteronomistic conception of Edom as "brother" who should not be admitted into the community of Yahweh as in Deut 23. Matan Orian expands this argument in "Numbers 20:14–21 as a Reply to Deuteronomy 23:4–9," *VT* 69 (2019): 109–16.

33. MacDonald ("Edom and Seir in the Narratives and Itineraries") argues that a Priestly redactor adapted a predeuteronomistic *Vorlage* while adding the messages and the circuitous route around Edom because of a close reading of the different meanings of Seir in that passage. Rainer Albertz ("Das Buch Numeri jenseits der Quellentheorie. Eine Redaktionsgeschichte von Num 20–24 [Teil II]," *ZAW* 123 [2011]: 336–47) attributes this story to a post-Priestly layer, possibly to a late Hexateuchal redaction (HexR) that attempted to make a clear division between the wanderings in the wilderness and the conquest of the land. See also Reinhard G. Kratz, *The Composition of the Narrative Books of the Old Testament* (London: T&T Clark, 2005), 286–87.

34. For Num 20 as a rejection of Deut 23, see Orian, "Numbers 20:14–21 as a Reply," 109–16. Israel Finkelstein ("The Wilderness Narrative and Itineraries and the Evolution of the Exodus Tradition," in *Israel's Exodus in Transdisciplinary Perspective: Text, Archaeology, Culture, and Geoscience*, ed. Thomas E. Levy, Thomas Schneider, and William H. C. Propp [Cham: Springer International, 2015], 39–53.) considers the

This perspective is also included in another late text that scholars once considered a piece of early Yahwistic poetry.[35] Exodus 15:14–16 draws upon the antagonistic confrontation between Edom and Israel and adds a further theme: the "fear of the peoples."[36] The Song of the Sea in Exod 15 is a highly eclectic text that draws on mythology, cultic themes, and previous texts to form a victory song to Yahweh.[37] Elements of this song may date to the monarchic era. Thomas Dozeman, for instance, argues that Exod 15:1–12 and 18 form a victory hymn dating to the late monarchy, and Deuteronomistic scribes updated that hymn in the exilic era by inserting 15:13–17.[38] Others understand this poetic insertion in 15:13–17 as a late exilic redac-

————————

Numbers version to reflect the reality of the late eighth through sixth centuries BCE, but he does not discuss its possible dependence on the Deuteronomistic version.

35. See, e.g., David Noel Freedman, "Early Israelite Poetry and Historical Reconstructions," in *Symposia Celebrating the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Founding of the American Schools of Oriental Research (1900–1975)*, ed. Frank Moore Cross (Cambridge: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1979), 85–96, repr. in *Pottery, Poetry, and Prophecy: Studies in Early Hebrew Poetry* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1980), 137–66; Freedman, "Early Israelite History in the Light of Early Israelite Poetry," in *Unity and Diversity: Literature and Religion of the Ancient Near East*, ed. Hans Goedicke and J. J. M. Roberts (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), 3–35, repr. in *Pottery, Poetry, and Prophecy*, 167–78; Freedman, "Strophe and Meter in Exodus 15," in *A Light Unto My Path: Old Testament Studies in Honor of Jacob M. Myers*, ed. Howard N. Bream, Ralph D. Heim, and Carey A. Moore (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1974), 163–203, repr. in *Pottery, Poetry, and Prophecy*, 187–227; Mark Leuchter, "Eisodus as Exodus: The Song of the Sea (Exod 15) Reconsidered," *Bib* 92 (2011): 321–46.

36. For this theme, see Brian D. Russell, *The Song of the Sea: The Date of Composition and Influence of Exodus 15:1–21*, StBL 101 (New York: Lang, 2007), 75–79.

37. See Martin L. Brenner, *The Song of the Sea: Ex. 15:1–21*, BZAW 195 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1991); cf. Mark S. Smith, "The Poetics of Exodus 15 and Its Position in the Book," in *Imagery and Imagination in Biblical Literature: Essays in Honor of Aloysius Fitzgerald, F.S.C.*, ed. Lawrence Boadt and Mark S. Smith, CBQMS 32 (Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 2001), 23–34; Smith, "The Literary Arrangement of the Priestly Redaction of Exodus: A Preliminary Investigation," *CBQ* 58 (1996): 25–50.

38. See Thomas B. Dozeman, "The Song of the Sea and Salvation History," in *On the Way to Nineveh: Studies in Honor of George M. Landes*, ed. Stephen L. Cook and S. C. Winter, ASORB 4 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), 100–101; Dozeman, *Commentary on Exodus*, ECC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 333–41. See also Ian D. Wilson, "The Song of the Sea and Isaiah: Exodus 15 in Post-Monarchic Prophetic Discourse," in *Thinking of Water in the Early Second Temple Period*, ed. Ehud Ben Zvi and Christoph Levin, BZAW 461 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014), 123–47.

tion intended to accentuate the significance of the deliverance of Yahweh at the sea.[39] Many scholars see a major shift in the poem between 15:1–12 and the following, partially due to the narrative placement of the poem just after the deliverance at the sea but before the wilderness wanderings, where the reference to Edom occurs.[40] In this hymn, which was inserted to mark the celebration of Yahweh's victory over the Egyptians, the poet employs later military victories over neighboring peoples to highlight the fear wrought by the power of Yahweh. Upon hearing of Yahweh's victory, the poet notes that the "officers of Edom are dismayed" (15:15: *ʾāz nibhălû ʾallûpê ʾĕdôm*), previewing the coming encounter with Edom after the wilderness wanderings.[41] The encounters with Edom and Moab in the song are dependent on the Num 20 version, which includes conflict between the Israelites and the Edomites and Moabites rather than the less detailed version of Deut 2, suggesting that the Song of the Sea is a later poetic insertion.[42] This text illustrates the accretion over time of various elements to the tradition of the confrontation of Edom with Israel on their way to the promised land.

Given that the various accounts of this episode are far more reflective of the periods of their composition, they are less useful for the reconstruction of the history of Edom in the Late Bronze Age. They portray Edom as having a monarchy, or at least political unity, at a time when there is no evidence for it in the archaeological or textual record outside the Hebrew Bible. The Deuteronomistic version (Deut 2:4–9) was composed in the late preexilic or early exilic period and does not exhibit a negative stance toward Edom. There is no conflict evident in the passage and the integrity of the Edomite borders were to remain intact because Yahweh had established them. On the other hand, the Yahwistic version (Num 20:14–20) was

---

39. See, e.g., Rainer Albertz, "Wilderness Material in Exodus (Exodus 15–18)," in *The Book of Exodus: Composition, Reception, and Interpretation*, ed. Thomas B. Dozeman, Craig A. Evans, and Joel N. Lohr, VTSup 164 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 157–59 who attributes the insertion to a late Hexateuchal redactor.

40. See, e.g., Smith, "Poetics of Exodus," 26–27; Wilson, "Song of the Sea and Isaiah," 129–30.

41. See Pamela Barmash, "Through the Kaleidoscope of Literary Imagery in Exodus 15: Poetics and Historiography in Service to Religious Exuberance," *HS* 58 (2017): 162–63 for the chronological wordplay of this song.

42. Helmut Utzschneider and Wolfgang Oswald, *Exodus 1–15*, IECOT (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2015), 328–32; Christoph Dohmen, *Exodus 1–18*, HThKAT (Freiburg am Breisgau: Herder, 2015), 353–54.

written later in the exilic or postexilic period, and Edom is depicted as an aggressive enemy of Israel. According to this version, the borders of Edom now extended into the western Negev. Although these versions can provide little if any information on the early history of Edom, they do illustrate the different perspectives that were prevalent during the times when they were composed, and they perhaps do provide some historical information about those later perspectives. During the late preexilic or early exilic period, Edom was viewed by Judahite writers as one neighboring region among others, and it was located east of the Wadi Arabah. Accordingly, during the late exilic period Edom became an enemy of Judah and Edom's influence extended far into the Negev, which was previously controlled by Judah. It is notable that Chronicles does not include any of the traditions of Edom's encounter with the wandering Israelites, a tradition that was probably known within the Yehudite community. This exclusion of one of the foundational narratives about the relationship between Edom and Judah sets the stage for the Chronicler to offer a more complex and nuanced vision of Edom and its relationship to Judah for the Yehudite community.[43]

5.3. Conflict with Edom during the Biblical Monarchic Period

Edom appears a number of times in the texts of the Hebrew Bible that portray the monarchic period in Israel and Judah. Throughout this period, Edom was represented as a neighboring enemy of Judah that is the object of raids or invasions by Judahite kings, and at times, the partial occupation of the land. In many of the texts of the Deuteronomistic History, Edom was used to illustrate the religious fidelity of the Judahite king in question: kings who are faithful to Yahweh expanded their territory to include Edom, kings who did not follow the proper precepts of Yahweh were subject to

---

43. Ehud Ben Zvi ("Chronicles and Social Memory," *ST* 71 [2017]: 69–90) points out that the social memories of Edom were not forgotten but that the mnemonic communities of postexilic Yehud negotiated multiple past-shaping narratives that coexisted. I would like to thank Dr. Ben Zvi for providing me with prepublication versions of two of his works that deal specifically with Edom. The first is an article "Edom as a Complex Site of Memory among the Literati of Late Persian/Early Hellenistic Judah: Some Observations," *Journal for the Study of Biblical Literature* 20 (2020): 1–28. The second is a paper he presented at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Society for Biblical Studies (Vancouver, BC, 3 June 2019) entitled "The Contribution of Chronicles to the Memory Argument about Edom as Reflected in the Core Repertoire of the Late Persian-Period Literati of Yehud."

Edomite invasions and rebellions. Many of the texts used to reconstruct what amounts to an early Iron Age history of Edom from the Hebrew Bible should not be considered transparent accounts of the historical relations between Judah and Edom from those narratives.

5.3.1. Saul Defeats Edom: 1 Samuel 14:47–48

Much of the narrative in 1 Samuel regarding the rise and fall of Saul was derived from legendary material, perhaps that of a tale of a tragic warrior hero whose exploits were interwoven into a narrative about the rise of David, making Saul into a literary foil for the new king of Judah.[44] The description of Saul's victories over surrounding peoples mimic those of David in 2 Sam 8:12, perhaps to emphasize the failure of Saul to maintain control over his territory.[45] This particular text is best attributed to the Deuteronomistic historian who composed brief summaries for most of the kings of Israel and Judah.[46] Notably, this reference to Saul's wars against the Transjordanian

---

44. For Saul in the books of Samuel and the later reworked memories of him, see Philip R. Davies, "Saul, Hero and Villain," in Edelman and Ben Zvi, *Remembering Biblical Figures in the Late Persian and Early Hellenistic Periods*, 131–40. For various recent attempts to find literary order within the narratives of Samuel, see Michael Avioz, "The Literary Structure of the Books of Samuel: Setting the Stage for a Coherent Reading," *CurBR* 16 (2017): 8–33. Israel Finkelstein ("The Last Labayu: King Saul and the Expansion of the First North Israelite Territorial Entity," in *Essays on Ancient Israel in Its Near Eastern Context: A Tribute to Nadav Na'aman*, ed. Yairah Amit et al. [Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2006], 171–87) compares Saul's attempts to expand his kingdom with those of the Late Bronze Age highlands ruler Labayu mentioned in the Amarna tablets. On the relationship of the books of Samuel to other books in the Deuteronomistic History, see Cynthia Edenburg and Juha Pakkala, "Is Samuel among the Deuteronomists?" in *Is Samuel among the Deuteronomists? Current Views on the Place of Samuel in a Deuteronomistic History*, ed. Cynthia Edenburg and Juha Pakkala, AIL 16 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 1–15; and Walter Dietrich, "The Layer Model of the Deuteronomistic History and the Book of Samuel," in Edenburg and Pakkala, *Is Samuel among the Deuteronomists?*, 39–65.

45. A. Graeme Auld, *I and II Samuel: A Commentary*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2011), 106.

46. See Nadav Na'aman, "The Pre-Deuteronomistic Story of King Saul and Its Historical Significance," *CBQ* 54 (1992): 638–58; and Kratz, *Composition of the Narrative Books of the Old Testament*, 174, 180, 184. Antony F. Campbell (*1 Samuel*, FOTL 7 [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003], 148) refers to the three parts of this review of Saul's reign as an "extravagantly optimistic picture of Saul's kingship."

polities was excised by the Chronicler, an omission that centers the story on King David and his exploits and presents him as the initial conqueror of Edom.[47] The Masoretic Text states that after Saul had secured his kingship over Israel, he "waged war against all of his enemies who surrounded him: the Moabites, the Ammonites, the Edomites, the kings of Ṣōbâ, and the Philistines" (1 Sam:14:47: *wayyillāḥem sābîb bəkol ʾōybāyw bəmôʾāyw bəmôʾāb ûbibnê ʿammôn ûbe ʾĕdôm ûbəmalkê ṣôbâ ûbappəlištîm*). Although there are a number of textual problems, the one that is relevant here is that some manuscripts of the Septuagint read Aram in 14:47, instead of Edom.[48] While it would eliminate the difficult reference to an Early Iron Age war with Edom if the Septuagint were followed, the reference to the other Transjordanian polities suggests that Edom should be read here along with the Masoretic Text and most other textual witnesses.[49]

According to Bartlett, this is the first clear reference in the Hebrew Bible to a historical event involving Edom.[50] Yet there is little evidence that the name "Edom" was even in common use during the early Iron I period being represented in the text. The case of the kings of Ṣōbâ is similar: the earliest references to the Aramaean polity of Ṣōbâ outside the Hebrew Bible comes from the eighth century BCE.[51] There is also no evidence for an external invasion of Edom or domination by an external force in the late eleventh century BCE. Bartlett recognized the problem and attempted to solve it by suggesting that the text actually refers to skirmishes and battles,

---

47. Davies, "Saul, Hero and Villain," 136–37.

48. This verse and others in the Deuteronomistic History relating to Edom are not extant in the biblical manuscripts from Qumran.

49. The text-critical decision is based on the historical viability of the options. It does not follow the rule of the *lectio difficilior* (on which, see Emmanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992], 302–5) that assumes the more difficult reading is preferable. There are other possibilities that are not explored here, e.g., an ancient scribe may have removed Edom from the text due to the developing anti-Edomite bias and replaced it with the reading that survived in the Septuagint.

50. Bartlett, *Edom and the Edomites*, 103; cf. Bartlett, "Edom in the Nonprophetical Corpus," 18. Shaul Bar also treats this text as an early reliable historical note. Although he does not reference any modern historical studies, he suggests that it was because of Edom's great wealth and Saul's need to give land to his soldiers that he waged war against the Transjordanian polities ("Saul's Wars against Moab, Ammon, Edom and Zobah," *OTE* 27 [2014]: 825–38).

51. See Lipiński, *Aramaeans*, 319, 331–33; K. Lawson Younger Jr., *A Political History of the Arameans: From Their Origin to the End of Their Polities*, ABS 13 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2016), 192–204.

not a conquest.[52] During the time that Saul would have been expanding his highland polity, the only settled area of southern Jordan was the copper mining operations along the Wadi Faynan, and as yet those remains have not yielded evidence of external destructions or domination by Judah. There have been attempts to harmonize this text with archaeological data, but the most likely explanation for the reference to Edom as an enemy of Saul is that it derives from the Deuteronomist who was assuming that the difficult relations between Judah and Edom that were prevalent during his own era had a long history extending back to the reign of Saul.

5.3.2. Doeg, an Edomite Mercenary in King Saul's Court: 1 Samuel 21:8; 22:9–10, 18–22

An important but minor character appears in the narrative of Saul's slaughter of the priests at Nob in 1 Sam 21 and 22. The text places Doeg, an Edomite, at Nob when the local priests aided David in his escape from the relentless pursuit of King Saul.[53] The text notes that Doeg was one of Saul's "servants" (21:8: *mēʿabdê šāʾûl*) and also Saul's "chief herdsman" (21:8: *ʾabbîr hāroʿîm*), likely a reference to a military role.[54] This reference to Doeg appears out of place, but is essential information in the story to connect the later reference to Doeg as the informant to Saul.[55] After David fled to the Philistines and returned to Judah, Doeg informed Saul that he

---

52. Bartlett "Edom in the Nonprophetical Corpus," 16–17; Bartlett, *Edom and the Edomites*, 104.

53. For some possible early memories captured in the stories of David's rise, see Israel Finkelstein, "Geographical and Historical Realities behind the Earliest Layer in the David Story," *SJOT* 27 (2013): 131–50.

54. On this title, see Shawn Zelig Aster, "What Was Doeg the Edomite's Title? Textual Emendation versus a Comparative Approach to 1 Samuel 21:8," *JBL* 122 (2003): 353–61. For a study of the characterization of Doeg as one of Saul's servants, see Samuel Hildebrandt, "The Servants of Saul: 'Minor' Characters and Royal Commentary in 1 Samuel 9–31," *JSOT* 40 (2015): 191–93; and Joseph Lozovyy, "Saul, Doeg, Nabal and the 'Son of Jesse': Readings in 1 Samuel 16–25" (PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, 2006), 103–47. Jeffrey A. Blakely and James W. Hardin ("Coming to Recognize That Sedentary Agriculture, or Farming, Was Rarely Practiced in the Hesi Region," in *Archaeology and History of Eighth-Century Judah*, ed. Zev I. Farber and Jacob L. Wright, ANEM 23 [Atlanta: SBL Press, 2016], 255–56) argue that this title suggests that Saul might have directly controlled shepherds and animal pastorage similar to the way Assyria later did.

55. Campbell, *1 Samuel*, 226.

observed David among the priests at the sanctuary at Nob (22:9). Upon further investigation, Saul ordered his servants to kill all of the priests at Nob. The servants refuse, showing loyalty to Yahweh and indirectly to David.[56] Saul must rely on the foreigner Doeg to kill the priests (22:18), who complied and slaughtered eighty-five priests, including all of the men, women, children, and livestock in the village. It was not unusual for kings to employ foreigners as close military associates, who were not as susceptible to the political shifts of loyalty.[57] The story suggests that there was an Edomite involved in King Saul's court, an Edomite who was presented as a vicious mercenary sent on a brutal mission of revenge. The association of Saul, who receives a negative evaluation by the Deuteronomists, with an unsavory Edomite, whether historically viable or not, serves the Deuteronomistic portrayal of the unacceptability of the Saulide dynasty for leadership in Judah.[58]

5.3.3. David Colonizes Edom: 2 Samuel 8:12–14; 1 Kings 11:15–16; 1 Chronicles 18:11–13; Psalm 60

The story of David's campaign against and colonization of Edom is particularly difficult because there are four differing accounts of it.[59] The cumulative effect of David's victories against all of the surrounding peoples emphasized the "ascent of the shepherd-king onto the world stage," even if this was a collection of texts from a much later period.[60] The text

---

56. On the importance of this point in the story, see Hildebrandt, "Servants of Saul," 192; Campbell, *1 Samuel*, 234–35.

57. See Jack M. Sasson, "Doeg's Job," *Scriptura* 87 (2004): 321–22; Auld, *I and II Samuel*, 269–70.

58. Woo Min Lee ("Edomophobia? An Exilic or a Post-exilic Reading of Doeg in 1 Samuel 21 and 22," *HvTSt* 74 [2018]: 1–4) observes that this story would have likely been read very negatively in the postexilic period when Edom was understood as a vicious enemy.

59. Campbell (*2 Samuel*, 81–82) suggests that the various differing accounts reflect ancient confusions about this story. Auld (*I and II Samuel*, 430) argues that 1 Chr 18 and Ps 60 were likely the older traditions because a redactor would not likely have attributed a victory of David to his subordinates. Ralph W. Klein, (*1 Chronicles: A Commentary*, Hermeneia [Minneapolis: Fortress, 2006], 387) suggests that there might be textual errors at this point in Chronicles with a clause being left out due to homoioteleuton.

60. Craig E. Morrison, *2 Samuel*, Berit Olam (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2013), 108–14.

in 2 Samuel lists the defeated areas as Edom, Moab, Ammon, Philistia, Amalek, and Hadad-ʿezer, king of Ṣōbâ (2 Sam 8:12). Although the Masoretic Text reads "Aram" instead of "Edom," the Septuagint, the Peshitta, the parallel text in 1 Chronicles and several Hebrew manuscripts do read Edom.[61] Since the other two Transjordanian polities were listed, it is likely that Edom was also referred to in this text, but perhaps as a later addition. Christoph Levin argues that the previous phrase "Yahweh helped David wherever he went" in 8:6 (*wayyōšaʿ yhwh ʾet dāwid bəkōl ʾăšer hālāk*) was the closing statement of the summary of David's foreign adventures and that the remainder of the text about Edom was a kind of addendum.[62] The intervening section relates to Aram and David's receipt of tribute from the thankful King Tōʿî of Hamath for defeating Hadadezer.

In both the Septuagint and the Masoretic versions of 2 Sam 8, the text states several details about David's campaign to Edom. First, David "made a name for himself" (8:13: *wayyaʿaś dāwid šēm*) on the basis of his defeat of Edom. This phrase is not used in the report of his defeat of Ammon, Moab, or any of the other areas, implying that the defeat of Edom was a great accomplishment according to the Deuteronomist. Second, the battle took place in the Valley of Salt (*gêʾ melaḥ*), which has never been precisely located. Most historical geographers place it in the Wadi al Milḥ, just east of Beersheba in the northern Negev. Edward Lipiński identifies the location of the battle as the Huleh Valley north of the Sea of Galilee on the basis of other place names in the area that incorporate the term *melaḥ* and his understanding that this story narrates battles with Aramean-allied foes.[63] However, the Deuteronomist appears to have had a Transjordanian context in mind since the reference to Edom occurs in a list with Ammon and Moab. Although this problem is irresolvable, the composition of the text was probably not based on an "ancient and reliable" tradition, as Bartlett argues.[64] Rather, the Deuteronomist was projecting a situation from his own time back onto the narrative's time of David in order to accentuate

---

61. Christoph Levin, "Aram und/oder Edom in den Büchern Samuel und Könige," *Text* 24 (2009): 65–84; Antony F. Campbell, *2 Samuel*, FOTL 8 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 80.

62. Levin, "Aram und/oder Edom in den Büchern Samuel und Könige," 66.

63. Lipiński, *Aramaeans*, 349–50; see Diana V. Edelman, "Edom: A Historical Geography," in Edelman, *You Shall Not Abhor an Edomite*, 3 for other attempts.

64. Bartlett, *Edom and the Edomites,* 107.

the extent of David's influence and to identify the later enemies of Judah
as ancient antagonists.

Third, the text credits David with establishing garrisons through-
out Edom (8:14: *wayyāśem beʾĕdôm nəṣibîm bəkol ʾĕdôm śām nəṣibîm*).
Bartlett uses this notification that David constructed garrisons in Edom to
claim that Edomites paid tribute to David and that this Judahite occupa-
tion "helped the development of national self-consciousness in Edom."[65]
Not only is there little evidence for architectural remains from any area
outside the Wadi Faynan during the Iron I period, but the current reevalu-
ation of the archaeological remains from the Iron I period and the united
monarchy established by David in Judah suggests that the Deuteronomis-
tic authors constructed David's kingdom as one that extended into the sur-
rounding regions.[66] Yet this reference in 2 Sam 8 to the expansion of the
Davidic empire "to the Euphrates River" (8:3: *ləhāšîb yādô binhar pərāt*)
serves an important literary and ideological function, establishing David
as the founder of the Golden Age of his empire in terms that mimic the
language of Neo-Assyrian kings.[67]

David's victory over Edom is mentioned again in the Deuterono-
mistic History in 1 Kgs 11:15–16 within a narrative about the Edomite
king Hadad as the reason why Hadad fled to Egypt. Although this text
only mentions that David was in Edom, several new details are provided.
First, the slaughter of "every male in Edom" was credited to one of David's
military leaders, Joab, and not to David himself (11:15: *wayyak kol zākār
beʾĕdôm*). It further suggests that there was a military occupation in Edom
by Joab and "all Israel" for six months while they killed every male in
Edom. According to this text (and the superscription of Ps 60), the vic-
tory belonged to Joab.[68] The problem of the identification of the victor
is made more complex by 1 Chr 18:12–13, which is nearly identical to

---

65. Bartlett, *Edom and the Edomites,* 106.

66. Lipiński (*A History of the Kingdom of Israel*, OLA 275 [Leuven: Peeters, 2018],
54) notes that David's sphere of control did not extend beyond Jerusalem and the
Judahite highland.

67. See Diana V. Edelman, "David in Israelite Social Memory," in Edelman and
Ben Zvi, *Remembering Biblical Figures in the Late Persian and Early Hellenistic Peri-
ods*, 142–43. On recent developments in the historiography of the tenth century, see
Andrew Tobolowsky, "Israelite and Judahite History in Contemporary Theoretical
Approaches," *CurBR* 17 (2018): 39–42.

68. The superscription of Ps 60 is the most complex superscription in the Psalter.
Spanning the first two verses, this note attributes the victory to Joab upon David's

2 Sam 8:12–14. However, the military victory is ascribed to Abishai, Joab's brother. This change in Chronicles distances David himself from engaging in the violent defeat of Edom but also reduces the prominent role of this clash within the Deuteronomistic traditions.[69] The first century CE historian Josephus (*Antiquities* 8.5.4), who was dependent on the biblical narratives for this section of his histories, also considered Abishai as the military victor in Edom.

A likely solution to both the incompatibility of the description of 2 Samuel with other evidence, and the confusion of the texts, is that the Deuteronomistic version, from which the other traditions likely derived, was chronologically distant from the events that it described. The Deuteronomistic authors were constructing an imperial King David, one who defeated the rival emergent states, even to the point of occupation. Na'aman suggested that this description was borrowed from the later account of Amaziah's victory over Edom in 2 Kgs 14:7 that also took place in the Valley of Salt.[70] Na'aman notes that the outlines of the latter event were used to construct the narrative of David's victory.

While Na'aman posited a mid-eighth century BCE "chronicle of early Israelite kings," the putative source is not necessary in order to see a similar process at work in the general construction of the Deuteronomistic History. Whether there were earlier, lost sources is a perennial debate about the formation of the Hebrew Bible, but Na'aman does imply that the account of Amaziah's victory is historically viable because it is later and closer to a period when written sources outside the Hebrew Bible are available. As will be discussed below, similar problems exist for the account of Amaziah that may suggest there was no "early source" describing that series of battles either. Yet the basic premise of Na'aman is helpful to understand the process that resulted in the narrative of 2 Sam 8. The Deuteronomistic authors and redactors, who incorporated earlier sources and added their own editorial comments, were aware of the enmity between Judah and Edom, already evident in a few prophetic texts, during the early decades of the sixth century BCE when the

---

return from this war with Aram. See Frank-Lothar Hossfeld, *Psalms 2: A Commentary on Psalms 51–100*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005), 93–99.

69. Ben Zvi, "Contribution of Chronicles to the Memory Argument About Edom."

70. Nadav Naaman, "In Search of Reality behind the Account of David's Wars with Israel's Neighbours," *IEJ* 52 (2002): 214; cf. Na'aman, "Israel, Edom and Egypt in the 10th Century B.C.E.," *TA* 19 (1992): 72–74; Grabbe, *Ancient Israel*, 143.

Babylonians destroyed Jerusalem. The Deuteronomistic redactors then used Edom as a literary-historical antagonist to illustrate the strength or weakness of individual Judahite kings.

5.3.4. Solomon's Edomite Adversary: 1 Kings 11:14–22

Edom does not feature in Solomon's reign as an antagonist until the region appears within an important redactional chapter that narrates the problems in the reign of Solomon and his ultimate demise (1 Kgs 11).[71] Hadad (spelled *hădad* in 11:14 and *ʾădad* in 11:17; the Septuagint reads *Ader* in both), who was characterized by the Deuteronomist as a member of the Edomite royal family (*mizzeraʿ hammelek*), fled to Egypt from Edom during the earlier attack and colonization by David (11:15–16; see above). Some scholars emend "Edom" to "Aram" because the personal name Hadad is common in Aramaic onomastics, but it is unknown in Edomite except in the Edomite king list in Gen 36.[72] With the common issue of the confusion between the *dalet* and the *resh* and the early Iron Age expansion of the Aramaeans into the southern Levant, this text could have originally been about the Aramaeans. Lemaire has recently argued that this story provides evidence of Hadad, son of Eliada, and his early Aramaean expansion into the southern Levant.[73] According to 1 Kgs 11, the pharaoh provided Hadad with a house, food, and an estate while in Egypt (11:18). He also gave him the sister of his queen, Tahpenes, for marriage. After fathering a son in Egypt, Hadad returned to Edom upon hearing that both David and his general Joab were dead (11:20–22), as in Ps 60. The story has several dimensions that suggest it is a narrative construction rather than a part of historical memory or archival sources. These include Hadad

---

71. For the memories of Solomon's empire in the Persian and Hellenistic periods, see the theoretical article by Niels Peter Lemche ("Solomon as Cultural Memory," in Edelman and Ben Zvi, *Remembering Biblical Figures in the Late Persian and Early Hellenistic Periods*, 158–81).

72. See Lipiński, *Aramaeans*, 368–369; Lemaire, "Ammon, Moab, Edom," 47–74; Younger, *Political History of the Arameans*, 566–71.

73. For Lemaire's position, see his "Edom and the Edomites," in *The Books of Kings: Sources, Composition, Historiography and Reception*, ed. André Lemaire, Baruch Halpern, and Matthew Joel Adams, VTSup 129 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 225–30; and Lemaire, "Les premiers rois araméens dans la tradition biblique," in *The World of the Aramaeans: Studies in Honour of Paul-Eugène Dion*, ed. P. M. Michèle Daviau, John Wevers, and Michael Weigl, JSOTSup 324 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001), 113–43.

appearing as a Moses-type figure journeying to Egypt, Solomon as a pharaoh figure, and Joab's murder of the Edomite males.[74] The story of Hadad was added in this redactional chapter because he and Rezon of Ṣōbâ were "adversaries" (*śāṭānîm*) that Yahweh had brought against Solomon due to his religious infidelity (11:14, 25).[75]

Some scholars refer to this story to determine the status of Edom in the tenth century BCE and the relations between Judah and Egypt at that time. The text would suggest that at the time of David the political system in Edom (or Aram) was a hereditary monarchy, in spite of Bartlett's attempt to alleviate this problem by reinterpreting the Hebrew phrase *mizzeraʿ hammelek* to mean that Hadad was merely part of the royal family rather than an heir.[76] In either case, the text still states that there was a monarchy in Edom during the tenth century B.C.E., the period of Solomon reflected in the text.

Bartlett uses this narrative to define Egypt's problematic interactions with David and Solomon that prompted surrounding areas to rise up against Israel and Judah, a series of battles not attested in the biblical tradition.[77] He goes so far as to develop a chronology of Hadad's sojourn in Egypt: He arrived during the reign of Amenemope (ca. 993–984 BCE), grew up under Osochor (ca. 984–978 BCE) and departed under Siamun (ca. 978–959 BCE). This is a problematic assertion given that the supposed absolute chronology of the event in 1 Kgs 11 is only datable on the basis of numerous prior assumptions concerning the relative dates of various other events exclusively referenced in the biblical traditions for the reign of David and Solomon. The only chronologically relevant detail would be the name of the wife of the Pharaoh who provided asylum to Hadad—Tahpenes. However, there is no known Egyptian queen by that name and it is possibly an attempt to transliterate the Egyptian phrase "wife of the king" (*tȝ ḥm.t nsw*).[78]

---

74. Marvin A. Sweeney, *I and II Kings: A Commentary*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2007), 156–57.

75. On Rezon, see Younger, *Political History of the Arameans,* 567–68.

76. Bartlett, *Edom and the Edomites*, 109–10; cf. Bartlett, "Edom in the Nonprophetical Corpus," 18.

77. Bartlett, *Edom and the Edomites*, 109–10.

78. Diana Edelman, "Solomon's Adversaries Hadad, Rezon and Jeroboam: A Trio of 'Bad Guy' Characters Illustrating the Theology of Immediate Retribution," in *The Pitcher Is Broken: Memorial Essays for Gösta W. Ahlström*, ed. Steven W. Holloway and Lowell K. Handy, JSOTSup 190 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1995), 181–82.

Following Diana Edelman, the story of the flight of Hadad the Edomite to Egypt is best understood as a Deuteronomistic creation that used common names and known events from elsewhere and other times in order to present the retribution for Solomon's religious infidelity regarding the Deuteronomistically inspired norms (cataloged in 1 Kgs 11:1–13). Such retribution was the immediate consequence of political instability incited by Hadad, Rezon, and Jeroboam (in 1 Kgs 11:14–40).[79] The name of Hadad, although it is unattested in other Edomite personal names, was possibly considered a common Edomite royal name by late Judahite scribes, since it was included twice in the Edomite king list in Gen 36. To further accentuate the literary nature of this episode, the authors seem to have added the brief reference to Rezon because Hadad was a royal name of Aram. Rezon is described as a servant of Hadad-ezer king of Ṣōbâ, a clearer reference to the Aramaean kingdoms.[80]

This is the first attestation of a documented name among the royalty of the polity of Aram-Damascus within the Deuteronomistic History. Like Edelman, most scholars suggest that this text was constructed in a later period to create a literary representation of resistance against Solomon prompted by his indiscretions. In recent years, several scholars have advanced the theory that during the late ninth century BCE, the kings of Aram-Damascus had expanded their area of influence south into the coastal regions of Philistia, with most evidence for an Aramean invasion found during the excavation of Gath (Tell eṣ-Ṣafi). The expansion of Hazael's influence into this region is mentioned in an annalistic note in 2 Kgs 12:18, but Alexander Fantalkin and Israel Finkelstein had earlier connected the Iron Age Gath with the destruction by Hazael, the king of Aram-Damascus.[81] They suggested that this invasion was initiated by Hazael out of a desire to control the copper trade from Cyprus to the Phoenician coast, and that destroying Gath would limit the market for the copper being exploited and traded out of the Arabah. Hazael's siege of

---

79. Edelman, "Solomon's Adversaries Hadad, Rezon and Jeroboam." See also Nadav Na'aman, "Game of Thrones: Solomon's 'Succession Narrative' and Esarhaddon's Accession to the Throne," *TA* 45 (2018): 105–7.

80. Levin, "Aram und/oder Edom in den Büchern Samuel und Könige," 72–74; see also André Lemaire, "Hadad l'Édomite ou Hadad l'Arameen?," *BN* 43 (1988): 14–18.

81. Alexander Fantalkin and Israel Finkelstein, "The Sheshonq I Campaign and the 8th Century BCE Earthquake: More on the Archaeology and History of the South in the Iron I–IIA," *TA* 33 (2006): 30–32.

Gath might have been part of a larger campaign in the region with recent excavations suggesting contemporaneous destructions at Azekah, Zayit, Gezer, Aphek, and Tel Burna.[82] More recent studies have made that connection more explicit, identifying the late ninth century BCE as the time when the complex systems of copper production in the Wadi Faynan and its regional distribution collapsed.[83] While these events are more than a century after the purported time of Solomon's adversary Hadad, the memories of Aramaean interests in the Arabah could have led to a conflation of Aramaean names with Edomite royalty in a time before a monarchic system was in place in Edom.[84]

---

82. See Aren M. Maeir, "Can Material Evidence of Aramean Influences and Presence in Iron Age Judah and Israel Be Found?," in *Wandering Aramaeans—Aramaeans Outside Syria: Textual and Archaeological Perspectives*, ed. Angelika Berlejung, Aren M. Maeir, and Andreas Schüle, Leipziger Altorientalistische Studien 7 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2017), 56–57. For Zayit, see Ron Tappy, "The Depositional History of Iron Age Tel Zayit: A Response to Finkelstein, Sass, and Singer-Avitz," *ErIsr* 30 (2011): 127*–43*. For Aphek, see Assaf Kleiman, "A Late IIA Destruction Layer at Tel Aphek in the Sharon Plain," *TA* 42 (2015): 177–232. For more on this campaign, see also Kleiman, "The Damascene Subjugation of the Southern Levant as a Gradual Process (ca. 842–800 BCE)," in Sergi, *In Search of Aram and Israel*, 57–78.

83. Erez Ben-Yosef and Omer Sergi, "The Destruction of Gath by Hazael and the Arabah Copper Industry: A Reassessment," in *Tell It in Gath: Studies in the History and Archaeology of Israel; Essays in Honor of Aren M. Maeir on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. Itzhaq Shai et al., ÄAT 90 (Münster: Zaphon, 2018), 461–80. Ben-Yosef and Sergi use radiocarbon data to suggest copper smelting at the Arabah sites ceased between 853 and 803 BCE.

84. For more on the Aramaean incursion into the southern Levant, see Maeir, "Can Material Evidence of Aramean Influences and Presence," 53–67; Omer Sergi, "The Battle of Ramoth-Gilead and the Rise of the Aramean Hegemony in the Southern Levant during the Second Half of the 9th Century BCE," in Berlejung, *Wandering Aramaeans*, 81–97; Sergi and Izaak J. de Hulster, "Some Historical and Methodological Considerations Regarding the Question of Political, Social and Cultural Interaction between Aram and Israel in the Early Iron Age," in Sergi, *In Search of Aram and Israel*, 1–16. Sergi and Assaf Kleiman, "The Kingdom of Geshur and the Expansion of Aram-Damascus into the Northern Jordan Valley: Archaeological and Historical Perspectives," *BASOR* 379 (2018): 1–18. On the topography and historical geography of Gilead and its implications for constructing a history of the territory, see Israel Finkelstein, Ido Koch, and Oded Lipschits, "The Biblical Gilead: Observations on Identifications, Geographic Divisions and Territorial History," *UF* 43 (2011): 131–59.

5.3.5. Edomite Participation in Israel's War with Moab: 2 Kings 3:4–27

This text relates a retributive invasion of Moab on the occasion of the rebellion of King Mesha' against Israel. The resulting battle ends with the problematic episode that mentions the "great wrath" causing the invading Israelites to flee.[85] The kings of Israel and Judah formed a coalition with an unnamed king of Edom. It is unclear which Judahite king participated in the campaign. The Masoretic Text states that it was Jehoshaphat; however, 1 Kgs 22:47 stated that there was no king in Edom during his reign and 2 Kgs 8:20 states that the Edomites did not install their own king until the reign of Jehoram. Furthermore, according to 1 Kgs 22:51, Jehoshaphat had already passed away. Some scholars create a coregency of the Judahite kings with Jehoshaphat and Jehoram to alleviate this problem and place the rebellion of Edom at the beginning of the reign of Jehoram.[86] This would make Edom an independent polity during the time of this campaign, although an Edomite royalty that recently rebelled would hardly have been asked to join a coalition with Judah, who according to the biblical narrative had recently lost control over Edom. A second solution admits that the name of Jehoshaphat is a mistake for Jehoram or Ahaziah and that the narrative is chronologically displaced. This solution is supported by the Lucianic recension of the Septuagint of Kings (= 4 Reigns) that attributes the campaign to Ahaziah of Judah.[87] Mordechia Cogan and Hayim Tadmor suggest that both 1 Kgs 22:47 and 2 Kgs 8:20 refer to the same official, one that was described as a "deputy" in a "chronistic source"

---

85. For scholarly resources on this much discussed passage, see Erasmus Gass, "Topographical Considerations and Redaction Criticism in 2 Kings 3," *JBL* 128 (2009): 65–84. See also the response of Scott Morschauser ("A 'Diagnostic' Note on the 'Great Wrath upon Israel' in 2 Kings 3:27," *JBL* 129 [2010]: 299–302), who argues that it might have been a pestilence that infected the Israelite troops. For a rhetorical reading of this text in the context of the subsequent Elisha miracle stories, see Jerome T. Walsh, "The Organization of 2 Kings 3–11," *CBQ* 72 (2010): 238–54.

86. Bartlett, *Edom and the Edomites*, 119; Gershon Galil, *The Chronology of the Kings of Israel and Judah*, SHCANE 9 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 37–38, 40–41. Others suggest that Jehoshaphat's appearance here is due to the redactor who also reworked sections of 1 Kgs 22, see Gass, "Topographical Considerations and Redaction Criticism in 2 Kings 3," 69–70.

87. Galil, *Chronology of the Kings of Israel and Judah*, 140–143; Mordechai Cogan and Hayim Tadmor, *II Kings: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 11 (New York: Doubleday, 1988), 49.

(in 1 Kgs 22), but referred to as a "king" in a narrative source (in 2 Kgs 8).[88] This solution is a possibility. Cogan and Tadmor refer to a parallel in the bilingual inscription from Tell Fekheriye for parallels. That text refers to the local ruler, Hadad-yisʿi, as the "king of Gozan" (*mlk gwzn*) in the Aramaic text, who was called a "governor" (*šākin māti*) in the Akkadian parallel. The Tell Fekheriye inscription is not two different sources, but one account in two languages and probably reflects different perspectives on the role of the local ruler. This parallel does suggest, however, that multiple perspectives on the role of individuals within a bureaucratic system could be represented and understood differently in sources produced from different perspectives.

Regardless of which Judahite king was involved in this campaign, the inclusion of a king (*melek*) of Edom is intriguing. According to the text, Edom was asked to participate because Jehoram chose to take a route on "the road through the wilderness of Edom" (3:8: *derek midbar ʾĕdôm*). It is unclear what the Deuteronomist meant by the "wilderness of Edom." Cogan and Tadmor, following Glueck, trace the route through the Wadi al Hasa.[89] Erasmus Gass noted that this desert must have been east of Edom closer to the later King's Highway, since the desert to the west, in the Negev, was usually referred to as the wilderness of Zin (see Num 34:3; Josh 15:1).[90] Therefore, the route would have taken the coalition through the Arabah, across the Edomite highlands, to the region east of Busayra, onto the Kings Highway in order to go north into Moab. This is an unusually circuitous and unnecessarily complex route, when an attack on the Moabite town from the north would have been more direct.

The king of Edom went with the other kings to the prophet Elisha when they discovered that there was not enough water for them (3:12). On the morning after a prophecy supporting the campaign and predicting victory, "water suddenly came up from the direction of Edom" (3:20: *wǝhinnēh mayim bāʾîm midderek ʾĕdôm*).[91] The statement that the king

---

88. Cogan and Tadmor, *II Kings*, 44–45.

89. Cogan and Tadmor, *II Kings*, 44; Glueck, "Boundaries of Edom," 150. Sweeney (*I and II Kings*, 282) suggests that this could be a reference to seminomadic chieftains rather than formal monarchs.

90. Gass, "Topographical Considerations and Redaction Criticism in 2 Kings 3," 70–72.

91. On Elisha's prophecy, see Raymond Westbrook, "Elisha's True Prophecy in

of Moab attempted to battle through to safety and to ally with the king of Edom further complicates the problems of this text (3:26). Emending Edom to Aram is the only way to minimize this problem, but the Masoretic reading is unsupported by most textual witnesses and it would further complicate the participants in the battle by adding Aram, which does not appear previously in the story.[92] Bartlett explains the problematic participation of a king of Edom as an addition by a "story-teller" who assumed that the king of Edom should be mentioned in a campaign that crossed Edomite territory.[93] Gass also proposed a diachronic solution—an original story of the battle between Israel and Moab in 2 Kgs 3:4–6, excluding the kings of Judah and Edom, was expanded with the prophetic tale involving Elisha, Jehoshaphat, and an Edomite king in 3:7–23, a section of the text that has lexical and narrative parallels with 1 Kgs 22 and Num 20.[94] Tebes suggested that the "king" was possibly a local chief operating in the copper-rich region of the Wadi Faynan.[95]

The story in 2 Kgs 3 presents a historical problem when compared to other Deuteronomistic texts regarding Edom. It also conflicts with what is known from the archaeological record. Large settlements in the Edomite highlands did not appear until the end of the eighth century BCE, and there is no trace of a monarchy that was able to contribute troops to a campaign against Moab. It is possible that the Deuteronomistic Historian had access to some annalistic references to a conflict with Moab, but the level of detail and some of the fictionalization that is involved with this text render it one of the more difficult texts from which to extract historical data.[96]

---

2 Kings 3," *JBL* 124 (2005): 530–32; and Jesse C. Long Jr., "Elisha's Deceptive Prophecy in 2 Kings 3: A Response to Raymond Westbrook," *JBL* 126 (2007): 168–71.

92. Cogan and Tadmor, *II Kings*, 47. The only textual support for reading Aram is the Old Latin, the Septuagint and most Hebrew texts have Edom. It is also notable that the wordplay in 3:22 that the water was "red like blood" (*'ǎdummîm*) does not work if Aram is the referent.

93. Bartlett, *Edom and the Edomites*, 121.

94. Gass, "Topographical Considerations and Redaction Criticism in 2 Kings 3," 83–84.

95. Juan Manuel Tebes, "The Mesha Inscription and Relations with Moab and Edom," in *Behind the Scenes of the Old Testament: Historical, Cultural, and Social Contexts*, ed. Jonathan S. Greer, John W. Hilber, and John H. Walton (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2018), 289.

96. Na'aman notes that any sources that the Deuteronomistic writer might have

5.3.6. The Rebellion of Edom: 2 Kings 8:20–22 and 2 Chronicles 21:8–10

The rebellion of Edom against Jehoram (about 850–843/842 BCE) is considered the beginning of Edomite independence for many scholars reconstructing the history of Edom. Bartlett, for example, calls this the beginning of Edomite self-rule.[97] After declaring that Jehoram was an apostate king (2 Kgs 8:16–19), the Deuteronomistic redactors included a comment that it was during his reign that the "Edomites rebelled against the rule of Judah and set up a king of their own" (8:20: *pāšāʿ ʾĕdôm mittaḥat yad yəhûdâ wayyamlikû ʿălêhem melek*). According to Bartlett, this note is unproblematic. Others, like Cogan and Tadmor, suggest that the episode must have been drawn from a chronistic source.[98] However, if the rebellion of Edom is dated to 845 BCE with the subsequent retaliation of Jehoram dated to 844 BCE, then there is a significant difficulty with the text, similar to the problem found in 2 Kgs 3. The account of the rise of an Edomite monarchical system in the ninth century BCE and the declaration of political independence by the Deuteronomist appear to have been premature by nearly a century, at least in the region of southern Jordan traditionally considered the Edomite homeland.[99]

Yet the nature of the possible source for the note in 2 Kgs 8:20 is important. As Cogan and Tadmor, Bartlett, and others suggest, this reference to Edom likely derives from a chronistic or annalistic source, one that might have been compiled within a century of the events. Furthermore, it is notable that this text does not glorify the Judahite monarchy, although

---

had access to about Edom were from the perspective of Judah, from later in the monarchic period. See Nadav Naʾaman, "The Contribution of Royal Inscriptions for a Re-Evaluation of the Book of Kings as a Historical Source," *JSOT* 82 (1999): 9; cf. Niels Peter Lemche, "On the Problems of Reconstructing Pre-Hellenistic Israelite (Palestinian) History," in Grabbe, *"Like a Bird in a Cage,"* 153–55.

97. Bartlett, *Edom and the Edomites,* 117–18; Bartlett, "Edom in the Nonprophetical Corpus," 18. The relationship between Jehoram, his supposed father Jehoshaphat and his brother Ahaziah is somewhat confused in the text. See W. Boyd Barrick, "Another Shaking of Jehoshaphat's Family Tree: Jehoram and Ahaziah Once Again," *VT* 51 (2001): 9–25; and Donald V. Etz, "The Genealogical Relationships of Jehoram and Ahaziah, and of Ahaz and Hezekiah, Kings of Judah," *JSOT* 71 (1996): 39–53 for attempts to resolve this issue.

98. Cogan and Tadmor, *II Kings*, 96–97.

99. Lipiński (*History of the Kingdom of Israel*, 91) acknowledges that Edom was likely not dependent on Judah in earlier times.

the subsequent narrative of the revenge against Edom could be read as a powerful retaliation. This notice of the rebellion against Jehoram could also reference an Edom that is not fully sedentarized in the highlands. This difficult issue also raises important questions relating to what kind of political formation developed in Edom, when it appeared, and how it was manifested in the material culture.[100] These issues will be addressed directly in a subsequent chapter.

The notice of rebellion precedes a narrative of Jehoram's attempt to quash the rebellion (8:21–22). He took his chariots to Zair and attacked the Edomites. Jehoram's invasion was unsuccessful since his troops returned to their homes and Edom's independence from Judah continued "until this day" (8:22: ʿad hayyôm hazzeh), but the Deuteronomistic historians give little detail about the battle.[101] Besides making a comment on the relationship between Edom and Judah, the Deuteronomists also declared their disdain for Jehoram because of his marriage to a daughter of Ahab and because he followed the practices of the Israelite kings (2 Kgs 8:18). The only reason that Judah was not destroyed during the reign of Jehoram was the promise that Yahweh had made to David (8:19). This is an important comment from the Deuteronomists, and it immediately preceded the notice of the rebellion of Edom, a region that, according to the narrator, came under Judah's control during the reign of David. While the historical veracity of this notice is complex, the Deuteronomist's ideological motivation for inserting it here is clear. The implication of the 2 Kings note is made evident in the account of the Edomite rebellion recorded in 2 Chr 21:8–10. After a nearly identical account of the rebellion and battle, the Chronicler added an explanatory comment that the rebellion happened "because he (Jehoram) had forsaken Yahweh, the god of his father" (21:10: kî ʿāzab ʾet yhwh ʾĕlōhê ʾăbōtāyw). The Chronicler used this story to reinforce his dominant ideological theme of immediate retribution for the sins of Jehoram outlined in 21: 2–7.[102]

---

100. These questions were raised by Ben-Yosef, see his "Architectural Bias in Current Biblical Archaeology," 361–87. A response by Finkelstein is found in "The Arabah Copper Polity and The Rise of Iron Age Edom: A Bias in Biblical Archaeology?" *Antiguo Oriente* 18 (2020): 11–33.

101. Sweeney, *I and II Kings*, 322–23.

102. Ralph W. Klein, *2 Chronicles: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012), 305.

5.3.7. Amaziah Raids Edom: 2 Kings 14:7 and 2 Chronicles 25:11–14

Amaziah (805/804–776 BCE), who received a positive evaluation from the Deuteronomist (2 Kgs 14:3–4), raided Edom and defeated ten thousand Edomites when he captured Sela (2 Kgs 14:7). Bartlett ties this account to a weakening of Edom and suggests that during Amaziah's reign Judah partially or temporarily regained control of Edom, but there are several difficulties with this account.[103] First, the identification of the place of the battle, renamed by Amaziah to "Joktheel," is a problem for historical geographers. Glueck identified Sela, which the text places in the Valley of Salt, as Umm al Biyara. This identification was abandoned when Bennett dated the pottery assemblage there to the late seventh century BCE instead of the early eighth century BCE that is required for a dating of the destruction of the site to the period of Amaziah according to the biblical chronology. The next possible identification was as-Silaʿ located northwest of Busayra, which was surveyed by Hart in order to assess that identification.[104] This site was also settled during the late seventh century BCE, leading Hart to suggest that there must be a third site to identify as Sela. Both the Kings account and the Chronicles account have a definite article prefixed to the name Sela; it is likely that it should be translated as "the rock" rather than as a specific place name in southern Jordan. The Deuteronomists, whatever the source might have been, included the account of Amaziah's attack on Sela at this point to strengthen the evaluation of the king as one who pleased Yahweh (14:3) and therefore was partially able to restore the Davidic borders.

A second problem with this account is the expanded version in 2 Chr 25:11–14. This expanded version states that Amaziah killed ten thousand men and then captured ten thousand more. He took the captives to the top of Sela (or "the rock") and threw them down so that "every one of them was burst open" (25:12: *waybî ʾûm ləroʾš hassalaʿ wayyašlîkûm mēroʾš hassalaʿ wəkullām nibqāʿû*). Amaziah then proceeded to take the images of the gods of the Edomites, install them and worship them (25:14). This led to a prophetic condemnation (25:15–16) and ultimately to a coup that

---

103. For Bartlett's discussion of this passage, see *Edom and the Edomites*, 124; and Bartlett, "Edom in the Nonprophetical Corpus," 19.

104. Hart, "Selaʿ," 91–95. The most recent study of as-Silaʿ is Da Riva, "El yacimiento de Sela," 31–39, who mentions the issues related to Amaziah, but does not attempt to connect this site to the biblical story.

resulted in his death (25:27–28).[105] While it is unclear what the Chronicler's source was for this episode, and if the earlier Deuteronomistic redactors had access to it, there is a disparity concerning their theological evaluation of the king and the episode of the attack of Amaziah on Edom.[106] The attack on Edom in both the Deuteronomistic History and the Chronistic History was unprovoked, but the Chronicler used the violence at Sela not to elaborate on the animosity with Edom but to demonstrate the misdeeds of Amaziah and provide proof for his negative evaluation.

While there are substantial literary and historical issues with Amaziah's attack on Edom—exaggerated numbers of victims, difficulty in identifying the location of the battle, lack of confirming information outside the biblical text—a number of scholars suggest that his military adventure into Edomite territory might have been a Judahite attempt to control the copper sources in the region of the Wadi Faynan. Amaziah's attack would have occurred at about the same time that the Aramaeans were attempting to control those sources of copper by sieging Gath, the major outlet of Edomite copper to the markets of the Mediterranean.[107]

5.4. Ezion-geber/Elath and Aram/Edom

A third primary theme concerning Edom in the Deuteronomistic and Chronistic histories is the control of the area just north of the Gulf of Aqaba variously referred to in the texts as Ezion-geber or Elath. Though Ezion-geber is sometimes connected with Jeziret Farʿun, it is usually identified with Tall al Khalayfi, a reasonable proposition since it is the only major Iron Age site in the area, but it is not conclusive. It is possible that ancient Elath was either destroyed during the gradual construction and growth of the modern city of Aqaba or that the ancient settlement was covered by the remains of Roman Aila, an archaeological site within

---

105. On this text, see M. Patrick Graham, "Aspects of the Structure and Rhetoric of 2 Chronicles 25," in *History and Interpretation: Essays in Honour of John H. Hayes*, ed. M. Patrick Graham, William P. Brown, and Jeffrey K. Kuan, JSOTSupp 173 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 83.

106. On a putative additional source, see Klein, *2 Chronicles*, 359.

107. Nadav Na'aman suggested this in "The Kingdom of Judah in the 9th Century BCE: Text Analysis versus Archaeological Research," *TA* 40 (2013): 255–59. See also Grabbe, *Ancient Israel*, 190.

the city limits of modern Aqaba.[108] Despite the difficulty in identifying the sites of Ezion-geber or Elath, the struggle for control of the region just north of the Gulf of Aqaba would have at least influenced the material culture of Tall al Khalayfi. This subject is further complicated by Finkelstein's and Na'aman's suggestion that during the late Iron Age Tall al Khalayfi was an Assyrian outpost protecting the trade routes that passed north of the Gulf of Aqaba.[109] Both the Judahites and the Edomites would not have been able to take over the area if the Assyrians controlled it, likely in the late eighth century BCE, during the expansion led by Sargon II.[110]

For Kuan, the struggle to control this area constituted an important goal of political and economic relations during the Iron Age II. Recent analysis of texts in light of archaeological destruction levels along the Phoenician and Philistine coasts suggest that Hazael of Damascus (ca. 843–803 BCE) gained control of the region during his campaigns to Philistia (2 Kgs 12:17).[111] This campaign resulted in the control of the southern trade routes and access to the Gulf of Aqaba by Aram-Damascus. Kuan suggested that access to the Gulf of Aqaba led to Aram's improved relations with Tyre and the Phoenician cities, although it is unclear why the Phoenicians needed more port control.[112] Control of Ezion-geber could have been an attempt to regulate and block access for the transport of copper from the Wadi Faynan region, similar to the strategic destruction of Gath to block access to the Mediterranean markets.[113] For Kuan, during

---

108. See Finkelstein, "Archaeology of Tell El-Kheleifeh," 114–15.

109. Na'aman, "Assyrian Residence at Ramat Rahel?," 260–80; Finkelstein, "Archaeology of Tell el-Kheleifeh." See also Ilan Sharon and Anabel Zarzecki-Peleg, "Podium Structures with Lateral Access: Authority Ploys in Royal Architecture in the Iron Age Levant," in *Confronting the Past: Archaeological and Historical Essays on Ancient Israel in Honor of William G. Dever*, ed. Seymour Gitin, J. Edward Wright, and J. P. Dessel (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 160.

110. Finkelstein ("Archaeology of Tell El-Kheleifeh," 130–34) argues that the similarity of Phase C of Tall al Kalayfi and the square fortress at Khirbat an Nahas suggest a concerted Assyrian effort to control the trade and economy of the region.

111. Kuan, *Neo-Assyrian Historical Inscriptions and Syria-Palestine*, 101–3. See more recently, Maeir, "Can Material Evidence of Aramean Influences and Presence"; and Kleiman, "Damascene Subjugation of the Southern Levant."

112. Kuan, *Neo-Assyrian Historical Inscriptions and Syria-Palestine*, 102–3, cf. 124, 131, 133.

113. It is too early in the development of the understanding of the Aramaean

the period of decline for Aram-Damascus, control of Elath was lost to the Judahites and resulted in improved relations between Israel-Judah and the Phoenicians.[114] Judah then controlled the region until the reign of Rezin of Damascus (ca. 750–732) who reconquered Elath and, according to Kuan, relinquished it to the Edomites.[115]

There are several problems with Kuan's presentation of the role of Elath/Ezion-geber in international politics during the Iron Age. First, he accepts the Masoretic rendition of 2 Kgs 16:6, but then makes a major emendation and attributes the reference to the time of Hazael. This emendation is necessary because those who controlled Elath gained the support of the Phoenicians and since they were involved in the anti-Assyrian coalition led by Hazael, he must have controlled Elath during his reign. Second, extrabiblical evidence—whether textual or archaeological—for Aramaean expansion in Jordan south of the Dead Sea is lacking, but some reevaluations of material considering renewed interest in Aramaean strategic interests in the region might lead to a new appreciation for Aramaean influence. According to Lipiński, the eighth century BCE territory of Aram-Damascus did not reach beyond the plain of Moab.[116] Third, the material remains at Tall al Khalayfi reflect multiple traditions and there is no evidence for destruction or occupation by the Judahites, Phoenicians, or Aramaeans. Fourth, if Tall al Khalayfi was an Assyrian outpost as Finkelstein and Na'aman have suggested, the traditions that the surrounding region was the focus of Judahite and Edomite expansionistic interests are unlikely to reflect the political realities in the region.[117]

---

control of enclaves in the southern Levant for this idea to be more than speculative. For the Aramaean attack on Gath for strategic control of the copper markets, see Ben-Yosef and Sergi, "Destruction of Gath by Hazael and the Arabah Copper Industry."

114. Kuan, *Neo-Assyrian Historical Inscriptions and Syria-Palestine*, 124–25, 133.

115. Kuan, *Neo-Assyrian Historical Inscriptions and Syria-Palestine*, 103; for Rezin of Damascus, see further Lipiński, *Aramaeans*, 404–7.

116. Lipiński, *Aramaeans*, 354–55, 385.

117. See Na'aman, "Assyrian Resident at Ramat Rahel?"

5.4.1. Solomon Goes to Ezion-geber: 1 Kings 9:26 and 2 Chronicles 8:17

A brief note in 1 Kgs 9:26–28, repeated in 2 Chr 8:17, states that King Solomon embarked on trading ventures to Ophir with Phoenician sailors.[118] In order to participate, Solomon constructed ships at Ezion-geber, which the verse qualifies as "near Elath on the shore of the Reed Sea, in the land of Edom" (9:26: *wāʾonî ʿāśâ hammelek šəlōmōh bəʿeṣyôn-geber ʾăšer ʾet ʾēlôt ʿal śəpat yam sûp bəʾereṣ ʾĕdôm*).[119] The Chronicler's version makes some minor changes, such as the body of water is simply "the sea."[120] It is notable that the text does not refer to any kind of opposition from Edom. If Bartlett is correct in suggesting that this text derives from an ancient archival source, then Edom had no interest or was unable to oppose Solomon.[121] The most important problem with this text is the numerous doubts raised in recent years concerning the capacity of a supposed tenth-century BCE Solomonic kingdom to participate in such an endeavor.[122] While there was some Iron I (Qurayyah ware) pottery from the excavations of Tall al-Khalayfi, that occupation was likely from the eleventh century BCE, which was followed by an occupation gap until about 800 BCE.[123] The Deuteronomist constructed the story of Solomon's shipbuilding and trading ventures based at Ezion-geber as a standard by which all other kings would

---

118. Ophir is a geographical difficulty in the texts of the Hebrew Bible. It is generally identified with a location on the eastern coast of Africa, those ancient proposals range from India (Josephus, *Antiquities* 8.6.4) to the coast of south Arabia. Lipiński connects Ophir with Punt mentioned in Egyptian texts as having similar exports and locates it in Somaliland or Mozambique (see Edward Lipiński, *Itineraria Phoenicia*, OLA 127, StPhoen 18 [Leuven: Peeters, 2004], 189–224). See also Amir Golani, *Jewelry from the Iron Age II Levant*, OBO.SA 34 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; Fribourg: Presses Universitaires, 2013), 19–20; and Yutaka Ikeda, "King Solomon and His Red Sea Trade," *BMECCJ* 5 (1991): 113–32; Sweeney, *I and II Kings*, 146.

119. Note that the nearly identical Chronicles version does not identify the name of the sea.

120. Klein, *2 Chronicles*, 127.

121. See Bartlett, "Edom in the Nonprophetical Corpus," 20.

122. This does raise issues related to the extent and nature of Solomon's "empire," which is exaggerated in the biblical text. The tenth-century debate in the archaeology of the region questions the archaeological sites and features typically attributed to Solomon. For a historical estimation of these challenges, see Grabbe, *Ancient Israel*, 70–158.

123. This early settlement is Finkelstein's Phase A. See "Archaeology of Tell el-Kheleifeh," 122–24.

be assessed: great kings loyal to Yahweh alone, like other imperial rulers, return Elath/Ezion-geber to Judahite control and participate in trading ventures to exotic places while weak unfaithful kings are unable to maintain control of the region and it is relinquished to the Edomites.

This text about Solomon's expansion to the southern Negev also mentions the king constructing a fortress at Tamar (1 Kgs 9:18).[124] Tamar is usually identified with ʿEn Ḥaṣeva in the eastern Negev, which would have been close to the copper facilities in the Wadi Faynan during the tenth century BCE. Excavators found several walls beneath the Iron II gate that has been attributed to the tenth century BCE. These finds might be related to the burgeoning copper extraction and trading facilities that were active at that time.[125]

5.4.2. The Destroyed Ships of Jehoshaphat: 1 Kings 22:48–50 and 2 Chronicles 20:35–37

A brief note at the end of 1 Kgs 22 reveals several possible details about Edom during the reign of Jehoshaphat of Judah (ca. 870–845 BCE). There are translation difficulties with 22:48. The verse reads, "There was no king in Edom, a deputy was king" (*ûmelek ʾên beʾĕdôm niṣṣāb melek*). The difficulty lies in the final two words. If *niṣṣāb* is read with the preceding words, then there was no appointed king in Edom. With this reading, the word *melek* would go with the following verse and be the title of Jehoshaphat (*melek yǝhôšāpāt*). This is the reading of the Septuagint. Another possibility is to read the two words as a separate verbless clause: a deputy (was) king (*niṣṣāb melek*). The first option would mean that Judah had the responsibility of appointing a political leader in Edom, while the second option would suggest that there was no Edomite king ruling in Edom but rather there was a surrogate ruler appointed by Judah. The second option is to be preferred, but only on the basis of the Masoretic divisions and the lack of textual support beyond the Septuagint variants.

---

124. Note the *ketiv* references this fortress as Tadmor, likely under the later influence of the grand Solomonic empire that expanded to the Euphrates River. I would like to thank one of the anonymous reviewers for pointing out the importance of this text.

125. For ʿEn Ḥaṣeva, see Rudolph Cohen and Yigal Yisrael, "The Iron Age Fortresses at ʿEn Ḥaṣeva," *BA* 58 (1995): 223–35; and David Ussishkin, "ʿEn Ḥaṣeva: On the Gate of the Iron Age II Fortress," *TA* 37 (2010): 246–53.

The note goes on to refer to Jehoshaphat's construction of Tarshish ships to sail to Ophir for the acquisition of gold.[126] The ships never sailed because they "were wrecked" (22:49: *kî nišbərû*) at Ezion-geber. The text does not state how the ships were destroyed, whether by natural means or human activity. This is followed by a proposal from Ahaziah, king of Israel at the time, to unite in a joint venture to Ophir, which Jehoshaphat promptly refused.

The account is relayed differently in 2 Chronicles, which does not mention the detail about Edom at all. The battle episodes in 2 Chr 20:1–3 include the "Meunites," which some scholars believe were a pastoral group located in southern Jordan near the modern city of Maʿan.[127] The Chronicler possibly omitted Edom because he also did not include the narrative of the war with Moab mentioned in 2 Kgs 3, and therefore Edom was no longer an important aspect of the story.[128] The text states that Jehoshaphat and Ahaziah were partners in the construction of the ships at Ezion-geber (2 Chr 20:35), where ships were constructed in order to go to Tarshish. The Chronicler inserted a prophecy from Eliezer to Jehoshaphat that condemned the

---

126. The location and meaning of Tarshish here are unclear. See André Lemaire, "Tarshish-*Tarsisi*: Problème de topographie historique biblique et assyrienne," in *Studies in Historical Geography and Biblical Historiography: Presented to Zecharia Kallai*, ed. Gershon Galil and Moshe Weinfeld, VTSup 81 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 44–62 for an attempt to locate it. Carolina López-Ruiz argues that these references likely refer to the settlements of Tartessos on the Iberian Peninsula but the location known from Phoenician trading endeavors was quickly misunderstood and Tarshish became a generalized reference to a distant location, see "Tarshish and Tartessos Revisited: Textual Problems and Historical Implications," in *Colonial Encounters in Ancient Iberia: Phoenician, Greek, and Indigenous Relations*, ed. Michael Dietler and Carolina López-Ruiz (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 255–80. See also Roland Boer, "Fleets of Tarshish: Trading Ventures and Other Tall Tales of the Bible," *SJOT* 28 (2014): 58–80. For an attempt to locate Tarshish in southern Spain using textual and material evidence, see Carlos Zorea, "Spain in the Bible: From 'Tarshish' to 'Sefarad,'" *Polis* 28 (2016): 157–88.

127. Anson F. Rainey, "The Chronicler and His Sources—Historical and Geographical," in *The Chronicler as Historian*, ed. M. Patrick Graham, Kenneth G. Hoglund, and Steven L. McKenzie, JSOTSup 238 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1997), 57–60.

128. See further Ralph W. Klein, "Reflections on Historiography in the Account of Jehoshaphat," in *Pomegranates and Golden Bells: Studies in Biblical, Jewish, and Near Eastern Ritual, Law, and Literature in Honor of Jacob Milgrom*, ed. David P. Wright, David Noel Freedman, and Avi Hurvitz (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 655.

partnership with Ahaziah (2 Chr 20:37).[129] The prophecy threatened that Yahweh would "break up your work" (*pāraṣ yhwh ʾet maʿăseykā*), which was immediately "fulfilled." The immediate retribution and fulfillment of prophecy is a common theme of the Chronicler; in fact, he connects the alliance with Ahaziah ultimately to the death of Jehoshaphat.[130]

These texts do provide details that could be relevant to the history of Edom. First, they assert that at the time of Jehoshaphat Edom was under the control of a ruler installed by Judah. Second, Ezion-geber was under the control of Judah and was used as a launching point for seaborne trade to distant areas (either Tarshish or Ophir). However, neither of these details are unproblematic. In the mid-ninth century BCE, the chronological setting of the story, there is little evidence for the settlement at Ezion-geber, and clear evidence for Judahite occupation is lacking. This is further complicated because the Chronicles version does not mention Judahite control over Edom at all.

5.4.3. Uzziah Rebuilds Elath: 2 Kings 14:22

The outline of the account of Uzziah (ca. 788/787–765 BCE) in 2 Kings and 2 Chronicles is clear. At the end of the Deuteronomistic History's narrative about Uzziah, the text notes that as his final deed he "(re-)built Elath and restored it to Judah" (2 Kgs 14:22: *hûʾ bānâ ʾet ʾêlat wayšibehā lîhûdâ*). According to Egyptologist Donald Redford, the Deuteronomist had access to a biographical stela as a source for this note. He goes so far as to reconstruct what the stela might have said. Redford speculates that the inscription traced the relationship between Judah and Edom all the way back to David's conquest of the region.[131] As Naʾaman has noted, there is no parallel to a royal inscription that is so detailed or that provides such a survey of past events among West Semitic inscriptions.[132] Otherwise, there are few

---

129. See Gary N. Knoppers, "Reform and Regression: The Chronicler's Presentation of Jehoshaphat," *Bib* 72 (1991): 520–21; Mark A. Throntveit, "The Chronicler's Speeches and Historical Reconstruction," in Graham, *Chronicler as Historian*, 236.

130. Klein, "Reflections on Historiography," 655–56; John W. Wright, "The Fight for Peace: Narrative and History in the Battle Accounts in Chronicles," in Graham, *The Chronicler as Historian*, 171; Klein, *2 Chronicles*, 295–97.

131. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times*, 328–29.

132. Nadav Naʾaman, "Royal Inscriptions and the Histories of Joash and Ahaz, Kings of Judah," *VT* 48 (1998): 328–29.

clear details about the lengthy reign of this king whom the Deuteronomist considered a good Yahwistic king, but whom the Chronicler condemns for entering the temple and performing a sacrifice. However, the reference in 2 Kgs 14:22 does occur in what appears to be an annalistic or chronistic source, and there could have been some reconstruction of the site at about this time.[133]

5.4.4. Ahaz and the Edomites: 2 Kings 16:6 and 2 Chronicles 28:16–18

According to 2 Kgs 16:6, Rezin of Aram recaptured Elath and expelled the Judahites during the reign of Ahaz (ca. 741/742–726 BCE). This note precedes an important narrative about Ahaz visiting Damascus to pay tribute to Tiglath-pileser III. While in Damascus, Ahaz noticed an altar and had the priests in Jerusalem copy it and offer sacrifices upon it, an act that the Deuteronomists did not overtly criticize.[134] There is considerable divergence among the textual witnesses about whether the reading should be Aram (ʾărām) or Edom (ʾĕdōm). Also, a different account of the relations between Ahaz and Edom is found in 2 Chr 28:16–18, which does not mention the loss of Elath, but instead tells of a successful Edomite invasion that was, according to the Chronicler, one of the reasons that Ahaz appealed to Tiglath-pileser III for aid.[135] But according to the Chronicler, the primary culprit for the defeat of Ahaz was the Philistines, thereby diminishing the role of Edom in this attack.[136]

Both the Masoretic tradition and the Septuagint have Aram (ʾăram) throughout 2 Kgs 16:6. The Masoretes did notice the historical and geographic problems with an invasion of Elath by Aram, so they noted in the *qere* of the verse that the last reference to Aram should be read as Edom (ʾĕdōm). Many scholars follow the *qere* and also emend the previous two references to produce a consistent reading throughout the passage as "Edom." This also requires the deletion of the name of the king of Aram. The verse would simply read: "At that time, the king of Edom restored Elath to Edom." This was apparently an early problem in the transmission

133. Finkelstein, "Archaeology of Tell El-Kheleifeh," 127.

134. Nili Wazana, "Ahaz and the Altar from Damascus (2 Kings 16:10–16): Literary, Theological, and Historical-Political Considerations," in Sergi, *In Search of Aram and Israel*, 379–99.

135. Klein, *2 Chronicles*, 402–3.

136. Ben Zvi, "Contribution of Chronicles to the Memory Argument about Edom."

of the text since numerous Hebrew manuscripts, the Syriac versions, a few manuscripts of the targumim and the Vulgate read "Aram," while the Septuagint reads "Edom" along with the majority of manuscripts of the targumim and the Vulgate. The reading of Edom here is preferable due to the similarity of the writing of Edom and Aram (a scribal error due to the similarity of *resh* and *dalet*), the unnecessary historical problems raised by reading Aram, and the fact that the mistake can be explained on the basis of the appearance of Aram in the following Deuteronomistic stories.[137] Regardless of the sources used in the composition of this text, they have undergone purposeful and dramatic reworking. The Deuteronomist deliberately juxtaposed his negative judgment of the reign of Ahaz (16:1–4) to this illustration of his weakness in the face of the traditional enemies of Judah.[138]

In the version of the story in 2 Chr 28, Edom was also credited with an invasion of the Judahite homeland concurrent with an invasion by Philistia. Bartlett attempted to solve this problem by suggesting that "Edomites" in 2 Chr 28:17 is a mistake for "Aramaeans."[139] This emendation would remove the difficulties of the different accounts and the unlikely Edomite victory over Judah. The Chronicles account parallels the Kings account only in the opening and closing notes. The Chronicler was more interested in illustrating the principle of immediate retribution for the misdeeds of the king.[140] The mistake of Ahaz, according to the Chronicler, was his appeal to Assyria for aid against his enemies (28:16). In the narrative, this comment is immediately followed by a reference to the Edomite victory (28:17), and to the Philistine invasion of the Shephelah (28:18). Even the Assyrians, to whom Ahaz appealed, attacked him and he plundered Jerusalem's temple in order to placate the Assyrians (28:19–21). The account of Chronicles is best understood as an illustrative expansion of the Kings

---

137. See also Cogan and Tadmor *II Kings*, 186; Sweeney, *I and II Kings*, 379, 382.

138. See Nadav Na'aman, "The Deuteronomist and Voluntary Servitude to Foreign Powers," *JSOT* 65 (1995): 41–48.

139. Bartlett, *Edom and the Edomites*, 127.

140. See Ehud Ben Zvi, "A Gateway to the Chronicler's Teaching: The Account of the Reign of Ahaz in 2 Chr. 28, 1–27," *SJOT* 7 (1993): 216–49. Itzhak Amar ("Chaotic Writing as a Literary Element in the Story of Ahaz in 2 Chronicles 28," *VT* 66 [2016]: 349–64) argues that the Chronicler intentionally displaced and rearranged stories within the rendition of 2 Kgs 16 in order to represent the chaotic and transgressive nature of the portrayal of Ahaz in 2 Chr 28.

version, which was sparser in its details. It is not likely that Edom invaded Judah during the reign of Ahaz.

5.5. Conclusions

The earliest references to Edom in the Deuteronomistic History involve the encounter between the wandering tribes of Israel and the embedded, sedentary monarchy in Edom. The portrayal of the encounter in Deut 2:2–7 reflected a relatively peaceful interaction at the command of Yahweh, who allotted the land to the descendants of Esau. In this version, the Israelites pass by Edom and enter Moab by the "Arabah road." The description of the encounter aligns with the Deuteronomistic perspective of the "brotherhood" of Edom expressed in Deut 23:7, a major issue in later periods that is addressed in the next chapter. This vision of a relatively peaceful relationship with Edom was vehemently opposed in later periods, with the Priestly redactor in the postexilic period constructing a more vivid and negative encounter. In Num 20:14–21, the author relays a dialogue between Moses's messenger and the anonymous king of Edom, refusing the Israelites entry into their territory, directly disputing the Deuteronomistic ideology of brotherhood and acceptance into the community of Yahweh. The multiple versions of this episode capture the evolution of the ancient Judahite perspectives on the relationship between Edom and Judah as expressed in the biblical literature: a preexilic and early exilic congeniality between the polities became a perceived, justified rejection of Edom based on their lack of loyalty during conflicts with the Babylonians. The monarchic "brother" was transformed into the postexilic "enemy."

Throughout the remainder of Deuteronomistic History, Edom is portrayed as a minor neighboring polity that constantly struggled for independence from its Judahite rulers ever since the time of David. Although some of the incidents described by the Deuteronomists could have a historical basis, the literary and ideological model established in the Deuteronomistic History precludes any firm conclusions regarding the events described in the document. The Deuteronomist projected the contemporary understanding of Edom as a neighboring polity with a hereditary monarchy back into the time of David and Solomon. From this period on, the relations between Edom and Judah represented the Deuteronomist's theological evaluation of the Judahite kings: the kings who were faithful to Yahweh controlled either all of Edom (David) or regained control of key Edomite assets like Ezion-geber (Amaziah, Uzziah). Kings who were

unfaithful to Yahweh lost control of these regions (Solomon, Jehoram, Jehoshaphat, Ahaz). There likely were battles between Edomites and Judahites, and Judah could have controlled portions of Edom at times, but this literary and ideological use of Edom within the Deuteronomistic History makes it sometimes difficult to determine which episodes have an early historical basis without confirmation from independent, external sources.

Historians of ancient Edom, as well as ancient Israel and Judah, can be most confident with the veracity of texts that are annalistic, possibly deriving from more bureaucratic lists of events during the reigns of particular kings. While the narrative elaboration of some of the stories could add anachronistic details, the connection of particular kings to events or other kings could derive from premonarchical sources. If that is the case, the references to the rebellion of Edom against Judahite domination at the beginning of the reign of Jehoram is likely the earliest "historical" reference concerning this relationship, at least from Judah's perspective.

At a still further distance, the Chronicler, who probably used a version of the Deuteronomistic History as one of his primary sources, contributed a different perspective about Edom. According to the additions by the Chronicler, Edom did participate in incursions into Judahite territory (under Ahaz), and therefore deserved and received the violent retribution of kings loyal to Yahweh alone (like under Amaziah). Yet the Chronicler also seemed to represent Edom as one neighbor among many who worked against Judah. In Chronicles, Edom was normalized by the Chronicler, and, as will be demonstrated in the next chapter, understood as a sibling through the Chronicler's extensive use of genealogies.

The next chapter will continue to examine the biblical constructions of Edom, especially in the later texts of the prophetic traditions, the handful of lament psalms that mention Edom, and the Jacob and Esau narratives of Genesis, which attempt to construct Esau as the ancestor of Edom who is subordinate to the patriarchs of Judah.

6
Poetic and Prophetic Sources
for the History of Edom

The previous chapter analyzed the biblical texts relating to Edom that many biblical scholars and historians use in their reconstructions of Edomite history and Judahite interactions with Edom. Those texts were preserved in the primary historical writings largely found in the Deuteronomistic writings and in the Chronicler's revision of that history. There is also a range of texts that are less historiographic in nature, fragments of ancient stories like the conflict between the patriarch Jacob and his brother Esau or the violent denunciations of Edom as a disloyal neighbor who turned away from its brother in times of difficulty. These texts are rarely used by biblical scholars and historians to reconstruct specific social or political histories of Edom or Judah, but they do reveal Judahite perspectives, attitudes, and beliefs about their neighbor to the southeast. In what ensues below, these texts, which are traditionally labeled as the Prophets and the Writings, are discussed according to three themes or traditions. First to be assessed are those texts in which Edom is treated as the "brother" of Judah, sometimes loyal but usually as a bitter disappointment and then, even as an enemy. In a second group of texts, Edom becomes a symbolic image that is utilized in communal laments during the exile that express the collective grief over the destruction of Jerusalem, an act in which Edom was accused of complicity. Third, Edom is treated in the prophetic books initially as a traditional terrestrial enemy, then later as a symbolic, almost eschatological foe that would be punished during Yahweh's theophanic appearance that resulted in the deliverance of his people from their judgment. However, there are hints in various prophetic texts of a more nuanced and positive understanding of Edom within the postexilic literati, similar to those preserved within the Chronicler in the previous chapter.

6.1. Edom as the Brother of Judah

One theme that permeates the biblical description of Edom is the relationship between Edom and its eponymous ancestor Esau, and the related theme of being a brother to Judah. Although few biblical scholars consider the patriarchal narratives of Jacob and Esau to be reliable sources for reconstructing extensive, premonarchical history, one of the proposals to explain the brotherhood of Edom and Judah does consider it to be a very ancient tradition. This proposal suggests that there was a kinship between tribal elements that eventually settled in the areas of Edom and Judah. The evidence adduced by proponents of this theory involves poetic biblical texts, which they consider archaic, that place Yahweh's origin in Edom or Seir (Judg 5:4–5; Deut 33:2; Ps 68:8–9; Hab 3:3–4).[1] Although these texts are not likely remnants of "ancient Yahwistic poetry," they also do not provide enough information to posit a kinship relationship, real or imaginary, between the two Iron Age polities of Edom and Judah.[2]

A more substantial proposal developed out of a 1970 article by Michael Fishbane in which he treated the terms ʾaḥîw and raḥāmāyw in Amos 1:11 as treaty terminology. Fishbane considered certain occurrences in the Hebrew Bible of ʾaḥ and raḥam as "part of the common diplomatic parlance of the ancient Near East," similar to the use of Akkadian aḫu and raʾāmu in vassal treaties, particularly those of Esarhaddon.[3] Many biblical

---

1. Interest in Edom or the Negev as the origins of the veneration of Yahweh has grown in recent years. See Nissim Amzallag, "Yahweh, the Canaanite God of Metallurgy?," *JSOT* 33 (2009): 387–404; Kelley, "Toward a New Synthesis of the God of Edom and Yahweh," 255–80; and Juan Manuel Tebes, "The Southern Home of YHWH and Pre-Priestly Patriarchal/Exodus Traditions from a Southern Perspective," *Bib* 99 (2018): 166–88.

2. E.g., see the recent critique of this model in Bob Becking, "Deborah's Topical Song: Remarks on the Gattung of Judges 5," in *Biblical Narratives, Archaeology and Historicity: Essays in Honour of Thomas L. Thompson*, ed. Emanuel Pfoh and Łukasz Niesiolowski-Spanò, LHBOTS 680 (London: T&T Clark, 2020), 190–97.

3. Michael Fishbane, "The Treaty Background of Amos 1:11 and Related Matters," *JBL* 89 (1970): 315. For a translation and study of Esarhaddon's treaties, see Simo Paropola and Kazuko Watanabe, *Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths*, SAA 2 (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1988). For the new treaty of Esarhaddon discovered at Tell Taʾyinat, see the edition in Jacob Lauinger, "Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty at Tell Tayinat: Text and Commentary," *JCS* 64 (2012): 87–123; and the study of F. M. Fales, "After Taʾyinat: The New Status of Esarhaddon's Adê for Assyrian Political History," *RA* 106 (2012): 133–58.

scholars follow Fishbane's idea that the brotherhood of Edom is some-how related to a treaty relationship with Judah, but most are reliant on the understanding of the Davidic and Solomonic kingdoms as periods of substantial scribal activity in ancient Israel. Fishbane and Bartlett, both relying on the older scholarly tradition of placing much of the composition of early sources of the Hebrew Bible in the Solomonic period, suggest that David's subjugation of Edom was a period when there was a formal suzerainty treaty between Judah and Edom, whereas the texts referring to Edom *not* acting as a brother derive from the period after Edom revolted under Jehoram (2 Kgs 8:20).[4]

Although the proposal that considers the brotherhood of Edom to originate in Iron Age treaty language best incorporates all of the evidence from the Hebrew Bible, the historical context of the Davidic conquest and the revolt against Jehoram is unacceptable for two reasons. First, if the brotherhood of Edom theme was a major aspect of Judahite/Edomite relations since the time of David, its relative absence in the Deuteronomistic History is difficult to explain, including the lack of any references to treaties between David and the Edomites. The only clear reference to this theme in that corpus is in Deut 23:7–8 (see below), a text that might derive from a preexilic source, but it does not pervade the other texts and sources used in the composition of the Deuteronomistic History. Second, the brotherhood aspect of treaty language, although it is known earlier, becomes much more common with the treaties of the Assyrians, who did not dominate the southern Levant until at least two centuries after the reign of David. The authors more likely employed the treaty language of the Assyrians from their own time to describe earlier relationships with surrounding peoples.

Possibly the theme of Edom as the brother of Judah is related to the events surrounding the fall of Jerusalem and the anti-Babylonian coalition in the region that formed just before the invasion of Nebuchadnezzar. This interpretation depends on the historical reliability of Jer 27, which is dated to the first year of Zedekiah (i.e., 594 BCE).[5] Yahweh told Jeremiah

---

4. Fishbane, "Treaty Background of Amos 1:11," 315; John R. Bartlett, "The Brotherhood of Edom," *JSOT* 2 (1977): 2–27.

5. This reading follows the text derived from some Masoretic manuscripts, the Syriac version, and the reading of 27:3 and 27:12; for the much shorter Septuagint version of this chapter, see Robert P. Carroll, *The Book of Jeremiah: A Commentary*, OTL (London: SCM, 1986), 526–29.

to make "chains and yokes" (27:2: *môsērôt ûmōṭôt*) and send them to the kings of Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, and Sidon. Of particular interest is the manner in which the symbols were sent to the kings via "envoys" (*bəyad malʾākîm*) who came to Jerusalem to meet with King Zedekiah (27:3). Jeremiah's message was in accordance with his pro-Babylonian stance that any king who puts on the yoke of the king of Babylon will be left in his land (27:11: *haggôy ʾăšer yābîʾ ʾet ṣawwāʾrô bəʿōl melek bābel waʿăbādô wəhinnaḥtîw ʿal ʾadmātô*). This chapter is particularly significant for reconstructing the events leading up to the destruction of Jerusalem. Most historians of ancient Israel use it as evidence of an attempt by Zedekiah to form an anti-Babylonian coalition in the southern Levant.[6] In this understanding of the story, Zedekiah tried to incorporate Edom into his coalition, yet Edom did not receive the same retribution from Nebuchadnezzar as the other members of the coalition. This, combined with the vehement condemnations of Edom in later prophetic literature, suggests that Edom either refused to participate in Zedekiah's coalition or it acted disloyally after the coalition was formed and joined the advancing Babylonian troops.[7]

A text that supports the thesis that Edom allied itself with Babylon rather than Judah is Obad 6–7.[8] The verses state that Edom's allies deceived the Edomites. The text refers to "all of your allies" (vs. 7: *kol ʾanšê bərîtêkā*) and "your confederates" (*ʾanšê šəlomekā*).[9] Although there is no explicit reference to Babylon in this verse, since it was the most powerful force in the region at that time, it is a reasonable conclusion that Edom was loyal to the Babylonians at the time of the fall of Jerusalem. The other texts in the Hebrew Bible that refer to Edom/Esau as the brother of Israel/Jacob derive from this situation in which Edom apparently shifted allegiance from the

---

6. Bright, *History of Israel*, 329; John R. Bartlett, "Edom and the Fall of Jerusalem, 587 B.C.," *PEQ* 114 (1982): 18; Bartlett, *Edom and the Edomites*, 150–51; Miller and Hayes, *History of Ancient Israel and Judah*, 409; Ahlström, *History of Palestine*, 792; John Lindsay, "Edomite Westward Expansion: The Biblical Evidence," *ANES* 36 (1999): 63–64; cf. Carroll, *Book of Jeremiah,* 530.

7. See Bartlett, *Edom and the Edomites*, 150.

8. See P. Kyle McCarter, "Obadiah 7 and the Fall of Edom," *BASOR* 221 (1976): 87–91.

9. On the problematic next phrase, *laḥmĕkā yāśimû* "they place your bread," see James D. Nogalski, "Obadiah 7: Textual Corruption or Politically Charged Metaphor?" *ZAW* 110 (1998): 67–71; repr. in *The Book of the Twelve and Beyond: Collected Essays of James D. Nogalski* (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2017), 289–95.

Judahite-led anti-Babylonian coalition to the Babylonian Empire that was sweeping through the region. Edomite complicity with Babylon is also alluded to in Ezek 35:5 (see below) and 2 Kgs 24:2, which would provide the most direct indication of Edomite alliance with the Babylonians if the Masoretic Text is emended from ʾărām to ʾĕdôm, which is likely since the polity of Aram was no longer an independent kingdom.

Several texts, some quite lengthy, expand on the theme of the brotherhood of Edom. While according to the internal biblical chronology, these texts would be placed in the patriarchal period (i.e., early second millennium BCE), the Jacob–Esau narratives and the Edomite king list were probably composed during the late monarchic or early exilic period and only provide relevant information on that period. The texts are based on the theme of Edom's brotherhood and their authors extended what was in essence a politically oriented brotherhood metaphor to encompass more ancient and legendary familial and kinship relationships.

6.1.1. Deuteronomy 23:8 (English 23:7)

The only mention of Edom in the legal codes of Judah is the prohibition of Deut 23:8, "Do not abhor an Edomite because he is your brother" (lōʾ tətaʿēb ʾădōmî ʾāḥîkā hûʾ). The law concludes a section of Deuteronomy that deals with inclusion and exclusion from the congregation of Yahweh (qəhal yhwh).[10] In the preceding verses, the Ammonites and Moabites are explicitly excluded because of their treatment of the Israelites during the exodus from Egypt. The section concludes with a statement that "the children born to them [the Edomites and the Egyptians] may be admitted into the congregation of Yahweh in the third generation" (23:8: bānîm ʾăšer yiwwāldû lāhem dôr šəlîšî yāboʾ lāhem biqhal yhwh). The reasoning provided by the text for the inclusion of Edom is their ancestral familial relation as brother (23:9), a designation that likely implied that there were covenantal requirements attached to this relationship.[11] These verses are found within the D Code (Deut 12–16) in a subsection (Deut 21–25) that contains a mixture

---

10. For an extensive history of research, see Eckhart Otto, *Deuteronomium 12,1–23,15*, HThKAT (Freiburg am Breisgau: Herder, 2016), 1739–48.

11. See Bradford A. Anderson, *Brotherhood and Inheritance: A Canonical Reading of the Esau and Edom Traditions*, LHBOTS 556 (London: T&T Clark, 2011), 173–74. Some commentators maintain that this designation reflects little more than kinship and hospitality (see Biddle, *Deuteronomy*, 344; Lundbom, *Deuteronomy*, 649–50).

of civil and religious regulations.[12] Since most of the laws in this section form small units without consistent unity between them, many scholars consider this subsection an appendix, the product of later redaction to the preexilic core in Deut 12–20. Others suggest that the units are small collections of pre-D code laws.[13] In recent analyses that emphasize the Persian period as the context for much of the formation of the Hebrew Bible, some suggest that this text is largely about the "ideology of separation," excluding the Ammonites and Moabites (see Neh 13:4–9, 28) while allowing for a more cooperative attitude about the Edomites. This might be expressive of some ideological disagreements in the postexilic Yehud community about the Edomites. While the majority of postexilic biblical material tends to aggressively attack the Edomites, some biblical literature of that period is more reflective on or dismissive of the relationship with Edom.[14]

6.1.2. The Jacob-Esau Narratives: Genesis 25–36

The compositional history of the Jacob cycle within the patriarchal narratives of Genesis is complicated by its connection to the larger debates of the composition of the Pentateuch and debates about the connection of the narratives to the history of Israel and Judah.[15] The impetus for the collection of the Jacob cycle is likely that it consisted of a patriarchal origin story for the kingdom of Israel. This origin story, whether written or oral, was later incorporated into the traditions of Judah after the fall of Israel to the Assyrians, possibly in an attempt to help create a common past for the neighboring states of Judah and Israel.[16] Prior to this composition, the

---

12. See Van Seters, *Pentateuch*; Van Seters, *Prologue to History*, 194–95; Konrad Schmid, *The Old Testament: A Literary History*, trans. Linda M. Maloney (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012), 99–102.

13. Van Seters, *Pentateuch*, 196–99.

14. I would like to thank Ian Wilson for prompting me to rethink the diversity of perspectives on Edom within postexilic literature. For some of his remarks on the diversity of ideological perspectives in postexilic Yehud see Ian D. Wilson, *Kingship and Memory in Ancient Judah* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 5–17. A proponent of the postexilic interpretation is Römer, *So-Called Deuteronomistic History*, 171–74; see also Otto, *Deuteronomium 12,1–23,15*, 1745–46.

15. For an extensive history of research on this narrative and other references to Esau in the biblical traditions, see Anderson, *Brotherhood and Inheritance*, 6–17.

16. As suggested by Nadav Na'aman, "The Jacob Story and the Formation of Biblical Israel," *TA* 41 (2014): 117–19.

stories and legends of Jacob were oral traditions and then possibly independent narratives.[17] These stories were then edited and expanded later during the Judahite monarchy as well as in the exilic and postexilic periods. Jacob is represented in these texts as manipulative and dishonest, a characterization that would have been acceptable to the Judahite compilers of the text as a representation of the northern traditions. The relevant sections concerning Jacob's conflict and relationship with Esau were likely added after the fall of Jerusalem to accentuate the animosity and the severed brotherhood of Judah and Edom, although origins in the eighth century BCE have been suggested.[18]

The narrative of the patriarch Jacob was largely composed in the sixth century BCE by the author referred to by biblical scholars who adhere to the Documentary Hypothesis as the Yahwist, or in recent scholarship that rejects that model as part of the "non-Priestly" narratives.[19] A number of episodes within this narrative are derived from earlier traditions, including the birth story of Jacob and Esau (25:21–34), portions of the story of Jacob

---

17. See Israel Finkelstein and Thomas Römer, "Comments on the Historical Background of the Jacob Narrative in Genesis," *ZAW* 126 (2014): 317–38; Erhard Blum, "The Jacob Tradition," in *The Book of Genesis: Composition, Reception, and Interpretation*, ed. Craig A. Evans, David L. Petersen, and Joel N. Lohr, VTSup 152 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 208–10.

18. See the discussions of positions in Finkelstein and Römer, "Comments on the Historical Background of the Jacob Narrative in Genesis," 331–32; and Na'aman, "Jacob Story and the Formation of Biblical Israel," 114–17; see also, Konrad Schmid, "The Biblical Writings in the Late Eighth Century BCE," in Farber and Wright, *Archaeology and History of Eighth-Century Judah*, 489–501; and Schmid, *Old Testament*, 58–60.

19. For developments in the scholarly estimations of the compositional history of the Jacob narratives, see Blum, "Jacob Tradition," 181–211; Albert de Pury, "The Jacob Story and the Beginning of the Formation of the Pentateuch," in *A Farewell to the Yahwist? The Composition of the Pentateuch in Recent European Interpretation*, ed. Thomas B. Dozeman and Konrad Schmid, SymS 34 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 51–72; Konrad Schmid, "Von Jakob zu Israel: Das antike Israel auf dem Weg zum Judentum im Spiegel der Fortschreibungsgeschichte der Jakobüberlieferungen der Genesis," in *Identität und Schrift: Fortschreibungsprozesse als Mittel religiöser Identitätsbildung*, ed. Marianne Grohmann, BThSt 169 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2017), 33–67. This dating of the Yahwist follows the analysis of the Pentateuchal traditions of Van Seters (*Pentateuch*; Van Seters, *Prologue to History*), who considers the Yahwist to have composed his material during the Babylonian exile. For a brief history of the shifts in Pentateuchal criticism over the last fifty years, see Ska, *Introduction to Reading the Pentateuch*, 127–64; and Dozeman, *Pentateuch*, 135–200.

and Laban (29–31), and the vision of Jacob at Bethel (28:10–22).[20] Other texts were composed as literary precursors to important events that the authors found in portions of the Deuteronomistic History.[21] Of particular relevance for Edom, or at least the understanding of Edom within the traditions of Judah, is Gen 25:21–34, which narrates the birth of Jacob and Esau and emphasizes their roles as eponymous ancestors.

After Rebekah the wife of Isaac conceived, she received an oracle from Yahweh announcing that her two sons would someday become nations and enemies (25:23)

> *šənê gōyyim bəbiṭnēk / ûšənê lə ʾummîm mimmēʿayik yippārēdû*
> *ûlē ʾōm milʾom yeʾĕmāṣ / wərab yaʿābōd ṣāʿîr*

> Two nations are in your womb, / two peoples will issue from your body. One people will be mightier than the other, / the older will serve the younger.

The saying exemplifies the relationship between Judah and Edom from the Judahite perspective: the first son, Esau, is destined to be subservient to the second, Jacob. This chapter in particular constructs the subservient position of Edom, as Esau, from a later, postexilic perspective as in Gen 27:29 where the blessing appears to be reversed and Jacob relinquishes his claim to superior status.[22] The relative status of the brothers is exemplified by the wordplay associated with Jacob's name, derived from *ʿāqēb* "heel," the verbal form of which (*ʿāqab*) also means "to supplant."[23]

---

20. See Van Seters, *Prologue to History*, 277–310.

21. Scholars have identified several intriguing links between stories in the books of Samuel and the Yahwistic history. See A. Graeme Auld, "Samuel and Genesis: Some Questions of John Van Seters's 'Yahwist,'" in *Rethinking the Foundations: Historiography in the Ancient World and in the Bible; Essays in Honour of John Van Seters*, ed. Steven L. McKenzie and Thomas Römer, BZAW 294 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2000), 23–32; and Craig Y. S. Ho, "The Stories of the Family Troubles of Judah and David: A Study of Their Literary Links," *VT* 49 (1999): 514–31.

22. Tebes, "You Shall Not Abhor an Edomite," 5–6; Blum, "Jacob Tradition," 185–86. For a close literary reading of this section, see Anderson, *Brotherhood and Inheritance*, 19–33, who notes the various ambiguities in this text allowing for the subsequent conflicts between the characters to proceed.

23. See Meir Malul, "'ʿāqēb 'Heel" and 'ʿāqab 'to Supplant' and the Concept of Succession in the Jacob-Esau Narratives," *VT* 46 (1996): 190–212.

The description of Esau in the next section is full of wordplays that make the connection between Esau and Edom clear.[24] Esau "emerged red, like a hairy garment all over." The term "red" (ʾadmônî) is similar in consonantal script, and possibly meaning, to the name of the political entity, Edom (ʾĕdôm).[25] This redness was like "a hairy garment" (ʾadderet śēʿār) all over the child. This phrase connects the child with the region of Edom, which was also known as Seir (śēʿîr). The text then describes the two sons' different manner of living: Esau was a rugged hunter and Jacob was a civilized man who stayed close to home (25:27–28).[26] A brief story is included about Jacob cooking a stew when Esau arrived home from the fields, which Esau called the "red stuff" (25:30: hal ʿiṭēnî nāʾ min hāʾādōm hazzeh). An explanatory comment is added that states: "Therefore, his name was Edom" (ʿal kēn qārāʾ šəmô ĕdôm).

This brief etiological anecdote concisely captures the relationship between the two brothers, and the people of Judah and Edom. Esau, the older brother who sold his birthright to his sibling for a cup of stew, is associated with Edom through a series of wordplays. Although the Yahwist accepted the narrative and did little to reshape it, the redactor creatively expanded on the story in chapter 27, Isaac's blessing of Jacob and Esau.[27] The remainder of the narrative in Genesis concerning Esau and Jacob serves to distance the two brothers and it is clear that Esau was not for this exilic writer one of the chosen descendants of Abraham.[28] The late exilic

---

24. R. Christopher Heard, *Dynamics of Diselection: Ambiguity in Genesis 12–36 and Ethnic Boundaries in Post-Exilic Judah*, Semeia 39 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2001), 101–2.

25. Anderson (*Brotherhood and Inheritance*, 47); See also Joseph H. Prouser, "Seeing Red: On Translating Esau's Request for Soup," *CJud* 56.2 (2004): 13–20.

26. Heard, *Dynamics of Diselection*, 102–103; Marvin A. Pope, "Adam, Edom and Holocaust," in *Boundaries of the Ancient Near Eastern World: A Tribute to Cyrus H. Gordon*, ed. Meir Lubetski, Claire Gottlieb, and Sharon Keller, JSOTSup 273 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1998), 199–210; Blum, "Jacob Tradition," 188, 195; Anderson, *Brotherhood and Inheritance*, 33–36. This tradition was continued into Hellenistic times when this binary was expanded in the book of Jubilees (see chs. 19 and 35). For the use of this story in the pseudepigraphic writings, see Michał Marciak, "Idumea and Idumeans in the Light of the Pseudepigrapha," *JSP* 27 (2018): 163–203.

27. Van Seters, *Prologue to History*, 283; Anderson, *Brotherhood and Inheritance*, 56–66. Anderson reads this chapter not as a curse of Esau, like most commentators, but as a hedged blessing, Esau is "the unchosen son, (but) he is blessed nonetheless" (82).

28. Heard, *Dynamics of Diselection*, 178.

stories of the patriarchs in Genesis, particularly Jacob and Esau, helped define the identity of postexilic Yehud vis-à-vis its neighbors. Throughout the Jacob/Esau narratives, the ancestor Edom is intentionally disparaged as uncivilized and lacking in intelligence.[29] Yet in a reversal in chapters 32 and 33, Jacob returns from his "captivity" and blesses Esau, bowing to him and embracing him.[30] Although the narrative style does not condemn Edom in the explicit language used by the postexilic prophets, the stories illustrate that acceptance of Edom in Yehudian-Yahwistic circles was at least problematic during this period.[31]

6.1.3. The Edomite King List: Genesis 36

Genesis 36, which conveys the genealogies of Esau (36:10–14) and Seir (36:20–28) as well as a list of kings of Edom (36:40–43; paralleled in 1 Chr 1:43–54), is a supplement to the stories of Jacob and Esau that is usually attributed to the Priestly editor who composed the additions in the fifth century BCE.[32] The redactional origins of this list are textually signaled by the doubled *toledoth* formula found in 36:6 and 36:9.[33] This redactional insertion, described by Bruce Vawter as "neither thorough nor serious," does function as an attempt to provide a detailed lineage for the identification of Esau as the father of the Edomites.[34] The author of the chapter emphasizes this equation by noting that "these are the generations of Esau, who is Edom" (36:1: *wəʾēlleh tōlədôt ʿēśāw hûʾ ʾĕdôm*), repeating the formula in 36:8 and 36:19, and identifying Esau as the "father" (*ʿēśāw ʾăbî ʾĕdôm*) of the Edom in 36:9 and 36:43.[35] Therefore,

---

29. Heard, *Dynamics of Diselection*, 97–137; Anderson, *Brotherhood and Inheritance*, 42–43.

30. For solutions on the difficulty between Isaac's blessing in Gen 27 and the account of the reunion between Jacob and Esau, see recently Bradford A. Anderson, "Jacob, Esau, and the Constructive Possibilities of the Other," *BTB* 49 (2019): 15–21.

31. Cf. David Janzen, "Politics, Settlement, and Temple Community in Persian-period Yehud," *CBQ* 64 (2002): 501–7.

32. See Van Seters, *Pentateuch*, 162, 183; Dustin Nash, "Edom, Judah, and Converse Constructions of Israeliteness in Genesis 36," *VT* 68 (2018): 115–16.

33. On the redactional signals, see Nash, "Edom, Judah, and Converse Constructions," 114–17; and Ska, *Introduction to Reading the Pentateuch*, 85.

34. Bruce Vawter, *On Genesis: A New Reading* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1977), 366.

35. See Anderson, *Brotherhood and Inheritance*, 134–40.

this text provides little useful information about Edom during the preexilic period.[36] In spite of the late date of the text's composition, there may still be some material that is related to the social and toponymic traditions of Edom.[37]

The most compelling attempt to derive useful historical and social information from the lists in Gen 36 is outlined by Knauf.[38] After defending the possibility of toponymic survival, Knauf attempted to connect the place names mentioned in the text with names that have survived in modern Arabic place names.[39] According to Knauf, substantial spatial distinctions of the places are connected with two major divisions in the text: the Horites and the sons of Esau.[40] The place names connected with the Horites are clustered in the western part of Edom in the prime agricultural areas; the places names connected with the sons of Esau are located farther east. The names associated with the ʾallûpîm (36:40–43) are dispersed throughout the region of Edom.[41] Knauf interprets this phenomenon as an arrangement that is "indicative of a central power's attempt to organize and control the whole country."[42]

---

36. But cf. Bartlett, *Edom and the Edomites*, 94–102; Bartlett, "Edom in the Nonprophetical Corpus," 19–20.

37. For possible social traditions, see Ernst Axel Knauf, "Alter und Herkunft der edomitischen Königsliste Gen 36, 31–39," *ZAW* 97 (1985): 245–53; Knauf, "Edom," 100–107. For traditions related to toponyms, see MacDonald, *East of the Jordan*, 188–94. Lipiński (*Aramaeans*, 357–363), following André Lemaire ("Balaʾam/Belaʾ fils de Beʾor," *ZAW* 102 [1990]: 180–87), proposed that this text originally referred to Aramaean places and kings. This is possible for the source of the chapter, but the current context is clearly intended to portray Edomite traditions as the king list ends the Jacob-Esau narratives and the editor must have thought that the list was Edomite. For some possible traditions in Egyptian topographic lists, see Israel Knohl, "Jacob-El in the Land of Esau and the Roots of Biblical Religion," *VT* 67 (2017): 481–84; Tebes, "You Shall Not Abhor an Edomite," 12–16. For the Chronicler's rendition of this list, especially his inclusion of the fact that the last king of Edom, Hadad, died and was not followed by a subsequent king, see Elie Assis, "From Adam to Esau and Israel: An Anti-Edomite Ideology in 1 Chronicles 1," *VT* 56 (2006): 287–302.

38. Knauf, "Edom"; Knauf, "Alter und Herkunft der edomitishchen Königsliste Gen 36, 31–39."

39. Knauf, "Edom," 102–6.

40. Knauf, "Edom," 106.

41. This term is variously translated as "clan," "tribe," or even "duke" and "prince." The word only occurs here, in the parallel version in 1 Chr 1, and in Exod 15:15.

42. Knauf, "Edom," 107.

This is an interesting attempt to deal with the potentially important information in this chapter, but the identification of the place names is tenuous and the leap from the spatial distribution of the sites to an interpretation of centralized control is not convincing, especially when the data are mapped and it becomes apparent that the spatial patterns identified are not clear.[43] Until the places in these lists are more securely identified, it is unlikely that any such interpretation of Gen 36 can move beyond well-informed speculation. The Edomite king list did serve to provide the Priestly editors of Genesis a way to construct the otherness of Edom (note the use of the rare word ʾallûpîm for Edomite rulers) along both socio-political as well as geographical lines.[44]

The names associated with locations in the Edomite king list reappear in the books of Chronicles as the names of Judahite and Simeonite families living in the region of the Negev.[45] The Chronicler's version of the genealogies of Esau (1 Chr 1:34–42) and the Edomite king list (1 Chr 1:43–54) are more prominent than the Genesis version. In Chronicles these lists are placed directly after the genealogy that spans from Adam to Abraham, and the sons of Esau are enumerated prior to the sons of Israel (Jacob) in 1 Chr 2:1–8. This reworking of the brotherhood connection between Judah and Edom did not evoke the theme in order to condemn Edom as other prophetic texts do (namely, Obadiah and Malachi) but to illustrate the close relationship, a relationship that Ehud Ben Zvi and others have labeled the "proximate other."[46] The proximate other is a close connection that can lead to more vehement rejection and condemnation by the in-group that feels slighted. But that construction of the proximate other in Chronicles is not used to denounce Edom but rather to build the relationship that in other prophetic texts was exploited against the Edomites.

---

43. For Knauf's mapping of the places, see "Edom," 116–17 and figs. 2 and 3.

44. Nash, "Edom, Judah, and Converse Constructions," 116–17.

45. Tebes, "You Shall Not Abhor an Edomite," 13–16.

46. Ben Zvi, "Contribution of Chronicles to the Memory Argument About Edom." For this concept Ben Zvi cites Dominic S. Irudayaraj, *Violence, Otherness and Identity in Isaiah 63:1–6: The Trampling One Coming from Edom*, LHBOTS 633 (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2017).

6.2. The Origin of the Prophetic Condemnation of Edom

The portrayal of Edom in the prophetic literature of the Hebrew Bible is that of a neighboring region that was disloyal and duplicitous toward Judah in its time of need, a brother who did not act like one. Edom is consistently condemned for vague, stereotyped atrocities performed against its neighbor. Significantly, specific descriptions of these events are lacking in the major historiographic works of the Hebrew Bible. It is revealing that this perspective is not found in the accounts of Edomite interaction described in the Deuteronomistic History. This detail does have implications not only for understanding the various Judahite perspectives on Edom, but also for the relative chronology of the production of the literature found in the Hebrew Bible. It is necessary, however, to determine what event or series of events precipitated the prophetic condemnations in order to understand better the prophetic accounts and their relationship to the history of Edom. There are four positions concerning the cause of the prophetic condemnations of Edom: a long-standing enmity existed between Judah and Edom; Edom was complicit in the fall of Jerusalem; Edomites settled in the undefended cities of the Negev after the fall of Jerusalem; and an anti-Edomite bias developed in the cult during the exilic period.

6.2.1. Edom as a Long-Standing Enemy of Judah

This position, the main proponent of which is Bartlett, holds that the hostility between Edom and Judah evident in the prophetic texts is due to a history of conquests and rebellions that goes back as far as the occupation of Edom by David in the early biblical monarchic period.[47] Although it was shown above that the witness of many texts that Bartlett uses as evidence for this type of early relationship between the two neighbors is questionable, he considers the texts in the Deuteronomistic History about the reigns of David and Solomon to be accurate historical witnesses. Concerning the prophetic bias against Edom, Bartlett writes, "the roots of this prejudice, and of Judah's hatred of Edom, go back to the monarchic period; the Davidic conquest of Edom and Edom's later successful fight for independence left a legacy of bitterness which turned Edom into the

---

47. This position is explored throughout Bartlett, *Edom and the Edomites*.

archetypal enemy of Judah."[48] Even if Bartlett's characterization is accurate, the texts that he cites emphasize the ruthlessness of David and the kings of Judah. These texts would not likely have evoked the prophetic attacks on Edom.

6.2.2. Edom's Complicity in the Fall of Jerusalem

Several biblical texts are thought by some scholars to suggest that Edom assisted Babylon in attacking Jerusalem. These texts include Obadiah, Ezek 25:12, Joel 4:19, Amos 1:11–12, Lam 4:21, and Ps 137:7.[49] These stereotypical passages vaguely condemn Edom for shedding innocent blood and gloating or boasting over the destruction of Jerusalem, but none of the texts state specific acts performed by Edom or connect their actions with the Babylonian attacks on Jerusalem. Joel 4:19, for example, condemns both Egypt and Edom for "the violence done to Judah when they shed innocent blood in their land" (*mēḥămas bənê yəhûdâ ʾăšer šāpkû dām nāqîʾ bəʾarṣām*). Psalm 137:7 states that the Edomites will face future wrath because they stood by and said, "Tear it down, tear it [Jerusalem] down to its foundations" (*ʿārû ʿārû ʿad haysôd bāh*). The oracle against Edom in Ezek 25 was given because "Edom took revenge on the house of Judah and became guilty by taking revenge" (25:12: *yaʿan ʿăśôt ʾĕdôm binqōm binqōm nāqām ləbêt yəhûdâ wayyeʾšəmû ʾāšôm wəniqqəmû bāhem*). Lamentations 4:22 only states that Yahweh will "punish your sin and expose your wickedness" (*pāqad ʿăwonēk bat ʾĕdôm gillâ ʿal haṭṭotāyik*). The ambiguity of these texts implies that Edom did not come to the assistance of Jerusalem; they even rejoiced at the destruction of Judah and possibly participated in the attacks on Jerusalem. Yet this tradition of Edom's involvement was not present in the earliest description of the fall of Jerusalem (2 Kgs 25; cf Jer 39; 52), appearing primarily in late exilic and postexilic material. These developments suggest that this was a later concern within the postexilic community that prompted what Tebes considered a "culture of resentment" based on the constructed humiliation at the fall of Jerusalem.[50]

---

48. Bartlett, *Edom and the Edomites*, 156–57; Bartlett, "Edom and the Fall of Jerusalem," 15.

49. Each of these texts is discussed in detail below.

50. Tebes addressed this issue in two lengthy articles; see "Edomite Involvement in the Destruction of the First Temple," 219–55; and Tebes, "Memories of Humilia-

6.2.3. Edom Settled in the Negev after the Fall of Jerusalem

More biblical evidence indicates that the Edomites began to occupy some of the southern lands after the sacking of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, towns that were previously under the control of Judah. The main issue of these prophetic texts, especially Ezek 35–36, is the question of who will possess the land upon the return of the Judahite exiles.[51] In Ezek 35:10, Edom is reported to have said, "these two nations and countries will be mine, we will take possession of them" (*ʾet šənê haggôyim wəʾet šəttê hāʾărāṣôt lî tihyeynâ wiyrašnûhā*). According to this verse, the motivation behind the Edomite actions was their desire to possess the land occupied by Judahites. Further support of this position is Obad 19–20, a text that is likely dependent upon Ezek 35:10.[52] The verses read: "(The people of) the Negev will occupy the mountains of Esau and the Shephelah of the Philistines" (*wəyārəšû hannegeb ʾet har ʿēśāw wəhaššəpēlâ ʾet pəlištîm*).

As in the case of the previous position, the support for the hypothesis that Edom was condemned in the prophetic literature because of its occupation of land previously controlled by Jerusalem is not overwhelming. Yet these texts do suggest that the reasons for the condemnation of Edom are more complicated than simply pointing to their lack of assistance and possible encouragement by the Babylonians during the siege of Jerusalem. There were apparently certain elements of Edomite society that saw the Babylonian arrival in the southern Levant as an opportunity to expand their influence and even their territory. It could be that Edomite traders, who had traveled through the northern Negev for centuries, also understood this as a chance to increase their profits. Unfortunately, the biblical evidence is both laconic and ambiguous.

---

tion, Cultures of Resentment," 1–22. See also Elie Assis, "Why Edom? On the Hostility towards Jacob's Brother in Prophetic Sources," *VT* 56 (2006): 1–20.

51. Bert Dicou, *Edom, Israel's Brother and Antagonist: The Role of Edom in Biblical Prophecy and Story*, JSOTSup 169 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1994), 186. Tebes ("You Shall Not Abhor an Edomite," 12–16) presents an alternative on this position, using anthropological theory, archaeology, and biblical references to suggest that this theme originated in the late eighth century BCE when tribes began to migrate to and settle in the Negev. See recently, Bob Becking, "The Betrayal of Edom: Remarks on a Claimed Tradition," *HvTSt* 72 (2016): 1–4.

52. On the literary dependency, see Dicou, *Edom, Israel's Brother and Antagonist*, 186.

6.2.4. Edom in the Exilic Jerusalem Cult

The fourth position regarding the role of Edom in exilic and postexilic prophecy is based on a common literary cycle that is present in many of the oracles against Edom. Ulrich Kellerman, followed by Graham S. Ogden, Bruce Cresson, and Bert Dicou, identified a threefold cycle of motifs in several of the oracles: Israel is restored, the nations are punished, and Edom is finally destroyed.[53] The full cycle is found in Isa 63:1–5, Mic 7:7–10, Ezek 35–36, Obad 1–18, and Lam 4:21–26. A varied pattern is in Isa 34–35, Amos 9:11–12, Obad 19–21, and Mal 1:2–5. According to Kellerman, Edom became Judah's archenemy and remained so within the prophetic literature long after the fall of Jerusalem because Edom was used as a liturgical symbol in the exilic cult to memorialize the destruction of the city and the temple. The impetus for the accumulation of oracles and laments against Edom, what Cresson called the "damn Edom theology," was Ps 60, written shortly after the fall of Jerusalem, and Ps 137, written in the late sixth or early fifth century BCE as a response to the prophetic condemnations of Edom.[54] Elie Assis argues a variant of this theory, suggesting that the prophetic condemnation and postexilic anxiety directed at Edom derived from an existential fear that Edom, the brother, had actually replaced Judah as the favored son and chosen people in Yahweh's eyes. This anxiety led to an ideology promoting the centrality of Judah while emphasizing the end of Edom and its disloyalty to Judah.[55] A related theory, promoted by Gérard Nissim Amzallag, suggests that the sons of Obed-Edom (1 Chr 15:21; 16:38, 42; 26:4–8) were actually a group of priests active in the

---

53. See Ulrich Kellerman, "Der Amosschluss als Stimme deuteronomistischer Heilshoffnung," *EvT* 29 (1969): 169–83; Kellerman, "Erwägungen zum deuteronomischen Gemeindegesetz Dt 23,2–9," *BN* 2 (1977): 33–47; Kellerman, "Erwägungen zum historischen Ort von Psalm LX," *VT* 28 (1978): 56–65; Kellerman, "Psalm 137," *ZAW* 90 (1978): 43–58; Graham S. Ogden, "Prophetic Oracles against Foreign Nations and Psalms of Communal Lament: The Relationship of Psalm 137 to Jeremiah 49:7–22 and Obadiah," *JSOT* 7.24 (1982): 89–97; Bruce C. Cresson, "The Condemnation of Edom in Postexilic Judaism," in *The Use of the Old Testament in the New and Other Essays: Studies in Honor of William Franklin Stinespring*, ed. James M. Efird (Durham: Duke University Press, 1972), 125–48; Dicou, *Edom, Israel's Brother and Antagonist*, 188–96.

54. See Cresson, "Condemnation of Edom in Postexilic Judaism."

55. See Assis, "From Adam to Esau and Israel"; and Assis, "Why Edom," 1–20.

Jerusalem temple during the exile and that many of these anti-Edomite texts were a polemic against their involvement in the postexilic cult.[56]

There are problems with this position, not the least of which is that not all of the texts gathered by the proponents are consistent enough to reconstruct a "cultic cycle." For example, Isa 63:1–5 is not really an oracle only against Edom, but Edom is the final location of Yahweh's violent extermination of the surrounding nations. Also, the diachronic relationships between the texts are unclear and the connection of Edom with the empire of Egypt and Babylon is never explained. Yet this proposition does attempt to explain why Edom was so pervasively and viciously condemned, and it is not as dependent on events described in the Deuteronomistic History, but considers the literary and ideological climate of the Judahite returnees as the primary cause of the condemnations of Edom. It is notable that the oracles against the nations recorded among several prophetic circles were likely composed as a state-sponsored prophecy promoting the polity of Judah, likely written *ex eventu*, possibly after the Babylonian destruction of Jerusalem.[57]

There are elements of at least three of the positions that form the most likely reasons for the negative role of Edom in the prophetic and cultic literature of Judah. There is little evidence, even biblical, to suppose that Edom was a major participant in the Babylonian attack on Jerusalem. Perhaps Edom simply did not come to the aid of its neighbors and so it effectively evaded the fate that came upon Judah, Moab, and Ammon. Subsequent to the exile of many elite Judahites, Edomites possibly began to settle in the region and would have posed a problem to the returning elite of Judah who desired a restoration of its preexilic boundaries, an issue explored in Ezra-Nehemiah. The liturgical use of Edom as an unfaithful neighbor and brother, which began shortly after the fall of Jerusalem, is a productive theory in that it best explains why Edom became a Judahite symbol for a collective enemy.[58] This theory does not necessarily require

---

56. Amzallag's interesting and rather novel theory is dependent on the presence of a vibrant Edomite contingent in Jerusalem during the exilic period. See Gérard Nissim Amzallag, *Esau in Jerusalem: The Rise of a Seirite Religious Elite in Zion at the Persian Period*, CahRB 85 (Pendé: Gabalda, 2015).

57. For the scribal context of oracles against the nations as preludes to the oracles of doom against Judah, see James M. Bos, "The 'Literarization' of the Biblical Prophecy of Doom," in Schmidt, *Contextualizing Israel's Sacred Writing*, 275–76.

58. Ehud Ben Zvi discusses the "generative grammar" of images and memories that develop in postexilic Yehud. His focus is on the memories of Jerusalem and the empires, but Edom as a symbolic memory in the "mindscape" of Yehud is a productive

that the liturgical use of Edom as a symbolic enemy have a grounding in historical reality. The symbol could have been developed within ideological circles. However, those who promote this view do allow for the development of a hatred of Edom within larger society, usually as a result of either complicity with Babylon or expansion into Judahite territory.

6.3. Exilic Communal Laments

One of the earliest expressions of the animosity against Edom in the exilic and postexilic periods is found in several communal laments, poetic texts mourning the destruction of a city. These laments are found in a number of books in the Hebrew Bible. The form-critical term "communal lament" is applied to several psalms (including Pss 44, 60, 74, 79, 80, 83, 85, 90, 94, 123, and 137) and parts of Lamentations (particularly sections of Lam 1–4).[59] These poems typically express collective grief over the destruction of Jerusalem or Zion and appeal to Yahweh to deliver the city, usually these pleas are to the detriment of other peoples like the Egyptians, Babylonians, and in some cases the Edomites.

6.3.1. Psalm 60

Psalm 60 is a communal prayer that is relevant for the history of Edom for two reasons. First, the superscription of the psalm places it in the context of David's wars with Aram-naharaim, Aram-zobah, and Edom and is based on the account in 2 Sam 8 (see the previous chapter). Several details are different: in the superscription of Ps 60 the victory over Edom is attributed to Joab and not David, the number of Edomites slaughtered is six thousand fewer, and the names of the Aramean states are different.[60] Second, the psalm contains an oracle from Yahweh in which he proclaims

concept. See Ben Zvi, "The Yehudite Collection of Prophetic Books and Imperial Contexts: Some Observations," in *Divination, Politics, and Ancient Near Eastern Empires*, ed. Alan Lenzi and Jonathan Stökl, ANEM 7 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2014), 145–69; Ben Zvi, "Edom as a Complex Site of Memory."

59. See the discussion in Adele Berlin, *Lamentations: A Commentary*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002), 22–28; Carleen Mandolfo, "Language of Lament in the Psalms," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Psalms*, ed. William P. Brown (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 114–30.

60. Vivian L. Johnson, *David in Distress: His Portrait through the Historical Psalms*, LHBOTS 505 (New York: T&T Clark, 2009), 123. On the problems of using these

that not only is Judah his possession, but also Moab, Edom, and Philistia.[61] Psalm 60:10 is particularly significant in this regard. Yahweh states that "Moab's sea is my washbasin" (*môʾāb sîr raḥṣî*), "on Edom I throw my shoe" (*ʿal ʾĕdôm ʾašlîk na ʿălî*), and "I will shout in exultation over Philistia" (*ʿālay pəlešet hitrôʿāʿî*). These phrases are declarations of ownership.[62] The next verse is spoken by an unnamed individual and begins a prayer for deliverance. The speaker opens with a question: "Who will bring me to the fortified city, who will escort me to Edom?" (60:11: *mî yōbilēnî ʿîr māṣôr mî nāḥanî ʿad ʾĕdôm*). The meaning of this question is unclear: Does he desire to flee to safety in Edom, as in Jer 40, or does the speaker intend to go to Edom in order to subjugate it? The situation described by the psalm suggests that the speaker wanted to flee to Edom, since 60:3–5 alludes to the fall of Jerusalem and abandonment of the people by Yahweh.[63] The connection in the superscription to the battles of David in 2 Sam 8 might be due to the lack of divine guidance mentioned in the Deuteronomistic version, the attribution of this psalm praising Yahweh's victory to David would serve "to underline the deity's role in the narrative and to accentuate David's piety during his battles."[64] Experts typically date Ps 60 to the exilic period, based largely on the perceived references to Edomite involvement in the destruction of Jerusalem in 60:3–5, but dating scenarios from the Solomonic period to the battles of John Hyrcanus have been proposed.[65]

6.3.2. Psalm 108

Psalm 108 is a communal lament combining two earlier psalms: 108:2–6 alludes to Ps 57:8–12 and 108:7–14 is borrowed from Ps 60:7–14, perhaps

---

superscriptions for historical data, see David Willgren Davage, "Why Davidic Super-scriptions Do Not Demarcate Earlier Collections of Psalms," *JBL* 139 (2020): 67–86.

61. On divine responses in lament literature, see Mandolfo, "Language of Lament in the Psalms," 117.

62. Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Psalm 60–150: A Commentary*, Continental Commentaries (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1989), 5.

63. Kraus, *Psalm 60–150*, 3; Schmid, *Old Testament*, 71.

64. Johnson, *David in Distress*, 123.

65. For a Solomonic context, see Mitchell Dahood, *Psalms: Introduction, Translation, and Notes; Volume 2, Psalms 51–100*, 3rd ed., AB 17 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1968), 76; for a Hasmonean date, see Craig Evan Anderson, "The Politics of Psalmody: Psalm 60 and the Rise and Fall of Judean Independence," *JBL* 134 (2015): 313–32.

the oldest part of the Psalm.[66] The second half of the psalm that alludes to Ps 60 references the section of that psalm that proclaims Yahweh's owner-ship of the lands surrounding Judah, including Edom.[67] This part of the psalm was discussed above with Ps 60, but its inclusion in this psalm and the liturgical context of Ps 108 are both unclear.[68] Knauf understands Ps 108 as the first in a three-psalm collection referencing John Hyrcanus (Pss 108–110), presenting him as a kind of *David redivivus* by incorporating the section of Ps 60 to make that connection explicit.[69] This composite psalm was possibly created as an introduction to this late collection of psalms written in the name of David to accentuate the qualities of military leadership and divine support.[70] The role of Edom in this psalm is mini-mal, and its inclusion within this late collection is likely the result of later writers interpreting the earlier traditions about David found in the books of Samuel.

6.2.3. Psalm 137

Psalm 137 is the only text to explicitly link Edom with Babylon and the destruction of Jerusalem, primarily by providing support for the Babylo-nians.[71] The psalm probably functioned as a communal lament, although it is missing the typical invocation of Yahweh and does have elements

---

66. For the argument supporting the chronological priority of Pss 57 and 60, see Reinhard Müller, Juha Pakkala, and Baster Romeny, *Evidence of Editing: Growth and Change of Texts in the Hebrew Bible*, RBS 75 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2014), 163–74.

67. For the connection of these two psalms, see Ernst Axel Knauf, "Psalm LX und Psalm CVIII," *VT* 50 (2000): 55–65; and Anderson, "Politics of Psalmody," 325–26.

68. Erhard S. Gerstenberger, *Psalms, Part 2, and Lamentations*, FOTL 15 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 253–56; Kraus, *Psalm 60–150*, 333–34. John Ahn ("Psalm 137: Complex Communal Laments," *JBL* 127 [2008]: 271–72) suggests that the psalm has elements of communal laments (137:1–4), a Zion psalm (137:4–6), and a proscrip-tion (137:7–9).

69. Knauf, "Psalm LX und Psalm CVIII"; cf. Anderson, "Politics of Psalmody," 325–26; see also, Lodewyk Sutton, "The Dawn of Two Dawns: The Mythical, Royal and Temporal Implications of Dawn for Psalms 108 and 110," *HvTSt* 73.3 (2017): 1–7; Frank-Lothar Hossfeld and Erich Zenger, *Psalms 3: A Commentary on Psalms 101–150*, trans. Linda Maloney, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2011), 117–18.

70. Müller, Pakkala, and Romeny, *Evidence of Editing*, 175–77.

71. See Bartlett, *Edom and the Edomites*, 153–54.

from other genres of psalms.[72] James L. Mays references this psalm as "the voice of exiles who have returned to live in the ruins of a Jerusalem not yet rebuilt."[73] While Ps 137 was likely composed after the return from exile, the lament is presented from the point of view of a temple musician remembering the destruction of the temple while reliving the memory of exile, from the "waters of Babylon."[74] The suffering of the exiles expressed in this psalm was not the difficulty of daily life in southern Mesopotamia but the alienation from Zion, expressed by the speaker but remembered by the author in the construction of the exilic diaspora.[75]

Psalm 137:7 is the only reference to Edom with a request for Yahweh to remember what Edom did on the day of Jerusalem's destruction. The Edomites are condemned for saying, "Tear (it) down, tear (it) down, to its foundations" (137:7: ʿārû ʿārû ʿad haysôd bāh).[76] Babylon is then cursed in 137:8 and 9 with a blessing for anyone who takes Babylon's children and "dashes them against the rock" (137:9: ʾašrê šeyyō ʾḥēz wənippēṣ ʾet ʿōlāyik ʾel hassālaʿ). Some scholars consider the imprecation of Babylon to be secondary and therefore the blessing would be upon the enemies of Edom, but since the overall setting of the psalm is in Babylon this is unlikely.[77] The cultic setting of Ps 137 is unclear, but form critics consider

---

72. Gerstenberger, *Psalms, Part 2, and Lamentations*, 390, 394; George W. Savran, "'How Can We Sing a Song of the Lord?' The Strategy of Lament in Psalm 137," *ZAW* 112 (2000): 43–58; David W. Stowe, *Song of Exile: The Enduring Mystery of Psalm 137* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016); Daniel Simango, "A Comprehensive Reading of Psalm 137," *OTE* 31 (2018): 229–31.

73. James L. Mays, *Psalms*, IBC (Louisville: John Knox, 1994), 421; for dating, see also Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms 3*, 513–14.

74. For the distinction between author and speaker in the study of psalms, see Adele Berlin, "Speakers and Scenarios: Imagining the First Temple in Second Temple Psalms (Psalms 122 and 137)," in *Functions of Psalms and Prayers in the Late Second Temple Period*, ed. Mika S. Pajunen and Jeremy Penner, BZAW 486 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2017), 341–55; Schmid, *Old Testament*, 113–16.

75. For life in the exile and Ps 137's treatment of it, see Bob Becking, "Does Exile Equal Suffering? A Fresh Look at Psalm 137," in *Exile and Suffering: A Selection of Papers Read at the 50th Anniversary Meeting of the Old Testament Society of South Africa OTWSA/OTSSA, Pretoria August 2007*, ed. Dirk Human and Bob Becking, OTS 50 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 181–202.

76. Simango ("Comprehensive Reading of Psalm 137," 226) suggests this image as portraying Edom like a hyena scavenging the remains of the destruction of the city by the Babylonians.

77. See Gerstenberger, *Psalms, Part 2, and Lamentations,* 393.

it a liturgical psalm that was used in services commemorating the fall of Jerusalem.[78]

6.3.4. Lamentations 4:21–22

The book of Lamentations is a lament over the ruined temple in Jerusalem. It is odd that Edom is the only nation singled out for punishment in the book since Babylon was the primary culprit in the destruction, perhaps because the authors of Lamentations consider Babylon to be Yahweh's tool for punishment of Judah.[79] In Lam 4, a chapter that recounts the experience of the Jerusalem community during the Babylonian siege, Edom is threatened with punishment for its attitude at the time of Jerusalem's destruction.[80] Like other cities in the ancient Near East, Edom's capital Busayra is addressed as "Daughter Edom."[81] They are ironically told to rejoice and be glad (4:21: *śîśî wəśîmḥî bat ʾĕdôm*) for Edom will drink the cup of Yahweh's wrath (4:21: *gam ʿālayik taʿăbār kôs tiškərî wətit ʿārî*). The "cup of wrath" here is passed from Judah to Edom, Daughter Edom will replace Daughter Zion, she will experience destruction while Judah is restored.[82] In 4:22, Edom's future is intertwined with that of Zion (cf. Ezek 35–36; Isa 34–35): in order for the full restoration of Zion to occur, Edom must receive its proper punishment. The punishment of Zion is complete (4:22: *tam ʿăwōnēk*) and Yahweh promises that the exile is over (*lōʾ yôsîp ləhaglôtēk*), but he will still punish Edom and expose its sins (*pāqad ʿăwōnēk bat ʾĕdôm gillâ ʿal haṭṭōʾtāyik*). As in other exilic texts dealing with Edom, Lam 4:21–22 condemns Edom for its attitude when Jerusalem was destroyed and connects the restoration of Zion with the destruction of Edom.

---

78. Gerstenberger, *Psalms, Part 2, and Lamentations*, 394–95.

79. Cf. Gerstenberger, *Psalms, Part 2, and Lamentations*, 471, 473–74, 499.

80. For the context, see Berlin, *Lamentations*, 102; and Bartlett, *Edom and the Edomites*, 151, 157.

81. Gina Hens-Piazza, *Lamentations*, WCS 30 (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2017), 71.

82. Hens-Piazza, *Lamentations*, 72.

6.4. Exilic Prophetic Texts: A Terrestrial Enemy

6.4.1. Jeremiah

The untangling of the composition of the book of Jeremiah is difficult due to the various versions reflected in the Septuagint, the Qumran manuscripts, and the Masoretic Text.[83] The major differences are the length and the order of the text. Regarding the latter, there is a shift of the oracles against the nations, which are placed at the end of the book in the Masoretic tradition (chs. 46–51) but in the middle of the book in the Septuagint tradition (after 25:13). According to Emanuel Tov, the shorter Septuagint version reflects an earlier Hebrew text and the expanded Masoretic version has numerous additions and explanations that date to the late postexilic period.[84]

After a long denunciation of Israel, Jer 9:24–25 (Eng. 9:25–26) compares those who are anatomically circumcised (*mûl bəʿorlâ*)—including Egypt, Judah, Edom, Ammon, and Moab—with the house of Israel which is not spiritually circumcised (*ʿarlê lēb*). The imagery of this verse is that of a partial circumcision, the nations are circumcised, yet retain their foreskins.[85] The collection of these nations could reference an alliance of anti-Babylonian polities in the southern Levant who juxtaposed their shared cultural trait of circumcision against the uncircumcised Babylonians.[86] It is notable that Edom is not singled out in this text or explicitly condemned, a characteristic of later postexilic references to Edom, as deserving of any special punishment based on specific crimes. This text is probably an early reference to Edom, possibly late monarchic, lacking any note of special condemnation.

Jeremiah 25 is a symbolic oracle in which Jeremiah gives a cup of wine symbolizing the wrath of Yahweh (25:15: *kôs hayyayin haḥēmâ*

---

83. Emanuel Tov (*Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 3rd ed. [Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012], 319–27) considers them different recensions. See also Leslie C. Allen, *Jeremiah: A Commentary*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2008), 7–11. For a detailed discussion of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the book of Jeremiah, see Emanuel Tov, "The Jeremiah Scrolls from Qumran," *RevQ* 14 (1989): 189–206.

84. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (3rd ed.), 321.

85. For this imagery, see Allen, *Jeremiah*, 121; and Richard C. Steiner, "Incomplete Circumcision in Egypt and Edom: Jeremiah (9:24–25) in Light of Josephus and Jonckheere," *JBL* 118 (1999): 497–505.

86. Allen, *Jeremiah*, 121.

hazzōʾt) to all of the surrounding peoples, including Edom, Moab, and Ammon in 25:21.[87] The editors of the Masoretic tradition of Jeremiah dated the oracle to the fourth year of Jehoiakim and the first year of Nebuchadnezzar (i.e., 605 BCE). An oracle describing Yahweh's punishment (25:27–38), which was to come by the hand of his "servant" (25:9: *nəbûkadreʾṣṣar melek bābel ʿabdî*) Nebuchadnezzar, follows the long list of peoples whom he planned to destroy. Edom is included among the other groups that were to be destroyed by Yahweh, but specific condemnations for the actions of Edom at the fall of Jerusalem are once again lacking in the text. The "king of Edom" (*melek ʾĕdôm*) also appears in Jer 27:3 as one of the recipients of Jeremiah's symbolic oracle given while he walked through the streets of Jerusalem in chains with a yoke on his shoulders (27:2: *môsērôt ûmoṭôt*).[88]

The book of Jeremiah includes an episode that historians often incorporate to suggest that Judahites fled for refuge to Edom after the destruction of Jerusalem.[89] Jeremiah 40 narrates the appointment of Gedaliah as the Babylonian official in Mizpah.[90] Upon hearing the news that Gedaliah was now ruling over Judah, the Judahites who were in Moab, Ammon, and Edom returned to Mizpah to serve him (40:11–12), in a way fulfilling the

---

87. For this symbol, see Paul R. Raabe, *Obadiah: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 24D (New York: Doubleday, 1996), 206–42; and Carroll, *Book of Jeremiah*, 501–2.

88. Edom appears in both the Masoretic and Septuagint traditions of this textually complicated chapter. See Anneli Aejmelaeus, "Nebuchadnezzar My Servant: Redaction History and Textual Development in Jer 27," in *Interpreting Translation: Studies in the LXX and Ezekiel in Honour of Johan Lust*, ed. Florentino García Martínez and M. Vervenne, BETL 192 (Leuven: Peeters, 2005), 1–18; and Aejmelaeus, "Jeremiah as the Turning-Point of History: The Function of Jer. xxv 1–14 in the Book of Jeremiah," *VT* 52 (2002): 459–82. For sections of the text that may have been added as late as the Ptolemaic period, see Schmid, *Old Testament*, 201–2.

89. Bartlett, "Edom and the Fall of Jerusalem," 18, 23; Bartlett, *Edom and the Edomites*, 151, 154; Miller and Hayes, *History of Ancient Israel and Judah,* 424; Lindsay, "Edomite Westward Expansion," 64. On the use of Jeremiah for historical purposes, see Hans M. Barstad, "Jeremiah the Historian: The Book of Jeremiah as a Source for the History of the Near East in the Time of Nebuchadnezzar," in *Studies on the Text and Versions of the Hebrew Bible in Honour of Robert Gordon*, ed. Geoffrey Khan and Diana Lipton, VTSup 149 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 87–98.

90. Jeffrey R. Zorn, "Tell en-Nasbeh and the Problem of the Material Culture of the Sixth Century," in Lipschits and Blenkinsopp, *Judah and the Judeans in the Neo-Babylonian Period*, 413–47.

promises of chapters 30–31.[91] The passage is contrary to much of the con-
demnation of Edom in the prophetic corpus. Instead of gloating over the
destruction of Jerusalem and inhabiting the lands that were abandoned,
this text indicates that Edom allowed sanctuary for the Judahites who fled
from the destructions of Nebuchadnezzar.

In the section of Jeremiah containing the oracles against the nations
(chs. 46–51), Edom is the subject of the fifth oracle (49:7–22), after Moab
and Ammon. The oracle against Edom is replete with repetitions, liter-
ary allusions to other prophetic texts, and an excess of violence.[92] Leslie
Allen notes that this "medley of three Edomite pieces" are poems supple-
mented by prose conclusions in 49:12–13, 17–18, 22.[93] The accusations
against Edom are vague—the prophet only cited "terror" and "pride"
(49:16: *tiplaṣṭəkā hiššîʾ ʾōtāk zədôn libbekā*) as reasons for Yahweh's dev-
astating threat. The lone hint for the reason of the prophetic condemna-
tion is found in 49:12–14, probably a later addition to the oracle. This
prose insertion records a statement by Yahweh that others were forced to
drink from the cup, so Edom will likewise drink of the same cup: "If those
who do not deserve to drink of the cup must drink of it, why should you
remain unpunished? You will not go unpunished, but you must drink of
it" (49:12: *hinnēh ʾăšer ʾên mišpāṭām lištôt hakkôs šātô yištû wəʾattâ hûʾ
nāqōh tinnāqeh lōʾ tinnāqeh kî šatōh tišteh*). If this text is understood in
conjunction with the symbolic cup of wrath in Jer 25, it is evident that
Edom escaped the punishment by the hand of Nebuchadnezzar when
Jerusalem was destroyed. Yet in 25:29, Yahweh announced that none of
the surrounding peoples could refuse to drink from the cup—punish-
ment was imminent. Jeremiah 49:12–14 indicates that although Edom
avoided the punishment of the others mentioned in chapter 25, pun-
ishment would only be postponed and not avoided entirely. Otherwise,

---

91. Carroll, *Book of Jeremiah*, 705. Ben Zvi ("Edom as a Complex Site of Memory")
notes that texts like this would have contributed to a more complex picture of Edom
for the Yehudian literati.

92. Rhiannon Graybill notes that "the excess of the violence is counter-balanced
by its unoriginality" ("Jeremiah, Sade, and Repetition as Counterpleasure in the
Oracle against Edom," in *Concerning the Nations: Essays on the Oracles against the
Nations in Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel*, ed. Else K. Holt, Hyun Chul Paul Kim, and
Andrew Mein, LHBOTS 612 [London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2015], 137); for Jer 49
as a "patchwork prophecy," see Schmid, *Old Testament*, 38. For detailed literary allu-
sions throughout Jeremiah and lamentation literature, see Allen, *Jeremiah*, 496–98.

93. Allen, *Jeremiah*, 496.

specific accusations for past crimes are lacking; Yahweh even promises to protect Edom's widows and orphans of those who flee (49:11), leading Robert Carroll to state that Jer 49 does not exhibit "serious hostility," though Allen insists that this verse is "a sardonic offer that climactically seals Edom's fate."[94]

Two issues relating to the composition and interpretation of this text are noteworthy. First, Jer 49 and Obadiah share parallels in vocabulary and phraseology that suggest a dependence of one upon the other.[95] In particular, Jer 49:9–10 is parallel to Obad 5–6 and Jer 49:7 is parallel to Obad 7–8.[96] Although there are differences between the texts, the number of similarities is sufficiently substantial to suggest any one of three possible modes of dependence: Jeremiah is dependent on Obadiah, Obadiah is dependent on Jeremiah, or both are dependent on a common tradition or oral source.[97] Paul Raabe and Dicou offer convincing arguments in favor of the priority of Jer 49 and its influence on the oracle in Obadiah.[98] First, Jer 49 does not list specific accusations against Edom in the way that Obadiah does, suggesting that the anti-Edomite bias observable in later texts had not yet developed. Second, Obadiah reused and transformed other texts from Jeremiah (cf. Obad 7 and Jer 38:22) as well as phraseology and imagery from other prophetic and liturgical texts in the Hebrew Bible.[99] Third, if most scholars are correct in dating Obadiah to the late

---

94. Carroll, *Book of Jeremiah*, 803; and Allen, *Jeremiah*, 497.

95. Dicou, *Edom, Israel's Brother and Antagonist*, 60–62.

96. See Raabe, *Obadiah*, 26–28, 30–31

97. For Jeremiah's dependence on Obadiah, see Bartlett, *Edom and the Edomites*, 159–60; for Obadiah's dependence on Jeremiah, see Raabe, *Obadiah*; Dicou, *Edom, Israel's Brother and Antagonist*; Marvin Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2000), 281–84; for a common tradition, see Ehud Ben-Zvi, *A Historical-critical Study of the Book of Obadiah*, BZAW 242 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1996); Carroll, *Book of Jeremiah*, 805.

98. Raabe, *Obadiah*, 28–30; and Dicou, *Edom, Israel's Brother and Antagonist*, 58–73. See also James D. Nogalski, "Not Just Another Nation: Obadiah's Placement in the Book of the Twelve," in *Perspectives on the Formation of the Book of the Twelve: Methodological Foundations—Redactional Processes—Historical Insights*, ed. Rainer Albertz, James D. Nogalski, and Jakob Wöhrle, BZAW 433 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 89–108; repr. in *Book of the Twelve and Beyond*, 115–34.

99. Raabe (*Obadiah*, 31–33) lists adaptations from twenty books, however, they are not all convincing parallels.

exilic period, then it is possible that some version of the Jeremiah oracle, written or oral, was known among the Jerusalem elite.

Second, the text mentions three places that provide information concerning the geographic understanding of Edom at the time of its composition. The geographic references illustrate that during the early sixth century BCE the writers located Edom primarily east of the Wadi Arabah. Bozrah (Busayra) is mentioned twice (49:13, 22) in portions of the chapter that are usually considered an expansion of an earlier, monarchic oracle.[100] Teman is also mentioned in the expanded portions (49:7, 20) as a reference to the southern part of the land of Edom.[101] But the most intriguing place mentioned in the text is Dedan in 49:7 and 8. Dedan is the name given to the al-ʿUla oasis in northwest Arabia, south of Taymaʾ. Significantly, Dedan was located along one of the major trade routes between Arabia and Edom.[102] The borders of Edom certainly did not extend south as far as Dedan. Its inclusion within an oracle against Edom (also in Ezek 25:13) probably illustrates the close association between Edom and Dedan within the world of trading routes during the late Iron Age. Although the reference to Dedan is unclear, the text refers exclusively to the region east of the Arabah as the location of Edom and there is no condemnation of Edom for inhabiting the land of Judah or the Negev.

6.4.2. Ezekiel

The book of Ezekiel is usually attributed to the exilic period, although large portions—the oracles against the nations (chs. 25–32) and the vision for a restored Jerusalem (chs. 40–48)—are typically considered late exilic additions.[103] Edom is condemned twice in the oracles against the nations (25:12–14; 32:39) and its destruction is compared to Israel's restoration in chapters 34 and 35.

There is an explicit condemnation of Edom in Ezek 25, which consists of four oracles against Ammon, Moab, Edom, and Philistia. This text accuses Edom of acting "vengefully" (25:12: *ʿăśôt ʾĕdôm binqōm nāqām* …

---

100. Dicou, *Edom, Israel's Brother and Antagonist,* 95–97; Allen, *Jeremiah,* 497–98.

101. De Vaux, "Teman, ville ou région d'Edom?," 379–85; cf. MacDonald, *"East of the Jordan,"* 193.

102. See Ephʿal, *Ancient Arabs,* 14–15.

103. See Katheryn Pfisterer Darr, "Ezekiel among the Critics," *CurBS* 2 (1994): 9–14 for a review.

niqqəmû bāhem), but the indictment is not specific and similar language is applied to the other nations in the chapters (see 25:3, 6, 8, 15; 26:2).[104] On account of the "vengeful" acts, Yahweh announced that he would "cut off" their men and animals (25:13: *hikrattî mimmennâ ʾādām ûbəhēmâ*), and that the land would be made desolate from Teman to Dedan (25:13: *nətattîhā ḥorbâ mittêmān ûdədāneh*) as in Jer 49.[105] A unique aspect of this text is the announcement that the agent of Yahweh's vengeance would be his people Israel (25:14: *wənātattî ʾet niqmātî be ʾĕdôm bēyad ʿammî yisrāʾēl*).[106]

Ezekiel 32 is a lament over the descent of Egypt to the netherworld where the leaders of many of the surrounding countries reside. The royalty of some major powers is mentioned, including those of Egypt (32:1–20), Assyria (32:22–23), and Elam (32:24–25), as well as the royalty of smaller political entities like Edom (32:29), Sidon (32:30), and the enigmatic Meshech and Tubal (32:26–28). The inclusion of Edom in this list illustrates that its punishment will be the same as that of the other enemies of Israel and Judah.[107] Ezekiel 32:29 states that the kings and leaders of Edom are in the netherworld, or grave, and are to "lie with the uncircumcised, those who go down to the pit" (32:29: *hēmmâ ʾet ʿărēlîm yiškābû wəʾet yōrēdê bôr*). It is unclear why Edom is included with these other regional powers, which were much more threatening than Edom. Lydia Lee suggests that Edom and Sidon were added to heighten the attention on what would happen to Judah.[108]

Ezekiel 34–36 is an announcement of deliverance for Israel (ch. 34), coupled with an announcement of destruction for Edom (as Mount Seir in ch. 35), using conventional threats and reasons for the destruction.[109] The

---

104. Lydia Lee, *Mapping Judah's Fate in Ezekiel's Oracles against the Nations*, ANEM 15 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2016), 59–60.

105. On this threat, called the *krt*-penalty, see Ka Leung Wong, *The Idea of Retribution in the Book of Ezekiel*, VTSup 87 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 164–70. The suffixing verbal forms in these verses refer to future events and are commonly translated here as futures. These forms are typically called the "prophetic perfect." See Waltke and O'Connor, *Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, 489–90.

106. See Walther Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel Chapters 25–48*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983), 18; Walther Eichrodt, *Ezekiel: A Commentary*. OTL (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1970), 361–62.

107. Eichrodt, *Ezekiel*, 440.

108. Lee, *Mapping Judah's Fate*, 174–75.

109. Bartlett, *Edom and the Edomites*, 152–53.

threat against Edom in chapter 35 interrupts the announcement of Yahweh's deliverance (ch. 34) and restoration (ch. 36) of Israel, but the denunciation and destruction of Edom is a necessary component of the deliverance of Israel. Compared to the condemnation of Edom in chapter 25, these oracles against Mount Seir are more elaborate and specific, making Edom the great symbolic enemy of Judah.[110] For this reason, Walther Zimmerli considered chapters 35 and 36 to be later additions, but still produced during the late exilic period.[111] The first section of chapter 35 (vv. 1–4) announced the destruction of Edom in typical terms: Yahweh will stretch out his hand against it (35:3: *nāṭîtî yādî ʿāleykā*) and he will make it a desolation (35:3: *nǝtattikā šǝmāmâ ûmǝšammâ*), which includes the destruction of the cities of Edom (35:4: *ʿāreykā ḥōrbâ ʾāśîm*). The most important elements of information in Ezek 35 are the reasons for the destruction of Edom. First, the Edomites expressed "perpetual enmity" toward Israel and killed the inhabitants of Israel "at the time of their calamity, at the time of their final punishment" (35:5: *tagger ʾet bǝnê yiśrāʾēl ʿal yǝdê ḥoreb beʿēt ʾêdām beʿēt ʿăwōn qēṣ*). From Ezekiel's exilic and postexilic perspective, the author considered that Edom was an active participant in the fall of Jerusalem. The second reason Ezek 35 mentions for the destruction of Edom is because they said, "These two nations and these two countries will be mine and I will take possession of them" (35:10: *ʾet šǝnê haggōyim wǝʾet šǝttê hāʾărāṣôt lî tihyênâ wîrašnûhā*). Apparently, Ezekiel understood the intentions of Edom on the day of the fall of Jerusalem to have been the desire to inhabit the land of Israel and Judah. Although Ezekiel perhaps overstated Edom's role in the destruction of Jerusalem, pastoral and nomadic elements from Edom probably did inhabit enclaves in the Negev. According to Ezek 36, this land will be returned to Israel.

6.4.3. Exilic Components of the Book of the Twelve: Obadiah

The short book of Obadiah is devoted to the themes of Edom's crimes and fate. Scholars expound several proposals for the date and historical setting of the prophecy.[112] The majority of the book was likely composed

---

110. Lee, *Mapping Judah's Fate*, 200.
111. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2*.
112. See Raabe, *Obadiah*, 47–56. For a recent history of interpretation of Obadiah regarding issues related to Esau and Edom, see Anderson, *Brotherhood and Inheritance*, 178–86.

in the second half of the sixth century BCE, although a final appendix (vv. 19–21) describing the restoration of Judah is a postexilic expansion.[113] The book opens with a call to the nations to rise up against Edom because of its pride (vv. 1–4), followed by an announcement that those in league with Edom will act deceitfully (vv. 5–7). The next section is a series of accusations that Edom acted violently against Jerusalem on the day of its destruction (vv. 8–15). Obadiah 16–18 promise a restoration to Judah that also requires the destruction of the nations, including Edom. The final section (vv. 19–21) develops a few common postexilic themes: the restoration of Judah to the land, the return of exiles, and the promise of Yahweh's throne on Mount Zion.

Another structuring element in Obadiah is the "day of Yahweh" motif.[114] After condemning Edom in verses 2–7, an oracle accusing Edom of its actions on the day of Jerusalem's destruction is introduced by the phrase "on that day" (vs. 8: *bayyôm hahû'*) pointing to a future destruction of Edom. The reason for that destruction is provided in verses 11–14, and introduced by the phrase "on the day you stood opposite, on the day when strangers took captive his power" (v. 11: *bəyôm ʿămādəkā minneged bəyôm šəbôt zārîm ḥêlô*). This comment looks to the already accomplished destruction of Jerusalem, which leads to the announcement of the impending "day of Yahweh" (v. 15: *qārôb yôm yhwh*) for all nations.

Historians typically use two passages from the book of Obadiah to describe Edom's role in the destruction of Jerusalem: verse 7 and the list of prohibitions in verses 12–14. In verse 7, the prophet taunts Edom

---

113. Following Raabe, *Obadiah*; and Ben-Zvi, *Historical-critical Study of the Book of Obadiah*. Sweeney (*Twelve Prophets*, 285) posits the following redactional scheme: vv. 8–18 were composed in the time of Ahaziah, vv. 1–7 was added as a reworked version of Jer 49, and vv. 19–21 were appended to reinterpret vv. 16–18. His attempt to connect a core of the book with the monarchic period is unnecessary. It is based largely on the Deuteronomistic History, which did not appear to have detailed sources concerning Edomite history during the ninth century BCE. Assis proposes a threefold division with vv. 1–9 reflecting a period from just before the destruction of the temple, vv. 10–14, 15b narrates the events of the destruction, and vv. 15a, 16–21 articulating the hopes of restoration; see Elie Assis, "Structure, Redaction and Significance in the Prophecy of Obadiah," *JSOT* 39 (2014): 216. Johan Renkema (*Obadiah*, HCOT [Leuven: Peeters, 2003], 38) also argues for the priority of Jeremiah.

114. See James D. Nogalski, "The Day(s) of YHWH in the Book of the Twelve," in *Thematic Threads in the Book of the Twelve*, ed. Paul L. Redditt and Aaron Schart, BZAW 325 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003), 192–213.

with a statement that its allies deceived them. The section of Obadiah from verse 12 through verse 14 focuses on the historical reconstruction of Edom's role in the fall of Jerusalem. However, the phrases applied to the actions of Edom are drawn from traditional, stereotypical prophetic and hymnic condemnations of the enemies of Judah as the following table illustrates.[115]

Table 6.1. Traditional condemnations applied to Edom in Obad 12–14

Action	Parallels
ʾal tēreʾ bəyôm ʾāḥîkā "Do not gaze on the day of your brother"	Pss 54:8; 59:11; 112:8; 118:7
ʾal tiśmaḥ libnê yəhûdâ "Do not rejoice over the Judahites"	Isa 14:8; Ezek 35:15; Mic 7:8; Pss 30:2; 35:19, 24; Prov 24:17
ʾal tagdēl pîkā "Do not open your mouth wide"	Ps 35:21
ʾal tābôʾ bəšaʿar ʿammî "Do not enter the gate of my people"	Ezek 26:10; Lam 4:12
ʾal tēreʾgam ʾattâ bərāʿātô "Do not gaze upon its misfortune"	Pss 54:8; 59:11; 112:8; 118:7
ʾal tišlaḥnâ bəḥêlô "Do not reach out for its wealth"	Lam 1:10
ʾal taʿămōd ʿal happereq "Do not stand at the fork in the road"	No parallels
ʾal tasgēr śərîdāyw "Do not hand over its survivors"	Amos 1:6, 9; Joel 4:4–8

Obadiah does not provide specific information on the actions of Edom at the time of Jerusalem's destruction, although the phrases employed do illustrate that Edom's actions were considered those of an enemy, not a brother, when the day of calamity arrived.

---

115. The construction of the phrases involves ʾal + second-person jussive. On the variety of translation options, see Raabe (*Obadiah*, 177–78) and Ben Zvi (*Historical-critical Study of the Book of Obadiah*, 143–46).

In addition to the possible evidence that Obadiah provides for the reconstruction of Edomite history at the time of the fall of Jerusalem, this short prophecy gives a basic geographic understanding of Edom. Besides the term "Edom" (vv. 1, 8), in verse 3 the people are described as "those who dwell in clefts of the rocks" (*šōkǝnî bǝḥagwê selaʿ*). The name "Teman" also occurs in verse 9 and refers to the southern area of Edom, as in other verses. The most interesting facet of the geographic references in Obadiah is the neologism of "Mount Esau" (vv. 8, 9, 18: *har ʿēśāw*), used because of the references to the eponymous ancestor of Edom (in Obad 6, 18); it was created by a transposition of the *śin* and the *ʿayin* from the more typical phrase "Mount Seir": *śēʿîr* ǁ *ʿēśāw*.[116]

The book of Obadiah demonstrates knowledge of patriarchal traditions also found in Genesis. The text not only mentions Esau, but adds references to the patriarchs Jacob (vv. 10, 17, 18) and Joseph (v. 18) in the phrases *bêt yaʿăqōb* and *bêt yôsēp*, both in parallel to the phrase *bêt ʿēśāw*. There is no evidence that there was knowledge of the specific narratives of Genesis that mention the eponymous ancestors of Israel, Judah, and Edom; however, the reference to these three ancestors does suggest that the traditions were available and expected to be known when this text was written.[117]

6.4.4. Exilic Components of the Book of the Twelve: Amos 1:11–12

Amos is a collection of oracles that range in date from the preexilic period through the postexilic period.[118] Edom is discussed in the opening oracles

---

116. See Raabe, *Obadiah*, 164.

117. Ben-Zvi, *Historical-critical Study of the Book of Obadiah*, 84, 138; Raabe, *Obadiah*, 157.

118. During the middle of the twentieth century some scholars speculated that Amos was influenced by an Edomite wisdom tradition. For that proposal, see Samuel Terrien, "Amos and Wisdom," in *Israel's Prophetic Heritage: Essays in Honor of James Muilenburg*, ed. Bernhard W. Anderson and Walter J. Harrelson (New York: Harper, 1962), 113–14; and Robert H. Pfeiffer, "Edomitic Wisdom," *ZAW* 64 (1926): 13–25. For a recent reevaluation of the connection of Amos to the wisdom tradition, see John L. Mclaughlin, "Is Amos (Still) among the Wise?," *JBL* 133 (2014): 281–303. For an evaluation of the Edomite wisdom hypothesis, see Bradley L. Crowell, "A Reevaluation of the Edomite Wisdom Hypothesis," *ZAW* 120 (2008): 404–16. For a survey of recent research on Amos, see M. Daniel Carroll R., "Twenty Years of Amos Research," *CurBR* 18 (2019): 32–58.

against the nations (specifically in 1:11–12) and in the postexilic epilogue in 9:11–15. The oracle against Edom in 1:11–12, along with the oracles against Tyre and Judah are often considered later additions to the cycle of oracles in chapter 1 because they are linguistically, form-critically, and ideologically dissimilar to the other oracles against the nations.[119] Amos 1:9–12 were possibly added as part of an exilic redaction of four preexilic prophetic collections, eventually contained in the books of Hosea, Amos, Micah, and Zephaniah.[120] It was during this redaction that Book of the Twelve scholars suggest that the books of Joel and Obadiah were also added to the collection.[121]

In this redaction, Edom is still considered one enemy among many others. It was added to the section of Amos that contains the oracles against the nations and may have replaced an earlier oracle against Edom with language and phraseology that specifically tie this oracle with the ending of

---

119. Hans Walter Wolff, *Joel and Amos: A Commentary on the Books of the Prophets Joel and Amos*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977), 135–41; John Barton, *Amos's Oracles against the Nations: A Study of Amos 1.3–2.5*, SOTSMS 6 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 22–23. Jason Radine (*The Book of Amos in Emergent Judah*, FAT 45 [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010], 12–15) regards the oracles against the nations in this chapter to be exilic in origin, except for the oracle against Israel. Tchavdar S. Hadjiev, *The Composition and Redaction of the Book of Amos*, BZAW 393 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009), 42–46 suggests that the oracle against Edom and Tyre are both redactional due to the strong anti-Edomite bias, which he attributes to Edomite behavior during the Babylonian campaigns.

120. Rainer Albertz, "Exile as Purification: Reconstructing the 'Book of the Four,'" in Redditt and Schart, *Thematic Threads in the Book of the Twelve*, 232–51. This stratum of redaction is often referred to as a Deuteronomistic redaction (Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 112). This has been contested by Ehud Ben Zvi ("A Deuteronomistic Redaction in/among 'The Twelve'? A Contribution from the Standpoint of the Books of Micah, Zephaniah and Obadiah," in *Those Elusive Deuteronomists: The Phenomenon of Pan-Deuteronomism*, ed. Linda S. Schearing and Steven L. McKenzie, JSOTSup 268 [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999], 232–61) and responded to by Albertz ("Exile as Purification"). Jason Radine ("Deuteronomistic Redaction of the Book of the Four and the Origins of Israel's Wrongs," in Albertz, *Perspectives on the Formation of the Book of the Twelve*, 287–302) argues that this redactional level lacks the standard Deuteronomistic condemnations and indictments of the Deuteronomistic History.

121. See Paul L. Redditt, "The Formation of the Book of the Twelve: A Review of Research," in Redditt and Schart, *Thematic Threads in the Book of the Twelve*, 12–13, 19–20; Aaron Schart, "The Fifth Vision of Amos in Context," in Redditt and Schart, *Thematic Threads in the Book of the Twelve*, 54–55.

the book of Joel (4:14–21).[122] The circumstances described in 1:11–12 are sometimes considered the fall of Jerusalem; however, the description of Edom's actions in this text cannot be linked with any specific event. Edom is condemned because it "pursued his brother with the sword and cast off his pity" (1:11: ʿal rādpô baḥereb ʾāḥîw wəšiḥēt raḥămāyw), more likely alluding to an early tradition of the Jacob-Esau narratives and later recorded in Genesis than a specific historical event relating to the destruction of Jerusalem.[123] The text apparently condemns Edom for breaking an oath or treaty with its neighbors, presumably Judah. The language used to describe the relationship between Edom and Judah—ʾāḥîw and raḥāmāyw—is political language relating to allies.[124] Perhaps this verse is associated with the anti-Babylonian meeting mentioned in Jer 27. Unfortunately, there is not enough information about that meeting to obtain any definite conclusions.

6.4.5. Discussion of Exilic Oracles

The exilic oracles and laments concerning Edom demonstrate a progression from simple inclusion in the oracles against the nations, where Edom is one of several condemned polities, to longer compositions in which Edom is specifically condemned for participating in the fall of Jerusalem and occupying previously Judahite regions of the Negev. Edom is condemned in the oracles against the nations (Jer 9:25–26; Ezek 25:12–14; 32:20; Amos 1:11–12) for only vague reasons. These texts are dated by many scholars to the early exilic period, probably sometime before 550 BCE. For the later exilic period, the denunciations of Edom became more specific (Obad 1–18; Jer 49:7–22) and at times Edom was condemned for its apparent occupation of the Negev (Ezek 35). The vehement condemnations of Edom in the postexilic period developed out of these oracles and combined the themes of Edomite complicity in the attack on Jerusalem and their occupation of towns in the Negev. In the exilic period, Edom was never used as a symbolic enemy of Judah. Rather, there was a progression from a typical enemy like many others to a specific enemy that acted duplicitously with its neighbor Judah.

---

122. Redditt, "Formation of the Book of the Twelve," 12–13, 19.

123. Tebes, "You Shall Not Abhor an Edomite," 4.

124. See Fishbane "Treaty Background of Amos 1:11"; Sweeney, *Twelve Prophets*, 210; and above.

6.5. Postexilic Prophetic Texts: The Eschatological Enemy

6.5.1. Isaiah 34 and 63

Recent research on the composition and redaction of the book of Isaiah has modified Bernhard Duhm's traditional threefold division of the book into First (chs. 1–39), Second (40–55), and Third (56–66) Isaiah in favor of several layers of redaction that include the insertion of oracles and texts into the earlier layers.[125] This approach posits that Isaiah exhibits a redactional unity, with discrete and identifiable voices that comment on and allude to other texts within the book.[126] Edom is the subject of two major oracles (chs. 34 and 63:1–6), both of which are considered postexilic insertions into earlier material because of their protoapocalyptic tendencies, textual links with the third major redaction (still referred to as Third Isaiah) and the shift from Babylon to Edom as the symbolic enemy of

---

125. See reviews in Christopher R. Seitz, *Zion's Final Destiny: The Development of the Book of Isaiah; A Reassessment of Isaiah 36–39* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 1–35; Seitz, "Isaiah 1–66: Making Sense of the Whole," in *Reading and Preaching the Book of Isaiah*, ed. Christopher R. Seitz (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), 105–26; Marvin A. Sweeney, "Reevaluating Isaiah 1–39 in Recent Critical Research," *CurBS* 4 (1996): 79–113; Sweeney, "The Book of Isaiah in Recent Research," *CurBS* 1 (1993): 141–62; Claire Mathews McGinnis, and Patricia K. Tull, "Remembering the Former Things: The History of Interpretation and Critical Scholarship," in *"As Those Who Are Taught": The Interpretation of Isaiah from the LXX to the SBL*, ed. Claire Mathews McGinnis and Patricia K. Tull, SymS 27 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 1–28; Patricia K. Tull, "One Book, Many Voices: Conceiving of Isaiah's Polyphonic Message," in McGinnis and Tull, *"As Those Who Are Taught,"* 279–314; Matthijs J. de Jong, *Isaiah among the Ancient Near Eastern Prophets: A Comparative Study of the Earliest Stages of the Isaiah Tradition and the Neo-Assyrian Prophecies*, VTSup 117 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 3–50; Jacob Stromberg, *An Introduction to the Study of Isaiah*, T&T Clark Approaches to Biblical Studies (New York: T&T Clark, 2011).

126. This approach owes much to Brevard Childs's canonical approach (*Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979], 311) elaborated by his students. See Seitz, *Zion's Final Destiny*; and Seitz, "Isaiah 1–66." For reviews, see Benjamin Sommer, "Allusions and Illusions: The Unity of the Book of Isaiah in Light of Deutero-Isaiah's Use of the Prophetic Tradition," in *New Visions of Isaiah*, ed. Roy F. Melugin and Marvin A. Sweeney, JSOTSup 214 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1996), 186; and Tull, "One Book, Many Voices," 284–89.

Zion.[127] Isaiah 34–35, probably an originally unified work, describes Yahweh's vengeance on the nations (34:1–5), his rampage in and devastation of Edom (34:6–15), and the ultimate restoration of Israel (ch. 35).[128] The fates of Edom and Zion are here presented as intertwined: for instance, the environmental destruction in Edom (34:9–17) is answered with the revival of the desert in Zion (35:1–10).[129] Isaiah 34 is a prophetic oracle that is ultimately fulfilled in 63:1–6. It was probably included in the book of Isaiah to anticipate and offer hope for a larger, eschatological restoration similar to the way Babylon is treated in chapters 14 and 47.[130] These oracles illustrate the symbolic nature of postexilic references to Edom in the literature of the Hebrew Bible.

Isaiah 34 begins with an announcement of Yahweh's anger against Edom and a description of their future destruction (34:1–5).[131] The sword of Yahweh then turns to Edom to perform a "sacrifice in Bozrah and a great slaughter in the land of Edom" (34:6: *zebaḥ layhwh bəboṣrâ … ṭebaḥ gādôl bəʾereṣ ʾĕdôm*). The day of Yahweh's vengeance is announced as Edom is threatened with a fate similar to that of Sodom and Gomorrah (34:8–10).[132] The resulting desolate land will become the habitation of desert animals, thorny bushes, and demonic beasts (34:11–15). The next chapter turns to Zion, where a transformation of its desolate land into a lush and flourishing region is described.

The announcement and description of slaughter in 34:6 is vividly fulfilled in Isa 63:1–6 in an episode portrayed as a dialogue between the prophet and Yahweh.[133] This portion of Third Isaiah is often considered a

---

127. Peter D. Miscall, *Isaiah 34–35: A Nightmare/A Dream*, JSOTSup 281 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999); Stromberg, *Introduction to the Study of Isaiah,* 14–15. For the textual difficulties arising from the Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa^a), see the literature cited by Drew Longacre, "Developmental Stage, Scribal Lapse, or Physical Defect? 1QIsa^a's Damaged Exemplar for Isaiah Chapters 34–66," *DSD* 201 (2013): 17–50.

128. Claire R. Mathews, *Defending Zion: Edom's Desolation and Jacob's Restoration (Isaiah 34–35) in Context*, BZAW 236 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995), 11–13, 135–36.

129. Patricia K. Tull, *Isaiah 1–39*, SHBC (Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2010), 503–5.

130. See Mathews, *Defending Zion*, 66–67, 165, 178.

131. Schmid suggests that due to the global perspective of 34:2–4, those verses were inserted into an earlier oracle against Edom during the Ptolemaic periods (*Old Testament*, 200–201).

132. Mathews, *Defending Zion*, 62–64.

133. See Bernard Grosse, "Isaïe 34–35: La chatiment d'Edom et des nations, salut pour Sion," *ZAW* 102 (1990): 396–404; Grosse, "Detournement de la vengeance du

later insertion, largely because the vivid and violent portrayal of Yahweh conflicts with the notions of the broadly salvific understanding of him in Third Isaiah, but the literary and lexical allusions to the surrounding material are extensive.[134] This scene could also be a response to Ps 60; it reuses vocabulary and images like Yahweh "treading" the people and Edom being drunk.[135] Yahweh is portrayed as a warrior returning from Edom in garments covered with blood (63:1: *mî zeh bāʾ mē ʾĕdôm ḥămûṣ bəgādîm mibboṣrâ*). In response to a question concerning his red garments, Yahweh responds that he trampled the nations in Edom because the "day of vengeance" was in his heart (63:4: *yôm nāqām bəlibbî*) and his "year of redemption arrived" (63:4: *šənat gəʾûlay bāʾâ*). It is notable that this scene merely describes Edom as the last stop of Yahweh's vengeful journey through the nations; after 63:1 Edom is replaced by the generic "peoples."[136] These phrases link the text with 34:8, which states that it is the "day of Yahweh's retribution" (63:8: *yôm nāgām layhwh*) and the "year of vindication for Zion" (*šənat šillûmîm lərîb ṣîyôn*). Edom is not necessarily the only object of Yahweh's rage in this text; rather, Yahweh is portrayed as defeating the nations and Edom is his last stop on the march to Zion.[137]

Seigneur contre Edom et les nations en Isa 63, 1–6," *ZAW* 102 (1990): 105–10; Stromberg, *Introduction to the Study of Isaiah*, 47–48. For an inner biblical interpretation of this passage in Mic 2:12–13, see Jan A. Wagenaar, "'From Edom He Went up…': Some Remarks on the Text and Interpretation of Micah ii 12–13," *VT* 50 (2000): 531–39; Shalom M. Paul, *Isaiah 40–66: Translation and Commentary*, ECC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012), 560–68.

134. See, e.g., Claus Westermann, *Isaiah 40–66: A Commentary*, OTL (London: SCM, 1969), 384; Paul A. Smith, *Rhetoric and Redaction in Trito-Isaiah: The Structure, Growth and Authorship of Isaiah 56–66*, VTSup 62 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 43. For a history of research on this exegetical conflict, see Abraham Sung-Ho Oh, *Oh, That You Would Rend the Heavens and Come Down! Eschatological Theology in Third Isaiah (Isaiah 56–66)* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2014), 92–98; Paul Niskanen, *Isaiah 56–66*, Berit Olam (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2014), 69–70.

135. Denise Dombkowski Hopkins, *Psalms: Books 2–3*, WCS 21 (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2016), 137; Graham S. Ogden, "Psalm 60: Its Rhetoric, Form, and Function," *JSOT* 31 (1985): 83–94.

136. Niskanen, *Isaiah 56–66*, 71.

137. Mathews, *Defending Zion*, 80–86.

6.5.2. Postexilic Components of the Book of the Twelve: Obadiah 19–21

Obadiah 19–21 is a postexilic addition to the short prophetic oracle, a dia-
chronic estimation that is even accepted by those who are more interested
in the book's final form.[138] The preceding verses promise victory to Israel
and Judah (vv. 16–18), but verses 19–21 expand upon that theme with a
promise to the exiles that they will possess the land of Edom as well as other
surrounding territories. The most difficult interpretive problem with this
text is the subject of the verb in the opening phrase that reads *yārəšû han-
negeb ʾet har ʿēśāw* (v. 19). The simplest reading is to consider "(Those of)
the Negev" to be a collective noun with a plural verb (*ʾet* marking the accu-
sative). The translation would be "(Those of) the Negev will possess Mount
Esau."[139] However, this reading contradicts verse 20, which states that the
exiles will possess the cities of the Negev (*gālūt haḥēl hazzeh … yirəšû ʾet
ʿārê hannegeb*). This observation, combined with other historical and bibli-
cal evidence that Edom possessed parts of the Negev in this period, led to
the suggestion that the subject of the verb should be *bêt yaʿăqōb* and *bêt
yôsēp* from verse 18. In this reading "Negev" is the accusative and *ʾet har
ʿēśāw* is considered an explanatory gloss.[140] The first reading is grammati-
cally supported, and is corroborated by all of the ancient versions.[141] This
perspective, that Judahites inhabit the Negev and will eventually possess
Edom, is also in keeping with the restoration theme promulgated among
the elite of Yehud upon their return to the land of Judah.

6.5.3. Postexilic Components of the Book of the Twelve: Amos 9:11–15

There were several stages of redaction to the fifth vision of Amos in chap-
ter 9.[142] As for the postexilic addition in 9:11–15, Aaron Schart calls this

---

138. Ben Zvi, *Historical-critical Study of the Book of Obadiah*, 228–29.

139. Ben Zvi (*Historical-critical Study of the Book of Obadiah*, 199–204, 210–11)
and Raabe (*Obadiah*, 257–59) understand the text this way.

140. On this reading, see Ben Zvi, *Historical-critical Study of the Book of Obadiah*,
204–6.

141. See Raabe, *Obadiah*, 257–59.

142. See Schart, "Fifth Vision of Amos in Context"; and Wilson, *Kingship and
Memory in Ancient Judah*, 215–16. On this passage, see also Radine (*Book of Amos
in Emergent Judah*, 189–209), who argues that the "booth of David" refers to the
temple and not the Davidic boundaries and that the reference to Edom is as a ste-
reotypical enemy.

the "Restitution Layer." Schart saw this addition as an attempt by a redactor to interpret the vision in 9:1–10 as an oracle, possibly added by a Deuteronomistic redactor, that referred to the Babylonian destruction of Jerusalem.[143] The addition opens with a promise of restoration for the "fallen booth of David" (9:11: *ʾāqîm ʾet sukkat dāwîd hannōpelet*). This is the only use of this metaphor in the Hebrew Bible and it is difficult to define precisely. Schart suggests that it refers to a minimal version of the borders of the Davidic dynasty that is referred to as the "House of David" (*bêt dāwîd*) elsewhere.[144] The result of the Davidic restoration is that "they may possess the remnant of Edom" (9:12: *ləmaʿan yîrəšû ʾet šəʾērît ʾĕdôm*).

The "remnant of Edom" (cf. 1:8 and 5:5) does not mean that Edom only possessed a portion of its traditional territory, but that part of Edom was in the territory of Judah and this population must be removed for the Davidic dream to be realized. Edom is not only one nation among others that must be repossessed by Judah for the realization of the restoration announced; rather, it appears as the head of "all the nations once called by my name" (9:12: *wəkŏl haggôyim ʾăšer niqrāʾ šəmî*). In Amos 9, Edom is not the symbolic eschatological enemy that must be destroyed before the restoration of Zion can occur. It is the nation that symbolically represents the others that once belonged to the biblical Davidic boundaries. The postexilic nature of this text is secure because it includes the notion of Davidic restoration. The event is placed into the distant future with the introductory phrase "in that day" (9:11: *bayyôm hahûʾ*).[145]

6.5.4. Postexilic Components to the Book of the Twelve: Joel 4:19–21

The book of Joel is a postexilic prophecy, although the section under consideration here is usually considered an even later addition due to the

---

143. Wolff (*Joel and Amos*, 352–53) argues that this addition is thoroughly Deuteronomistic. Sweeney (*Twelve Prophets*, 273) is the only modern commentator to connect this text with the attempt of Uzziah to reestablish Judahite control over Edom (cf. 2 Kgs 14:21–22).

144. Schart, "Fifth Vision of Amos in Context," 58–59; cf. Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 353.

145. Note that some experts in the Book of the Twelve suggest that this chapter employs the redactional technique of catchwords to connect the ending of Amos with the following book of Obadiah. See Redditt, "Formation of the Book of the Twelve: A Review of Research," 12–13; Nogalski, "Day(s) of YHWH in the Book of the Twelve," 207.

numerous allusions in the book to other late literature.[146] The oracles in
chapter 4 draw on the descriptions of Judah's battles with the surrounding
nations during the reign of Jehoshaphat, an account that is only recorded
in the 2 Chr 20 version, and in the description of Edom's actions in the
book of Obadiah.[147] The destruction of Edom is not in its usual context of
judgment against the nations (4:1–16), rather it serves as a necessary ele-
ment preceding the restoration of Zion (4:18–21). The brief passage pairs
Egypt and Edom as the enemies of Judah who will be destroyed during
Yahweh's defense of Zion. Egypt will become "desolation" (4:19: *šəmāmâ*)
while Edom will be a "desolate wilderness" (4:19: *midbar šəmāmâ*). The
reason for the impending destruction is the "violence" (4:19: *mēḥămas*)
that was done to Judah where "(the Edomites) shed innocent blood"
(4:19: *ʾăšer šāpəkû dām nāqîʾ bəʾarṣām*). The crimes that Edom and Egypt
are accused of in Joel are again vague, derived from the prophetic tradi-
tion of condemnation of both Edom and Egypt.[148] Moreover, Edom is
probably mentioned in this text because the book of Obadiah was one
of the primary source texts that was used in the composition of Joel 3
and 4.[149] As evident in a number of texts already described, in Joel 4 the
restoration of Zion became contingent upon the destruction of Edom.

6.5.5. Postexilic Components of the Book of the Twelve: Malachi 1:2–5

The book of Malachi, undoubtedly of postexilic origin, is structured in
the form of a question (or contested statement) and response format,
reminiscent of Mesopotamian disputation literature.[150] The first oracle is

---

146. See Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 4–5; Sweeney, *Twelve Prophets*, 149–51, who dates
the book to the end of the fifth or beginning of the fourth century BCE. See John
Barton, *Joel and Obadiah: A Commentary*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox,
2001), 5–27 for a recent argument for a late postexilic context. He suggests that there
are allusions in the second part of Joel to Ptolemy Soter and that these oracles are a
"kind of anthology of late Hebrew prophecy" (p. 111). In this regard, Barton follows
Marco Treves, "The Date of Joel," *VT* 7 (1953): 149–56.

147. Sweeney, *Twelve Prophets*, 176–178; Marvin A. Sweeney, "The Place and
Function of Joel in the Book of the Twelve," in Redditt and Schart, *Thematic Threads
in the Book of the Twelve*, 146–48.

148. Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, 84.

149. Sweeney, "Place and Function of Joel," 147.

150. See Rainer Kessler, "Jakob und Esau als Brüderpaar in Mal 1,2–5," in *Diasyn-
chron: Beiträge zur Exegese, Theologie und Rezeption der Hebräischen Bibel; Walter*

a statement from Yahweh to Israel that "I have loved you" (1:2: *ʾāhabtî ʾetkem*). In order to prove his love for Israel, Yahweh commented that he "hated Esau" (1:2: *wəʾet ʿēśāw śānēʾtî*) and illustrates his hatred with a series of descriptions of the desolation of Edom: he made the hill country of Edom a "desolation" and a "desert for jackals" (1:3: *šəmāmâ … tannôt midbār*). Even if Edom attempted to rebuild its ruins, Yahweh announced that he would tear them down again (1:4: *ʾănî ʾehĕrôs*). It is notable that this text describes the devastation of Edom as an already accomplished fact, placing the composition of the oracle sometime after Edom had ceased to exist as a political entity.[151]

Edom is the only foreign nation mentioned in the book of Malachi and it functions in the oracle as proof of Yahweh's love for Judah. In its context within the Book of the Twelve, Mal 1:2–5 fulfills Yahweh's condemnation of Edom in Joel 4:19.[152] It does not function as a symbol, or even as a specific nation isolated for punishment; rather, the text draws on the Priestly traditions of Genesis to connect Edom with the patriarchal ancestor Esau. In addition to the allusions to the Esau and Jacob narratives found in Genesis, the oracle also draws upon the imagery of the destruction of Edom in Isa 34.[153]

———

Dietrich zum 65. Geburtstag, ed. Thomas Naumann and Regine Hunziker-Rodewald (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2009), 209–29; Kessler, *Maleachi*, HThKAT (Freiburg am Breisgau: Herder, 2011), 105–10; Andrew E. Hill, *Malachi: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 25D (New York: Doubleday, 1998), 145–48. Regarding the date of composition, most place it after 515 BCE due to the references to a functioning temple in Jerusalem (1:10; 3:1, 10). See Fanie Snyman, *Malachi*, HCOT (Leuven: Peeters, 2015), 1–7; and Kessler, *Maleachi*, 76–87 for recent debates about the date of Malachi.

151. Bartlett, *Edom and the Edomites*, 160–61. For an attempt to reread this text as a validation for Edom and a critique of the Yehudite priests using the "hermeneutic of vulnerability," see Gerrie F. Snyman, "A Hermeneutic of Vulnerability: Edom in Malachi 1:2–5," *JSem* 25 (2016): 595–629.

152. Ruth Scoralick, "The Case of Edom in the Book of the Twelve: Methodological Reflections on Synchronic and Diachronic Analysis," in Albertz, *Perspectives on the Formation of the Book of the Twelve*, 47–48.

153. Note that some suggest that Mal 1:1–14 demonstrates knowledge of the book of Obadiah and has numerous linguistic parallels with Zech 8:9–23. See Nogalski, "Day(s) of YHWH in the Book of the Twelve," 212; Redditt, "Formation of the Book of the Twelve," 12–13.

6.5.6. Discussion of Edom in Postexilic Prophecy

By way of summary, Edom in the postexilic oracles is often represented as the symbolic enemy of Judah. The oracles position Edom at the head of the other nations and it must be destroyed in order for Judah to be completely restored. Edom is no longer condemned for specific actions against Judah as it was in the Deuteronomistic History when its leaders rebelled against the kings of Judah and its ultimate destruction is destined for the day of Yahweh, which according to several of these texts will take place in conjunction with the restoration of Zion. In very late texts, like Mal 1, Edom's destruction is portrayed as a completed act in the past and provides the necessary proof that Yahweh still supports Israel and Judah.

6.6. A Map of Edom in the Biblical Texts

Although there are numerous references to a historical entity named Edom in the Hebrew Bible, many of them date to a period after the collapse of the Edomite polity in the late Iron II or even into the Persian period. At some point after the fall of Jerusalem, the Judahite writers of these texts developed an intense antipathy toward Edom. Many scholars point to the participation of Edom with the Babylonians in the attack on Jerusalem, but it is likely that these texts also derive from a time when Edomites began to inhabit the region of the Negev on the southern edge of the Judahite homeland, what would become the Persian province of Yehud. This perceived encroachment on Judahite territory explains the violent imagery of texts like Isa 34, 63, and Ps 137, as well as the more subdued but total condemnations of Edom in the prophecy of Obadiah.

Texts that describe an ancient Edom of distant antiquity are found in the narratives of the Pentateuch and the Deuteronomistic History. These texts cannot be used to reconstruct the history of a political entity known as Edom that existed in the Early Iron Age. Rather they chart the history of the Judahite concept of Edom in memory and tradition. The narratives of Esau and the different versions of the encounter of Israel with Edom literarily set during the exodus from Egypt were composed by authors living in the Babylonian exile or later who projected their contemporary understanding of Edom back into their foundation narratives and infused those stories about the distant past with their own ideological concerns. These texts display the themes of Edomite duplicity as well as Judahite anxiety

about the land that were prevalent during and after the Babylonian attacks and the exile of some of the Judahite elite.

The texts from the Deuteronomistic History hold the most promise for historical purposes. The Deuteronomistic authors and redactors, who possibly used some monarchic sources that preserved some information about the Judahite kings, tell of numerous encounters between Judah and Edom. It is notable that the Deuteronomists did not share the perspective of the other biblical sources. While other sources portrayed Edom as an aggressive enemy of Judah, the Deuteronomists rather consistently considered it a neighboring polity that had once been controlled by Judahite rulers. Edom's only error, according to the Deuteronomistic traditions, was rebelling against Judah during the reign of Jehoram. The following references to Edom in the Deuteronomistic History often are concerned with the ability of Judahite kings to maintain control of areas within Edom, which may have been a literary and ideological ploy to illustrate royal infidelity to Yahweh. Recent theories concerning the Aramean attempt to control Edomite copper production in order to constrain its output and access to markets could have led to memories or constructions expressed by the Deuteronomists regarding Judahite attempts to control that resource as well.

The texts in the prophetic literature that contain oracles against Edom all derive from a period after the fall of Jerusalem, but there is a progression that can be observed in the emerging images depicting Edom in these oracles. The early exilic prophetic oracles, like Jer 9 and Amos 1, consider Edom one of several territories that deserve condemnation. These texts offer vague, stereotypical accusations and threats. Later in the exilic period the prophetic condemnations become more specific, focusing on Edom's participation in the fall of Jerusalem and the occupation of the Negev. Edom only achieved a role as a symbolic enemy in the postexilic period when Edom appeared as the lead nation aligned against Yahweh in contemporary prophetic oracles. This prophetic focus on Edom could relate to postexilic anxieties about the occupation of the land and perhaps even the status of Yehud as the chosen nation of Yahweh, over against Edom, described as the sons of Esau. Edom retained this role of symbolic enemy in Jewish literature even into the medieval period.[154]

---

154. See Solomon Zeitlin, "The Origin of the Term Edom for Rome and the Roman Church," *JQR* 60 (1970): 262–63; Louis H. Feldman, "Rabbinic Insights on the Decline and Forthcoming Fall of the Roman Empire," *JSJ* 31 (2000): 275–97.

Yet the Yehudian literati in the postexilic period also produced more ambivalent material about Edom. The authors of the books of Chronicles seem to have actively emphasized the kinship of Esau and the Edomites, while treating the episodes of conflict as between Judah and a variety of other nations. Edom did not appear to be an isolated symbolic enemy in this text that was written by scribes who likely had access to the Deuteronomistic History, the writings about Jacob and Esau, as well as many of the more vehement prophetic condemnations. The Chronicler's vision of Edom suggests that the ideological stance within postexilic Yehud was diverse and complex on issues related to Edom.

Most significant for this study is the estimation of the historical validity of some of the biblical stories for the history of Edom. As discussed in the previous chapter, some historical data might be found in texts that are likely derived from annalistic documents, like the reference to the rebellion of Edom against Jehoram in 2 Kgs 8:20–22. But many of these texts demonstrate little or no specific knowledge of the preexilic history of Edom: specific kings are not named in the sources, only a few of the major sites of Edom are mentioned (Ezion-geber/Elath, Bozrah, possibly Sela), and the chronology of collective settlement and the institution of the monarchy are placed centuries before the dates that archaeology and history, in particular Assyrian texts, actually confirm. It is also significant that when Edomite kings do correlate with Judahite kings in the Iron II Assyrian texts (Ayyarammu // Hezekiah, Qaus-gabar // Manasseh) there are no corresponding narratives in the Hebrew Bible describing any interaction between Edom and Judah. The repeated textual confusion in the Deuteronomistic History and other texts between Aram and Edom could in fact, relate to the likely interventions of Aram in the copper-ladened regions to stifle and block Edomite copper from accessing the larger Mediterranean markets, but with the difficult text-critical and historical problems, this reconstruction is approximate at best. Substantial information concerning the history of Edom can be found in the prophetic books that identify Edom as a participant in the destruction of Jerusalem on the occasion of Nebuchadnezzar's invasion. Although the descriptions are stylized and traditional, it appears that Edom at least did not come to the aid of Judah and probably used the destruction of Jerusalem and exile of the Judahite elite as an opportunity to settle in the Negev.

Overall, the texts of the Hebrew Bible provide reliable data at several points for understanding the history and society of Iron Age Edom. Although some of the later stories may reflect events and interactions

between Edom and Judah, the ideological and literary use of Edom within the Deuteronomistic History suggests that most such texts were Deuteronomistic editorial comments and not accounts reported in the sources used by the author. This confirms that accounts about Edom in the Hebrew Bible must be interpreted in conjunction with data derived from archaeology and extrabiblical texts and that in many cases the authors of the biblical texts had interests and motivations competing with those associated with reporting past historical developments of and interactions with a minor neighboring polity like Edom.

7

Economic Transformations in Edom

As the previous chapters indicate, the period of settlement expansion on the Edomite plateau coincided with the time of the Assyrian Empire's extension of dominance into the southern Levant in the eighth and seventh centuries BCE. This period of florescence in the Edomite highlands, however, was also related to the previous industrial and economic growth in the Wadi Faynan. In what follows, the development of the economy in Edom, and the role of the Assyrian Empire in that development by stimulating settlement and economic incentives in the marginal areas of the empire with limited resources will be explored. Similar economic processes transpired when Assyria extended its presence, for instance, in the upper Tigris River Valley. There the empire expanded the regional economy and increased the demand for resources, bringing those areas into the empire's increasingly connected and complex global economy.[1] Other polities in the southern Levant such as Ammon, Moab, and Judah similarly encountered extensive transformations when the Assyrians arrived, but retained semiautonomous rule.

The economy of the region is particularly important for understanding the development of the Edomite polity. Assyria did not annex or occupy Edom, and its impact on the material culture was minimal (see ch. 9). Assyria did, however, play a significant role in stimulating the economy, and this mode of indirect impact influenced the social and political organizational structures in Edom. Two major stimuli for economic growth in Edom during the Iron Age were copper mining in

---

1. Bradley J. Parker, *The Mechanics of Empire: The Northern Frontier of Assyria as a Case Study in Imperial Dynamics* (Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2001). For an important reflection on the role of empires in expanding and changing economic networks, see Matthew P. Fitzpatrick, "Provincializing Rome: The Indian Ocean Trade Network and Roman Imperialism," *JWH* 22 (2011): 27–54.

the tributary wadis of the Arabah and the trade routes that traversed Edom from the Arabian Peninsula to the Mediterranean Sea in the west and to Moab and Ammon in the north. These developments within the Edomite economy gave the rulers in Busayra new methods and resources to increase their internal and regional status, as demonstrated by the production of prestige goods, notably the acquisition of various Indo-Pacific shells and production of high-value goods from those shells. Furthermore, the consolidation of economic and political power coincided with significant transformations in the religious structures of Edom that are explored at length in the next chapter.

7.1. Copper Mining in Edom

Although iron was the primary metal used for weapons and tools during the Iron Age, copper and its main alloy, bronze, remained important commodities for the Levant and other nearby developing polities, particularly for luxury and decorative pieces.[2] One of the largest copper deposits in southwest Asia was located near the Wadi Arabah, and exploitation of those deposits increased dramatically during the Iron I and early Iron II periods. The empires of the time acquired copper from whatever locations were convenient and acquiescent. The Egyptians of the Late Bronze Age obtained copper sources from mines in Cyprus, Oman, the Sinai, but also from the Arabah, especially from the mines at Timna.[3] The Assyrian

---

2. P. R. S. Moorey, "Bronzeworking Centres of Western Asia c. 1000–539 BC: Problems and Perspectives," in *Bronzeworking Centres of Western Asia c. 1000–539 B.C.*, ed. John Curtis (London: Kegan Paul, 1988), 25–26. For copper centers east of Mesopotamia that would have been accessible to the expanding Assyrian Empire, see Christopher Peter Thornton, "The Emergence of Complex Metallurgy on the Iranian Plateau: Escaping the Levantine Paradigm," *JWP* 22 (2009): 301–27. For the shift from bronze to iron and the continued use of copper during the Iron Age, see Naama Yahalom-Mack and Adi Eliyahu-Behar, "The Transition from Bronze to Iron in Canaan: Chronology, Technology, and Context," *Radiocarbon* 57 (2015): 285–305.

3. Frederik W. Rademakers, Thilo Rehren, and Ernst Pernicka, "Copper for the Pharaoh: Identifying Multiple Metal Sources for Ramesses' Workshops from Bronze and Crucible Remains," *JAS* 80 (2017): 50–73; Ali Abdel-Motelib et al., "Archaeometallurgical Expeditions to the Sinai Peninsula and the Eastern Desert of Egypt (2006, 2008)," *Metalla* 19 (2012): 3–59; Erez Ben-Yosef, "Provenancing Egyptian Metals: A Methodological Comment," *JAS* 96 (2018): 208–15; Avner, "Egyptian Timna—Reconsidered," 103–62; Omri A. Yagel, Erez Ben-Yosef, and Paul T. Craddock, "Late Bronze

homeland obtained most of its copper from mines and production centers in North Syria, Anatolia, Iran, and possibly Cyprus.[4] Assyrian tribute lists confirm that large amounts of copper were transferred to the Assyrian center from various polities in those areas.[5] Greece and the Mediterranean polities relied on several copper deposits including Cyprus, Sardinia, and mines in the Alps.[6]

On the southeastern Mediterranean coast, however, the metal deposits along the Wadi Arabah were one of the most important sources for the raw material for copper and bronze products in the southern Levant and northwest Arabia.[7] Numerous recent provenience studies suggest

––––––––––––––

Age Copper Production in Timna: New Evidence from Site 3," *Levant* 48 (2016): 33–51.

4. Irene J. Winter, "North Syria as a Bronzeworking Centre in the Early First Millennium BC: Luxury Commodities at Home and Abroad," in Curtis, *Bronzeworking Centres of Western Asia*, 202–4; James D. Muhly, "Mining and Metalwork in Ancient Western Asia," *CANE* 3:1501–6; Daniel T. Potts, *Mesopotamian Civilization: The Material Foundations*, Athlone Publications in Egyptology and Ancient Near Eastern Studies (London: Athlone, 1997), 165; Anna Cannavò, "The Role of Cyprus in the Neo-Assyrian Economic System: Analysis of the Textual Evidence," *RSF* 35 (2007): 181.

5. Gerfrid G. W. Müller, "Gedanken zur neuassyrischen 'Geldwirtschaft,'" in *Assyrien im Wandel der Zeiten: XXXIXe Recontre Assyriologique Internationale, Heidelberg, 6–10 Juli 1992*, ed. Hartmut Waetzoldt and Harald Hauptmann, HSAO 6 (Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag, 1997), 115–22.

6. Moritz Kiderlen et al., "Tripod Cauldrons Produced at Olympia Give Evidence for Trade with Copper from Faynan (Jordan) to South West Greece, c. 950–750 BCE," *JASR* 8 (2016): 307–9. For recent developments regarding archaeological improvements to the understanding of Mediterranean trade, see Erez Ben-Yosef, "Archaeological Science Brightens Mediterranean Dark Age," *PNAS* 116 (2019): 5843–45.

7. During the Iron Age, the Phoenicians possibly transported copper from both Cyprus and the Wadi Faynan region (Gioacchino Falsone, "Phoenicia as a Bronzeworking Centre in the Iron Age," in Curtis, *Bronzeworking Centres of Western Asia*, 227–50). The contention that the Phoenicians also imported copper from Spain is unlikely since copper was not as abundant there as gold and silver (Jesús Fernández Jurado, "The Tartessian Economy: Mining and Metallurgy," in *The Phoenicians in Spain*, ed. Marilyn R. Bierling [Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2002], 242; María Eugenia Aubet Semmler, "Phoenician Trade in the West: Balance and Perspectives," in Bierling, *Phoenicians in Spain*, 97–98) and there is little evidence of copper production in the Phoenician colonies in Spain (María Eugenia Aubet Semmler, "Notes on the Economy of the Phoenician Settlements in Southern Spain," in Bierling, *Phoenicians in Spain*, 84–85). For an overview of copper exploitation on Cyprus during the Late Bronze and Iron Age, see Vasiliki Kassianidou, "The Exploitation of the Landscape: Metal Resources and the Copper Trade during the Age of the Cypriot

that the Faynan and Timna mines were a primary source for Mediterranean copper during the tenth and ninth centuries BCE, perhaps, in part due to the disruption of copper production on Cyprus.[8] During the later first millennium BCE, the number of mining centers increased around the Mediterranean and copper production facilities from a range of locations—including Spain, Anatolia, Wadi Faynan, and the Egyptian eastern desert—contributed to the burgeoning and interconnected market for metals.[9]

7.1.1. The Exploitation of Wadi Faynan Copper

Although copper was mined in the Wadi Arabah as early as the Chalcolithic period and the Early Bronze Age, copper exploitation reached its peak during the early Iron Age, taking on "truly industrial dimensions."[10]

City-Kingdoms," *BASOR* 370 (2013): 49–82. For a reappraisal of the economic and political shifts at the end of the Late Bronze Age, see A. Bernard Knapp and Sturt W. Manning, "Crisis in Context: The End of the Late Bronze Age in the Eastern Mediterranean," *AJA* 120 (2016): 99–149.

8. See Ben-Yosef, "Provenancing Egyptian Metals," 208–15 for cautions about identifying specific mines since the Faynan mines and the Timna mines were access points to ores from the same geological unit, the dolomite-limestone-shale (DLS) unit. See also Kiderlen et al., "Tripod Cauldrons Produced at Olympia," 309–10. Note that Jansen et. al. ("The Potential of Stable Cu Isotopes for the Identification of Bronze Age Ore Mineral Sources from Cyprus and Faynan: Results from Uluburun and Khirbat Hamra Ifdan," *ArchAnthSci* 10 [2018]: 1485–1502) argue that a new copper isotope analysis can distinguish between the various mining districts around the Wadi Arabah and other Mediterranean locations.

9. See the range of sources that were identified for the copper objects discovered at Naukratis, an Egyptian trading hub active from the seventh through sixth centuries BCE. Aurélia Masson-Berghoff et al., "(Re)sources: Origins of Metals in Late Period Egypt," *JASR* 21 (2018): 318–39.

10. Quotation from Andreas Hauptmann, Gerd Weisgerber and Hans-Gert Bachmann, "Ancient Copper Production in the Area of Feinan, Khirbet en-Nahas and Wadi el-Jariye, Wadi Arabah, Jordan," in *History of Technology: The Role of Metals*, ed. Stuart J. Fleming and Helen R. Schenck, MASCA Research Papers in Science and Archaeology 6 (Philadelphia: University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, 1989), 10; cf. Andreas Hauptmann, "Die Gewinnung von Kupfer: Ein uralter Industriezweig auf der Ostseite des Wadi Arabah," in *Petra: Neue Ausgrabungen und Entdeckungen*, ed. Manfred Lindner (Munich: Delp, 1986), 37; Hauptmann, *Zur frühen Metallurgie des Kupfers*, 99, 189. For the Chalcolithic period, see Russell Adams and Hermann Genze, "Excavations at Wadi Fidan 4: A Chalcolithic Village Complex in the Copper

After Pharaoh Shoshenq I's campaign to the Levant at the end of the tenth century BCE, the copper production in the Arabah became more centralized, focusing production activity on just a few smelting sites.[11] Smelting activity increased at, and was somewhat limited to, Site 30 at Timna, Khirbat an Nahas, Faynan Site 5, and Barqa al-Hetiye.[12] Copper mining activities during the Early Iron Age have also been identified at sites in Nahal 'Amram, south of Timna.[13] During this period, deposits in the Jabal Hamrat Fidan region were heavily exploited. Along the Wadi Ratiye and in the Umm al 'Amad region, small copper deposits were located in the Cambrian sandstones. The acquisition of copper in these locations was labor intensive and the yield of useable copper was low.[14] In order to reach these deposits, it was necessary for workers to utilize a new technology, the shaft mine, some of which were over 70 m deep.[15] Iron Age shaft mines were also found in the Wadis Dana and Khalid near Faynan.[16] Copper was also located in the Wadis Khalid, Dana, and al-Jiriya, where it was concentrated in a dolomite-limestone-shale sequence with an accessible layer ranging from 2–4 m thick, allowing for efficient and productive copper

---

Ore District of Feinan, Southern Jordan," *PEQ* 127 (1995): 8–20; Hauptmann "Die Gewinnung von Kupfer," 34–37; for the Early Bronze Age, see Hermann Genz, "The Organization of Early Bronze Age Metalworking in the Southern Levant," *Paléorient* 26 (2001): 55–65.

11. Thomas E. Levy, Mohammad Najjar, Erez Ben-Yosef, "Conclusions," in Levy et al., *New Insights into the Iron Age Archaeology of Edom*, 2:977–1001.

12. For Timna during this time see Erez Ben-Yosef et al., "A New Chronological Framework for Iron Age Copper Production in Timna (Israel)," *BASOR* 367 (2012): 31–71; for Khirbat an-Nahas, see Thomas E. Levy, et. al., "Excavations at Khirbat en-Nahas 2002–2009," 89–245; Faynan Site 5, Andreas Hauptmann, *The Archaeometallurgy of Copper: Evidence from Faynan, Jordan* (Berlin: Springer, 2007), and for Barqa al-Hetiye, see Fritz, "Vorbericht über die Grabungen," 125–50.

13. Uzi Avner et al. "Ancient Copper Mines at Nahal 'Amram, Southern Arabah," in Ben-Yosef, *Mining for Ancient Copper*, 147–77; and Boaz Langford et al., "Nahal 'Amram, Southern Arabah Valley: A Survey of Underground Copper Mines," in Ben-Yosef, *Mining for Ancient Copper*, 217–27.

14. Hauptmann, Weisgerber, and Bachmann, "Ancient Copper Production in the Area of Feinan," 7–8; Andreas Hauptmann and Gerd Weisgerber, "Archaeometallurgical and Mining-Archaeological Investigations in the Area of Feinan, Wadi Arabah (Jordan)," *ADAJ* 31 (1987): 421.

15. Hauptmann, *Zur frühen Metallurgie des Kupfers,* 189.

16. Hauptmann, *Zur frühen Metallurgie des Kupfers,* 82–84.

exploitation.[17] This copper deposit was where most of the Iron Age mining in the Wadi Arabah occurred.

The exploitation of copper in the Arabah during the early Iron Age was nearly two times as great as any other period in antiquity, including the Roman era. The following table demonstrates the increased intensity of copper mining during the Iron Age.

Table 7.1. Summary of copper mining in the Arabah[18]

Period	Number of Smelting Locations	Tons of Slag	Tons of Copper
Early Bronze II	13	5000	300–500
Iron Age	4	100,000–130,000	6,500–13,000
Roman	1	40,000–70,000	2,500–7,000
Early Arab	2	1,500	100–150

In the Faynan area of the Wadi Arabah, surveys found between 100,000 and 130,000 tons of slag associated with the Iron Age pottery.[19] According to Hauptmann's calculations, between 6,500 and 13,000 tons of copper were mined during the Iron Age.[20]

Carbon-14 dates from the sites in the Arabah suggest that there was extensive exploitation of the mines in the Early Iron Age, especially during the late tenth and early ninth century BCE. While previous estimations of the copper exploitation in the Faynan suggested that the peak of production was later, between 800 and 400 BCE, recent estimates suggest that the peak was much earlier, during the tenth and

17. Hauptmann, Weisgerber, and Bachmann, "Ancient Copper Production in the Area of Feinan, Khirbet en-Nahas and Wadi el-Jariye, Wadi Arabah, Jordan," 8; Hauptmann, *Zur frühen Metallurgie des Kupfers,* 82–84, 89.

18. Source: Hauptmann, *Zur frühen Metallurgie des Kupfers in Fenan/Jordanien*, table 9. See also Levy, Ben-Yosef, and Najjar, "Iron Age Edom Lowlands Regional Archaeology Project: Research," 16.

19. Hauptmann, *Zur frühen Metallurgie des Kupfers,* 97, table 9; 1986, 27; Hauptmann, Weisgerber and Bachmann, "Ancient Copper Production in the Area of Feinan," 7, 10; Hauptmann and Weisgerber "Archaeometallurgical and Mining-Archaeological Investigations," 422; Barker and Mattingly, "Cores and Peripheries Revisited," 106–9.

20. Hauptmann's estimate is based on a metal to slag ration of between 1:10 and 1:15 (Hauptmann, *Zur frühen Metallurgie des Kupfers,* 97).

ninth centuries BCE.[21] The early Iron Age exploitation of copper might have been supported by a Negev polity centered around Tel Masos that was the object of Sheshonq I's campaign with the goal of acquiring the Khirbat an Nahas-Tel Masos system.[22]

During the Iron Age, several new mines were dug and smelting sites established in the region at Khirbat an Nahas, Faynan Site 5, Barqa al Hetiye, and Khirbat al Jariya. The sites associated with the mines preserve evidence of smelting, large quantities of slag, smelting equipment like furnace nozzles, and several furnaces used in the smelting process.[23] At Faynan 5 about 30,000 tons of slag were found near an Iron Age furnace.[24] Khirbat an Nahas, the largest Iron Age site in the copper-producing region, is a settlement with the foundations of thirty houses surrounded by a square encasement wall. Approximately 50,000–60,000 tons of slag are associated with this settlement.[25] The wood used as fuel for smelting was gathered from the quickly regenerating shrub vegetation in the region.[26] There is no evidence for the manufacture of products at these sites, so it appears that the smelted raw material was formed into copper ingots and circulated to other areas. These three Iron Age sites—Faynan, Khirbat an Nahas, and

---

21. Hauptmann, *Zur frühen Metallurgie des Kupfers,* table 8; Hauptmann, Weisgerber and Bachmann, "Archaeometallurgical and Mining-Archaeological Investigations,"422.

22. See Fantalkin and Finkelstein, "Sheshonq I Campaign and the 8th Century BCE Earthquake," 18–42. For the discovery of a rare Sheshonq I scarab at Khirbat Hamra Ifdan, see Thomas E. Levy, Stefan Münger, and Mohammad Najjar, "A Newly Discovered Scarab of Sheshonq I: Recent Iron Age Explorations in Southern Jordan," *Antiquity* 88.341 (2014), https://tinyurl.com/SBL1733d.

23. The most extensive and detailed discussion of the technology involved in the mining operations at the Wadi Faynan sites is Ben-Yosef, "Technology and Social Process." For the ground stone tools involved in the copper industry, see Levy, Bettilyon, and Burton, "Iron Age Copper Industrial Complex," 313–35; and Aaron Greener and Erez Ben-Yosef, "The Ground Stone Assemblage of a Metal Workers Community: An Unexplored Dimension of Iron Age Copper Production at Timna," *JLS* 3 (2016): 191–220.

24. Hauptmann, *Zur frühen Metallurgie des Kupfers,* 70–74.

25. Thomas E. Levy et. al., "Excavations at Khirbat en-Nahas 2002–2009"; Hauptmann, *Zur frühen Metallurgie des Kupfers,* 89.

26. Engel, "Charcoal Remains from an Iron Age Copper Smelting Slag Heap," 205–11; Thomas Engel and Wolfgang Frey, "Fuel Resources for Copper Smelting in Antiquity in Selected Woodlands in [*sic*] the Edom Highlands to the Wadi Arabah/Jordan," *Flora* 191 (1996): 29–39.

Khirbat al Jariya—were where most of the known Early Iron Age copper-mining activity in the southern Levant was concentrated.

The peak of copper extraction and production along the Wadi Faynan ended in the late ninth century BCE, possibly as a result of a strategy of Hazael, king of Damascus, who expanded his influence south in an attempt to shift the copper market from the Faynan district back to the mines in Syria and Cyprus.[27] It has recently been proposed that Hazael attacked Gath (Tell eṣ-Ṣafi), probably in the last third of the ninth century BCE according to radiocarbon data, thereby removing the primary port for exporting copper from Faynan to the wider Mediterranean markets.[28] The close of the peak of copper extraction in the Wadi Faynan is also attributed to this timeframe based on radiocarbon data from slag found at Khirbat an Nahas. By the eighth century BCE Cyprus had remonopolized the production and trade of copper in the Mediterranean.[29]

As a related development, the focus of copper extraction appears to have shifted east and deeper into the Edomite mountains after the Aramaean disruption of the copper market in the ninth century BCE. Excavations at two complexes located near the ʿAyn al-Ghuwayba, northeast of the copper region of Faynan, identified late Iron Age Edomite pottery and evidence of copper smelting at the sites.[30] The complexes, labeled Rās al-Miyāh east and Rās al-Miyāh west, are located on the route from Busayra to the Wadi Faynan, but are situated on more inaccessible ridges. Surveys of nearby mineshafts also identified pottery dated to the "last stage of the Iron Age II" and with substantial structures, referred to by the excavators as "fortresses" with towers.[31] They argue that the organization of

_____

27. See Ben-Yosef and Sergi, "Destruction of Gath by Hazael and the Arabah Copper Industry," 461–70. For Hazael's destruction of Gath, see Sergi, "Battle of Ramoth-Gilead and the Rise of the Aramean Hegemony," 81–97.

28. For archaeological and historical arguments supporting an Aramaean incursion, see Sergi and de Hulster, "Some Historical and Methodological Considerations," 1–14; and Kleiman, "Damascene Subjugation of the Southern Levant," 57–76. For the material correlates to Hazael's siege of Gath, see Aren M. Maeir and Shira Gur-Arieh. "Comparative Aspects of the Aramean Siege System at Tell eṣ-Ṣāfi/Gath," in Finkelstein and Naʾaman, *Fire Signals of Lachish*, 227–44.

29. Ben-Yosef and Sergi, "Destruction of Gath by Hazael and the Arabah Copper Industry," 463–64. Note that the theory of the Aramaean control of Gath to co-opt the copper supply is a new development.

30. See Ben-Yosef, Levy, and Najjar, "Rās al-Miyāh Fortresses," 823–41.

31. Ben-Yosef, Levy, and Najjar, "Rās al-Miyāh Fortresses," 831.

activities related to mining was much smaller than the former operations near Khirbat an Nahas.[32] This activity was likely instigated by the polity centered at Busayra as a means to continue the industries on a smaller and more centralized scale.

The mobilization of labor resources likewise has implications for the understanding of the economy and social structure of Edom. In small-scale societies like Edom, labor was typically organized through kinship and tribal relations. Due to the proximity of the Arabah copper extraction to Busayra, the elite who rose to prominence at Busayra were in all likelihood formerly part of the pastoral nomadic groups that were involved with the earlier exploitation of copper in the nearby mines. These social groups organized the copper-mining operations and gathered agricultural surplus from the newly founded farming sites surrounding Busayra and the Wadi al Hasa. The proximity of these sites helps to explain why Busayra became the royal and administrative center of the Edomite polity in the eighth century BCE when the Assyrian Empire began to demand tribute from the various polities in the southern Levant. The wealth derived from the copper mining and the organization necessary to exploit the copper, which, according to the carbon-14 dates, had begun before the foundation of Busayra, now provided the elite with the resources and influence necessary to establish Busayra as its administrative center and attain economic and political dominance over parts of Edom.

7.1.2. The Distribution of Wadi Faynan Copper

Most of the Arabah copper was circulated west to the Negev, Judah, and the Mediterranean coastal polities, and north to Moab and Ammon.[33] This short-distance circulation of copper was facilitated by the increased use of the dromedary camel as a pack animal in the late tenth century BCE specifically in the Arabah and the Negev.[34] Copper was also distributed locally

---

32. Ben-Yosef, Levy, and Najjar, "Rās al-Miyāh Fortresses," 839–40.

33. Na'aman ("Assyrian Residence at Ramat Rahel?," 267–68) has suggested that the Assyrians did attempt to directly control the copper mining activities in the Arabah from an Assyrian fortress at 'En Ḥaṣeva. This view has generally not been accepted since the mines in that area of the Wadi Faynan were not extensively exploited during the Assyrian period of dominance in the southern Levant.

34. See Lidar Sapir-Hen and Erez Ben-Yosef, "The Introduction of Domestic Camels to the Southern Levant: Evidence from the Aravah Valley," *TA* 40 (2013): 277–

for domestic items like nails, weights, arrowheads, and blades. Ornaments such as rings, bracelets, earrings, pins, fibulae, and kohl sticks were fashioned from copper in Edom and circulated regionally. Elite decorations like copper chair fittings were also found at Busayra.[35] Although some of this copper could have been imported from mines in Syria and Cyprus, the Edomites and leaders of other adjacent polities took advantage of the much closer copper reserves in the Arabah.

Our knowledge of the range of copper's circulation from the Faynan mines is limited to recent provenience analyses of copper or bronze artifacts from regional sites where objects have been discovered. While archaeologists might suspect that the Faynan mines were the source for copper objects at sites like Tell en Nasbeh, the proximity of the site to the mines does not necessarily suggest that it was the origin of the copper. Further studies are necessary for identifying the precise source for the metals.[36] Copper artifacts from Early Bronze strata at Pella reflect several points of origin for its copper, including Faynan and Cyprus.[37] Andreas Hauptman, Friedrich Begemann, and Sigrid Schmitt-Strecker have demonstrated in their chemical examination of copper objects from Arad, that copper from the Arabah mines was an important resource in the southern Levant in the Early Bronze Age.[38] Recent Lead isotope (LI) analyses of copper and bronze objects from more distant locations indicate that

---

85; and Caroline Grigson, "Camels, Copper and Donkeys in the Early Iron Age of the Southern Levant: Timna Revisited," *Levant* 44 (2012): 82–100.

35. The copper objects are discussed by Piotr Bienkowski ("The Small Finds," in Bennett and Bienkowski, *Excavations at Tawilan in Southern Jordan*, 79–82) for Tawilan; and Frank L. Koucky and Nathan R. Miller ("The Metal Objects from Tell el-Kheleifeh," in Pratico, *Nelson Glueck's 1938–1940 Excavations at Tell el Kheleifeh*, 65–69, pl. 73) for Tall al Khalayfi. For a comparative discussion of Iron Age II jewelry in the Levant, see Golani, *Jewelry from the Iron Age II Levant*.

36. For copper objects at Tell en Nasbeh, see Aaron Brody, "Interregional Interaction in the Late Iron Age: Phoenician and Other Foreign Goods from Tell en-Nasbeh," in *Material Culture Matters: Essays on the Archaeology of the Southern Levant in Honor of Seymour Gitin*, ed. John R. Spencer, Aaron J. Brody, and Robert A. Mullins (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2014), 64–65.

37. Graham Philip et al., "Copper Metallurgy in the Jordan Valley from the Third to the First Millennia BC: Chemical, Metallographic and Lead Isotope Analyses of Artefacts from Pella," *Levant* 35 (2003): 71–100.

38. Andreas Hauptman, Friedrich Begemann, and Sigrid Schmitt-Strecker, "Copper Objects from Arad—Their Composition and Provenance," *BASOR* 314 (1999): 1–17.

Faynan copper was widely circulated during the tenth and ninth centuries BCE. For example, bronze ritual tripod cauldrons manufactured during the tenth and ninth centuries BCE at Olympia and Delphi in Greece utilized copper from Faynan and possibly Timna.[39] Further material support for Iron I and Iron IIA circulation of Faynan and Timna copper throughout the wider Mediterranean was recovered from the shipwreck at Neve Yam, near the Carmel coast.[40] The ship's copper ingots are consistent with the copper from Faynan and the number (fifty-four items) and similarity of the ingots suggest "a systematic and organized production mode" at the Faynan mines.[41] Objects from the eleventh and tenth centuries BCE discovered at sites in northern Israel were also probably produced with ores mined at Timna.[42] The copper mines at Timna and possibly Faynan were one of the sources for the metalworking industrial centers at Pi-Ramesses in Egypt.[43] Egyptian acquisition of Faynan copper could have continued into the Egyptian Late period (664–332 BCE) as copper and bronze objects at the metalworking site of Naukratis in the western Nile Delta exhibit similar traits as copper from the Faynan district.[44] Bronze production at Iron Age Tell eṣ-Ṣafi (Gath), Ashkelon, Megiddo, and Taymāʾ in all probability also imported copper from the Faynan area for use in their sizeable metal production centers.[45]

------

39. Kiderlen et al., "Tripod Cauldrons Produced at Olympia," 303–13. These cauldrons were locally fashioned from copper imported from the Faynan, see Kiderlen et al., "Production Sites of Early Iron Age Greek Bronze Tripod Cauldrons: First Evidence from Neutron Activation Analysis of Casting Ceramics," *Geoarch* 32 (2017): 321–42. For the potential of this type of analysis, see Jansen et al., "Potential of Stable Cu Isotopes for the Identification of Bronze Age Ore Mineral Sources."

40. Ehud Galili, Noel Gale, and Baruch Rosen, "Bronze Age Metal Cargoes off the Israeli Coast," *Skyllis* 11 (2011): 64–73.

41. Naama Yahalom-Mack et al., "New Insights into Levantine Copper Trade: Analysis of Ingots from the Bronze and Iron Ages in Israel," *JAS* 45 (2014): 159–77, quotation from p. 173.

42. Naama Yahalom-Mack and Irina Segal, "The Origin of the Copper Used in Canaan during the Late Bronze/Iron Age Transition," in Ben-Yosef, *Mining for Ancient Copper*, 313–31.

43. Rademakers, Rehren, and Pernicka, "Copper for the Pharaoh," 50–73; see also Ben-Yosef, "Provenancing Egyptian Metals."

44. Masson-Berghoff et al., "(Re)Sources: Origins of Metals in Late Period Egypt."

45. Adi Eliyahu-Behar et al., "Iron and Bronze Production in Iron Age IIA Philistia: New Evidence from Tell es-Safi/Gath, Israel," *JAS* 39 (2012): 266; Nathaniel L. Erb-Satullo and Joshua T. Walton, "Iron and Copper Production at Iron Age Ashkelon:

The copper-mining centers in Faynan and Timna were also dependent on other facilities and suppliers throughout the southern Levant, suggesting an interconnected network of trade and production.[46] Two examples from recent excavations and analyses are representative of the ways in which newer archaeological approaches can inform our understanding of ancient economic developments and systems of production and consumption. For example, an apiary of about thirty beehives was excavated at Tel Reḥov near Beth Shean in the northern Jordan Valley. The beehives were in an urban area near the northwestern corner of the Stratum V city, dated to the tenth century BCE that was destroyed in a violent conflagration in the late tenth or early ninth century BCE.[47] The bees were not indigenous to Israel suggesting that the subspecies (*Apis mellifera anatoliaca* or the Anatolian honey bee) were imported from Turkey, about 500 km to the north.[48] The bees collected pollen from nearby plants to produce their honey. Estimates of the production within the apiary are that it yielded about 500 kg of

---

Implications for the Organization of Levantine Metal Production," *JASR* 15 (2017): 13–14; Naama Yahalom-Mack et al., "Metalworking at Megiddo during the Late Bronze and Iron Ages," *JNES* 76 (2017): 68–70; Martina Renzi et al., "Early Iron Age Metal Circulation in the Arabian Peninsula: The Oasis of Taymā as Part of a Dynamic Network," *PSAS* 46 (2016): 237–46.

46. For a comparative study of the transformations of regional economies involved in metallurgy, see Thomas Stöllner, "Mining and Economy—A Discussion of Spatial Organisations and Structures of Early Raw Material Exploitation," in *Man and Mining: Studies in Honour of Gerd Weisgerber on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, ed. Thomas Stöllner, Der Anschnitt 16 (Bochum: Deutschen Bergbau-Museum, 2003), 415–46. Stöllner argues that ancient mining impacted trade networks, agricultural production, and fuel acquisition.

47. As an unusual archaeological find in Iron Age Israel, the apiary has received significant attention. The most recent publication is Amihai Mazar, "The Iron Age Apiary at Tel Reḥov, Israel," in *Beekeeping in the Mediterranean from Antiquity to the Present*, ed. Fani Hatjina, Georgios Mavrofridis, and Richard Jones (Nea Moudania: Division of Apiculture, 2017), 40–49. See also the earlier publications, Amihai Mazar and Nava Panitz-Cohen, "It Is the Land of Honey: Beekeeping at Tel Reḥov," *NEA* 70 (2007): 202–19; and Guy Bloch et al., "Industrial Apiculture in the Jordan Valley during Biblical Times with Anatolian Honeybees," *PNAS* 107 (2010): 11240–44. Gene Kritsky ("Beekeeping from Antiquity through the Middle Ages," *AnnRevEnt* 62 [2017]: 249–64) places this find into a larger history of beekeeping in the ancient world.

48. Bloch et al., "Industrial Apiculture in the Jordan Valley."

honey and 50–70 kg of beeswax per year.[49] Amahai Mazar, the director of the Tel Reḥov excavations, speculated that the beeswax was a significant export for the area as an essential ingredient in the lost wax method of bronze casting.[50] The wax might not have been directly exchanged with the Faynan area, but it would have been exchanged with metal workshops like those along the Phoenician coast or sites such as Sukkoth and Zarethan, cited by Mazar from the biblical story of Solomon in 1 Kgs 7:46.

The workers and livestock at the copper mining and smelting sites in the Arabah required significant supplies for sustenance. One of the largest camps is Site 34 in the Timna Valley (also known as Slaves' Hill).[51] Ben-Yosef highlights the important role of donkeys as pack animals within the organization of labor. One aspect of the network of commodities necessary to operate these mines was the feeding of the livestock. The donkeys were fed with grape pomace and hay, two organic materials that are not indigenous to the region. The livestock's diet was determined from hundreds of seeds detected within the dung in the pens. The grape pomace is a by-product of wine production and must have been imported from an area that had a Mediterranean climate much farther north, about 100 km from Faynan.[52]

49. Mazar, "Iron Age Apiary at Tel Reḥov, Israel," 44; Mina Weinstein-Evron and Silvia Chaim, "Palynological Investigations of Tenth- to Early Ninth-Century BCE Beehives from Tel Rehov, Jordan Valley, Northern Israel," *Palynology* 40 (2016): 289–301.

50. Mazar, "Iron Age Apiary at Tel Reḥov, Israel,"46; see also Amihai Mazar, "Culture, Identity and Politics Relating to Tel Reḥov in the 10th–9th Centuries BCE," in Sergi, *In Search of Aram and Israel*, 101–3.

51. See recently, Erez Ben-Yosef, Dafna Langgut, and Lidar Sapir-Hen, "Beyond Smelting: New Insights on Iron Age (10th C. BCE) Metalworkers Community from Excavations at a Gatehouse and Associated Livestock Pens in Timna, Israel," *JASR* 11 (2017): 411–26. See also Lidar Sapir-Hen and Erez Ben-Yosef, "The Socioeconomic Status of Iron Age Metalworkers: Animal Economy in the 'Slaves' Hill,' Timna, Israel," *Antiquity* 88.341 (2014): 775–90; Erez Ben-Yosef, "Back to Solomon's Era: Results of the First Excavations at 'Slaves' Hill' (Site 34, Timna, Israel)," *BASOR* 376 (2016): 169–98; for the larger context of metalworking at Timna, see Erez Ben-Yosef, "The Central Timna Valley Project: Research Design and Preliminary Results," in Ben-Yosef, *Mining for Ancient Copper*, 28–63.

52. Ben-Yosef, Langgut, and Sapir-Hen, "Beyond Smelting," 424.

7.1.3. Summary

The mining of copper took place in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages, with the establishment of several large sites devoted to mining and it continued on a smaller scale after the Aramaean disruption of the copper supply through to the cessation of the Edomite polity in the mid-sixth century BCE. The copper from the Arabah was circulated locally to produce domestic items and some decorative commodities. In the absence of sufficient provenience studies, there is no way to verify copper trade with nearby polities. However, it is possible that copper was exported to the surrounding regions of Judah, Moab, and Ammon since the Arabah was by far the nearest location with extensive copper reserves. Copper from these sites was also circulated more widely in the Mediterranean, as suggested by the provenience studies of the tripod cauldrons in Greece and the ingots from the Neve Yam shipwreck off the Carmel coast. The copper mining and smelting in the Wadi Arabah could have prompted increased centralization in the Edomite polity. The amount of copper extracted during the tenth and ninth centuries BCE required extensive organization and labor resources as well as support from the leaders. After the Aramaean disruption of the copper supply, exploitation of copper continued in the Arabah but at a much smaller scale and at different copper production centers closer to the Busayra center. The rulers at Busayra thus began to shift their economic interests to prestige and power that would come from stronger connections with the Assyrians and the lucrative control of trading routes that traversed the Edomite territory.

7.2. The Trade Routes through Edom

The most extensive expansion of the Arabian trade network before the Roman era occurred during the late Iron Age from the eighth through sixth centuries BCE.[53] Prior to the extension of the trade routes from

---

53. Efforts to date Arabian trade depend on the domestication of the camel and the use of the camel in overland trade. Although the camel was domesticated as early as the twelfth century BCE, it was not used in trade until the late ninth or early eighth century BCE; see Lily Singer-Avitz and Yoram Eshet, "Beersheba—A Gateway Community in Southern Arabian Long-Distance Trade in the Eighth Century B.C.E.," *TA* 26 (1999): 4; Nigel Groom, *Frankincense and Myrrh: A Study of the Arabian Incense Trade* (London: Stacey, 2002), 33–37; Jan Retsö, *The Arabs in Antiquity: Their His-*

South Arabia, most commerce and travel in the southern Levant used the route along the coast of the Mediterranean.[54] Although the majority of the products transported along the routes was perishable (frankincense from the *Boswellia sacra* tree and myrrh from the *Commiphora myrrha* tree), one important text mentions a wider range of products transported by the caravans traversing the Arabian peninsula.[55] An eighth-century BCE inscription of Ninurta-kudurrī-uṣur, the governor of the land of Sūḫu (IM 95917), from Sūr Jarʿā ([the] ancient [city of?] Sūḫu) on the middle Euphrates mentions a caravan (iv 30′: *a-lak-ta-šú-nu*) with at least two hundred camels (iv 35′: 2 ME *gam-ma-lu-šú-nu*) led by traders from Taymaʾ and Šaba.[56] The caravan was raided by the Sūḫu army when it

---

tory from the Assyrians to the Umayyads (London: Routledge, 2003), 122–23, 127–28; Retsö, "The Domestication of the Camel and the Establishment of the Frankincense Road from South Arabia," *OS* 40 (1991): 187–219; Martin Heide, "The Domestication of the Camel: Biological, Archaeological, and Inscriptional Evidence from Mesopotamia, Egypt, Israel, and Arabia, and Literary Evidence from the Hebrew Bible," *UF* 42 (2010): 331–84. One hint at earlier activity along these routes is the presence of South Asian cinnamon residue in several early Iron Age Phoenician flasks from Dor and Tell Qasile; see Ayelet Gilboa and Dvory Namdar, "On the Beginnings of South Asian Spice Trade with the Mediterranean Region: A Review," *Radiocarbon* (2015): 265–83. For an evolutionary perspective of the development of the trading networks over time, see Steven A. Rosen, "Trade through the Desert: A Long-Term Perspective on Goods, Animals, and Polities in the Negev," *Chungará* 51 (2019): 71–84.

54. John Strange, "Jordan between Mesopotamia and Egypt in the Bronze and Iron Ages," *SHAJ* 8 (2004): 427. Trade networks through southern Jordan and the Negev have a history that dates to the Neolithic. For continuity and change to those networks of trade, see Rosen, "Trade through the Desert."

55. See Miranda Morris, "The Harvesting of Frankincense in Dhofar, Oman," in *Profumi d'Arabia: Atti del convegno*, ed. Alessandra Avanzini, SDSA 11 (Rome: Bretschneider, 1997), 231–47; Giorgio Banti and Riccardo Contini, "Names of Aromata in Semitic and Cushitic Languages," in Avanzini, *Profumi d'Arabia*, 169–92; F. Nigel Hepper, "Trees and Shrubs Yielding Gums and Resins in the Ancient Near East," *BSA* 3 (1987): 107–11.

56. A handcopy of the text is available in Antoine Cavigneaux and Bahija Khalil Ismail, "Die Statthalter von Suhu und Mari im 8. Jh. v. Chr. Anhand neuer Texte aus den irakischen Grabungen im Staugebiet des Qadissiya-Damms," *BaghM* 21 (1990): 412–17, with a transliteration, translation, and comments. Grant Frame (*Rulers of Babylonia: From the Second Dynasty of Isin to the End of Assyrian Domination [1157–612 B.C.]*, RIMB 2 [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995], 294–300) also provides a transliteration, translation, and updated commentary.

arrived in Hindanu.[57] The document records that the goods carried by the caravan included purple-dyed wool (iv 36′: SÍK ta-kil-tu$_4$), iron (KASKAL$^?$ AN.BAR), and *pappardilû*-stones ($^{na}4$<BABBAR>.DILI^{meš}).

The Iron Age Arabian trade network operated from the southern tip of the Arabian Peninsula (modern Yemen) with major routes heading northeast to southern Mesopotamia and northwest to Edom where one route bifurcated north to Syria and west to the Mediterranean Sea. To be sure, the reconstruction of the routes and the organization of trade during the Iron Age is difficult to determine due to limited data, but information from later periods and from Arabian commodities discovered in Edom and at sites to the west aid in the reconstructive effort to study the economic impact of trade involving Edom.[58] For example, the important eastern route through Tayma' to the Persian Gulf allowed for more efficient transportation of products from India and contributed to the prosperity of the later Nabataean kingdom, but it did not become operative until around the third century BCE.[59]

7.2.1. The Expansion of Trading Networks in the Assyrian Empire

Whereas the Assyrian Empire maintained direct control of trade in the annexed territories where provincial officials extracted tribute from inhabitants, in the client polities Assyria strove not to interrupt trade and opted instead to extract tribute from the regional rulers who themselves

---

57. See Cavigneaux and Ismail, "Die Statthalter von Suhu und Mari im 8. Jh. v. Chr."; Singer-Avitz and Eshet, "Beersheba—A Gateway Community," 4–5; Mario Liverani, "Early Caravan Trade between South-Arabia and Mesopotamia," *Yemen* 1 (1992): 111–15; Alasdair Livingstone, "New Light on the Ancient Town of Taimā'," in *Studia Aramaica: New Sources and New Approaches*, ed. Markham J. Geller, Jonas C. Greenfield, and Michael P. Weitzman, JSSSup 4 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 133–43; Nadav Na'aman, "The Suhu Governors' Inscriptions in the Context of Mesopotamian Royal Inscriptions," in Cogan and Kahn, *Treasures on Camels' Humps*, 221–36.

58. A Sabaean inscription found on a bronze plaque describes the journey of the author from the Arabian Peninsula to Gaza, Judah, and Cyprus. This text, labeled BL-Nashq, does not mention Edom and is of uncertain date. See the initial publication in François Bron and André Lemaire, "Nouvelle inscription sabéenne et le commerce en Transeuphratène," *Transeu* 38 (2009): 11–29, pls. I–IV. For subsequent debate concerning the inscription, see Anne Multhoff, "Merchant and Marauder—The Adventures of a Sabaean Clansman," *AAE* 30 (2019): 239–62.

59. See Caroline Durand, "The Nabataeans and Oriental Trade: Roads and Commodities (Forth [*sic*] Century BC to First Century AD)," *SHAJ* 10 (2009): 405–11.

Fig. 7.1. Sites along a possible reconstruction of trade route from southern Arabia to the Mediterranean.

attempted to control trade within their regions.[60] In a study of the Assyrian presence in the southern Levant, Na'aman argued that the Assyrians also established a series of fortresses in the Negev, including 'En Ḥaṣeva and Tall al Khalayfi, which housed officials who monitored and taxed the trade routes.[61] If Na'aman is correct, the Assyrians sustained a much greater, direct role in the protection and administration of the trade routes than was previously thought. The function of these settlements is difficult to determine, but even if they were caravanserai for trading and commerce, the presence of local or imperial officials related to the extraction of goods from the caravans is a plausible scenario.

The earliest documented interaction between Assyria and the tribes of the Arabian Peninsula took place during the reign of Tiglath-pileser III.[62] In 738 BCE, he received tribute from Zabibe, queen of the Arab

---

60. Singer-Avitz and Eshet, "Beersheba—A Gateway Community," 7–8.

61. Na'aman, "Assyrian Residence at Ramat Rahel?," 267–68; Ussishkin, "'En Ḥaṣeva," 246–53. Lipiński also argues that these were locations of tax collection but identifies the authority as local Edomite rulers. See Lipiński, "Edom at the Crossroads of 'Incense Routes,'" 67.

62. The earliest reference to an Arab is to Gindiblu' the Arab who brought one thousand camels to fight against Shalmaneser III at Qarqar, but he is probably from the Wadi Sirhan in the Syrian desert. See Eph'al, *Ancient Arabs*, 21, 75–80.

tribes.[63] The tribute given by Zabibe included camels (*ibilū*) and she-camels (*anāqāte*), but the absence of important Arabian products like incense and spices is notable. Throughout the reign of Tiglath-pileser III there were problems with the Arabian queen Samsi.[64] He eventually received a tribute of camels, she-camels and "all kinds of spices" (*šim ḫi.a dù.a-ma*).[65] Instead of replacing or capturing Samsi, Tiglath-pileser III appointed a representative (*qīpu*) to supervise the administration and commercial activities.[66] His relations with the Arab tribes remained stable enough for him to appoint a tribesman from Arabia, Idibiʾilu, as the "gatekeeper" over the border of Egypt when he defeated Mitinti, king of Ashkelon ([m]*I*]-*di-bi-ʾi-i-lu* ^kur^*A-ru-bu* [*a-na* ^lú^*atûti ina muḫḫi* ^kur^*Muṣri aškun*]).[67]

The Assyrian policy of administrative and commercial integration continued under Sargon II.[68] Although he continued to have a problematic diplomatic relationship with Samsi, there are a number of letters from his reign suggesting that a concerted effort was made to increase the flow of revenue from the Arabian trading network to the Assyrian capital.[69] This aspect of Sargon II's policy is particularly evident in the numerous Assyrian fortresses situated along the Nahal Besor, the "Brook of Egypt," which were established in the late eighth century BCE.[70] Sennacherib's policy

---

63. Jan Retsö, *Arabs in Antiquity*, 131–32; Ephʿal, *Ancient Arabs*, 23–24, 82–83. For a critique and correction of Retsö's view of tribes in pre-Islamic Arabia, see Michael C. A. Macdonald, "Was There a 'Bedouinization of Arabia'?," *Islam* 92 (2015): 42–84.

64. Ephʿal, *Ancient Arabs*, 25–44, 85–87; Retsö, *Arabs in Antiquity*, 133–34.

65. See Ephʿal, *Ancient Arabs*, 34; cf. Julian Reade, "Assyrian Illustrations of Arabs," in *Arabia and Its Neighbours: Essays on Prehistorical and Historical Developments in Honour of Beatrice de Cardi*, ed. C. S. Phillips, Daniel T. Potts, and Sarah Searight, Abiel 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), 221, figs. 1–2.

66. Ephʿal, *Ancient Arabs*, 86–87; Edens and Bawden, "History of Hayma and Hegazi Trade," 81.

67. See Nadav Naʾaman, "Two Notes on the History of Ashkelon and Ekron in the Late Eighth–Seventh Centuries B.C.E.," *TA* 25 (1998): 219–27; Naʾaman, "The Brook of Egypt and Assyrian Policy on the Border of Egypt," *TA* 6 (1979): 68–90.

68. See Ephʿal, *Ancient Arabs*, 36–43; Retsö, *Arabs in Antiquity*, 147–53; Robert G. Hoyland, *Arabia and the Arabs: From the Bronze Age to the Coming of Islam* (London: Routledge, 2001), 61.

69. Ephʿal, *Ancient Arabs*, 36–37, 94–99; Shigeo Yamada, "*Kārus* on the Frontiers of the Neo-Assyrian Empire," *Orient* 40 (2005): 69–70.

70. See recently Thareani, "Empire and the 'Upper Sea,'" 77–102; and Juan Manuel Tebes, "Assyrians, Judaeans, Pastoral Groups, and the Trade Patterns in the Late Iron Age Negev," *HistComp* 5 (2007): 619–31. Classic studies of the Assyrian pres-

toward the Arabs was probably conditioned by their participation in the Babylonian rebellions led by Merodach-baladan in 703 BCE.[71] He suppressed the revolt and led a punitive campaign against Telhunu, queen of the Arabs, at Adummatu where he captured their leaders and took booty from the city including the divine images.[72]

Esarhaddon reversed his father's policy toward the Arabs and returned the divine images and captured leaders.[73] He did this as a political overture to increase the revenue from the trading arrangements. The Arabian tribes once again paid tribute on a regular basis, and so he could enlist the Arabs and their camels during his campaign through the Sinai to the border of Egypt.[74] Although during the reign of Assurbanipal, conflict with the Arab tribes is mentioned in the royal inscriptions, there are indications that trade with the Arabian Peninsula continued unabated.[75] A royal trade agent in the Assyrian administration, Ammini-ilu, was a Tayma'ite (ᵐam-mì-ni-dingir lú dam.gàr lú te-ma-a-a) and three texts mention cultic professionals who specialized in the use of aromatic substances (ša endīšu), probably from Arabia.[76]

---

ence in this area are Na'aman, "Assyrian Residence at Ramat Rahel?"; Na'aman, "Brook of Egypt and Assyrian Policy." On this region as a "buffer zone," see Silvie Zamazalová, "Before the Assyrian Conquest in 671 B.C.E.: Relations between Egypt, Kush and Assyria," in *Egypt and the Near East—the Crossroads: Proceedings of an International Conference on the Relations of Egypt and the Near East in the Bronze Age, Prague, September 1–3, 2010*, ed. Jana Mynářová (Prague: Univerzita Karlova, 2011), 297–328.

71. See Ephʿal, *Ancient Arabs*, 40–43, 112–125; Retsö, *Arabs in Antiquity*, 153–158; Hoyland, *Arabia and the Arabs*, 61–62; Alasdair Livingstone, "Arabians in Babylonia/Babylonians in Arabia: Some Reflections á propos New and Old Evidence," in *L'Arabie preislamique et son Environnement historique et culturel*, ed. Toufic Fahd (Leiden: Brill, 1989), 97–105.

72. See Ephʿal, *Ancient Arabs*, 41–43, 118–22; Retsö, *Arabs in Antiquity*, 154–55. For the shifting policies regarding imperial control of religion and religious iconography, see Angelika Berlejung, "Shared Fates: Gaza and Ekron as Examples for the Assyrian Religious Policy in the West," in *Iconoclasm and Texts Destruction in the Ancient Near East and Beyond*, ed. Natalie Naomi May, OIS 8 (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2012), 151–74.

73. Ephʿal, *Ancient Arabs*, 43–46, 125–42; Retsö, *Arabs in Antiquity*, 158–61.

74. Ephʿal, *Ancient Arabs*, 137–41; Verreth, "Egyptian Eastern Border Region," 234–47.

75. Ephʿal, *Ancient Arabs*, 46–52, 142–69; Retsö, *Arabs in Antiquity*, 161–71.

76. See Karen Radner, "Traders in the Neo-Assyrian Period," in *Trade and Finance*

These textual descriptions suggest several aspects of Assyrian control of the trading structures. First, extraction of goods or taxes took place at settlements that were nodes or transition centers along the routes. Second, the Assyrians employed indigenous officials or collaborators to monitor the trade routes but would install Assyrian officials if the situation warranted. Third, the policies were not systematic or even consistent, they changed when new Assyrian emperors were installed and were widely variant across the empire.[77]

7.2.2. The Trade Routes from Southern Arabia

Our knowledge of the Iron Age Arabian trading routes is dependent on later descriptions and the archaeological ruins that were clustered along the routes. Several options were available for caravans from southern Arabia to transport their products to the larger markets of the Mediterranean, but the route along the Red Sea and through the Negev was shorter and less fraught with political conflicts than routes along the Euphrates and through Syria.[78] Scholars use classical documents, archaeology, the location of oases, and Islamic pilgrimage routes to reconstruct the courses taken by traders in earlier periods.[79] Many of the sites along the routes

---

in Ancient Mesopotamia, ed. Jan G. Dercksen, MOS Studies 1 (Istanbul: Nederlands historisch-Archaelogisch Instituut, 1999), 106, 121.

77. For an important analysis of Assyrian interaction in the Negev, see Yifat Thareani, "Forces of Decline and Regeneration: A Socioeconomic Account of the Iron Age II Negev Desert," in *The Economy of Ancient Judah in Its Historical Context*, ed. Gary N. Knoppers, Ehud Ben Zvi, and Marvin Lloyd Miller (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2015), 207–35.

78. Eivind Heldaas Seland, "The Persian Gulf or the Red Sea? Two Axes in Ancient Indian Ocean Trade, Where to Go and Why," *WA* 43 (2011): 398–409.

79. The classical sources include Strabo, Herodotus, Theophratus, Artemidorus of Ephesus, Diodorus Siculus, Pliny the Elder, and the geographical treatise of Ptolemaeus. See Alessandro de Maigret, "The Frankincense Road from Najrān to Maʿān: A Hypothetical Itinerary," in Avanzini, *Profumi d'Arabia*, 315–17; Groom, *Frankincense and Myrrh*, 55–95; John Dayton, "Herodotus, Phoenicia, the Persian Gulf and India in the First Millennium B.C.," in *Arabie orientale, Mésopotamie et Iran meridional: De l'Age du Fer au début de la period islamique*, ed. Rémy Boucharlat and Jean-François Salles, ERCM 37 (Paris: Editions recherche sur les civilisations, 1984), 363–75; Michael C. A. Macdonald, *Literacy and Identity in Pre-Islamic Arabia*, Variorum Collected Series 906 (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), 1–33; Macdonald, "Arabs and Empires before the Sixth Century," in *Arabs and Empires before Islam*, ed. Greg Fisher (Oxford: Oxford

date to the eighth through sixth centuries BCE, although there is considerable debate about the period of their initial occupation.[80] Surveys and excavations in modern Yemen are beginning to document the intensity of settlement between the eighth and sixth centuries BCE in the Iron Age polities of Saba and Qataban.[81] Several of the oasis sites, including Tayma' and Yathrib, are also mentioned later by Nabonidus as locations that he visited on his sojourn in Arabia.[82] The following description of the routes from South Arabia relies on the work of Michael Macdonald and Alessandro de Maigret.[83]

––––––––––––––

University Press, 2015), 11–89. For these trading networks that expanded during the Persian period, see Dina Frangié-Joly, "Perfumes, Aromatics, and Purple Dye: Phoenician Trade and Production in the Greco-Roman Period," *JEMAHS* 4 (2016): 36–56; Israel Roll, "Imperial Roads across and Trade Routes beyond the Roman Provinces of Judaea-Palaestina and Arabia: The State of Research," *TA* 32 (2005): 111–14.

80. The participants in this debate were Peter J. Parr ("Edom and the Hejaz," 41–46; Parr, "Early History of the Hejaz," 1–11; Parr, "Aspects of the Archaeology of North-west Arabia in the First Millennium BC," in Fahd, *L'Arabie preislamique*, 39–66; Parr, "Contacts between Northwest Arabia and Jordan in the Late Bronze and Iron Ages," *SHAJ* 1 [1981]: 127–33) and Garth Bawden and Christopher Edens (Bawden, "Continuity and Disruption in the Ancient Hejaz," 1–22; Bawden and Edens, "Tayma Painted Ware and the Hejaz Iron Age Ceramic Tradition," *Levant* 20 [1988]: 197–213; Edens and Bawden, "History of Hayma and Hegazi Trade," 48–103).

81. See Eleanor Barbanes, "Domestic and Defensive Architecture on the Yemen Plateau: Eighth Century BCE–Sixth Century CE," *AAE* 11 (2000): 207–22; Leanne Mallory-Greenough, John D. Greenough, and Charles Fipke, "Iron Age Gold Mining: A Preliminary Report on the Camps in the Al Maraziq Region, Yemen," *AAE* 11 (2000): 223–36; T. J. Wilkinson and Christopher Edens, "Survey and Excavation in the Central Highlands of Yemen: Results of the Dhamar Survey Project, 1996 and 1998," *AAE* 10 (1999): 1–33; James A. Sauer and Jeffrey A. Blakely, "Archaeology along the Spice Route of Yemen," in *Araby the Blest: Studies in Arabian Archaeology*, ed. Daniel T. Potts, CNI Publication 7 (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1988), 91–115; T. J. Wilkinson, "The Organization of Settlement in Highland Yemen during the Bronze and Iron Ages," *PSAS* 33 (2003): 157–68; Jean-François Breton, "Preliminary Notes on the Development of Shabwa," *PSAS* 33 (2003): 199–213.

82. See Beaulieu, *Reign of Nabonidus, King of Babylon*, 150–51, 182–83.

83. Michael C. A. Macdonald, "Trade Routes and Trade Goods at the Northern End of the 'Incense Road' in the First Millennium B.C.," in Avanzini, *Profumi d'Arabia*, 333–49; Alessandro de Maigret, "The Arab Nomadic People and the Cultural Interface between the 'Fertile Crescent' and 'Arabia Felix,'" *AAE* 10 (1998): 220–24; de Maigret, "Frankincense Road from Najrān to Maʿān." See also Michaël Jasmin, "The Emergence and First Development of the Arabian Trade across the Wadi Arabah," in *Crossing*

There were three nodal points where the trade routes diverged in different directions on the Arabian Peninsula. At these major centers, products were exchanged between caravans, which traversed the trade routes primarily between two nodes with little substantiation to suggest single caravans ever traveled the entire route.[84] The incense, the most lucrative product of south Arabia, was gathered in the region of Hadramawt.[85] The southernmost node was the oasis center of Najran near the Gulf of Aden in modern Yemen.[86] From Najran a route led northeast to Qaryat al Faw and then to the western coast of the Persian Gulf. The northwestern route led to Yathrib near the Islamic city of Medinah.[87] Yathrib is the second nodal point with three routes diverging from the area: northeast to Haʾil and then to southern Mesopotamia, north to Taymaʾ and then to Duma, and northwest to Dedan (modern al-ʿUla).[88] The third nodal point on the route toward Edom was Duma with routes running northeast to Mesopotamia and northwest to Qurayyah and then to the Wadi Musa region.[89] From the

---

the Rift: Resources, Settlements, Patterns, and Interactions in the Wadi Araba, ed. Piotr Bienkowski and Katharina Galor, LevantSup 3 (Oxbow, 2005), 143–44.

84. See Nimrod Marom, Meirav Meiri, and Guy Bar-Oz, "Note on the Contribution of Genetics to Understanding the Organization of Camel Caravans in Antiquity," *PNAS* 113 (2016): E4582.

85. Retsö, *Arabs in Antiquity*, 122, 249. The most comprehensive study of the process and products of the Arabian trade routes is Groom, *Frankincense and Myrrh*. See also Morris, "Harvesting of Frankincense."

86. Macdonald, "Trade Routes and Trade Goods," 334; de Maigret, "Arab Nomadic People and the Cultural Interface," 221; de Maigret, "Frankincense Road from Najrān to Maʿān," 317–19.

87. Macdonald, "Trade Routes and Trade Goods," 334; de Maigret, "Arab Nomadic People and the Cultural Interface," 222; de Maigret, "Frankincense Road from Najrān to Maʿān," 320–21; Groom, *Frankincense and Myrrh,* 192.

88. Macdonald, "Trade Routes and Trade Goods," 334; de Maigret, "Arab Nomadic People and the Cultural Interface," 222; de Maigret, "Frankincense Road from Najrān to Maʿān," 334–35; Groom, *Frankincense and Myrrh,* 193–94. Taymaʾ was the major nodal point for the routes running northeast to Mesopotamia. For the importance of Taymaʾ, see Edens and Bawden, "History of Hayma and Hegazi Trade"; Livingstone, "New Light on the Ancient Town of Taimāʾ"; and Daniel T. Potts, "Tayma and the Assyrian Empire," *AAE* 2 (1991): 10–23.

89. Macdonald, "Trade Routes and Trade Goods," 335–36; Groom, *Frankincense and Myrrh*, 204. After the decline of Petra as a trading center, the route shifted west to Maʿan (de Maigret, "Frankincense Road from Najrān to Maʿān," 318–24); Daniel M. Master, "Economy and Exchange in the Iron Age Kingdoms of the Southern Levant," *BASOR* 372 (2014): 89.

Wadi Musa routes ran north and west to Gaza, Tyre, and Damascus. Based on this reconstruction of the routes from Arabia, there were two areas in Edom that would have profited from the increased traffic along the routes: north of the Gulf of Aqaba at Tall al Khalayfi on the route running north from Dedan and sites along the Wadi Musa on the route from Duma and Qurayyah. At each of these points along the trade routes, the caravans maintained a mutually beneficial economic and social relationship with merchants and administrators of the region, requiring their support for protection from bandits and rogue elements.[90]

7.2.3. Evidence of the Trade Routes through Edom

The routes within the sandstone highlands of Edom often followed natural paths along ridges or wadis and traversed the landscape as passages between settlements or points of economic significance, like the paths between Busayra and the copper districts in the Wadi Faynan.[91] Some evidence in Edom and the Negev of the trade routes that ran through the region includes South Arabian inscriptions and Arabian style objects found at sites in Edom, Judah, and the Negev. There are also sites, often labeled fortresses or caravanserai, near the routes that were established in the Iron Age probably for the purpose of protecting and maintaining the trade routes.

---

90. See Eivind Heldaas Seland, "Camels, Camel Nomadism and the Practicalities of Palmyrene Caravan Trade," *ARAM* 27 (2015): 45–54 for a discussion of this relationship between caravans and elite in Roman-era Palmyra. Recently Terpstra has argued that ancient states developed something like public institutions to benefit from and contribute to these trading networks. See Taco Terpstra, *Trade in the Ancient Mediterranean: Private Order and Public Institutions*, Princeton Economic History of the Western World (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019), esp. ch. 2. Note that Tebes argues that the trade routes in the Arabah and Negev were largely controlled by the local nomadic populations rather than caravans. See Juan Manuel Tebes, "Trade and Nomads: The Commercial Relations between the Negev, Edom, and the Mediterranean in the Late Iron Age," *Journal of the Serbian Archaeological Society* 22 (2006): 45–62; and Tebes, "Assyrians, Judaeans, Pastoral Groups," 619–31. He bases this on the low number of Arabian-style artifacts in the Negev and Wadi Arabah. For the role of pastoral nomadic groups in trading procedures, see Glenn J. Corbett, "The Impact of Long-Distance Trade on the Pastoral-Nomadic Populations of Southern Jordan and Northwestern Arabia during the Iron Age," *SHAJ* 9 (2007): 241–46.

91. For routes in between the lowlands and the region of Busayra, see Ben-Yosef, Najjar, and Levy, "Local Iron Age Trade Routes," 493–575.

Objects that can be linked with certainty to the Arabian trade routes in Edom are rare. There are two inscriptions, clay jar stoppers made in an Arabian style, a number of representations of camels that could have been inspired by the use of the camels along the trade routes, and altars where incense from Arabia was used in rituals.[92] These objects were found throughout Edom and date to the seventh through sixth centuries BCE. The epigraphic confirmation consists of a Thamudic seal impression found at Ghrara and a South Arabian jar inscription from Tall al Khalayfi.[93] The seal impression was discovered on a jar handle near a defensive wall on the southern edge of Ghrara in a seventh through sixth century BCE context. The name of a woman, Nūrat (the daughter of) Nūrīl (*nrt/ nil*), was impressed on a storage jar in a Thamudic or Proto-Arabic script. The Thamudic script was used during this period in the area of Dedan (al-ʿUla) in northwestern Arabia. This seal impression indicates a possible open flow of trade between the area of Dedan and Edom.[94]

An ostracon, found in the surface debris at Tall al Khalayfi near the outer wall of the fortified settlement, has been dated paleographically to the eighth through the early sixth century BCE. The incised ostracon has two partially preserved signs at the top of the broken text (Tall al Khalayfi no. 9027).[95] Glueck suggested that the script was from northwest Arabia and attributed it to the sixth century BCE.[96] Another incised sherd has

---

92. For camels in petroglyphs and rock art in the region, see Juan Manuel Tebes, "Iconographies of the Sacred and Power of the Desert Nomads: A Reappraisal of the Desert Rock Art of the Late Bronze/Iron Age Southern Levant and Northwestern Arabia," *WO* 47 (2017): 9–11.

93. For the Thamudic seal impression, see Hart, "Excavations at Ghrareh," fig. 9; for the South Arabian jar inscription, see DiVito, "Tell el-Kheleifeh Inscriptions," pl. 80B.

94. Knauf, "Thamudic Seal Impression," 99, see his appendix for a paleographic discussion. Knauf suggests a kind of political control of Edom by Dedan. See also Van der Veen, "Arabian Seals and Bullae along the Trade Routes of Judah and Edom," 26–27.

95. The text was initially mentioned by Glueck ("First Campaign at Tell el-Kheleifeh [Ezion-Geber]," 3–17; Glueck, "Tell el-Kheleifeh Inscriptions," 236–37, pl. 10) and studied by G. Ryckmans ("Un fragment de jarre avec caractères minéens à Tell el-Kheleyfeh," *RB* 48 [1939]: 247–49). It was subsequently studied by Bartlett (*Edom and the Edomites*, 225, no. 8) and DiVito ("Tell el-Kheleifeh Inscriptions," 62, pl. 83D).

96. Glueck, "First Campaign at Tell el-Kheleifeh (Ezion-Geber)"; Glueck, "Tell el-Kheleifeh Inscriptions," 236–37; in the latter article Glueck cited a supportive letter from Frank M. Cross.

two signs that appear to read ʾš, but Glueck and most subsequent scholars interpreted the signs as derivative of a Northwest Arabian script (Tall al Khalayfi no. 469).[97] G. Ryckmans later interpreted it as two composite signs or monograms. He considered the symbol on the right to be a *lamed* over a *bet* and the one on the left as a *ḥet* above a reversed *yod*. The two monograms were the first two letters in the name and epithet of the maker of the jar. This inscription still eludes adequate explanation, but both epigraphs are significant because of their connections to the Arabian Peninsula.[98]

Limestone jar stoppers with South Arabian connections were excavated at Busayra and Tawilan.[99] Although jar stoppers were common in Edom, these stoppers have a pierced knob and incised decorations that are similar to alabaster and sandstone stoppers found at Hajar bin Humid and Qaryat al Faw in South Arabia.[100] It is not known whether these objects were made of nearby stone or if they were imported, but the distinctive style of the stoppers does suggest a connection with Arabia.

The representation of camels increased during the Iron Age in Edom, although the predominant zoomorphic representations were figures of horses. The dromedary camel, although domesticated previously, was used for transport along major portions of the Arabian trade routes in the mid-first millennium BCE. Known for their adaptability to extremely hot and arid conditions, the dromedary camel is quite adept at enduring extreme water loss while able to survive for almost a week without water. This makes the species ideal for transporting cargo long distances in the desert conditions of the trade routes through the Arabian Peninsula.[101] It

---

97. The sherd was published by Glueck ("First Campaign at Tell el-Kheleifeh [Ezion-Geber]," 16–17, fig. 5) and subsequently analyzed by Bartlett (*Edom and the Edomites*, 224–225, no. 7) and DiVito ("Tell el-Kheleifeh Inscriptions," 62, p.e 80B); Lipiński ("Edom at the Crossroads of 'Incense Routes,'" 69) also notes the importance of this sherd for providing "solid evidence for trade links with South Arabia around 700 B.C."

98. See DiVito, "Tell el-Kheleifeh Inscriptions," 62.

99. For Busayra, see Bienkowski, *Busayra Excavations,* 396, pl. 10.126:a–c; for Tawilan, see Bienkowski, "Small Finds," 87, fig. 9.24.3.

100. See Singer-Avitz and Eshet, "Beersheba—A Gateway Community," 52.

101. For recent genetic studies of the dromedary camel, see Ludovic Orlando, "Back to the Roots and Routes of Dromedary Domestication," *PNAS* 113 (2016): 6588–90; and Faisal Almathen et al., "Ancient and Modern DNA Reveals Dynamics of Domestication and Cross-continental Dispersal of the Dromedary," *PNAS* 113 (2016):

is notable that camels were in use as early as late tenth and ninth centuries BCE in the Arabah and the Negev for short-distance transportation related to the copper industry, possibly after it was reorganized by Shoshenq I.[102] Following its introduction to the southern Levant, artistic representations of the camel began to appear.[103] Camel bones were recovered at Busayra and Tawilan along with clay figurines of camels.[104] The figurines are difficult to interpret because most are fragmentary and for many only leg fragments remain. This led Bienkowski to interpret all the fragments found at Tawilan as parts of horse figurines, although Leonie Sedman tentatively identified three fragments at Busayra as camel heads.[105]

One of the more important indicators of Edom's Arabian trade connections is the use of limestone altars for the burning of incense. Three limestone incense altars were excavated in Edom: two at Tawilan and one at Busayra. [106] Although the altars seem to have some stylistic connections with South Arabia, more convincing evidence of trade with that area is the predominance of frankincense as the preferred form of incense in use in Iron Age Edom.[107]

6707–12. For uses in the Egyptian Empire of the late second millennium B.C.E., see Gunnar Sperveslage, "Intercultural Contacts between Egypt and the Arabian Peninsula at the Turn of the 2nd to the 1st Millennium BCE," in *Dynamics of Production in the Ancient Near East (1300–500 BC)*, ed. Juan Carlos Moreno García (Oxford: Oxbow, 2016), 303–30.

102. For a recent catalog of camel remains in the region along with dating, see Sapir-Hen and Ben-Yosef, "Introduction of Domestic Camels to the Southern Levant," 277–85; Jasmin, "Emergence and First Development of the Arabian Trade," 148–49. Randall W. Younker and Katharine Koudele ("Camel Petroglyphs in the Wadi Nasib and Their Implications for the Use of Camels in the Late Bronze Age," *SHAJ* 9 [2007]: 53–60) argue that the camel could have been used for short distance, heavy load transport related to mining activity in the Sinai as early as the fifteenth century BCE.

103. See James A. Sauer, "Artistic and Faunal Evidence for the Influence of the Domestication of Donkeys and Camels on the Archaeological History of Jordan and Arabia," *SHAJ* 5 (1995): 39–48.

104. For Busayra, see Bienkowski, *Busayra Excavations,* 471–72; for Tawilan, see Bienkowski, "Small Finds," 99.

105. Bienkowski, *Busayra Excavations,* 80; figs. 9.3–9.4; Sedman, "Small Finds," 381–85; cf. Ernst Axel Knauf, "Supplementa Ismaelitica 12: Camels in Late Bronze and Iron Age Jordan: The Archaeological Evidence," *BN* 40 (1987): 20–23.

106. Bienkowski, "Small Finds," 85; for Busayra, Sedman, "Small Finds," 396.

107. Singer-Avitz and Eshet, "Beersheba—A Gateway Community," 41–44; Fawzi

There are several objects found at sites in the Negev and Judah that have stylistic and epigraphic links to South Arabia.[108] Three sherds that preserve South Arabian inscriptions were found in Iron Age strata in Jerusalem and one possible South Arabian seal from Bethel.[109] An incense altar found at Beersheba is incised with South Arabian letters (possibly *khn*).[110] Other finds from Beersheba with possible South Arabian connections include limestone jar stoppers and sherds with camel images.[111]

While the material cultural connections between Edom and South Arabia are not extensive, the few distinct artifacts point to a verifiable level of indirect interaction between the cultures. More significant are the trade routes that traversed Edomite territory through which some of the most lucrative products in the ancient world passed to the larger markets of the Mediterranean basin. The Edomite rulers could have acquired some wealth and prestige by controlling those routes, although the administration at Busayra was not able to monitor the passages in regions like the Wadi Musa or farther south. Eventually the products crossed over to the port cities like Ashkelon where they were traded and distributed throughout the Mediterranean.[112] Edom's part in these transactions was minimal

---

Zayadine, "Cosmetic Techniques: A Historical and Botanical Approach," *SHAJ* 5 (1995): 68–69.

108. See André Lemaire, "La Reine de Saba à Jérusalem: La tradition ancienne reconsidérée," in *Kein Land für sich allein: Studien zum Kulturkontakt in Kanaan, Israel/Palästina und Ebirnâri für Manfred Weippert zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Ulrich Hübner and Ernst Axel Knauf, OBO 186 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; Fribourg: Presses Universitaires, 2002), 43–55.

109. Yigal Shilo, "South Arabian Inscriptions from the City of David, Jerusalem," *PEQ* 119 (1987): 9–18; Benjamin Sass, "Arabs and Greeks in Late First Temple Jerusalem," *PEQ* 122 (1990): 59–61. The origin of this seal is problematic. It was found in an Iron Age dump outside the walls of Bethel (see Gus W. Van Beek and A. Jamme, "The Authenticity of the Bethel Stamp Seal," *BASOR* 199 [1970]: 59–65), but Yigael Yadin ("An Inscribed South-Arabian Clay Stamp from Bethel?," *BASOR* 196 [1970]: 37–45) and Ray L. Cleveland ("More on the South-Arabian Clay Stamp Found in Beitin," *BASOR* 209 [1973]: 33–36) argue that the seal is identical to one published by an antiquities dealer as a seal from South Arabia. Cleveland argued that it was possibly transported to Bethel by the collector's wife for religious reasons.

110. Singer-Avitz and Eshet, "Beersheba—A Gateway Community," 50–52.

111. Singer-Avitz and Eshet, "Beersheba—A Gateway Community," 52.

112. The role of Ashkelon in the Mediterranean trade network during the Assyrian period is a matter of debate. See Alexander Fantalkin, "Neo-Assyrian Involvement in the Southern Coastal Plain of Israel: Old Concepts and New Interpretations," in

and limited to trading goods with those caravans that were traversing its territory and to extracting a fee from those caravans for safe passage.

7.2.4. Trade and the Edomite "Occupation" of the Negev

In the past quarter century, several Iron Age sites in the Negev were excavated that exemplify mixed material cultures. Some scholars define these sites as Edomite and use them to support the hypothesis of a political expansion of Edom westward into the Negev. Others even label the Negev as western Edom.[113] The sites often cited as Edomite fortresses or Judean fortresses with significant Edomite connections are ʿEn Ḥaṣeva, Ḥorvat ʿUza, Tel Malḥata, Tel ʿAroʿer, Tel ʿIra, and Ḥorvat Qitmit.[114] Two theories have developed to explain the "Edomite" material at these sites. The first theory, proposed by Beit-Arieh, is that Edom expanded and occupied the northern Negev in the late seventh and early sixth centuries BCE during a period of

---

The Southern Levant under Assyrian Domination, ed. Shawn Zelig Aster and Avi Faust (University Park, PA: Eisenbrauns, 2018), 163–68. See also Avraham Faust and Ehud Weiss, "Judah, Philistia, and the Mediterranean World: Reconstructing the Economic System of the Seventh Century B.C.E.," *BASOR* 338 (2005): 71–92; Faust and Weiss, "Between Assyria and the Mediterranean World: The Prosperity of Judah and Philistia in the Seventh Century BCE in Context," in *Interweaving Worlds: Systemic Interactions in Eurasia, 7th to the 1st Millennia BC*, ed. Toby C. Wilkinson, Susan Sherratt, and John Bennet (Oxford: Oxbow, 2011), 189–204. For Stager's idea of "port power," see Lawrence E. Stager, "Port Power in the Early and the Middle Bronze Age: The Organization of Maritime Trade and Hinterland Production," in *Studies in the Archaeology of Israel and Neighboring Lands in Memory of Douglas L. Esse*, ed. Samuel R. Wolff, SAOC 59 (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2001), 625–38.

113. Stern, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible*, 276–79.

114. For Ḥorvat Qitmit, see Itzhaq Beit-Arieh, ed., *Ḥorvat Qitmit: An Edomite Shrine in the Biblical Negev*, SMNIA 11 (Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology, 1995); for Tel ʿIra, see Beit-Arieh, ed., *Tel ʿIra: A Stronghold in the Biblical Negev*, SMNIA 15 (Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology, 1999); for En Ḥaṣeva, see Cohen and Yisrael, "Iron Age Fortresses at ʿEn Ḥaṣeva," 223–35; for Ḥorvat ʿUza, see Itzhaq Beit-Arieh and Bruce Cresson, "Horvat ʿUza: A Fortified Outpost on the Eastern Negev Border," *BA* 54 (1991): 126–35; Beit-Arieh, *Ḥorvat ʿUza and Ḥorvat Radum*; for Tel ʿAroʿer, see Avraham Biran and Rudolf Cohen, "Notes and News: Aroer, 1976," *IEJ* 26 (1976): 139–40; and Yifat Thareani, "The Judean Desert Frontier in the Seventh Century BCE: A View from ʿAroer," in Tebes, *Unearthing the Wilderness*, 227–65. For a recent review of this information, see Matthieu Richelle, "La guerre du Néguev a-t-elle eu lieu? Essai de réévaluation historique des relations conflictuelles entre Juda et Edom aux VIIe et VIe s. avant n.è.," *JA* 305 (2017): 13–21.

Assyrian decline in the west.[115] In the second theory, developed largely in response to the Edomite expansion theory, a number of scholars suggest that the material culture does not indicate Edomite occupation. Instead the mixture of architectural elements, iconographic aspects, and pottery points to sites occupied by elements from Judah, Phoenicia, Philistia, and Edom that were established along routes running through the Negev in order to participate in the trading economy and to protect the routes.[116]

The arguments used in favor of an Edomite occupation of the northern Negev revolve around three issues: biblical material, the presence of Edomite pottery and inscriptions, and the presumed presence of Edomite ritual material. Proponents of this theory refer to verses in the Hebrew Bible that describe animosity between Judah and Edom, particularly regarding the control of Ezion-geber (e.g., 2 Kgs 16:6) and a reference in Chronicles to an Edomite invasion of Judah (2 Chr 26:17, but see above in ch. 5). The biblical references imply that Edom was emerging as an influential force in the region with the military capacity to invade and occupy the northern Negev, which was previously dominated by Judah. When the Negev sites were initially surveyed, a large amount of "Edomite" pottery was recovered from surface levels at these sites.[117] At Ḥorvat Qitmit, approximately 25 percent of the pottery was made in an Edomite-style with various painted bands that had parallels with pottery from Busayra and Tall al Khalayfi, although most of the Edomite-style pottery was manufactured near Ḥorvat Qitmit.[118] In addition to the pottery, four of the

---

115. See Itzhaq Beit-Arieh, "The Edomites in Cisjordan," in Edelman, *You Shall Not Abhor an Edomite*, 33–40; Beit-Arieh, "Conclusion," in Beit-Arieh, *Ḥorvat Qitmit*, 303–18; Beit-Arieh, "Judah versus Edom in the Eastern Negev," *SHAJ* 10 (2009): 597–602; Cohen and Yisrael, "Iron Age Fortresses at ʿEn Ḥaṣeva," 223–35; Stern, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible,* 268–94. Étienne Nodet makes a similar argument from Josephus and the Samaritan version of Joshua; see Nodet, "Édom, c'est l'Idumée! Le rejet littéraire d'Édom hors de Juda," *RB* 126 (2019): 161–206.

116. For the second theory, see John R. Bartlett, "Edom and Idumaeans," *PEQ* 131 (1999): 102–14; Israel Finkelstein, "Ḥorvat Qiṭmit and the Southern Trade in the Late Iron Age II," *ZDPV* 108 (1992): 156–70; Finkelstein, *Living on the Fringe*, 139–51; Bienkowski and Van der Steen, "Tribes, Trade, and Towns," 21–47. See most recently, Annlee Elizabeth Dolan and Steven John Edwards, "Preference for Periphery? Cultural Interchange and Trade Routes along the Boundaries of Late Iron Age Moab," *PEQ* 152 (2020): 53–72.

117. Itzhaq Beit-Arieh, "New Light on the Edomites," *BAR* 41.2 (1988): 28–41.

118. Liora Freud and Itzhaq Beit-Arieh, "Pottery," in Beit-Arieh, *Ḥorvat Qitmit*,

seven inscriptions from Ḥorvat Qitmit contained the theophoric element Qaus, a divine name associated with Edom. There were also numerous ritual vessels and figurines found at Ḥorvat Qitmit with characteristics that had Edomite analogies; however, Pirhiya Beck did note that there were parallels to vessels from Judah, Philistia, and Phoenicia as well.

Against these arguments, scholars have proposed three responses. The biblical material referencing Edomite presence in the Negev and Judah is late and probably reflects legitimate tensions of the later postexilic period, the Edomite pottery and inscriptions are suggestive of intensified Edomite involvement in the trade networks but not necessarily Edomite occupation of the Negev, and the ritual material is not exclusively Edomite.

First, the biblical texts do not offer unambiguous support for a widespread Edomite occupation of the Negev.[119] The key text for the Negev occupation theory is 2 Chr 26 (see above in ch. 5), a text that has no parallel in the earlier Deuteronomistic material and was composed in the fifth century BCE or later and probably reflects the status of Edom during that period.

Second, the pottery assemblage at the Negev sites after more systematic excavation and publication seems to reflect a mixture of styles from Edom, Judah, Philistia, Phoenicia, and possibly northern Arabia.[120] Such a mixture of pottery styles is characteristic of sites located along trade routes and frequented by a wide variety of traders and pastoralists.[121] This in turn, suggests that the population occupying the Negev sites, as well as sites in the Wadi Arabah, were more mobile due to the need to engage in trade and identify pastures for livestock in an arid environment.[122]

209–57; for the petrographic study, see Freud, "Local Production of Edomite Cooking Pots," 283–306.

119. Bartlett, "Edom and Idumaeans."

120. Bienkowski and Van der Steen, "Tribes, Trade, and Towns," 26–28.

121. Yifat Thareani-Sussely, "Ancient Caravanserais: An Archaeological View from ʿAroer," *Levant* 39 (2007): 123–41; Thareani, "Judean Desert Frontier in the Seventh Century BCE." Bienkowski and Van der Steen, "Tribes, Trade, and Towns"; Finkelstein, "Edom in Iron I," 159–66; Tebes, "Assyrians, Judaeans, Pastoral Groups."

122. On the concept of mobility in these contexts, see Marta Luciani, "Mobility, Contacts and the Definition of Culture(s) in New Archaeological Research in Northwest Arabia," in *The Archaeology of North Arabia: Oases and Landscapes; Proceedings of the International Congress Held at the University of Vienna, 5–8 December, 2013*, ed. Marta Luciani, OREA 4 (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 2016), 22–30.

Third, the ritual vessels, considered typically Edomite by Beit-Arieh, in fact have stylistic parallels from throughout the region.[123] Beck, in her catalog and description of the cultic vessels from Ḥorvat Qitmit, noted the broader parallels but finally agreed with the excavator. Because of the epigraphic evidence for Qaus, she considered the site's cult to have venerated Qaus, the god of the Edomites. However, the material data are not uniquely Edomite. The mixture of styles was a result of the site being used by traders from widely differing parts of the region and tribal elements.[124] The situation is similar to the site of Kuntillet Ajrud in the central Negev, which was occupied in the ninth century BCE.[125] The site also has a multicultural material culture and was probably used as a wayside shrine for travelers through the Negev, but it likely also served other functions beyond religion.[126]

7.2.5. The Path of the Trade Routes through Edom and the Negev

The trade routes ran northwest from Arabia toward the Wadi Musa region, the focal point of settlement in southern Edom, and then west to the Wadi Arabah and Negev. A survey of the area southeast of the Wadi Musa revealed several important Iron Age sites along the major routes.[127] Of the twelve Iron Age sites, three were significant settlements: Khirbat al Muʿallq, Khirbat ar Ruways, and Nabat ʿAyn al ʿAshra. Khirbat al Muʿallq was a walled agricultural settlement, Khirbat ar Ruways consisted of

---

123. Beit-Arieh and Cresson, "Notes and News: Horvat Uza, 1982," 262–63, pl. 44.

124. Bienkowski and Sedman, "Busayra and Judah," 318–22; Christoph Uehlinger, "Arad, Qitmit—Judahite Aniconism vs. Edomite Iconic Cult? Questioning the Evidence," in *Texts, Artifacts and Images: Revealing Ancient Israelite Religion*, ed. Gary Beckman and Theodore J. Lewis, BJS 346 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 80–112.

125. See Zeʾev Meshel, "Kuntillet Ajrud," *OEANE* 3:310–12; Brian B. Schmidt, *The Materiality of Power: Explorations in the Social History of Ancient Israelite Magic*, FAT 105 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 109–22, 214–17; Jeremy Smoak and William Schniedewind, "Religion at Kuntillet ʿAjrud," *Religions* 10 (2019): 1–18.

126. Zeʾev Meshel, ed., *Kuntillet Ajrud (Ḥorvat Teman): An Iron Age II Religious Site on the Judah-Sinai Border* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2012); Finkelstein, *Living on the Fringe*, 149–52; Schmidt, *Materiality of Power*, 22–23 n. 28, 121–22, 214–18.

127. Khairieh Amr et al., "Archaeological Survey of the Wadi Musa Water Supply and Wastewater Project Area," *ADAJ* 42 (1998): 502–48.

structures and towers, and Nabat ʿAyn al ʿAshra has two square towers on a strategically located hill with a view to the east and south. These sites, a fortified settlement and towers, could indicate an attempt by a centralized administration to monitor the traffic along the route leading from north-western Arabia to the settlements along the Wadi Musa.

The routes from the Wadi Musa to the Wadi Arabah are particularly difficult to identify due to the topography. Several routes were in operation during later periods, and plausibly the same was true for the Iron Age. Manfred Lindner, Ulrich Hübner, and Johannes Hübl suggested that there was not a single major traffic route and that "at different times with different animals, different loads, different people, in different seasons, clandestinely smuggling (or open trading), one or another passage may have been chosen."[128] There were also routes that ran north past Busayra and through the Wadi al Hasa. The primary path ran near the same route as the Roman *Via Nova Traiana*. It probably consisted of various tracks through wadis and between sites much like the routes west from the Wadi Musa. Alternative routes likely passed farther east, along the desert periphery, that serviced sites such as Maʾan and eastern Moabite towns such as Mudaybi and Khirbat al-Mudayna ath-Thamad.[129]

The distribution of major sites provides the best way to identify the trade routes through the Negev from the Edomite plateau to the Mediterranean coast. The routes ran west from Busayra and Wadi Musa across the Wadi Arabah to ʿEn Ḥaṣeva, the closest Iron Age site west of the Arabah and possibly an Assyrian outpost.[130] From ʿEn Ḥaṣeva the route ran northwest to the Beersheba Valley past the clustered northern Negev sites of

---

128. Manfred Lindner, Ulrich Hübner, and Johannes Hübl, "Nabataean and Roman Presence between Petra and Wadi ʿArabah Survey Expedition 1997/98: Umm Ratam," *ADAJ* 44 (2000): 545.

129. Dolan and Edwards, "Preference for Periphery?," 53–72.

130. Cf. Naʾaman, "Assyrian Residence at Ramat Rahel?"; Finkelstein, "Archaeology of Tell el-Kheleifeh," 105–36; and more recently Finkelstein, "Jeroboam II in Transjordan," 19–29. For an initial attempt to construct a typology of Assyrian administrative sites, including *bīt mardīte*, or Assyrian provisioning centers, see Shawn Zelig Aster, "An Assyrian *bīt mardīte* near Tel Hadid?," *JNES* 74 (2015): 281–88. Several scholars have proposed that ʿEn Ḥaṣeva, Tall al Khalayfi, and the square fortress at Khirbat an Nahas were built by Assyrians or under Assyrian direction largely because of their comparable layouts (square fortresses built on raised platforms with complex gateways) and strategic locations. See Finkelstein in the articles cited above and Angelika Berlejung, "The Assyrians in the West: Assyrianization, Colonialism, Indifference,

Ḥorvat ʿUza, Tel Malḥata, Tel ʿAroꜤer, Tel ʿIra, and Ḥorvat Qitmit to the major gateway sites of Beersheba.[131] At Beersheba, routes ran north to the Phoenician coast, west to Gaza and Philistia, and northeast to Judah.[132] It was in these coastal regions that the Assyrians attempted to maintain control of the trading outlets, establishing Assyrian quay along the Mediterranean coast at sites like Tell Qudadi.[133]

7.2.6. Summary

Although there is little proof for long-distance trade within Edom itself and certainly not enough information to determine the mode of trade or the relationships between the polities and traders, the trade routes running from the northwestern Arabia to the Mediterranean coast and to northern Transjordan passed through Edom in the Wadi Musa and the

---

or Development Policy," in *Congress Volume Helsinki 2010*, ed. Martti Nissinen, VTSup 148 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 42.

131. See David A. Dorsey, *The Roads and Highways of Ancient Israel*, ASOR Library of Biblical and Near Eastern Archaeology (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 200; Singer-Avitz and Eshet, "Beersheba—A Gateway Community," 57. On the difficulty of identifying roads from the Iron Age, see Chaim Ben David, "Iron Age Roads in Moab and Edom: The Archaeological Evidence," *SHAJ* 10 (2009): 723–24. For routes between Busayra and the Negev, see Ben-Yosef, Najjar, and Levy, "Local Iron Age Trade Routes." For these routes during the Nabataean era, see Motti Zohar and Tali Erickson-Gini, "The 'Incense Road' from Petra to Gaza: An Analysis Using GIS and Cost Functions," *IJGIS* 34 (2020): 292–310.

132. Dorsey, *Roads and Highways of Ancient Israel,* 193–201. Assyrian constructions along the coast like Gaza would have functioned as trading posts and Assyrian administrative centers (*kāru*). For a study of the *kāru* in Assyrian literature, see Yamada, "*Kārus* on the Frontiers," 56–90.

133. Naʾaman, "Assyrian Residence at Ramat Rahel?"; Naʾaman, "Province System and Settlement Pattern," 103–15; Naʾaman, "The Boundary System and Political Status of Gaza under the Assyrian Empire," *ZDPV* 120 (2004): 55–72; Thareani, "Empire and the 'Upper Sea,'" 90; Tebes, "Assyrians, Judaeans, Pastoral Groups." For Tell Qudadi, see Alexander Fantalkin and Oren Tal, "Re-Discovering the Iron Age Fortress at Tell Qudadi in the Context of Neo-Assyrian Imperialistic Policies," *PEQ* 141 (2009): 188–206. Recent comparative analysis of ancient empires highlights the patchwork quality of control and administration of larger imperial territory, see Tesse D. Stek and Bleda S. Düring, "Towards a Patchwork Perspective on Ancient Empires," in *The Archaeology of Imperial Landscapes: A Comparative Study of Empires in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean World*, ed. Bleda S. Düring and Tesse D. Stek (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 351–62.

Busayra regions.[134] It is possible that other groups controlled the routes south of Busayra, but it is unclear if they cooperated or if there was competition. Although the few fortified sites and towers in the Wadi Musa region suggest that the elite at Busayra at least attempted to monitor these routes, they may not have been entirely successful. The Assyrians possibly monitored and controlled the trade from outposts at Tall al Khalayfi and ʿEn Ḥaṣeva. The trade in high value luxury goods along these routes, stimulated by the expansion of the Assyrian Empire, certainly influenced the region and may have been the primary motivation for settlement in the central portion of Edom along the Wadi Musa.

7.3. Craft Production in Edom

Until recently there was little information for substantial craft production in Edom. With the final publication of several sites, it is becoming clear that Edomites were possibly involved in acquiring a selection of Indo-Pacific shells from the Gulf of Aqaba and the Red Sea, and that Edomites could have produced prestige goods from those shells.[135] These species of marine invertebrate shells, found in their largest quantities at sites in Edom, are native to the Red Sea and Gulf of Aqaba, the Persian Gulf, and the Indian Ocean, but they only emerge in the Mediterranean after the opening of the Suez canal in the late 1800s.[136] The commodities produced from these shells—ornaments, engraved shells, and furniture inlays—are found at sites throughout the eastern Mediterranean. In Edom, excavators discovered large quantities of both finished products and raw materials, but in the regions to the north and west of Edom finished shell ornaments,

---

134. There were probably several modes that were used by traders including down-the-line trade (with goods being traded at central locations and then transported to other regions) and middleman trading (with the traders transporting goods to central locations and then continuing a route to other locations). This second mode is supported by the caravans traveling throughout the region and stopping in central locations, like the one described in the Suhu text (see Ryan Byrne, "Early Assyrian Contacts with Arabs and the Impact on Levantine Vassal Tribute," *BASOR* 331 [2003]: 14–16).

135. Bruce Routledge, "Mesopotamian 'Influence' in Iron Age Jordan: Issues of Power, Identity and Value," *BCSMS* 32 (1997): 37–38.

136. See David S. Reese, "The Trade of Indo-Pacific Shells into the Mediterranean Basin and Europe," *OJA* 10 (1991): 159–96.

furniture inlays, and prestige goods were discovered but unworked shell material is rare.

7.3.1. The Distribution of Indo-Pacific Shells in the Southern Levant

Although Indo-Pacific shells are extant at all major published sites in Edom, at Busayra there were caches of shell fragments along with finished products. Most of the shells were used for food containers, cosmetic dishes, and gaming pieces. But many of the species were "modified" and used for ornaments and pendants (*Cypraea*, *Lambis*, *Strombus*), horns (*Lambis*), furniture decorations (*Lambis* discs), and engraved shells (*Tridacna*, *Lambis*).[137] The importance of cowrie shells (*Cypraeidae*) as decorative items is evidenced by an engraved necklace made of a string of cowrie shells around the neck of a cultic figurine from Ḥorvat Qitmit.[138] The most widespread of the artifacts are the engraved Tridacna shells found throughout the Mediterranean and Mesopotamia.[139] The following table lists the shell finds at Edomite sites.[140]

---

137. For the use of shells as religious and political symbols, votive offerings, and in burials, see Mary Beth D. Turbitt ("The Production and Exchange of Marine Shell Prestige Goods," *JAR* 11 [2003]: 244–249, 260); and Cheryl Claassen (*Shells*, Cambridge Manuals in Archaeology [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998], 197–99, 203–4, 210, 229–30). For a discussion of mollusk shells within archaeological contexts in the Levant, see Janet Ridout-Sharpe, "Shell Ornaments, Icons and Other Artefacts from the Eastern Mediterranean and Levant," in *Molluscs in Archaeology: Methods, Approaches and Applications*, ed. Michael J. Allen, Studying Scientific Archaeology 3 (Oxford: Oxbow, 2017), 290–307; Kenneth D. Thomas, "Molluscs Emergent, Part I: Themes and Trends in the Scientific Investigation of Mollusc Shells as Resources for Archaeological Research," *JAS* 56 (2015): 133–40; and Thomas, "Molluscs Emergent, Part II: Themes and Trends in the Scientific Investigation of Molluscs and Their Shells as Past Human Resources," *JAS* 56 (2015): 159–67.

138. The figure was identified as Edomite by Pirhiya Beck ("Catalogue of Cult Objects and Study of the Iconography," in Beit-Arieh, *Ḥorvat Qitmit*, 45, 115–16; figs. 3.16–3.17 and 3.19–3.20). See also Amir Golani, "Cowrie Shells and Their Imitations as Ornamental Amulets in Egypt and the Near East," *PAM* 23 (2011): 74–75.

139. Rolf A. Stucky, *The Engraved Tridacna Shells*, Dédalo 10, Revista de Arqueologia e Etnologia 10.19 (São Paulo: Universidade de São Paulo, 1974); see David S. Reese and Catherine Sease, "Additional Unpublished Engraved *Tridacna* and *Anadara* Shells," *JNES* 63 (2004): 29–41 for a recent updated list.

140. Although Tall al Khalayfi probably had numerous shell remains, Glueck discarded them along with most of the diagnostic pottery.

Table 7.2. Distribution of Indo-Pacific shell remains in Edom[141]

Shell Type	Site	Description	Source
Tridacna	Busayra	65 remains with 2 worked items 2 caches, one with 40 fragments and one with 4	Reese 2002, 454–458
	Tawilan	15 remains, 6 are whole specimens and 9 are fragments	Reese 1995, 93
	Ghrara	5 remains	
	Umm al Biyara	6 remains	
Cypraea	Busayra	56 remains with 3 caches of 6, 5, and 4	Reese 2002, 458
	Tawilan	27 remains with a cache of 13	
	Ghrara	2 remains	
	Umm al Biyara	104 remains with a cache of 32 unworked specimens	
Lambis	Busayra	53 remains with 24 body fragments and 29 worked discs	Reese 2002, 458–459
	Tawilan	1 worked into a trumpet and 1 made into an incised disc	Reese 1995, 95
	Ghrara	1 shell	
Pinctada	Busayra	39 remains with 6 worked pieces	Reese 2002, 459–60
Conus	Busayra	14 remains, some with a holed apex	Reese 2002, 460
	Tawilan	3 remains, 2 with a hole	Reese 1995, 95–96
	Ghrara	1 shell	

---

141. Sources: David S. Reese, "Marine Invertebrates and Other Shells from Jerusalem (Sites A, C and L)," in *Excavations by K. M. Kenyon in Jerusalem 1961–1967 Volume IV: The Iron Age Cave Deposits on the South-east Hill and Isolated Burials and Cemeteries Elsewhere*, ed. Itzhak Eshel and Kay Prag, British Academy Monographs in Archaeology 6 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 265–78 = Reese 1995; Reese, "Fossil and Recent Marine Invertebrates," in Bienkowski, *Busayra Excavations*, 441–69 = Reese 2002; Reese, "Shells from Sarepta (Lebanon) and East Mediterranean Purple-Dye Production," *MAA* 10 (2010): 115 = Reese 2010.

Strombus	Busayra	10 remains with 1 worked item	Reese 2002, 460
	Ghrara	1 shell	
	Umm al Biyara	Present, but not quantified	
Echinoid	Busayra	15 remains	Reese 2002, 460
	Tawilan	Present, but not quantified	
Coral	Busayra	15 remains	Reese 2002, 460–461
Nerita	Busayra	6 remains, 2 with irregular holes	Reese 2002, 461
	Ghrara	1 shell	
Trochus	Busayra	5 remains, 4 columellas and 1 body fragment	Reese 2002, 461
Engina	Busayra	4 remains	Reese 2002, 461
	Ghrara	1 shell	
Turbo	Busayra	3 opercula but 0 shells	Reese 2002, 461
	Tawilan	1 operculum but 0 shells	Reese 1995, 95
	Umm al Biyara	1 operculum but 0 shells	
Charonia	Busayra	1 broken shell, unstratified	Reese 2002, 462; Reese 2010, 115

These types of shells are also found at sites in other regions of Jordan, Israel, Lebanon, and Syria. Although shells as prestige goods are often exchanged over long distances, it is possible that some of the shells found at distant sites could have been produced in southern Mesopotamia, since Indo-Pacific shells are found in the Persian Gulf.[142] However, the shells found in Iron Age strata at sites in Jordan and Israel probably came from the Gulf of Aqaba via Edom. The following table lists the sites and quantities of Indo-Pacific shells found in the region during the Iron Age.

---

142. Turbitt, "Production and Exchange of Marine Shell Prestige Goods," 244–47; Claassen, *Shells*, 233–35.

Table 7.3. Distribution of Indo-Pacific shells in the southern Levant[143]

Shell	Sites
modified *Tridacna*	Amman (2), Miqne (2), Assur (1), Tell el Far'ah (S) (1), Arad (1), Jerusalem (2), Shechem (1), Alalakh (1), Tell Sekin (Syria) (1), Byblos (1), Unprovenanced (2)
unmodified *Tridacna*	Wadi Tbeik (Negev) (1), Qadesh-Barnea (1), Tel Masos (11), Tell Jemmeh (3), Tall Jawa (2), Jerusalem (22), Miqne (1), Ta'annak (3)
Cypraea	Jerusalem (11), Amman (4), Ta'annak (1), Qadesh-Barnea (128), Ḥorvat Qitmit (18), Tall Šeh Ḥamad (Syria) (1)
Lambis	Jerusalem (9 body fragments, 2 discs)
Pinctada	Jerusalem (14)

It is possible that sites in Edom, particularly Busayra, were active in the production and dissemination of the worked and unworked Indo-Pacific shells.[144] Compared to the other sites in the region with Indo-Pacific shells, Busayra has the highest number of both worked and unworked shells. This suggests that Busayra participated in the production and distribution of the Indo-Pacific shell ornaments. Two areas in Busayra had high concentrations of shells, indicating that there was possibly a shell workshop at the site.

---

143. Sources: David S. Reese, "Fossil and Recent Marine Invertebrates," 441–69; Reese, "Shells and Fossils from Tall Jawa, Jordan," in *Excavations at Tall Jawa, Jordan, Volume 2: The Iron Age Artefacts*, ed. P. M. Michèle Daviau, CHANE 11.2 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 276–91; Reese, "Marine Invertebrates and Other Shells from Jerusalem (Sites A, C and L)," 265–78; Henk K. Mienis, "Molluscs," in *Excavations at the City of David 1978–1985 Directed by Yigal Shiloh, Volume III: Stratigraphical, Environmental, and Other Reports*, ed. Alon de Groot and Donald T. Ariel, Qedem 33 (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1992), 122–30.

144. Rolf A. Stucky, who published the standard catalog of engraved Tridacna shells (Stucky, *Engraved Tridacna Shells*; updated by Reese and Sease, "Additional Unpublished Engraved *Tridacna* and *Anadara* Shells") now suggests that the workshops that manufactured finished shell products were located in the southern Levant due to the presence of both worked and unworked shell fragments at these sites. See most recently, Stucky, "Les Tridacnes à décor gravé," in *La Méditerranée des Phéniciens: De Tyr à Carthage, Exposition, Institut du monde arabe, 6 novembre 2007–20 avril 2008* (Paris: Institut du monde arabe, 2007), 218–23.

7.3.2. A Possible Shell Workshop at Busayra

Numerous shells and shell fragments were found in a section of Area A in the southwestern corner of the temple area. In a room connected with the main courtyard of the temple, there were steps and a stone podium on a plaster floor with copper chair fittings and a wide range of shell fragments from the *Lambis*, *Cypraea*, and *Trubo* species. Many of these shells were worked with drilled holes, gloss, and grinding marks. There was also a cache of forty *Tridacna* fragments outside the room in what appears to

Fig. 7.2. Engraved Tridacna squamosa shell from square B7 at Busayra. Adapted from Reese, "Shells and Fossils from Tall Jawa, Jordan," fig. 12.33.
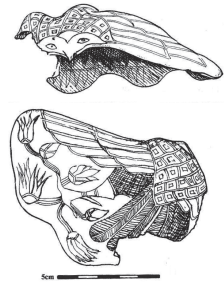
have been a discard pile. In spite of the large quantity of shells in this area, they were probably used in religious rituals since the worked shell fragments were found near the cella of the temple. This area could have been a storage room, or a place where these products were traded.

Indications for shell-goods workshops in cross-cultural contexts typically consist of worked and unworked shells, discarded fragments of shells, tools, and broken or unfinished ornaments.[145] Shell ornament production, particularly low-intensity production, often took place in residential areas.[146] Another possible workshop at Busayra was located near the city wall in Area B, in a more residential district. In squares B6–B9 were two complete rooms with shelves, benches, and platforms.[147] Some of the shells in this area were fully intact, such as a *Tridacna* specimen with yellow coloring.[148] Nearly all of the different species used in the production of finished shell products during the Iron Age were found

---

145. Turbitt, "Production and Exchange of Marine Shell Prestige Goods," 254–57; Golani, *Jewelry from the Iron Age II Levant*, 50–57.

146. Turbitt, "Production and Exchange of Marine Shell Prestige Goods," 255–56.

147. Bienkowski, *Busayra Excavations,* 131–33.

148. Reese, "Fossil and Recent Marine Invertebrates," 454–55.

here.[149] In addition to the shell evidence, these rooms preserved tools commonly associated with the manufacture of shell objects: mortars, querns, polishing stones, stone tools, and iron and copper tools.[150] It does not appear that this area was used solely for the production of shell objects, since figurines, stone beads, a faience chalice, bone inlays, and elephant ivory were also found in the rooms. The worked shells, as well as other luxury goods like stamped bowls and ivories, suggest a common artistic tradition, one related to Assyrian artifacts from Nimrud but also to Phoenician and Aramaean styles. A combination of stylistic motifs that were drawn upon by crafts specialists, led Marian Feldman to consider the Busayra tradition as part of a larger Levantine tradition characterized by "stylistic mobility," a fluidity of ancient expression that drew on common motifs that were culturally diverse in origin.[151] The stylistic mobility model suggests that the craft specialists belonged to a community of shared, structured, and interrelated practitioners between whom standards of style and praxis were exchanged and modified. This model allows for a more decentralized production in which the finished shells were exchanged along trade routes and obtained by elite families and royal dynasties.[152]

The level of specialization of craft production in a kin-based society like Edom is difficult to determine.[153] Since labor was probably acquired through kinship relations, the Edomite rulers likely produced the shell ornaments at Busayra or at least they directly controlled the production.[154]

---

149. Reese, "Fossil and Recent Marine Invertebrates," 466–67.

150. Cf. Turbitt, "Production and Exchange of Marine Shell Prestige Goods," 252–54.

151. Marian H. Feldman, *Communities of Style: Portable Luxury Arts, Identity, and Collective Memory in the Iron Age Levant* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), 34–35.

152. For detailed discussion of stylistic mobility and communities of practice, see Feldman, *Communities of Style*, 31–41.

153. Among the extensive literature on craft specialization, see the relevant discussions by John E. Clark ("Craft Specialization as an Archaeological Category," *ReEcAn* 16 [1995]: 267–94), John R. Cross ("Craft Specialization in Nonstratified Societies," *ReEcAn* 14 [1993]: 61–84), and Takeshi Inomata ("The Power and Ideology of Artistic Creation: Elite Craft Specialists in Classic Maya Society," *Curr Anthropol* 42 [2001]: 321–49).

154. Cf. Turbitt, "Production and Exchange of Marine Shell Prestige Goods," 257–60.

Edomite craft production involved specialists who produced goods under the patronage of those in power. Craft specialization in societies like Edom served as a means of creating and reinforcing internal kingship ties and external political relations.

7.4. Conclusions

The areas of economic and cultural transformation described above contributed to the social and political development of the Iron Age Edomite polity. The copper-mining operations in the Wadi Arabah experienced expansion during the early Iron Age, with contraction around the ninth century BCE as the Aramean strategy to promote Syrian and Cypriot copper production centers led to the destruction of Gath as the outlet of copper from the Faynan. However, the elite at Busayra continued to extract copper at a substantially reduced scale. The early Iron Age copper industry around Khirbat an Nahas, gave those rulers the ability to attain a certain level of dominance over other lineages to the south, particularly in the Wadi Musa region, which was prospering from the trading routes that ran through their territory. The routes provided the Busayra residents access to a much larger trading network in addition to the prosperity derived from the luxury products that were transported through Edom. The rise of the polity centered at Busayra also provided the demand and elite desire for high value finished products for trade and prestige items like the engraved *Tridacna* shells. Although there is not enough information from the excavations to further analyze the economy of Edom, the Edomite polity experienced the benefits of the regional economy stimulated by the Assyrian expansion.

8

Religious Transformations in Edom

The impact of broader connectivity and wider influences that derived from the expansion of the Assyrian Empire expressed in the previous chapter also stimulated changes in social domains such as religion. In fact, the religions practiced in Edom developed significantly as the southern Levant interacted with other cultures over its several centuries of existence. While the modern study of Edomite religion is hampered by the relative lack of written documents and the ambiguity of much of the evidence from the material culture, it is clear that Edom's religion was structured along similar trajectories as those of its neighboring cultures. However, during the eighth through sixth centuries BCE an otherwise unattested god named Qaus singularly rose to prominence within Edomite society via its dominant tribal group.[1]

The political and economic changes that occurred in the southern Levant impacted not only the display and exercise of authority and rapid transformations of the regional economy, but also the convergent structures and practice of religion. For example, the Early Iron Age settlements in the Wadi Arabah and the Wadi Faynan represent a rare look at the material culture of what comprised Edom's early pastoral-nomadic society, and with that a glimpse of the religious beliefs and practices of that culture. As the tribal culture moved into the highlands of Edom, began to partially sedentarize, and attempted to consolidate a minimal level of political and economic influence, religious buildings were constructed, epigraphic data emerged referencing certain deities, and religious paraphernalia was employed at several settlements.

---

1. Previous discussions of Edomite religion include Knauf, "Qos," 674–77; J. Andrew Dearman, "Edomite Religion: A Survey and an Examination of Some Recent Contributions," in Edelman, *You Shall Not Abhor an Edomite*, 119–36; Theodorus C. Vriezen, "The Edomite Deity Qaus," *OtSt* 14 (1965): 330–53.

8.1. The Cemetery at Wadi Fidan 40
and the Religion of a Nomadic Population

As described in chapters 2 and 7, the earliest material that relates to the later polity of Edom are the structures and buildings associated with mining activity along the Wadi Faynan operating during the Early Iron Age. This material is still being analyzed and studied, but at least some of the remains represent the material culture of the pastoral nomadic tribes circulating in the eastern Negev and in the Arabah during that period. These pastoral nomadic tribes buried their dead in a nearby cemetery known as Wadi Fidan 40.[2] Approximately 245 cist-type graves have been excavated, but the cemetery might preserve more than a thousand interments.[3] Questions remain concerning the identification of this group with the Shasu tribes referenced in earlier Egyptian documents (see ch. 3) or with the later polity of Edom centered around Busayra in the highlands to the east.[4] Regardless of their specific identification, the material culture of those buried at the cemetery provides insight into some of the religious beliefs and practices of the nomadic population who were mining copper in the Wadi Faynan.

---

2. The cemetery was initially published in Levy et al., "Iron Age Burial in the Lowlands of Edom," 443–87. A more recent publication is Beherec, Najjar, and Levy. "Wadi Fidan 40 and Mortuary Archaeology," 665–722. The most complete description of the cemetery is found in Marc A. Beherec's dissertation, "Nomads in Transition: Mortuary Archaeology in the Lowlands of Edom (Jordan)" (PhD diss., University of California, San Diego, 2011).

3. For this type of burial in the context of Levantine mortuary practices, see David Ilan, "Iron Age Mortuary Practices and Beliefs in the Southern Levant," in *Engaging with the Dead: Exploring Changing Human Beliefs about Death, Mortality and the Human Body*, ed. Jennie Bradbury and Chris Scarre (Oxford: Oxbow, 2017), 58, 60; and Abdulla al-Shorman and Ali Khwaileh. "Burial Practices in Jordan from the Natufians to the Persians," *EstJArch* 15 (2011): 88–108.

4. On some attempts to identify these tribes, see Thomas E. Levy, "'You Shall Make for Yourself No Molten Gods': Some Thoughts on Archaeology and Edomite Ethnic Identity," in *Sacred History, Sacred Literature: Essays on Ancient Israel, the Bible, and Religion in Honor of R. E. Friedman on His Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. Shawna Dolansky (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2008), 239–55; and Levy, "Ethnic Identity in Biblical Edom, Israel, and Midian: Some Insights from Mortuary Contexts in the Lowlands of Edom," in *Exploring the Longue Durée: Essays in Honor of Lawrence E. Stager*, ed. J. David Schloen (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2008), 251–61.

Among the graves at Wadi Fidan 40, multiple interments were marked with uninscribed standing stones. Approximately twenty-eight standing stones have been identified and analyzed: nine aniconic stones and nineteen anthropomorphic stones.[5] The standing stones were largely chosen from the dark gray and black volcanic stone, known as dolerite, found in the wadi bed nearby.[6] The nine aniconic stones were typically elongated (ranging from 11 to 30 cm), narrow (ranging from 6 to 22 cm) stones, polished, but not worked in any significant way. They were erected above the stones that capped the cist graves.[7] The anthropomorphic stones were made of the same dolerite stone but were shaped by hammering in order to break off small portions of stone, which was followed by polishing, a process known as "pecking." Pecking was sometimes used to shape noses or shoulders onto the stones.[8] While several of the anthropomorphic stones were found at surface level, most of them were associated with specific graves.[9]

Such a collection of graves with standing stones is unprecedented in Edom, and a site with multiple interments is unusual for the entire southern Levant. Earlier excavations in the region did not identify other examples, possibly due to oversight or excavation methodology. A similar styled standing stone, not associated with a grave, was identified at ʿEn Ḥaṣeva (stratum 5). Another was noted by excavators at Khirbat an Nahas outside the northern wall of a structure in Area F, although they interpreted it as a pedestal with a utilitarian function.[10] In the wider region, standing

---

5. These markers are collected and analyzed in ch. five of Beherec's dissertation, see "Nomads in Transition," 851–977.

6. Beherec, "Nomads in Transition," 853; Beherec, Najjar, and Levy, "Wadi Fidan 40 and Mortuary Archaeology," 704.

7. The graves recorded with aniconic standing stones are Area A graves 80, 359; Area B grave 39; and Area C graves 31A, 716, 717, 733, 735. See Beherec, "Nomads in Transition," table 5.1; Beherec, Najjar, and Levy, "Wadi Fidan 40 and Mortuary Archaeology," table 9.10.

8. Beherec, "Nomads in Transition," 870–71.

9. The graves recorded with anthropomorphic standing stones are Area C graves 701, 703, 712, 731; and Area E graves 203, 223, 235, 248, 253, 260. See Beherec, "Nomads in Transition," table 5.2; Beherec, Najjar, and Levy, "Wadi Fidan 40 and Mortuary Archaeology," table 9.11.

10. For at ʿEn Ḥaṣeva, see Cohen and Yisrael, "Iron Age Fortresses at ʿEn Ḥaṣeva," 229; for Area F (locus 884) at Khirbat an Nahas, see Beherec, "Nomads in Transition," 980–81. The excavation report is Adolfo A. Muniz, "2006 Excavations at Khirbat en-

stones are more common within or near buildings with cultic functions. The temple excavated at Arad, a southern Judahite administrative and military complex, had a rear room with a recessed niche that housed two or three standing stones (in Stratum X and IX).[11] Often associated with the term *maṣṣēbôt* in the Hebrew Bible, these stones perhaps fulfilled a variety of functions—from border markers to commemorative stelae. Apparently, they served to commemorate an individual or event, often within a cultic context. In this regard, standing stones have an ancient heritage in Levantine, Egyptian, and Mesopotamian religious traditions, mostly in connection with funerary rites. Negev nomadic communities erected standing stones for millennia with more than 450 installations and about 123 identified close to the Wadi Arabah.[12] Remarkably, the tradition of installing standing stones near camps, along roads, and within shrines is represented in every archaeological period extending back to the fifth millennium BCE. While many are incorporated into shrines, the tradition of marking graves with standing stones is also ancient. In the broader ancient Near Eastern environment, standing stones were established to honor of the dead and the various gods worshiped by local groups.[13] At Late Bronze

---

Nahas, Area F," no pagination, but the image is labeled as figure 11, DOI: 10.6075/ J0WD3XHP.

11. For recent debates about the stratigraphy of Arad and their impact on the temple installation, see Elizabeth Bloch-Smith, "Massebot Standing for Yhwh: The Fall of a Yhwistic Cult Symbol," in *Worship, Women and War: Essays in Honor of Susan Niditch*, ed. John J. Collins, T. M. Lemos, and Saul M. Olyan, BJS 357 (Providence: Brown University Press, 2015), 99–115.

12. Reuma Arav et al., "Three-Dimensional Documentation of Masseboth Sites in the ʿUvda Valley Area, Southern Negev, Israel," *DAACH* 3 (2016): 9–21.

13. See recently, Nicola Scheyhing, "Fossilising the Holy: Aniconic Standing Stones of the Near East," in *Sacred Space: Contributions to the Archaeology of Belief*, ed. Louis Daniel Nebelsick, Joanna Wawrzeniuk, and Katarzyna Zeman-Wiśniewska, Archaeologica Hereditas Monographs of the Institute of Archaeology of the Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński 13 (Warsaw: University of Warsaw, 2018), 95–112. For the debates within the history of the religion of ancient Israel and Judah related to aniconism and representations of deity, see Christoph Uehlinger, "Beyond 'Image Ban' and 'Aniconism': Reconfiguring Ancient Israelite and Early Jewish Religion/s in a Visual and Material Religion Perspective," in *Figurations and Sensations of the Unseen in Judaism, Christianity and Islam: Contested Desires*, ed. Birgit Meyer and Terje Stordalen (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019), 99–123. For a discussion of sacred statues in the ancient Levant, see Uehlinger, "Anthropomorphic Cult Statuary in Iron Age Palestine and the Search for Yahweh's Cult Images," in *The Image and the Book: Iconic*

Age Ugarit on the Syrian coast, for instance, larger stelae were erected over graves, and at the Late Bronze city of Emar standing stones (Akkadian *sikkānu*) were associated with the god Dagan in the intricate *zukrum* ritual described in the city temple's religious texts.[14]

Unfortunately, the specific identification and function of the Wadi Fidan 40 standing stones remains enigmatic. Marc Beherec notes the similarity with funerary stelae at Timna (in modern Yemen) and from later periods in the region around Petra, where some were incorporated into cairns marking graves or buried in cist graves. Both practices are attested at the Wadi Fidan 40 cemetery.[15] Beherec further connects the practice of marking graves with funerary stelae to a wider ritual practice emulating Egyptian funerary busts owing to the occasional Egyptian artifact recovered from the excavations of the Wadi Fidan 40 cemetery. Nevertheless, the level of detail and craftsmanship of the Wadi Fidan 40 standing stones is significantly inferior to those from Egypt.[16]

The best-preserved example of a grave in the Wadi Fidan 40 cemetery with an affiliated standing stone is Grave 712, one of the few graves with well-preserved funerary architecture.[17] This grave was excavated in Area C in 2004. Grave 712 is one of only a few interments at Wadi Fidan 40 marked with a double circle of stones (along with Graves 703, 708, and

---

Cults, Aniconism, and the Rise of Book Religion in Israel and the Ancient Near East, ed. Karel van der Toorn, CBET 21 (Leuven: Peeters, 1997), 97–155.

14. For the texts and artifacts at Ugarit related to the care of the dead, see Brian B. Schmidt, *Israel's Beneficent Dead: Ancestor Cult and Necromancy in Ancient Israelite Religion and Tradition*, FAT 11 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994), ch. 3. For Emar, see the texts describing the Zukru ritual, Emar 373 and 375. For Dagan in the ancient Near East, see Bradley L. Crowell, "The Development of Dagan: A Sketch," *JANER* 1 (2004): 32–83; and Lluís Feliu, *The God Dagan in Bronze Age Syria*, CHANE 19 (Leiden: Brill, 2003). For a recent review of the use of stones at Emar, see Patrick M. Michel, *Le culte des pierres à Emar à l'époque hittite*, OBO 266 (Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014).

15. Beherec, "Nomads in Transition," 988–90. For the Nabataean practice, particularly standing stones related to deities, see Uzi Avner, "Nabataean Standings [*sic*] Stones and Their Interpretation," *ARAM* 11–12 (1999): 97–122.

16. Beherec, "Nomads in Transition," 993–95.

17. Beherec provides the best description of this grave. For his examination of the funerary architecture of Grave 712, see "Nomads in Transition," 1003–5. For his description of the excavation, see "Nomads in Transition," 926–40. See also Levy et al., "Iron Age Burial in the Lowlands of Edom," 465–66; and Beherec, Najjar, and Levy, "Wadi Fidan 40 and Mortuary Archaeology," 707–10.

736). The inner circle of dolomite stones surrounding the cist chamber is encompassed by a large outer circle of stones, which at one point reaches a diameter of nearly 3 m. On one end of the inner circle is a large standing stone (item no. EDM 88407: 0.81 x 0.37 x 0.165 m), considered anthropomorphic because it has narrow shoulders but lacks a nose, and it was placed in the circle upside down. Directly across from this standing stone is an unusual incised stone that functioned as one of the paver stones (item no. EDM 88473: 0.5 x 0.38 x 0.16 m). Incisions were cut into the stone but lacking any observable pattern. These two stones were part of the surface structure of the grave. A second, smaller anthropomorphic stone (item no. EDM 88517: 0.28 x 0.12 x 0.08 m), has a nose ridge, but lacks the shoulders of the other stone. This stone was found buried under the paver stones and oriented toward the north.

Beherec suggested a ritual context—a libation was poured onto the paver stones above the cist grave, the liquid would permeate the stones, trickle over this standing stone and into the grave.[18] While this suggestion is certainly plausible, the grave was disturbed in antiquity. The cist grave itself contained bones from two individuals, a young adult male and an infant of unspecified gender. An alternative explanation for the buried standing stone was offered by Uzi Avner, who postulates that the upside-down stone represents death.[19] Unfortunately, there are no contemporary detailed written descriptions from antiquity regarding these interments and ritual performances associated with these burials.

The standing stones at Wadi Fidan 40 were likely erected to mark the graves of significant individuals, or perhaps the most recent burials. In a pastoral nomadic society like the one whose deceased were interred at Wadi Fidan 40, the tribe and various family units would circulate throughout the region during the different seasons—at times grazing flocks near some arable land, and at other times setting up tents near the mining structures in the larger Wadi Faynan district to participate in the operations there. Standing stones would ritually mark the location of the deceased for subsequent visits by families and tribes. This tradition of marking graves with standing stones connected the tribes of the Early Iron Age with the ritual and spiritual practices of their ancestors, practices that likely included

---

18. Beherec, "Nomads in Transition," 939; and Beherec, Najjar, and Levy, "Wadi Fidan 40 and Mortuary Archaeology," 709.

19. Uzi Avner, "Protohistoric Developments of Religion and Cult in the Negev Desert," *TA* 45 (2018): 47–48, 54.

pilgrimage and ritual votives and libations.[20] Perhaps there was an intentional distinction between the anthropomorphic stones and the aniconic ones, but that has yet to be determined from the available information.

Objects found within the interments at Wadi Fidan 40 likewise provide important social, political, and religious information. Many of the grave goods buried with the individuals at Wadi Fidan 40 were decorative—bracelets, anklets, beads, and rings—and made from a wide range of materials including stones, copper, iron, and shells.[21] Perhaps of similar importance are the few Egyptian objects found among the graves—such as the scarab from the Middle Bronze Age in Grave 92, likely an heirloom, and a stamp seal in Grave 91, both formerly belonging to high ranking individuals.[22] Grave 91 was a cist tomb with a slab, suggesting multiple interments over several generations. The stamp seal was rare in the region and likely signified the high status of the deceased. The individual in Grave 92 was a woman also of high status, and interred with a wooden bowl and spout, along with pomegranates, an iron bracelet on her left arm, and copper anklets and rings. A Middle Bronze scarab was found with beads, which were once probably strung together to form a necklace. Unfortunately, there are few clear indicators from the artifacts buried with individuals regarding religious belief or identification. Seals with names of individuals or engravings are lacking from Wadi Fidan 40, as are statues or figurines of deities. The practices of interment by the population that worked the mines in the Wadi Faynan, along with their use of standing stones to mark graves, were in continuity with the other pastoral-nomadic burial traditions in the Negev and southwestern Jordan.[23]

---

20. The continuity of religious traditions among the pastoral nomadic tribes of the Negev is emphasized in the work of Avner, "Protohistoric Developments of Religion." For a more detailed investigation, see Avner, "Studies in the Material and Spiritual Culture of the Negev and Sinai Populations" (PhD diss., Hebrew University, 2002).

21. The most complete discussion of grave goods is Beherec, "Nomads in Transition," 1007–395; and Beherec, Najjar, and Levy, "Wadi Fidan 40 and Mortuary Archaeology," 687–701.

22. For the scarabs in Grave 91 (reg. no. EDM 86873; scarab no. 5) and 92 (no registration number; scarab no. 4), see Münger and Levy, "Iron Age Egyptian Amulet Assemblage," 741–65. See also Beherec, "Nomads in Transition," 1044–47.

23. For this tradition, see esp. Avner's dissertation "Studies in the Material and Spiritual Culture of the Negev and Sinai Populations," ch. 4 for a catalogue of locations in the Negev dating back to the Pre-Pottery Neolithic period.

8.2. Busayra and the Religion of the Edomite Elite

As mentioned in previous chapters, the relationship between the pastoral-nomadic groups that consolidated and cooperated to facilitate copper exploitation and distribution in the Wadi Faynan and those who rose to prominence and built the Edomite center at Busayra continues to be shrouded by a relative lack of information. Yet it is reasonable to propose that at least some tribal elements that labored in the mining operations and facilitated the copper trading networks adapted to the changing situation of the demand for Faynan copper by establishing a central town near the major north-south trade route later known as the King's Highway.[24] In the eighth century BCE, various tribal groups and polities of the southern Levant encountered a series of transformations under the aegis of the Assyrian Empire—economic, political, and social—that led to the consolidation of communities and the rise of socio-political inequalities that in turn resulted in bureaucracies and political hierarchies throughout the southern Levant.[25]

With the increased complexity in social stratification and various attempts by imperial rulers to consolidate and project their influence, certain transformations in religious and ritual emphases become more apparent. The deities of those ruling groups would encounter heightened exposure as they interacted with other tribal groups, visiting dignitaries, traders, and administrative personnel. With that exposure, recognition of those deities would likely extend beyond the elite who understood themselves to have experienced divine favor. Furthermore, as imperial bureaucracies began to intrude in subtle and sometimes distinct ways, the resulting relationship often took forms of ceremonial interaction through diplomacy and would be made visible in religious architecture and symbols.

---

24. For the social and political transformations related to specialization in metallurgy, see Stöllner, "Mining and Economy," 415–46.

25. There are complex processes at work in the rise of institutions in the imperial environment of the region in the eighth and seventh centuries BCE. I plan to publish an article relating these processes to the increasing pressures of the Assyrian imperial interests in the region. See also Porter, "Authority, Polity, and Tenuous Elites in Iron Age Edom (Jordan)," 373–95; and Porter's more recent work on the consolidation of communities in Iron Age Jordan, "Assembling the Iron Age Levant: The Archaeology of Communities, Polities, and Imperial Peripheries," *JAR* 24 (2016): 373–420; and Porter, *Complex Communities: The Archaeology of Early Iron Age West-Central Jordan* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2013).

During the eighth and seventh centuries BCE two novel elements appeared in Edomite religious practice. First, a religious structure was built in the upper area of Busayra adjacent to the palatial building and second, the god Qaus rose to prominence for the first time. The Area A building at Busayra was interpreted as a temple by both Bennett and Bienkowski, who suggested it was built in the style of Assyrian provincial temples.[26] What connects this building specifically to Assyrian-style temples is the raised cella, a small rectangular room that was entered by means of a series of broad steps. This temple was constructed in the upper level of the city, elevated above the other buildings in Busayra by an artificial platform. The palatial building in Area C and the temple in Area A stood together to signify to visitors and inhabitants that the ruler of Edom was supported by the deity, the priests, and the other religious personnel.

There is some debate concerning the function of the building in Area A. Both Bennett and Bienkowski interpreted the Area A building as an Assyrian-style temple. Their interpretation was based on some rough similarities between the building and those constructed in various Levantine cities where the ruling classes attempted to emulate Assyrian forms—namely, the presence of a rectangular room that was plastered and entered by means of a staircase flanked by circular pedestals. Recent surveys of temple architecture in Transjordan or Israel and Judah have questioned the religious function of this building, largely owing to the lack of cultic vessels within the sacred precincts.[27] The absence of such artifacts could be attributed to the method of abandonment of the building, especially if this building was slowly deserted during the Neo-Babylonian period rather than destroyed in a conflagration.

---

26. See Bennett, "Neo-Assyrian Influence in Transjordan," 183, 187 and Piotr Bienkowski, "The Architecture of Edom," *SHAJ* 5 (1995): 135–43. The relationship of this temple to other regional temples and to the Assyrian style is important and complicated. It is explored in more depth in ch. 9.

27. Esp. Steiner, "Iron Age Cultic Sites in Transjordan." Others neglect to mention this structure, presumably because they do not view the Busayra building as a comparative example. See Rüdiger Schmitt, "A Typology of Iron Age Cult Places," in *Family and Household Religion: Toward a Synthesis of Old Testament Studies, Archaeology, Epigraphy, and Cultural Studies*, ed. Rainer Albertz et al. (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2014), 265–86; Avraham Faust, "Israelite Temples: Where Was Israelite Cult Not Practiced and Why," *Religions* 10.2 (2019), DOI: 10.3390/rel10020106; and Jens Kamlah, "Temples of the Levant—Comparative Aspects," in Kamlah, *Temple Building and Temple Cult*, 507–34.

Excavations of Busayra, as well as pedestrian surveys and early twenti-eth-century antiquities purchases, have revealed a collection of terra-cotta figurines that were likely used in religious rituals or at least reflect cer-tain elements of the belief system.[28] Significantly, most of the excavated figurines were located in Area B, the residential section near the podium that supported the palatial and temple buildings. Seven of the eighteen excavated figurines represent pregnant women and could have functioned as offerings in the temple after the successful delivery of a child.[29] These figurines have some similarities to others in Jordan, the Negev, and even Judah.[30] In spite of the similarities with regional specimens, in a study of Judahite figurines Erin Darby concludes that "while iconographic styles did spread, there were also very strong local traditions that must have affected any adaption of new style."[31]

As mentioned previously, the other new element that appeared during this time is the ascendency of a previously unattested deity, Qaus. One of the clearest indicators of deities believed to maintain some level of activ-ity among a people is the appearance of divine names or theophoric ele-ments in personal names. While the theophoric element might provide some indication of popular deities, it is at least a questionable measure since names were often traditional and could have little connection to the contemporary belief system of the individual or society. In any case the

---

28. Harding was the first to publish figurines from the region of Busayra, see his "Some Objects from Transjordan," 253–55. Most of the terra-cotta figurines excavated at Busayra were published by Sedman, "Small Finds," 366–92. Many of these figurines were photographed for a digital project, see the study of Hunziker-Rodewald and Fornaro, "RTI Images for Documentation in Archaeology," 188–204.

29. This is suggested by Hunziker-Rodewald and Fornaro, "RTI Images for Docu-mentation in Archaeology," 192.

30. For comparisons of the Busayra figurines with those excavated at the WT-13 shrine near Khirbat al Mudayna ath Thamad, see P. M. Michèle Daviau, "The Coro-plastics of Transjordan: Forming Techniques and Iconographic Traditions in the Iron Age," in *Figuring Out the Figurines of the Ancient Near East*, ed. Stephanie M. Langin-Hooper, Occasional Papers in Coroplastic Studies 1 (Association for Coroplastic Stud-ies, 2014), 1–10. For similarities of some of the figurines to those at the earlier site of Tel Moza, see Shua Kisilevitz, "Terracotta Figurines from the Iron IIA Temple at Moza, Judah," *Les Carnets de l'ACoSt (Association of Coroplastic Studies)* 15 (2016): 2–3.

31. Erin Darby, "Judean Pillar Figurines and the Making of Female Piety in Ancient Israelite Religion," in *Gods, Objects, and Ritual Practice*, ed. Sandra Blakely, SAMR 1 (Atlanta: Lockwood, 2017), 208.

god Qaus dominates the onomastic record of ancient Edom, although El and Baal are also attested.[32]

The divine names of El and Baal occur in the onomastic and epigraphic record of most regions in the southern Levant. As traditional deities in a polytheistic-henotheistic environment, these divine names are expected. The names of these two deities, however, usually occur alongside regional, perhaps tribal deities: Kemosh in Moab, Milkom in Ammon, Baal in Phoenicia, and Yahweh in Judah. For Edom that regional deity appears to have been Qaus.[33] The precise relationship between these more localized deities and El and Baal is a phenomenon that needs further study, but Craig W. Tyson suggests that this is the result of a "coalitional process" whereby tribal groups affiliate to form larger organizations with the names of some deities merely retained, while others became more prominent.[34]

Qaus was likely the god of the tribal rulers who consolidated their influence at Busayra and who were elevated to a prominent position as intermediaries between the empire and the tribes of Edom. His name does appear as the theophoric element in the names of known kings, Qaus-gabar, Qaus-malak, and officials.[35] Qaus-ʿanal, one of only two known Edomite royal officials, was a representative of the king. The other attested royal official Malak-Baal, raises other possibilities. He could have been a member of another community that worshiped Baal and was admitted into the royal administration, or his name was a traditional one within his tribe of origin. Alternatively, those who rose to prominence perhaps venerated several deities hierarchically and likely did not exclude those who worshiped deities other than their tribal patron. Qaus is also attested in

---

32. See Golub, "Distribution of Personal Names in the Land of Israel," 640.

33. This practice continued in Nabataean religion as evident in the nearby temple at Khirbat at Tannur where Baal-shamayim and Atragatis were both worshiped, see Eyad Almasri and Mairna Mustafa, "Nabataean Fertility Myth, Place, Time, Rituals and Actors Based on Archaeological Evidence," *MAA* 19 (2019): 63–79. Significantly, Qos continued to be venerated at Khirbat at Tannur during the Nabataean era, where he was likely seen as a local manifestation of the high god. See further, Judith S. Mckenzie, Andres T. Reyes, and Joseph A. Greene, "The Context of the Khirbet et-Tannur Zodiac, Jordan," *ARAM* 24 (2012): 379–420.

34. Craig W. Tyson, "The Religion of the Ammonites: A Specimen of Levantine Religion from the Iron Age II (ca. 1000–500 BCE)," *Religions* 10.3 (2019): 153, DOI: 10.3390/rel10030153.

35. For Qaus-gabar in Assyrian inscriptions and on an Edomite seal impression from Umm al Biyara, see above in chs. 3 and 4 respectively.

the inscriptions from Ḥorvat Qitmit. Although these inscriptions are frag-
mentary, the appearance of Qaus, either as a god to whom offerings were
dedicated or as the theophoric element in names, suggests that Edomites
participated in the trade networks west into the Negev.

It is often stated that Qaus was the "state god" or "national deity" in
a multideity hierarchical pantheon in Edom.[36] His name certainly domi-
nates the written material, but an alternative explanation is possible. It may
have been the case that Qaus is so prevalent in the personal names from
Edom and in Edomite inscriptions because he was the god of the empow-
ered elite, those who interacted with Assyrian officials, participated in the
trade networks, and patronized an emergent bureaucracy to record their
transactions. This cadre redistributed their surplus but also promoted
their deity to gather support from disparate lineages. Qaus appears as the
dominant deity because those who worshiped him actively participated in
these endeavors, as documented in the extant data. The Edomite leaders
did not attempt to impose the worship of their god on the other groups or,
if the meagre data are indicative, incorporate other deities into any kind of
state pantheon. The data from theophoric elements in personal names in
the Wadi Musa region suggests that El (Beʿazarʾel, Laʿdʾel, Ramʾel, ʿAdaʾel,
Shemaʿʾel) and Baal (Malak-Baal) might have been prominent deities in
that region. Significantly, although there are few written records from this
region, the only reference to Qaus in the Wadi Musa region is on a bulla
stamped with the seal of Qaus-gabar, the king of Edom, found at Umm al
Biyara. The rulers did display their distinctive ceremonial connections by
constructing the lone known temple in Edom. The only occurrence of reli-
gious architecture in Edom is the Area A temple at Busayra. This temple,
with its monumental architecture that has some similarities to Assyrian
temples, embodied the connection of the elite to the divine power and
restricted access to that influence to members of that ruling group.

The question of domestic religious beliefs and their relationship to the
elite religion remains open, again due primarily to the limited nature of
the data. The above scheme does explain why the god Qaus dominates
the inscriptional data, but the tribal lineages from which the Edomite
rulers emerged were probably linked by kinship to the other groups who

---

36. For a recent critique of the idea of a "national" deity, see Uehlinger, "Beyond
'Image Ban' and 'Aniconism,'" 99–120.

were not excluded from holding positions in the administration of Edom (Malak-Baal being one possible example).

8.3. Religion and the Negev Trade Routes

As described above, the material culture of several sites in the Negev that some scholars consider examples of Edomite religion is suggestive of a more diverse cultural background. The relevant Iron Age Negev sites—ʿEn Ḥaṣeva, Ḥorvat ʿUza, Tel Malḥata, Tel ʿAroʿer, Tel ʿIra, and Ḥorvat Qitmit—were part of a complex boundary zone between Judah, Edom, and the tribes that circulated within the northern Negev. According to Annlee Elizabeth Dolan and Steven John Edwards, these boundary zones were "highly charged regions characterized by heightened cultural interchanges, exhibiting … not only Assyrian, but also Egyptian, Edomite, Phoenician and Arabian material culture."[37] The Negev sites are all located on the primary trade route that ran from Busayra to ʿEn Ḥaṣeva through the Negev regions to the Beersheba Valley. Way stations or caravanserais between ʿEn Ḥaṣeva and the Beersheba Valley likely included Ḥorvat ʿUza, Tel Malḥata, Tel ʿAroʿer, Tel ʿIra, and Ḥorvat Qitmit.[38] Excavations at these sites have revealed a notable level of Edomite activity in the seventh and sixth centuries BCE.

Among the more spectacular elements identified at these sites, especially Ḥorvat Qitmit and ʿEn Ḥaṣeva, were the cultic vessels and figurines discovered during the excavations. At Ḥorvat Qitmit a shrine was constructed consisting of two small buildings, labeled Complex A and Complex B, with an open-air platform of about 1.25 x 1 m between them, and identified as a *bamah* by the excavators. Given the number and variety of cultic vessels and figurines, these installations could have served as small shrines to various deities while the platform could have formed an altar, a cult site that Rüdiger Schmitt identified as a "regional sanctuary with a shrine."[39]

Scholars made connections to Edom for three reasons. First, of the ostraca discovered at Ḥorvat Qitmit, three mention the Edomite deity

---

37. Dolan and Edwards, "Preference for Periphery?," 53.

38. Thareani-Sussely, "Ancient Caravanserais," 123–41; Dolan and Edwards, "Preference for Periphery?," 55–56.

39. Schmitt, "Typology of Iron Age Cult Places," 275–76.

Qaus.[40] Second, at least initially, the statuary was determined not to resemble Judahite figurines and since Edom was an important adversary and major trading partner in the region, the figurines were considered Edomite. The remarkable three-horned head made of pottery was quickly called a "goddess," because of the lack of a beard, and "Edomite" because the unusual style was considered Edomite.[41] However, certain elements that have been attributed to an Edomite style, especially the large, protruding eyes, were not Edomite but part of a more general south Levantine style.[42] Beck, in her discussion of Ḥorvat Qitmit material in light of the later finds at ʿEn Ḥaṣeva concluded that the assemblage at both sites were "eclectic," noting that this cannot reflect directly on the ethnic or political affiliation of those who established or operated these sites.[43] A third reason that the material from Ḥorvat Qitmit has been connected with Edomites is what some scholars understand to be a stark contrast between the shrine at the nearby fortress at Arad and the shrine at Ḥorvat Qitmit. Arad, which most scholars consider as comprising a Judahite temple within an Iron II fortress, has a small temple with aniconic standing stones (see above) but few figurines and no images that could be directly associated with a divinity. When this cultic site is compared to Ḥorvat Qitmit, with its extensive imagery and figurines that likely depict supernatural beings, the contrast was interpreted to reflect an ethnic or political distinction.[44] Significantly,

---

40. Ostraca 518/1, 550/1, and 554/1. See Beit-Arieh, "Inscriptions," 259–62. See also the discussion of these texts in ch. 4.

41. This figurine head measuring 13 x 9 cm now resides in the Israel Museum IAA 1987-117.

42. See, e.g., Bienkowski and Sedman, "Busayra and Judah," 310–25.

43. Pirhiya Beck, "Ḥorvat Qitmit Revisited via ʿEn Ḥazeva," *TA* 23 (1996): 112. Beck does ultimately affiliate this site with Edom because the assemblage is demonstrably of a "non-ʿJudahite' nature" and Edom is the most plausible political affiliation.

44. This argument is reviewed and refuted in Uehlinger, "Arad, Qitmit—Judahite Aniconism vs. Edomite Iconic Cult?," 80–112. This proximity argument is also challenged by the recent Judahite temple excavated at Tel Moẓa, only 7 km northwest of the City of David in Jerusalem. Tel Moẓa had a *favissa*, a podium, and a shrine, as well as similar statuary to these Negev sites. See Shua Kisilevitz, "The Iron IIA Judahite Temple at Tel Moẓa," *TA* 42 (2015): 147–64; and Kisilevitz, "Terracotta Figurines from the Iron IIA Temple at Moẓa, Judah," 1–7. For more on Tel Moẓa, see the excavation report in Zvi Greenhut and Alon De Groot, eds., *Salvage Excavations at Tel Moẓa: The Bronze and Iron Age Settlements and Later Occupations*, IAA Report 39 (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2009). For a popular account, see Shua Kisilevitz and

the pottery—both utilitarian and cultic—were all made with nearby clay.[45] Some images and figurines at Ḥorvat Qitmit do have stylistic similarities with statuary from Busayra, but overall the assemblage at Ḥorvat Qitmit reflects a broader cultural palette common to sites along trading routes during this period, including examples of wheel-made anthropomorphic statues that are not extant for the Edomite plateau.[46]

The site of ʿEn Ḥaṣeva has similar problems of interpretation in rela-tion to the religion of Edom. Like Ḥorvat Qitmit, the excavations at ʿEn Ḥaṣeva revealed an extensive repertoire of cultic artifacts, though most of them were related to a shrine outside the fortress and the cult vessels were buried in a nearby *favissa*.[47] In the *favissa* were incense burners, cylindrical stands, goblets (or chalices), incense shovels, and ceramic pomegranates. Additionally, there were three anthropomorphic incense stands, with a dif-ferent stand decorated with goats. Also like Ḥorvat Qitmit, the pottery, ceramic figurines, and cultic vessels were made of clays from the wadi run-ning east from the central Negev.[48] After an extensive investigation of the material from the *favissa* at ʿEn Ḥaṣeva, Sara Ben-Arieh noted that while ʿEn Ḥaṣeva and Ḥorvat Qitmit have been identified as Edomite by many,

---

Oded Lipschits, "Another Temple in Judah: The Tale of Tel Moẓa," *BAR* 46.1 (2020): 40–49.

45. Jan Gunneweg and H. Mommsen, "Instrumental Neutron Activation Analy-sis of Vessels and Cult Objects," in Beit-Arieh, *Ḥorvat Qitmi*, 280–86.

46. Finkelstein made this argument nearly thirty years ago in his often-cited arti-cle "*Ḥorvat Qiṭmīt* and the Southern Trade in the Late Iron Age II," 156–70. For the wheel-made anthropomorphic statues at Ḥorvat Qitmit and ʿEn Ḥaṣeva, see Lucas P. Petit, "A Wheel-Made Anthropomorphic Statue from Iron Age Tell Dāmiyah, Jordan Valley," in *A Timeless Vale: Archaeological and Related Essays on the Jordan Valley in Honour of Gerrit Van Der Kooij on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Eva Kaptijn and Lucas P. Petit, ASLU 19 (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2009), 145–53.

47. For this site, see Cohen and Yisrael, "Iron Age Fortresses at En Ḥaṣeva," 223–35; Ussishkin, "ʿEn Ḥaṣeva," 246–53; Jan Gunneweg and Marta Balla, "The Pro-venience of 7th–6th Century BCE Cult Vessels from the Iron Age II Fortress at ʿEn Haseva Using Instrumental Neutron Activation Analysis (INAA)," *STRATA* 34 (2016): 57–72. Schmitt ("A Typology of Iron Age Cult Places," 274–75) identifies ʿEn Ḥaṣeva as a regional open-air sanctuary. For the interpretation and identification of *favissae* in the southern Levant, see Schmidt, *Materiality of Power*, ch. 2.

48. Both the petrographic analysis of Anat Cohen-Weinberger ("Provenance of the Clay Artifacts from the *Favissa* at ʿEn Ḥaẓeva." *Atiqot* 68 [2011]: 188) and the Instrumental Neutron Activation Analysis of Gunneweg and Balla ("Provenience of 7th–6th Century BCE Cult Vessels") reach this conclusion.

Edomite sites did not yield similar statues, while at sites in North Syria and Moab, particularly Site WT-13 near Khirbat al Mudaynah, anthropomorphic statues that are similar were discovered.[49]

The artifacts from sites in the Negev could reveal much about Edomite religion,[50] but it is difficult to disentangle the various social and religious dynamics that were likely present at these shrines along the well-traveled trading routes from the Arabian Peninsula to the Mediterranean Sea. While these sites have long been designated Edomite, that designation only identifies one of the factors that made sites like Ḥorvat Qitmit and ʿEn Ḥaṣeva complex along with intriguing focal points of cultural entanglement and hybridity in the ancient southern Levant. The cultural complexity of these Negev trading centers was in part due to the disruption caused by Assyrian domination and the opportunities available through the flourishing trade system.[51] The sites, like the nearby fortresses and caravanserais were in a culturally fluid peripheral area of social, political, and religious interaction involving many different factions, including Edomites.[52]

8.4. Qaus and the Gods of Judah

That the Judahite god Yahweh originated in the desert regions of the Negev has become almost a given within studies of the history of the god of Judah. Critical scholars reference texts that are often considered some of the oldest fragments in the Hebrew Bible like the Song of Deborah (Judg 5:4—Seir) and the Blessing of Moses (Deut 33:2—Sinai). These texts describe Yahweh's home in the southern, desert reaches of the Levant. The traditions of Yahweh's southern origin extend into the prophets, with Habakkuk (3:3) noting that Yahweh came from Teman and protoapoca-

---

49. See Sara Ben-Arieh, "Temple Furniture from a *Favissa* at ʿEn Hazeva," *Atiqot* 68 (2011): 171.

50. The Edomite god Qaus certainly achieved prominence in this region during the Hellenistic and Roman eras. See, e.g., his role in the Aramaic ostraca from Maresha in Esther Eshel and Michael Langlois, "The Aramaic Divination Texts," in *Excavations at Maresha Subterranean Complex 169: Final Report; Seasons 2000–2016*, ed. Ian Stern, Annual of The Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology 11 (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 2019), 213–23.

51. For Assyria's role, see Yifat Thareani, "'The Self-Destruction of Diversity': A Tale of the Last Days in Judah's Negev Towns," *AO* 12 (2014): 185–224.

52. See further Thareani-Sussely, "Ancient Caravanserais"; and Dolan and Edwards, "Preference for Periphery?"

lyptic sections of Isaiah (63:1) portraying his violent march through the nations as ending with his march out of Edom.

The material in support of a southern homeland for Yahweh has led Tebes to recently propose a three stage progression of Yahweh's movements: a seminomadic tribe of the Shasu (*t' šsw yhw*) that worshiped Yahweh circulated in the Negev during the New Kingdom reigns of Amenophis III and Ramesses II along with the Shasu of Seir and Edom (see above in ch. 3). During the Early Iron Age, while some tribes were operating the copper mines in the Wadi Faynan, other tribes loyal to the god Yahweh were operating as traders to the north. Perhaps the stories of King Saul convey that he initiated Yahweh worship in the highlands of Judah. Later during a period of Israelite hegemony, Yahweh also became the god of Judah when it functioned as a satellite for Israel.[53] While some scholars might disagree with details in Tebes's reconstruction, many propose similar variations on the theme of Yahweh's origin as a desert god from the region of Edom.[54]

With the interest in the relationship between Yahweh and Edom, it is unfortunate that modern scholars have very little secure information regarding the Edomite god Qaus. Beyond the personal names of rulers and some royal officials, Qaus appears in few contexts. In only one known text—the ostracon from Ḥorvat ʿUza (inscription no. 7, see ch. 3) does Qaus appear as a deity to be honored. The writer mentions that he will "bless [the recipient] by Qaus." This phrase was a common greeting in letters from the period and region, providing little more information about the deity invoked. It is likely that Qaus was the tribal god of one of the Shasu tribes that circulated in the Negev and Arabah during the Late Bronze Age, interacting with other tribes, traders, and Egyptian officials. Some groups from that tribal affiliation worked alongside other tribes and Egyptian overseers to operate the mines in the Wadi Faynan and

---

53. Tebes, "Southern Home of YHWH," 166–88.

54. See, e.g., Grzegorz Szamocki, "'YHWH Came from Sinai' (Deut 33:2): The Motif of the Mountain in the Context of the Pentateuch Redaction," *Biblica et Patristica Thoruniensia* 12 (2019): 513–30; Martin Leuenberger, "YHWH's Provenance from the South: A New Evaluation of the Arguments pro and contra," in *The Origins of Yahwism*, ed. Jürgen van Oorschot and Markus Witte, BZAW 484 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2017), 157–79; Kelley, "Toward a New Synthesis of the God of Edom and Yahweh," 255–80; Knohl, "Jacob-El in the Land of Esau," 481–84; Davis Hankins, "'Much Madness Is Divinest Sense' The Economic Consequences of Yahweh's Parasocial Identity," *BCT* 14 (2018): 17–41.

Timna. As the Egyptian influence waned at the end of the Late Bronze Age, tribes affiliated with the deity Qaus might have retained positions and continued to operate those copper mines. After the collapse of the copper demand due to the resurgence of Cypriot copper in the Levant, those Qaus-affiliated tribes rose to prominence as tribal units settled in the highlands, some around Busayra, and began to participate in the flourishing trade networks facilitated by the Assyrian imperial structures and demands.

8.5. Conclusions

Concurrent with the transformations in the economic and political spheres, religious changes took place among the Iron Age population of southern Jordan. Religion is notoriously traditional, yet within the scope of several centuries the innovations and changes within religious belief and practice come into view. During the end of the second millennium BCE and the start of the first, nomadic and pastoral tribes circulated and traversed the region that would later become known as Edom. These groups, known in part as the Shasu, did not leave behind written records or architecture. Their religious beliefs and practices are known only through projections back from later times, a process that is limited by the threat of anachronism. The first glimpse we have of this nomadic religion is the remains from the Wadi Fidan 40 cemetery. Those groups memorialized their recently deceased with grave goods, grave markers, and rituals at a collective burial ground that was probably visited on an annual or seasonal basis.

Whatever the relationship was between the groups who buried their dead at Wadi Fidan 40 and the elite that settled at Busayra nearly two centuries later, the religion was transformed into a more sedentary, temple-based religion. This process resulted in the rise to prominence of a Qaus-affiliated elite at Busayra during the eighth through sixth centuries BCE. While Edomite rulers seemed to have venerated their tribal deity, Qaus, a god known only through a handful of names and ostraca during the Iron Age, this god also traveled on trade routes with Edomite merchants as they went west on the route to Beersheba and on to Gaza. At several Negev trading centers like Ḥorvat Qitmit and ʿEn Ḥaṣeva, Qaus appeared as one of the gods venerated.

We know little about the character of Qaus; his memory is recorded almost entirely in names and a few ostraca in which his name is invoked.

Like other deities from the southern Levant, he likely was understood as a god who blessed the rulers, battled against enemies, and supported the power of his worshipers.

Imperial Impact on the Material Culture of Edom

Edom was situated at the southwestern edge of the Assyrian Empire in an agriculturally marginal area with few essential raw materials or economic advantages that would have attracted Assyria's imperial ambitions. In spite of some assertions that the Assyrian Empire occupied and even annexed Edom, there is no inscriptional or archaeological evidence that Assyria was interested in direct involvement in the small polity's affairs.[1] It is not surprising, therefore, that there are only a few notable architectural and iconographic items that archaeologists consider to be influenced by Assyrian culture and style. However, the sparse number of extant elements is significant because they provide insight into attempts by the local leaders to display their influence with and connections to the larger surrounding polities and ultimately with the powerful empire.

Bennett was the first to draw connections between certain objects that she discovered in her excavations, particularly at Busayra, and Assyrian artifacts. Although some of her archaeological assessments were incorrect—for instance, Bennett considered the building in Area A at Busayra to be a palace instead of a temple—the corpus of Assyrian-influenced objects that she collected still documents the primary material indicators of the extent of Assyrian influence in Edom. These objects include architectural

---

1. Oded, "Observations on Methods of Assyrian Rule in Transjordania," 177–86; and Ronny Reich, "Palaces and Residencies in the Iron Age," in *The Architecture of Ancient Israel: From the Prehistoric to the Persian Periods*, ed. Aharon Kempinski and Ronny Reich (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1992), 202–22 suggest that Assyria occupied Edom briefly. Knauf ("Cultural Impact of Secondary State Formation, 53) even considered Edom a "secondary culture," derivative from Assyrian. Note that most treatments of Edom during the Assyrian period do not suggest more than Assyrian influence in architecture and some crafts, see, e.g., Bienkowski, "Transjordan and Assyria," 44–58.

features at Busayra like a palatial building and a temple with Assyrian-style features, imitation Assyrian Palace Ware, stamped pottery, a lion head ivory figurine, an inscribed *Tridacna squamosa* shell from Busayra, and a scaraboid seal from Tawilan with Neo-Assyrian-influenced iconography.[2] Bennett, following Oded, argued that these objects demonstrated that Edom was under direct Assyrian control and that there was possibly an Assyrian force garrisoned there.[3] Subsequent scholars have since limited the estimation of direct imperial control and suggested that the objects were acquired or perhaps produced by the Edomites as an assertion of their elite identity using connections to the empire.[4]

9.1. Relocating "Assyrianization"

It is particularly difficult to trace cultural connections when the evidence is so limited. In Edom, there was no dramatic transformation of the material culture that resulted in an intermingling of imperial and indigenous architectural and artistic traditions, a process sometimes referred to as "acculturation"—that is, the merging of two cultures into a new, hybrid culture.[5] Furthermore, there are no identifiable stratigraphic breaks between the pre-Assyrian and Assyrian periods like those identified by Bradley Parker in southeastern Anatolia or at provincial centers like Megiddo.[6] Recent discussions of the stylistic, literary, and cultural intermingling that occurs in occupied or frontier situations (the "Third Space" in the parlance of postcolonial criticism) and its application to archaeological imperial contexts suggest that identifying imperial influences on a subjugated culture

---

2. Bennett, "Neo-Assyrian Influence in Transjordan," 181–87.

3. Bennett, "Neo-Assyrian Influence in Transjordan," 182–84; following Oded, "Observations on Methods of Assyrian Rule in Transjordania." For a recent discussion of Assyrian impact on the Transjordanian polities, see Beate Salje, "The Kingdoms of Transjordan and the Assyrian Expansion," *SHAJ* 10 (2009): 737–44.

4. Routledge, "Mesopotamian 'Influence' in Iron Age Jordan," 39; Bienkowski, "Transjordan and Assyria."

5. Jane Webster, "Creolizing the Roman Provinces," *AJA* 105 (2001): 209–25; Greg Woolf, "Beyond Romans and Natives," *WA* 28 (1997): 339–50.

6. Bradley J. Parker, "Archaeological Manifestations of Empire: Assyria's Imprint on Southeastern Anatolia," *AJA* 107 (2003): 525–57. For a recent introduction to the anthropological approach to empires, see Virginia R. Herrmann and Craig W. Tyson, "Introduction," in *Imperial Peripheries in the Neo-Assyrian Period*, ed. Craig W. Tyson and Virginia R. Herrmann (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2018), 3–40.

is much more complicated than recognized by previous generations of scholars.[7] The focus on Assyrian styles and objects led to an incapacity to understand the diversity of imperial processes and local reactions to them, the hybridization of indigenous forms and newly formed imperial or global identities.[8] By treating imperial identities and native identities as binaries, the static typology becomes essentializing, reducing the transformational encounter to elements on a scale of difference.[9]

For instance, Feldman argues that the Assyrian Empire did indeed attempt to create a standardized style as a strategy for maintaining and controlling the memory of conquest, a kind of "creation of an Assyrian world and the subsuming of the non-Assyrian world through the materialization of a coherent and pervasive style."[10] While the imperial administrative apparatus did promulgate its ideological messages of dominance through carvings and engravings on the walls of its palaces in the Assyrian homeland as well as inscribed and decorated stelae throughout the Syrian landscape, the communities at the margins of the empire encountered

---

7. For a recent use of postcolonial concepts within Roman archaeology, see Astrid Van Oyen, "Deconstructing and Reassembling the Romanization Debate through the Lens of Postcolonial Theory: From Global to Local and Back?," *Terra Incognita* 6 (2015): 205–26. See also Miguel John Versluys, "Understanding Objects in Motion: An Archaeological Dialogue on Romanization," *Arch Dialogues* 21 (2014): 1–20; Gil J. Stein, "The Comparative Archaeology of Colonial Encounters," in *The Archaeology of Colonial Encounters: Comparative Perspectives*, ed. Gil J. Stein, SARAS (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 2005), 3–31. On the concept of Third Space and colonial encounters in frontier zones, see Naum, "Re-emerging Frontiers," 101–31; and Amy St. John and Neal Ferris, "Unravelling Identities on Archaeological Borderlands: Late Woodland Western Basin and Ontario Iroquoian Traditions in the Lower Great Lakes Region," *CanGeogr* 63 (2019): 43–56, but especially their literature review on pp. 44–48.

8. See the discussion of the shortcomings of the imperial model within the context of the Romanization debates in Andrew Gardner, "Thinking about Roman Imperialism: Postcolonialism, Globalisation and Beyond?," *Britannia* 44 (2013): 1–25. Gardner, following Jan Aart Scholte (*Globalization: A Critical Introduction*, 2nd ed. [New York: Macmillan, 2005], 224–55), terms this latter process "glocalisation." Wilkinson demonstrates the ways that a marginal territory can contribute to state formation in Darryl Wilkinson, "The Influence of Amazonia on State Formation in the Ancient Andes," *Antiquity* 92.365 (2018): 1362–76.

9. For a recent critique of the essentializing creation of binaries within the Romanization debate, see Lara Ghisleni, "Contingent Persistence: Continuity, Change, and Identity in the Romanization Debate," *CurrAnthr* 59 (2018): 138–66.

10. Feldman, *Communities of Style*, 81.

imperial displays rarely and often indirectly through provincial capitals, trading networks, and occasional diplomatic visits to the imperial capital.[11] Feldman defines "stylistic Assyrianization" as "a set of social engagements by which individuals come to identify themselves, at least in some part, with a community identity connection with the centralized state of Assyria."[12] The possession of a hybridized material culture in marginal territories like Edom would be a privilege of the well-connected local political elite and those who might interact with the empire through trade or diplomacy.

In these frontier zones some imperial impact displayed in the material culture of the local administrative and ruling elite should be expected, though the manifestation of that influence was mediated through more regional iterations of the Assyrian exemplars (provincial centers) and hybridized with the local styles and conventions. Certain categories of items were selected by the local elite to demonstrate their connections with the imperial power of the time that would reinforce their role as imperial conduits to the empire and the ruling elite to local communities. Michelle Marcus refers to these kinds of goods as "emblems of authority" or "emblems of identity and prestige."[13] Although the material culture of

---

11. On the Assyrian court style, see Feldman, *Communities of Style*, 81–91. For various modes of transmission of Assyrian ideology in the Levant, see Shawn Zelig Aster, "Transmission of Neo-Assyrian Claims of Empire to Judah in the Late Eighth Century B.C.E.," *HUCA* 78 (2007): 1–44, esp. 5–9; Naʾaman, "Royal Inscriptions and the Histories," 333–37; and Naʾaman, "Three Notes on the Aramaic Inscription from Tel Dan," *IEJ* 50 (2000): 92–96. For a recent expansion of Naʾaman's argument, see F. W. Dobbs-Allsopp and Daniel Pioske, "On the Appearance of Royal Inscriptions in Alphabetic Scripts in the Levant: An Exercise in 'Historically Anchored Philology,'" *MAARAV* 23 (2019): 389–442, pls. IX–XXXIX.

12. Feldman, *Communities of Style*, 81.

13. Michelle Marcus, "Emblems of Authority: The Seals and Sealings from Hasanlu IVB," *Expedition* 31 (1989): 53–63; Marcus, *Emblems of Identity and Prestige: The Seals and Sealings from Hasanlu, Iran; Commentary and Catalog*, Hasanlu Special Studies 3, University Museum Monograph 84 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1996). Note that the findings at Hasanlu are "entangled" with multiple influences, leading recent scholars to seek the multiple voices, or the heteroglossia, of cultural connections. See recently, Megan Cifarelli, Manuel Castelluccia, and Roberto Dan, "Copper-Alloy Belts at Hasanlu, Iran: A Case Study in Hybridization and Heteroglossia in Material Culture," *CAJ* 28 (2018): 539–63; and Megan Cifarelli, "East of Assyria? Hasanlu and the Problem of Assyrianization," in Tyson and Herrmann, *Imperial Peripheries in the Neo-Assyrian Period*, 210–39. Other imperial situations

peripheral regions typically includes multiple local and distant or exotic elements, it is the foreign architectural and artistic styles in Edom that are exceptional because they exhibit both the level of external influence and the desire among the local elite to identify themselves as having a special relationship with the imperial power.[14] These architectural and stylistic artifacts display an array of elements—imperial, regional, and local—that are "deftly amalgamated into an entirely local product."[15]

It is notable that in Edom, these "emblems of authority" occur almost exclusively at Busayra. Although small amounts of Assyrian-style pottery are found at most excavated sites, other Assyrian-style artifacts are not widely distributed throughout Edom.[16] Apparently, access to these objects was essentially restricted to Busayra, and its elites made strategic use of these symbolic objects in order to advance their position and to display their status and imperial relations.[17] Edom is best characterized as a polity that interacted with the imperial power in a pattern described as "cultural entanglement," which is a "process whereby interaction with an expanding territorial state *gradually* results in change of indigenous patterns of production, exchange, and social relations."[18] Although that "entanglement" was limited to the ruling elite in Busayra.

---

reinforce that distant polities were affected by the cultural presence of empire but in limited ways. See, e.g., Véronique Bélisle, "Understanding Wari State Expansion: A 'Bottom-Up' Approach at the Village of Ak'Awillay, Cusco, Peru," *LatAmAnt* 26 (2015): 180–99.

14. Marcus, *Emblems of Identity and Prestige*, 19–58; Mary W. Helms, *Craft and the Kingly Ideal: Art, Trade, and Power* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993), 192–209.

15. Cifarelli, "East of Assyria?," 210–39. The distinctions between local and imperial are particularly difficult for Edom due to insufficient understandings of earlier local building styles. This prevents a comparison of the vernacular architecture and the imperial styles (for the concept of vernacular architecture, see Daniel Eddisford and Robert Carter, "The Vernacular Architecture of Doha, Qatar," *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 51 [2017]: 81–107).

16. Note that there are not nearly enough Assyrian-style artifacts found in Edom to allow for a quantitative analysis like that performed by Fraser Hunter, "Roman and Native in Scotland," *JRA* 14 (2001): 289–309 for Roman-period Scotland.

17. See Hunter, "Roman and Native in Scotland," 292–93; Webster, "Creolizing the Roman Provinces," 217.

18. Rani T. Alexander, "Afterword: Toward an Archaeological Theory of Culture Contact," in *Studies in Cultural Contact: Interaction, Culture Change, and Archaeology*, ed. James G. Cusick, Center for Archaeological Investigations Occasional Paper 25

9.2. Assyrian Influence on Edom

In Edom this process of entanglement resulted in a low level of visible imperial influence on the material culture. There is a selective range of three categories of material influence: Assyrian architectural styles, pottery types, and various ornamental or prestige items. Although there was little direct Assyrian influence on Edom, there are some similarities between aspects of the Edomite material culture and that of some central Assyrian sites. For example, in addition to Assyrian temples and palaces at Assyrian cities like Nimrud and Nineveh, structures built in the same style are found at Assyrian provincial centers like Megiddo and Hazor, as well as at Assyrian fortresses in the Levantine region. The Edomite examples are much smaller and less complex than those at Assyrian sites, but are more comparable to those found at provincial centers and at major sites in the region. Among the wide range of item types within these three categories at central Assyrian sites, only several specific ones are found at sites in the southern Levant. For example, there is no apparent influence on the architectural styles of Levantine domestic buildings; instead only in monumental contexts are similarities with Assyrian architecture found. Also, of the numerous varieties of Assyrian Palace Ware recovered from central Assyrian sites, only three types are well attested in the southern Levant, and only one is attested for Edom, namely the Assyrian carinated bowl.

9.2.1. Influences on Architectural Style

Although the architecture of Edom was predominantly a local manifestation of regional domestic styles, at Busayra there are three elements that share features with Assyrian-style monumental buildings.[19] The buildings at major Assyrian sites in the center of the empire are the earliest

---

(Carbondale: Southern Illinois University, 1998), 485 (emphasis added); cf. Michael Dietler, "Consumption, Agency, and Cultural Entanglement: Theoretical Implications of a Mediterranean Colonial Encounter," in Cusick, *Studies in Cultural Contact*, 288–315; Edward M. Schortman and Patricia A. Urban, "Culture Contact Structure and Process," in Cusick, *Studies in Cultural Contact*, 111–14.

19. Cf. Bennett, "Neo-Assyrian Influence in Transjordan," 183, 187; Bienkowski, "Architecture of Edom," 135–43; Benjamin W. Porter, "Moving beyond King Mesha: A Social Archaeology of Iron Age Jordan," in *The Social Archaeology of the Levant: From Prehistory to the Present*, ed. Assaf Yasur-Landau, Eric H. Cline, and Yorke Rowan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 331–32.

exemplars of these construction techniques, with a handful of examples of similar buildings at administrative sites in Judah, Philistia, Israel, Moab, and Ammon.[20] The three relevant architectural elements indicative of imperial impact at Busayra are the spatial separation of the palatial sector from domestic areas by means of an artificially constructed platform or podium, the temple in Area A, and the palatial building in Area C. These features demonstrate the most active emulation of Assyria by the Edomite elite. In the case of architecture, these features were purposely built by the elite to mimic the Assyrian-style temples and palaces.[21]

9.2.2. Podia at Busayra

The two monumental buildings at Busayra were built on platforms constructed of a lattice framework of walls.[22] The platform in Area A (76.50 x 38 m) was built as part of an integrated project and served as a podium for the building. Although the height of the wall varied in accordance with the bedrock, it was purposely designed to provide a level space for the construction of the building and to elevate it above the surrounding buildings at Busayra. Traces of a similar construction technique were found in Area C below the palatial building, but it was not sufficiently excavated to interpret it securely as an artificial platform.[23]

This design technique, referred to as a *tamlû* in Assyrian inscriptions, is also attested at some of the Assyrian sites in Mesopotamia (Khorsabad, Nineveh/Tall Kuyunjik, Nimrud) and Syria (Tell Halaf, Zinjirli, Til Barsip, Tell Taʿyinat).[24] The architectural method of building palatial buildings on

---

20. Bienkowski, "Transjordan and Assyria," 52.

21. Mimicry is an important postcolonial concept that emphasizes both the imperial pressure on the local elite to copy the style and the desire of the elite to demonstrate their relations to the empire. On mimicry, see the still important essay by Homi Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," *October* 28 (1984): 125–33. For the application to archaeological theory, see Fredrik Fahlander, "Third Space Encounters: Hybridity, Mimicry and Interstitial Practice," in *Encounters, Materialities, Confrontations: Archaeologies of Social Space and Interaction*, ed. Per Cornell and Fredrik Fahlander (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2007), 15–41; and Naum, "Re-emerging Frontiers," 121–26.

22. Bienkowski, *Busayra Excavations*, 64–66.

23. Bienkowski, *Busayra Excavations*, 156.

24. See Bienkowski, "Architecture of Edom," 141; George R. H. Wright, *Ancient Building in South Syria and Palestine*, 2 vols., HdO 7 (Leiden: Brill, 1985), 509–10.

artificially constructed platforms is first documented during the reign of Sargon II. The diffusion of this technique can be dated to the late eighth century BCE or shortly afterward. In the Levant, there are two types of sites that evidence platforms on which buildings were constructed: those built by the Assyrians and those built by local rulers to imitate the empire. The first category includes sites that have extensive evidence of Assyrian occupation. Megiddo Stratum III is an Assyrian provincial town that exhibits considerable preparation and planning before the contemporary domestic buildings were constructed.[25] Two of the palatial buildings at Megiddo near the northern gate (Buildings 1369 and 490) were built on platforms that raised these buildings approximately 2 m above the surrounding area.[26] At Tell Abu Salima, located near the Egyptian border, a large palatial building was surrounded by an offset-inset wall, which served as a retaining wall for fill that raised this building 2 m above the surrounding area.[27] Reportedly, Rishon le-Zion, an unpublished site near

---

An early example supports the temple of Ishtar in Nineveh. See Julian Reade, "The Ishtar Temple at Nineveh," *Iraq* 67 (2005): 362–66. For the platform at Tell Taʿyinat, see Timothy P. Harrison, "The Neo-Assyrian Governor's Residence at Tell Taʿyinat," *BCSMS* 40 (2005): 26–27. The platform was labeled Building X, while the Governor's Residence was labeled Building IX. The Tell Taʿyinat 2005 excavations also revealed a series of 3 m wide square rooms in a tight grid without entryways, probably a podium for a massive building. See Timothy P. Harrison, "West Syrian *Megaron* or Neo-Assyrian *Langraum*? The Shifting Form and Function of the Tell Taʿyīnāt (*Kunulua*) Temples," in Kamlah, *Temple Building and Temple Cult*, 11–12. For the podium and Assyrian "palace" at Ashdod (stratum 7), see Elena Kogan-Zehavi, "Tel Ashdod," *Hadashot* 118 (2006): 1–7.

25. Jennifer Peersmann, "Assyrian Magiddu: The Town Planning of Stratum III," in *Megiddo III: The 1992–1996 Seasons*, ed. Israel Finkelstein, David Ussishkin, and Baruch Halpern, SMNIA 18 (Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology, 2000), 524–34.

26. Stern, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible*, 27–29; Reich, "Palaces and Residencies in the Iron Age," 218. Palace 1052 at Megiddo is often included among the buildings constructed during the Assyrian period. Israel Finkelstein and David Ussishkin ("Archaeological and Historical Conclusions," in Finkelstein, Ussishkin, and Halpern, *Megiddo III*, 602) suggest that it was built prior to Building 1369, which has a number of similar features with Assyrian palaces. Ronny Reich ("The Stratigraphic Relationship between Palaces 1369 and 1052 [Stratum III] at Megiddo," *BASOR* 331 [2003]: 39–44) thinks the buildings are contemporary and rejects the stratigraphic relationship between the two buildings proposed by the excavators.

27. Reich, "Palaces and Residencies in the Iron Age," 221; Reich, "The Identification of the 'Sealed *kāru* of Egypt,'" *IEJ* 34 (1984): 34–35; Stern, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible*, 26.

the Mediterranean coast has an Assyrian fortress (18 by 17 m) built on a mud-brick platform.[28] Tell Qudadi, an important Assyrian fortress on the coast at the outlet of the Yarkon River, was built on a podium of small rooms.[29] Tell el-Ful, located on an overlook northwest of Jerusalem, has a watchtower built on a podium or a platform.[30] At times, some of the podium rooms functioned as cellars for storage of goods that were used on a regular basis within the building. This type of podium room is usually identified by a larger amount of pottery and objects rather than the debris fill that was typical. Similar podium cellars were identified by archaeologists at Tell Jemmeh, Rosh Zayit, and probably Tall al Khalayfi.[31]

In addition to those sites that have evidence of Assyrian occupation, local leaders constructed platforms on which palatial and religious buildings were located. The most impressive of these platforms is the 10 m high retaining wall at the Moabite site of Dhiban.[32] The platform area, located in the southeastern quarter of the walled site, served as a construction base for a temple and palace. According to recent revisions of the excavations of

---

28. Stern, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible*, 26; Martin Peilstöcker, "Rishon Le-Ziyyon Sand Dunes," *Hadashot* 110 (1999): 94*, 117; Yossi Levi, "Rishon Lezion," *AJA* 100 (1996): 744.

29. Fantalkin and Tal, "Re-Discovering the Iron Age Fortress at Tell Qudadi," 188–206.

30. Israel Finkelstein, "Tell el-Ful Revisited: The Assyrian and Hellenistic Periods (with a New Identification)," *PEQ* 143 (2011): 106–18. Finkelstein suggests that Tell el-Ful along with Ramat Raḥel and Nebi Samuel to the east of Jerusalem constituted a network of Assyrian administrative sites established after the Judahite rebellion of 701 BCE.

31. See Ariel M. Bagg, "Palestine under Assyrian Rule: A New Look at the Assyrian Imperial Policy in the West," *JAOS* 133 (2013): 127–28. For Tell Jemmeh, see Na'aman, "Assyrian Residence at Ramat Rahel?," 264. For Ḥorvat Rosh Zayit, see Zvi Gal and Yardenna Alexandre, *Ḥorbat Rosh Zayit: An Iron Age Fort and Village*, IAA Report 8 (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2000), 12–20, 198. At Tall al Khalayfi a podium was identified largely because the rooms did not have entrances, see Pratico, *Nelson Glueck's 1938–1940 Excavations at Tell el-Kheleifeh*, 25–34; and Sharon and Zarzecki-Peleg, "Podium Structures with Lateral Access," 160. For this architectural feature in general, see Sharon and Zarzecki-Peleg, "Podium Structures with Lateral Access," 147.

32. A. D. Tushingham, "Dhiban," *OEANE* 2:156–58; A. D. Tushingham and Peter H. Pedrette, "Mesha's Citadel Complex (Qarhoh) at Dhiban," *SHAJ* 5 (1995): 151–59; William H. Morton, "A Summary of the 1955, 1956 and 1965 Excavations at Dhiban," in *Studies in the Mesha Inscription and Moab*, ed. J. Andrew Dearman, ABS 2 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989) 239–46, figs. 4–8.

Dhiban performed in the mid-twentieth century, the eastern portion of the
site was artificially raised and leveled in the Iron IIB period, probably after
840 BCE.[33] The construction of these structures at Dhiban are typically
attributed to the Moabite king Mesha, but there is little evidence to sup-
port this date other than assumptions derived from the Mesha Inscription
that presents that king as the unifying ruler of Moab, who also engaged
in numerous building projects. The problem is not that Mesha undertook
building projects at Dhibon but how extensive those constructions were
and what areas are to be dated to the ninth century BCE or to later periods.
Bruce Routledge argues that a leader after Mesha reconstructed Dhiban
"with a heavy investment in symbolic architecture" though the site did
not appear to become an administrative or economic center.[34] Routledge
suggests that the intensification of settlement and investment in symbolic
architecture was within the context of the growth of the Arabian trade
routes and the pressures from the Assyrian Empire.[35]

At Lachish, a platform was initially constructed in Level IV and was
expanded in Level III.[36] This platform was extended throughout the ninth
and eighth centuries BCE in accordance with additions and changes in the
palatial building. The "fortress-city" of Lachish in Level IV followed the
Level V resettlement of the site in the tenth century BCE. That settlement
was probably unfortified and covered portions of the summit of the mound
at Lachish, but the architectural remains are meager.[37] For the excavator,
the foundation of the "military city" with a garrison and a fortress coin-

---

33. Bruce Routledge et al., "Long-Term Settlement Change at Dhībān," *SHAJ* 11
(2013): 139–40.

34. Bruce Routledge, "Conditions of State Formation at the Edges of Empires:
The Case of Iron Age Moab," in *State Formation and State Decline in the Near and
Middle East*, ed. Rainer Kessler, Walter Sommerfeld, and Leslie Tramontini (Wies-
baden: Harrassowitz, 2016), 90–91.

35. Routledge, "Conditions of State Formation at the Edges of Empires," 91–92.

36. Podium A in Level IV was 32 x 32 m. See David Ussishkin, *Excavations at Tel
Lachish—1973–1977: Preliminary Report* (Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology, 1978),
28–32; Ussishkin, "Lachish," *ABD* 4:121; Reich, "Palaces and Residencies in the Iron
Age," 208–10; Wright, *Ancient Building in South Syria and Palestine*, 70–71. Podium
B in Level III was 32 x 26 m. See Ussishkin, *Excavations at Tel Lachish—1973–1977*,
32–35.

37. See the recent summary of the relevant strata in David Ussishkin, "Gath,
Lachish and Jerusalem in the 9th Cent. B.C.E.—An Archaeological Reassessment,"
ZDPV 131 (2015): 129–49.

cided with the transition of the Judahite polity to a more substantial state
with the ability to construct larger public works as well as support a stand-
ing army. Level IV and the expansions of Level III remained in use until
the destruction of Lachish by the Assyrians in 701 BCE.

The Lachish IV fortress had a double city wall: an outer wall along
the middle of the slope of the mound and a main wall around the settled
portion of the upper mound, a glacis was built between the walls. The gate
complex for Lachish IV was on the western side of the mound. The central
"governmental compound" was constructed in the middle of the mound;
it included a palace referred to as the "Palace-Fort," a storehouse to the
north, and a second building, possibly a stable, on the southern side. The
time of the construction of the fort is debated, but most place it in the early
to middle of the eighth century BCE, a date range now confirmed with
radiocarbon data.[38] The event that precipitated the destruction of Level
IV remains debated, but it probably occurred during the eighth century
BCE.[39]

What is most relevant about Lachish for this discussion is that the
Level IV and then later Level III Palace-Fort was constructed on an arti-
ficial platform. David Ussishkin has recently argued that, based on the
similarity of the pottery assemblages, Gath Stratum A3 and Lachish Level
IV were possibly built around the same time, perhaps to mark the border
between Philistia and Judah.[40]

A major element of construction technique that distinguishes the
podia at Lachish and Dhiban from the one at Busayra is the format of
the internal structure of the podium. At Lachish and Dhiban the internal
walls of the supporting structure were constructed along the lines of the
superstructure that was constructed upon the podium. In other words,
the supporting walls within the podium were made specifically to support
the wall directly above it. The internal walls of the podium at Busayra,

---

38. See Ussishkin, "Gath, Lachish and Jerusalem," 136–37. On the radiocarbon
dates, see most recently Yosef Garfinkel et al., "Lachish Fortifications and State Forma-
tion in the Biblical Kingdom of Judah in Light of Radiometric Datings," *Radiocarbon*
61 (2019): 695–712. For a more detailed discussion of the podium at Lachish, see
David Ussishkin, "Area Pal.: The Judean Palace-Fort," in *The Renewed Archaeological
Excavations at Lachish*, ed. David Ussishkin, 5 vols., SMNIA 22 (Tel Aviv: Emery and
Claire Yass Publications in Archaeology, 2004), 2:768–870.

39. See the list of possibilities in Ussishkin, "Gath, Lachish and Jerusalem," 137.

40. See Ussishkin, "Gath, Lachish and Jerusalem," 139.

and those similar podia discussed above, were built in regular squares or rectangles and subsequently filled with debris and soil to strengthen the foundation. While there might be some diachronic distinction between these types of podia, the podium at Busayra is more closely aligned with those in the southern Levant that were directly influenced by the Assyrian architectural technique, some of which were even built by the Assyrian garrisons in the area.

The architectural technique of constructing a supporting platform was used both at sites occupied by the Assyrians and at central sites of subjugated polities. The technique of a platform for the elevation of a building was used by the leaders of minor polities to serve two purposes. First, the platform was a practical technique to construct a level foundation on which to build large, monumental buildings. The second purpose was symbolic. The platforms separated and elevated the public buildings from the surrounding domestic quarters, visualizing and materializing the significance and prestige of those public buildings and those who resided in them.[41]

9.2.3. The Area A Temple

Certain elements of the temple at Busayra reflect similarities with other temples, both in Assyria proper and in the southern Levant, emphasizing the mixture of imperial and local elements. Other Assyrianizing temples in the region exhibit a hybridization of techniques and elements from local and imperial cultures, like Complex 650 at Tel Miqne-Ekron.[42] The most significant similar feature is the location of a cella directly off the main courtyard. This room, like those in several other temples in the region, is separated from the courtyard and made distinct from the surrounding rooms by an entrance flanked by stone circular bases that would have supported statues or columns.

---

41. For a discussion of the ideological nature of podium structures, see Sharon and Zarzecki-Peleg, "Podium Structures with Lateral Access," 162–64.

42. Seymour Gitin, "Temple Complex 650 at Ekron: The Impact of Multi-Cultural Influences on Philistine Cult in the Late Iron Age," in Kamlah, *Temple Building and Temple Cult*, 241–43. For another example of religious architecture that combines local elements with Assyrian ones, see Temple AI in Area A at Tell Afis, the ancient capital of the Aramaean kingdom of Luʿash. See Sebastiano Soldi, "Aramaeans and Assyrians in North-Western Syria: Material Evidence from Tell Afis," *Syria* 86 (2009): 97–118.

The Area A temple at Busayra was built on an artificial platform.[43] The building itself had a central courtyard with extensions to the northeast and southwest. Each extension was divided into rooms with plastered walls. Only the southwestern extension was completely excavated, and it had a stone-lined cistern with two drains running into it. A central long, narrow room, described as a "cella" or a "holy of holies," had stone floor paving and steps running from the courtyard into it.[44] Each side of the steps employed a circular base to support columns or statues.

The design of the temple shares some counterparts with Assyrian temples at Khorsabad and Tell Halaf, particularly the steps leading into a narrow, paved room flanked by stone pedestals. This construction design appeared in other temples in the southern Levant as well, for example, the temple in Stratum G at Tell Abu Salim, an Assyrian site that has been identified as Sargon II's *kāru* (a port or trading center) of Egypt.[45] A large building was excavated with 1.8 m thick mud-brick walls.[46] In the northern corner of the building, a small room was surrounded by a series of interlinked rooms and entered from a small courtyard. Within the room, three steps led up to a raised platform (4.42 x 2.89 m) paved with square burnt bricks. A similar platform was identified in the Temple XVI complex at Tell Taʿyinat. The northernmost room had a rectangular platform, possibly as a location for an altar.[47] The excavators identified this feature

---

43. Bienkowski, *Busayra Excavations*, 66–83.

44. Bennett ("Excavations at Buseirah, Southern Jordan, 1974," 4–6) described the room as a "cella," while Reich ("Palaces and Residencies in the Iron Age," 219) labeled it a "holy of holies."

45. See Bienkowski, *Busayra Excavations*, 94–95 for parallels. Another comparable building is Tell Miqne complex 650. See Seymour Gitin, "The Neo-Assyrian Empire and Its Western Periphery: The Levant, with a Focus on Philistine Ekron," in *Assyria 1995: Proceedings of the 10th Anniversary Symposium of the Neo-Assyrian Empire and Its Western Periphery*, ed. Simo Parpola and Robert M. Whiting (Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Test Corpus Project, 1997), 77–103; Trude Dothan and Seymour Gitin, "Tel Miqne (Ekron)," *AJA* 100 (1996): 738–40, 745–46; Gitin, "Temple Complex 650 at Ekron," 223–56.

46. W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Anthedon, Sinai* (London: British School of Egyptian Archaeology, 1937); Reich, "Identification of the 'Sealed *kāru* of Egypt,'" fig. 3.

47. Timothy P. Harrison, "Temples, Tablets and the Neo-Assyrian Provincial Capital of Kinalia," *JCSMS* 6 (2011): 33–35. See also Harrison, "The Neo-Assyrian Provincial Administration at Tayinat (Ancient Kunalia)," in *The Provincial Archaeology of the Assyrian Empire*, ed. John MacGinnis, Dirk Wicke, and Tina Greenfield (Cambridge: MacDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, 2016), 253–64.
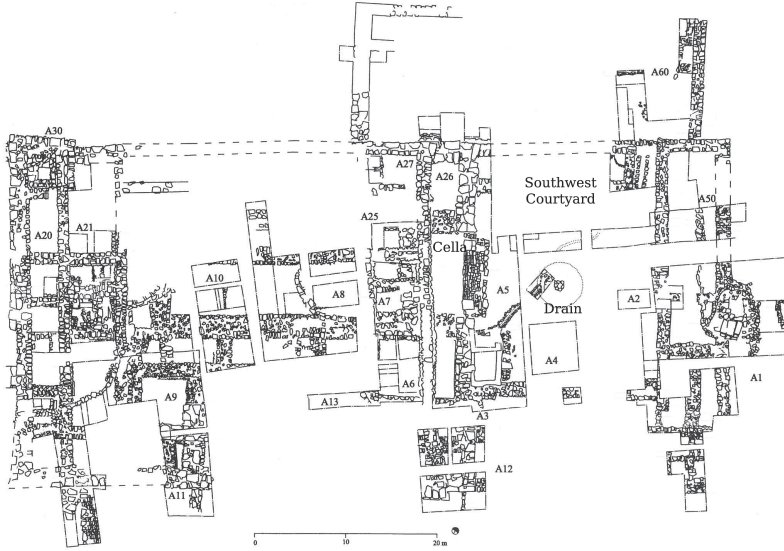
Fig. 9.1. Plan of temple complex in Area A at Busayra. Adapted from Bienkowski, *Busayra Excavations*, fig. 4.1.
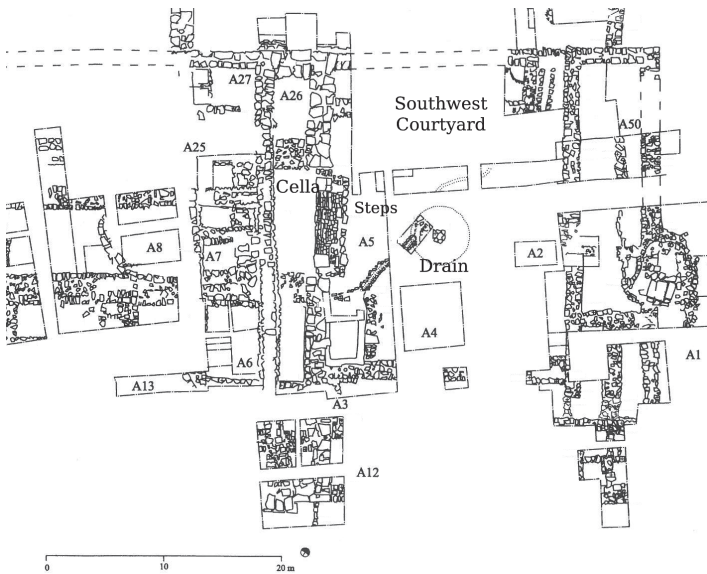
Fig. 9.2. Detail view of southwestern courtyard of Area A temple. Adapted from Bienkowski, *Busayra Excavations*, fig. 4.1.

of the Taʿyinat temple as a renovation to an earlier temple and suggested that it was added during the late eighth or early seventh century BCE Assyrian reconstruction of the sacred precinct.[48] The steps were not as wide as the platform, suggesting that pedestals originally flanked them, as in Assyrian temples.[49]

9.2.4. The Area C Palace

The final Edomite architectural analogue to Assyrian buildings is the palatial structure found in Area C at Busayra, which measured about 26 x 24 m with walls that were at least 2 m thick.[50] The Busayra palatial complex constituted a simplified version of similar structures in Assyrian provincial centers and vassal capitals.[51] It was constructed on a stone platform, similar to the temple in Area A, and was equipped with a large plastered courtyard (20.5 x 6.5 m) or a reception room, which served for meetings, banquets, and other types of activities associated with the royal family.[52] The courtyard preserved a recess in one of the walls, possibly the location of a stone slab for a throne, and a plastered shelf.[53] The surrounding rooms were either plastered or paved with stones. Most of the rooms functioned

---

48. Harrison, "Temples, Tablets and the Neo-Assyrian Provincial Capital of Kinalia," 35. For Building XVI and the Temple Complex at Tell Taʿyinat, see Timothy P. Harrison and James F. Osborne, "Building XVI and the Neo-Assyrian Sacred Precinct at Tell Tayinat," *JCS* 64 (2012): 125–43. For the important collection of tablets, including a loyalty oath (T1801) of fealty to the Assyrian king that was displayed on the wall of the temple at Tayinat, see Jacob Lauinger, "Some Preliminary Thoughts on the Tablet Collection in Building XVI from Tell Tayinat," *JCSMS* 6 (2011): 5–14; Lauinger, "Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty at Tell Tayinat," 87–123; Lauinger, "Neo-Assyrian *adê*," 99–115.

49. Petrie, *Anthedom, Sinai*, 6; Reich, "Identification of the 'Sealed *kāru* of Egypt,'" 36.

50. Bienkowski, *Busayra Excavations*, 162.

51. For a recent treatment of the evolution of the palace complexes, see David Kertai, "The Art of Building a Late Assyrian Royal Palace," in *Critical Approaches to Ancient Near Eastern Art*, ed. Brian A. Brown and Marian H. Feldman (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2013), 689–712; and in more detail in Kertai, *The Architecture of Late Assyrian Royal Palaces* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 17–184.

52. Kertai, *Architecture of Late Assyrian Royal Palaces*, 185–90.

53. Determining the precise function of these recesses is difficult due to the nature of archaeological remains; it is even possible that the recess was the opening into the room for a ventilation or light shaft. See further Kertai, *Architecture of Late Assyrian Royal Palaces*, 187–90.

as storage rooms, but one room of the courtyard functioned as a bathroom with a stone toilet and basin.[54]
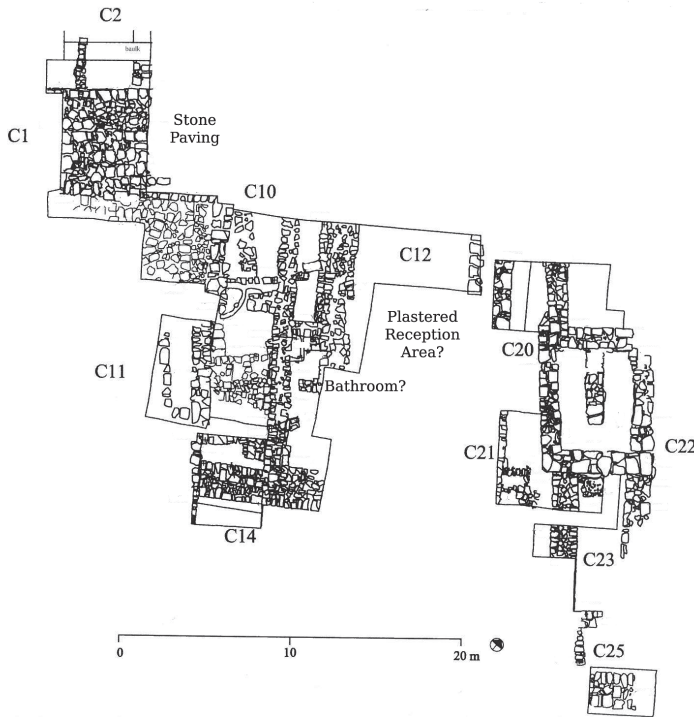
Fig. 9.3. Plan of Area C "palace" at Busayra. Adapted from Bienkowski, *Busayra Excavations*, fig. 6.1.

Assyrian palatial structures had three common elements: a reception room, a retiring room and a bathroom.[55] Examples of Assyrian palaces are found at Nimrud, Khorsabad, and throughout eastern Syria where Assyrian control was substantial, at sites like Tell Taʿyinat.[56] The reception rooms

---

54. Bienkowski, *Busayra Excavations*, 166–70.

55. Bienkowski, *Busayra Excavations*, 199–200; Turner, "State Apartments of Late Assyrian Palaces," 177–213; Wright, *Ancient Building in South Syria and Palestine*, 504–9. Kertai ("Art of Building a Late Assyrian Royal Palace," 698–99) relabeled this structure as a "Residential/Reception Suite."

56. The Assyrian palaces at Nimrud include the Northwest Palace (Joan Oates and David Oates, *Nimrud: An Assyrian Imperial City Revealed* [London: British School

were usually plastered with a niche for a stone slab. Near the reception room was a bathroom and an anteroom. The major difference between the Assyrian palaces and the Busayra building is that the Assyrian palaces had separate reception rooms and courtyards, whereas it appears that in the Busayra building, the courtyard also functioned as the reception room. Notably the Busayra building does not preserve an identifiable, distinct throne room.

The most important architectural feature for identifying the Busayra building as a palatial structure is the bathroom. Assyrian palaces of the eighth and seventh centuries BCE typically had bathrooms that were entered from the reception room and/or the retiring room.[57] The bathrooms had drainage systems, toilets and stone slabs that were cut with rectangular depressions.[58] In the Assyrian centers they functioned both practically as bathrooms, and ceremonially as ablution chambers. The Busayra bathroom, located in square C12, possessed a stone toilet with a keyhole shaped hole cut into the stone slab and situated above a stone-lined pit with traces of plaster.[59] Approximately 40 cm into the pit there was a duct that possibly served as a drainage conduit for the pit. The same room contained a plastered bath with steps leading into it.[60] Furthermore, plastered steps led from the bathroom into the main reception room.

---

of Archaeology in Iraq, 2001], 36–70), the Southwest Palace (74–77), the Burnt Palace (124–32), the Governor's Palaces (132–35), the 1950 Building (135), the PD 5 Palace (140–41), the Town Wall Palace (141–43), the Upper Chamber palace (69–71), and Palace AB (130–32). For Tell Taʿyinat, see Harrison, "Neo-Assyrian Governor's Residence at Tell Taʿyinat," 23–33; Harrison, "Neo-Assyrian Provincial Administration at Tayinat," 253–64; and Harrison, "Articulating Neo-Assyrian Imperialism at Tell Tayinat," in *Archaeologies of Text: Archaeology, Technology, and Ethics*, ed. Matthew T. Rutz and Morag M. Kersel, JIP 6 (Oxford: Oxbow, 2014), 80–96. For the importance of the construction of palaces in Assyrian royal inscriptions, see Mario Liverani, "'I Constructed Palaces throughout My Country': Establishing the Assyrian Provincial Order; The Motif and Its Variants," *RA* 106 (2012): 181–91. For a comparative study of provincial palaces, see Federico Manuelli, "Assyria and the Provinces: Survival of Local Features and Imposition of New Patterns in the Peripheral Regions of the Empire," *Mesopotamia* 44 (2009): 113–28. The Busayra palace is similar to Manuelli's Type B palace, which is a simplification of the provincial models.

57. The most detailed discussion of bathrooms in Assyrian palaces is Kertai, *Architecture of Late Assyrian Royal Palaces*, 190–95.

58. See Turner, "State Apartments of Late Assyrian Palaces," 190–94.

59. Bienkowski, *Busayra Excavations*, 166, pls. 6.43–44.

60. Bienkowski, *Busayra Excavations*, 167.

Although there are similarities between the Busayra building and the Assyrian palaces, similar structures are attested at central sites throughout the southern Levant dating to the seventh century BCE. Two local examples have been recovered at the Amman citadel and Ayyelet ha-Shahar.[61] A palatial building was excavated on the Amman citadel just inside the Iron Age fortification wall.[62] Like the Busayra building, in the Amman building a plastered bathroom was preserved with a stone toilet and a water system just off a central courtyard.[63] These architectural elements were surrounded by a series of storage rooms. Also, like the Busayra building, the Amman building possessed only one courtyard and not a separate courtyard and reception room, which was typical of the Assyrian examples closer to the Assyrian homeland.

Likewise, the Assyrian building near Hazor, located northeast of the tell at Ayyelet ha-Shahar, attests to a reception room surrounding by a series of smaller rooms.[64] The courtyard was not fully excavated, but it was probably located just south of the reception room in an area with plastered walls, with sockets on either side of the doorway. A drainage system was discerned, but a bathroom with typical features was not reported. However, the excavators did label an area with a drainage hole in a niche south of the large reception room as a "bathroom," but again the room was not fully excavated.[65] Finally, this building does not seem to have been con-

---

61. There are also similar rooms at Dhiban (Morton, "Summary of the 1955, 1956 and 1965 Excavations at Dhiban," 244–45, fig. 13), Megiddo Building 1369 (Reich, "Palaces and Residencies in the Iron Age," 216–218; Stern, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible*, 27–28), and Jerusalem (Yigal Shiloh, *Excavations at the City of David I: 1978–1982; Interim Report of the First Five Seasons*, Qedem 19 [Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1984], 17–19).

62. Jean-Baptiste Humbert and Fawzi Zayadine, "Trois campagnes de fouilles à Ammân (1988–1991): Troisième Terrasse de la Citadelle," *RB* 99 (1992): 247–60.

63. Humbert and Zayadine, "Trois campagnes de fouilles à Ammân (1988–1991)," 253, pls. 12b and 14a.e

64. Reich, "Palaces and Residencies in the Iron Age," 215, fig. 8; Stern, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible*, 24–25; Wright, *Ancient Building in South Syria and Palestine*, 93, 503. The excavations from the 1950s were not properly published due to P. L. O. Guy's untimely death. The best available publication based on the notes from the excavation is Raz Kletter and Wolfgang Zwickel, "The Assyrian Building of ʿAyyelet ha-Šaḥar," *ZDPV* 122 (2006): 151–86.

65. Kletter and Zwickel, "Assyrian Building of ʿAyyelet ha-Šaḥar," 171–72.

structed on a podium, rather the surface was leveled with crushed lime and pebbles suitable for a foundation.[66]

The bathroom in the building in Area C at Busayra provides the only major connection between it and the Assyrian palatial residences. But this connection is significant because it supports the interpretation of the entire building as a local palace. Although there are similarities with the much larger palaces at central sites in Assyria, both the size and the fact that the building was not integrated into a larger complex makes this building distinct from the Assyrian palaces. More direct examples occur at the central sites within the southern Levant. The capitals of Moab (Dhiban), Ammon (Amman citadel), and Megiddo in the Assyrian province of Magiddu, all have buildings similar in size and design to the Busayra building.

9.2.5. Ceramic Influences

Assyrian-style pottery is one of the strongest indicators that particular regions were within the empire's sphere of influence.[67] As such, debates concerning when that influence began are essential, as are considerations of production, elite emulation, and local use of the pottery. Lily Singer-Avitz has argued that Assyrian-style pottery began to appear in Judah during the last third of the eighth century BCE and was found throughout the southern Levant in strata of the seventh century BCE.[68] Carinated bowls, for instance, are well-known components of the Assyrian Palace Ware repertoire and were discovered throughout the Assyrian homeland

---

66. Kletter and Zwickel, "Assyrian Building of ʿAyyelet ha-Šaḥar," 171.

67. The distinctions between Assyrian ware and regional imitations involve important questions of identity and the abstraction of "original forms"; both are complex concepts within debates informed by postcolonial critiques. See a similar situation in the debates about Roman sigillata ware and the presigillata ware from southern Gaul in Astrid Van Oyen, "Towards a Post-Colonial Artefact Analysis," *ArchDial* 20 (2013): 81–107.

68. See Singer-Avitz and Eshet, "Beer-sheba—A Gateway Community," 3–74; Singer-Avitz, "Arad: The Iron Age Pottery Assemblages," *TA* 29 (2002): 110–214; Singer-Avitz, "On Pottery in Assyrian Style: A Rejoinder," *TA* 34 (2007): 182–203; Singer-Avitz's late-eight-century-BCE date was contested by Nadav Naʾaman and Yifat Thareani-Sussely, ("Dating the Appearance of Imitations of Assyrian Ware in Southern Palestine," *TA* 33 [2006]: 61–62), who suggested that the time span between Tiglath-Pileser III's campaign, which initiated Assyrian domination of the region, and Singer-Avitz's date was not long enough for the pottery tradition to have spread.

(Nineveh, Nimrud) and the Euphrates region. By the beginning of the seventh century BCE, this style was ubiquitous in the southern Levant, being found at the major sites in the region.[69] A few Assyrian-style vessels in the southern Levant might have been crafted in the Assyrian heartland and imported, like the Assyrian glazed ceramic bottles excavated in an elite complex at the Moabite site of Khirbat al-Mudayna ath-Thamad, but the vast majority of the vessels characterized by the Assyrian style were made with regional clays and by local crafts specialists.[70]

The clearest example of Assyrian influence on the pottery repertoire of Edom is the carinated fine ware bowl, which first appeared in late eighth and seventh century BCE strata at sites in Israel, Judah, Philistia, Ammon, Moab, and Edom.[71] That these bowls were manufactured locally in the larger cities and administrative centers throughout the southern Levant, finds confirmation in the techniques used in the production of the bowls. They did not vary from local methods of ceramic manufacture.[72] These ceramics were manufactured by local crafts specialists using traditional

69. Singer-Avitz, "On Pottery in Assyrian Style," 183–85.

70. For the glazed ceramic bottles, see P. M. Michèle Daviau and Stanley Klassen, "Conspicuous Consumption and Tribute: Assyrian Glazed Ceramic Bottles at Khirbat al-Mudayna ath-Thamad," *BASOR* 372 (2014): 99–122. Neutron activation analysis of Assyrian Palace Ware at various sites has demonstrated that most Assyrian-influenced pottery was locally produced in imitation of the Assyrian styles. See Alice M. W. Hunt and Johannes H. Sterba, "Chemical Composition by Neutron Activation Analysis (INAA) of Neo-Assyrian Palace Ware from Iraq, Syria and Israel," *JOAD* 2 (2013): 1–3; David Ben-Shlomo, "Petrographic Analysis of Pottery: Chalcolithic to Persian Periods," in *The Smithsonian Institutes Excavations at Tell Jemmeh, Israel, 1970–1990*, ed. David Ben-Shlomo and Gus W. Van Beek, Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology 50 (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Scholarly Press, 2014), 776–94; Ben-Shlomo, "Tell Jemmeh, Philistia and the Neo-Assyrian Empire during the Late Iron Age," *Levant* 46 (2014): 65–67; Singer-Avitz, "On Pottery in Assyrian Style," 191–92; Christin M. A. Engstrom, "The Neo-Assyrians at Tell el-Hesi: A Petrographic Study of Imitation Assyrian Palace Ware," *BASOR* 333 (2004): 69–81.

71. Bennett, "Neo-Assyrian Influence in Transjordan," 187; Routledge, "Mesopotamian 'Influence' in Iron Age Jordan," 34; Stern, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible*, 36–39.

72. Bienkowski, Oakeshott, and Berlin, "Pottery," 282, cf. 233–34; Bienkowski, "Transjordan and Assyria," 50–51. The Assyrian Palace Ware bowls at Tell Jemmeh and Tel Sera are often cited as imports from Assyria, but an X-ray fluorescence analysis of the Tell Jemmeh sherds indicates local production (Bienkowski, Oakeshott, and Berlin, "Pottery," 282).

methods, although at some discernable level they imitated or copied the style of the Assyrian Palace Ware. The bowls had an everted rim, a sharp shoulder, and a rounded base. It is worth noting that the Edomite imitations of the Assyrian bowls were not finished in the same manner as typical Edomite pottery. The imitation ware was made of less coarse clay than typical Edomite vessels and was generally finished with burnished and polychrome slip decoration.

The earliest and largest quantities of this bowl type were found in the Assyrian homeland at Nineveh and Nimrud, and throughout northern Mesopotamia.[73] The Assyrian carinated bowl is the most widely dispersed pottery form from the period of Assyrian expansion. Local variations and imports are known from sites in southeastern Anatolia, Palestine, and Iran.[74]

The Assyrian-style carinated bowl is attested at most of the excavated Edomite sites, although the quantity and quality of the examples at Busayra exceed those from other sites in Edom.[75] This pottery style comprised part of the pottery assemblages at ash-Shorabat, as-Sadeh, Ghrara,

---

73. For Nineveh, see Stephen Lumsden, "Neo-Assyrian Pottery from Nineveh," in *Iron Age Pottery in Northern Mesopotamia, Northern Syria and South-Eastern Anatolia: Papers Presented at the Meetings of the International "table ronde" at Heidelberg (1995) and Nieborów (1997) and Other Contributions*, ed. Arnulf Hausleiter and Andrzej Reiche, AVO 10 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1999), 5. For Nimrud, see Arnuf Hausleiter, "Neo-Assyrian Pottery from Kalhu/Nimrud, with Special Reference to the Polish Excavations in the 'Central Building' (1974–76)," in Hausleiter and Reiche, *Iron Age Pottery in Northern Mesopotamia, Northern Syria and South-Eastern Anatolia*, 28–29; Joan Oates, "Late Assyrian Pottery from Fort Shalmaneser," *Iraq* 21 (1959): 130–46; Joan Lines, "Late Assyrian Pottery from Nimrud," *Iraq* 16 (1954): 164–67. For northern Mesopotamia, see Anthony Green, "The Ninevite Countryside: Pots and Places of the Eski-Mosul Region in the Neo-Assyrian and Post-Assyrian Records," in Hausleiter and Reiche, *Iron Age Pottery in Northern Mesopotamia, Northern Syria and South-Eastern Anatolia*, 111.

74. Ellen Schneider, "'Assyrische' Schalen aus Tell Sheikh Hassan (Syrien) und ihre Stellung innerhalb der Keramik des assyrischen Einflußgebietes," in Hausleiter and Reiche, *Iron Age Pottery in Northern Mesopotamia, Northern Syria and South-Eastern Anatolia*, 350–54; cf. Parker, "Archaeological Manifestations of Empire." Schneider's tables listing sites where this form was found are not comprehensive, but they do illustrate the ubiquity of this style during the late seventh and early sixth centuries BCE.

75. Bienkowski, Oakeshott, and Berlin, "Pottery," fig. 9.26: 12–23; Singer-Avitz, "On Pottery in Assyrian Style," 184–85.
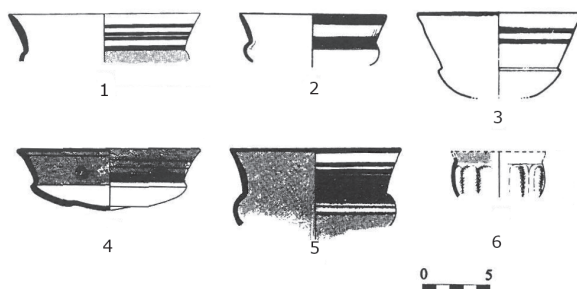
Fig. 9.4a. "Edomite" painted bowls from Busayra. Adapted from Bienkowski, Oakeshott, and Berlin, "The Pottery," fig. 9.26. Type K (1 and 2); Type K2 (3 and 4); Type K3 (5 and 6).
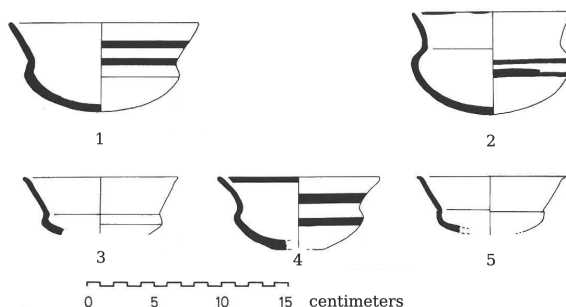
Fig. 9.4b. Carinated bowls from Tawilan. Adapted from Hart, "Pottery," fig. 6.8:18–22. Type K (1); Type K1 (2); Type K2 (3 and 4); Type K3 (5).

Umm al Biyara, Tawilan, and Tall al Khalayfi.[76] A similar carinated bowl style was recovered from Khirbat an Nahas, but excavators noted that the later Assyrian-style bowls were finer with a different body style.[77] Yet the stylistic differences between the Khirbat an Nahas carinated bowls and the

---

76. For ash-Shorabat, see Bienkowski and Adams, "Soundings at Ash-Shorabat and Khirbat Dubab," figs. 1:19; 2:6; 3:1. For as-Sadeh, see Lindner et al., "Es-Sadeh," *ADAJ* 34 (1990), fig. 12:6; Zeitler, "'Edomite' Pottery from the Petra Region," 14.6:10. For Ghrara, see Hart, "Excavations at Ghrareh," fig. 7.1. For Umm al Biyara, see Bienkowski, "Pottery," 63–65, and fig. 4.3:4, 6. For Tawilan, see Hart, "Pottery," fig. 6.8:9–10, 18–22. For Tall al Khalayfi, see Gary D. Practico, "Pottery," fig. 26:7–18; 27:1–6.

77. Neil G. Smith and Thomas E. Levy, "The Iron Age Pottery from Khirbat en-Nahas, Jordan: A Preliminary Study," *BASOR* 352 (2008): 71–72, style BL22, see figs. 12:4–6, 13:8–11; 16:6.

more widespread Assyrian-style carinated bowls are subtle and perhaps should be understood as Assyrian imitation ware, which would lead to a later date for several Iron Age strata at this important copper center.[78] The earlier style of carinated bowl at Khirbat an Nahas was absent in strata following the end of the eighth century BCE, perhaps due to a shift of style popularity as the empire became more prominent in the southern Levant.[79] The Assyrian-style carinated bowl was excavated at many sites in settlement strata dating to the later eighth century and throughout the seventh century BCE in the southern Levant, as well as in Mesopotamia and northern Syria.[80]

It is noteworthy that of the three types of Assyrian-style pottery found in the other regions of Transjordan—the Assyrian or "carrot" bottles, the handleless jars, and the carinated bowls—only the carinated bowls were widely circulated in Edom.[81] In fact, in areas that were not provinces of the empire, versions of these bowls become the primary Assyrian-style artifact regularly used by the local population.[82] Other identifiers of impe-

---

78. Finkelstein and Singer-Avitz, "Pottery of Khirbet en-Nahas," 210, 212–13. This issue is related to broader discussions of the dating of Khirbat an Nahas, especially the dating of the square fortress. For a detailed discussion of the relation of the pottery from Khirbat an Nahas and the Edomite plateau, see Bienkowski, "Pottery," 77–78.

79. Smith and Levy, "Iron Age Pottery from Khirbat en-Nahas," 72.

80. Singer-Avitz, "On Pottery in Assyrian Style," 185. Alice M. W. Hunt (*Palace Ware across the Neo-Assyrian Imperial Landscape: Social Value and Semiotic Meaning*, CHANE 78 [Leiden: Brill, 2015], 146–81) labels this region the "Unincorporated Territories" and notes the heterogeneous fabric and inconsistent form of the Assyrian-style Palace Ware in these regions.

81. For discussions of Assyrian ware in the Tranjordanian polities, see Routledge, "Mesopotamian 'Influence' in Iron Age Jordan," 34–35; P. M. Michele Daviau, "Assyrian Influence and Changing Technologies at Tall Jawa, Jordan," in *The Land That I Will Show You: Essays on the History and Archaeology of the Ancient Near East in Honor of J. Maxwell Miller*, ed. J. Andrew Dearman and M. Patrick Graham, JSOTSup 343 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001), 223–35; Daviau, "Technological Change and Assyrian Influence at Tall Jawa, Jordan," *BCSMS* 29 (1997): 26–29. Notably, the carinated bowl is the dominant Assyrian ware found at other sites in the Levant, e.g., at the coastal entrepot of Dor this type of bowl dominates the Assyrian period repertoire (see Ayelet Gilboa and Ilan Sharon, "The Assyrian *kāru* at Dor [Ancient Du'ru]," in MacGinnis, *Provincial Archaeology of the Assyrian Empire*, 245–47; and Na'aman, "Was Dor the Capital of an Assyrian Province?," 95–109).

82. Hunt, *Palace Ware across the Neo-Assyrian Imperial Landscape*, 147–52. Hunt labels this style of bowl "Form A" bowls.

rial influence in ceramics, such as the black burnished tripod bowls, well known in Assyria and Assyrian provincial centers in Syria, are rare in the southern Levant. Only a few sherds survived at Busayra, as well as some samples from Tell en-Naṣbeh and Tel Aroer.[83] This may suggest that Assyrian influence was less pronounced in southern Jordan. In any case, the Edomites, especially the elite at Busayra, used Assyrian-style pottery as part of their fine ware repertoire. The Assyrian Palace Ware was limited to a narrow range of activities, like dining and drinking.

One of the important questions that is difficult to solve is the level of agency that should be attributed to local communities in contexts where evidence of imperial impact is most prominent. The Assyrian-style pottery in Edom was clustered in the political center at Busayra. Furthermore, most of the Assyrian-style pottery was located within the monumental buildings in the temple and palace complexes. Those buildings were the foci of archaeological excavation at Busayra; so little is known of the residential areas in the rest of the fortified city. It is worth noting that since 2013, the Busayra Cultural Heritage Project (BCHP) focused on the domestic architecture by expanding Bennett's Area D to the south (the project has labeled this expansion Area DD).[84] The probes exposed two domestic buildings (labeled Building DD001 and DD002) with hearths and domestic pottery. Stephanie Brown completed a ceramic analysis in order to analyze the food production and storage process, and to determine the continuity with or divergence from previous practices.[85] Serving and storage vessels dominated the pottery assemblage in these buildings, while painted Edomite ware made up only 8 percent and imitation Assyrian ware accounted for only sixteen sherds, or 0.6 percent of the repertoire.[86] Brown's analysis is significant in emphasizing that the imperial impact on the Edomite population was quite narrowly focused, effecting the royalty and administration who sought to display their connections to the empire, but having little impact in residential areas and on those sectors of the community that performed mundane, habitual tasks like cooking and serving food.

---

83. See Singer-Avitz, "On Pottery in Assyrian Style," 186–188. For the Busayra examples, see Bienkowski, Oakeshott, and Berlin, "Pottery," fig. 9.18:7–9.

84. Brown, "Dining under Assyrian Rule," 150–76; Brown et al., "Newly Documented Domestic Architecture at Iron Age Busayra."

85. Brown, "Dining under Assyrian Rule," 165.

86. Brown, "Dining under Assyrian Rule," 166–68.

9.3. Special Artifacts

Several additional objects, mostly from Busayra but also from Tawilan and Umm al Biyara, have possible Assyrian connections. However, most of the objects also have parallels from the local region suggesting that Assyria directly and indirectly influenced the broader material culture. These objects include two sherds of stamped pottery, the engraved *Tridacna squamosa* shell, a scarab seal, and a lion-headed ivory object.[87] These objects are not extensively discussed in the publications, so whether they were locally produced or imported cannot be determined at present. They are briefly discussed here to demonstrate that Assyrian-style objects beyond architecture and pottery are also found in Edom.

9.3.1. Stamped Pottery at Busayra

Two fragments of fine ware bowls from Busayra were stamped with a series of impressions of grazing stags just below the rim.[88] One decorated sherd has two extant impressions: one of a grazing stag and one of a suckling calf.[89] A second decorated sherd only has an impression of a grazing stag.[90] Both the use of stamps to decorate bowls and the motif of stags have connections with Assyrian motifs, with most similarities attested among the ivories at Arslan Tash and Nimrud.[91] While the iconography is similar

---

87. Two bone furniture inlays from Busayra (no. 631 and 676; see Sedman, "Small Finds," 362, pl. 10.17–18) are described as only having parallels from Nimrud (Georgina Herrmann, *Ivories from Room SW 37 Fort Shalmaneser*, 2 vols., Ivories from Nimrud 4.1. [London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 1986], 1:180–82, 2:pls. 224–225), but the motifs are known throughout the southern Levant.

88. Bennett, "Neo-Assyrian Influence in Transjordan," 187.

89. Reg. no 503. Sedman, "Small Finds," 354, pl. 10.1.

90. Reg. no. 570. Sedman, "Small Finds," 354–55, pl. 10.2.

91. Sedman, "Small Finds," 353; Feldman, *Communities of Style*, 34. Feldman notes that these stamps are typically classified as south Syrian because of their similarity to the ivories at Arslan Tash. The classification of the styles of the ivory collections within the Assyrian orbit is problematic, though new methods of distinguishing specific characteristics are emerging, see Amy Rebecca Gansell et al., "Stylistic Clusters and the Syrian/South Syrian Tradition of First-Millennium BCE Levantine Ivory Carving: A Machine Learning Approach," *JAS* 44 (2014): 194–205. For a more traditional model that identifies a Phoenician style in these ivories, see Eric Gubel, "On the Interaction between Ammon, Moab and Edom with the Phoenician Coast: Some Addenda and Afterthoughts," in *"From Gilead to Edom": Studies in the Archaeol-*

to a south Syrian style, the style of stamping vessels in this manner was predominantly a south Levantine style with parallels from Iron IIB strata at Tell Nimrin, En Gedi, Tall ar-Rameh, and Tall Iktanu.[92] This situation illustrates the hybridization endemic to marginal imperial contexts like the one that existed in Edom at this time: cultural styles are mixed with the iconography similar to more distant, imperial models, which in the case at hand had been applied to a medium in a thoroughly local technique.[93]

9.3.2. Engraved *Tridacna squamosa* Shell from Busayra

An important object that reflects possible Assyrian connections in Edom is the engraved *Tridacna* shell discussed in chapter 7.[94] The exterior of the shell is decorated with an engraved predatory bird (Rolf Stucky's "Winged Bird Motif").[95] The knob (umbo) is carved to resemble the head of the bird with the rest of the shell portraying the wings and body. Other examples of this decoration were widely distributed in areas controlled by the empire: Amman, Tel Miqne-Ekron, Assur, Susa, and one unprovenanced example found in a private collection.[96] The shell is occasionally described as having been influenced by Assyrian artistic motifs when compared to objects with similar decorations from the Assyrian homeland, particularly Nimrud.[97] Yet, the bird of prey motif in particular is limited to the southern Levant, suggesting that the artistic tradition (possibly a southern vari-

---

ogy and History of Jordan in Honor of Denyse Homès-Fredericq on the Occasion of Her Eightieth Birthday*, ed. Ingrid Moriah Swinnen and Eric Gubel, AkkSup 12 (Brussells: Dossin, 2014), 187–204. For the most recent analysis of the Arslan Tash ivories, see Elisabeth Fontan and Giorgio Affanni, eds., *Les ivoires d'Arslan Tash: Décor de mobilier syrien IXe–VIIIe siècles avant J.-C.* (Paris: Picard, 2018).

92. Feldman, *Communities of Style*, 34, citing the parallels listed in Sedman, "Small Finds," 355–56.

93. This point is made by Feldman, *Communities of Style*, 34. See also Brown, "Dining under Assyrian Rule," 153–54.

94. Reese, "Fossil and Recent Marine Invertebrates," 454–58; cf. Bennett, "Neo-Assyrian Influence in Transjordan," 187; Routledge, "Mesopotamian 'Influence' in Iron Age Jordan," 37–38.

95. Stucky, *Engraved Tridacna Shells*, 58–60.

96. Reese, "Fossil and Recent Marine Invertebrates," 456; Reese, "On Incised Scapulae and *Tridacna*," *EI* 29 (2009): 189*–90*.

97. Bennett, "Neo-Assyrian Influence in Transjordan," 187; Bienkowski, "Transjordan and Assyria," 52.

ant of a broader Syro-Palestinian tradition) ultimately finds its origins in the region of southern Jordan and the Negev.

In chapter 7, I argued that the concentration of both worked and unworked *Tridacna* shells in the southwestern corner of the Area A temple suggests the possibility of a marine shell workshop or community in Busayra associated with the ruling elite.[98] The style of the engraved *Tridacna* shells has been attributed to Phoenician artists or south Syrian.[99] But the style of the engraving on the shells has elements that also connect it with Egyptian and Levantine styles.[100] I suggest that Edom's access to the *Tridacna squamosa* shells via the Gulf of Aqaba, the predominance of worked and unworked shells at Busayra, combined with the hybridized nature of the engraving style, indicate that these shells are an example of the Edomite elite making a unique contribution to imperial styles. Furthermore, the widespread attestation of these shells throughout the Mediterranean and Mesopotamia regions might well have been the result of trade and possibly tribute to the empire.[101]

9.3.3. Scarab Seal from Tawilan

A scaraboid stone seal from Tawilan (reg. no. 42) is often cited as evidence of Assyrian influence in Edom.[102] This anepigraphic seal has a podium with a crosshatched pattern between two stylized trees. A pole on top of the podium, probably an altar, has a crescent with an eight-

---

98. For a recent description of the shells and their find sites in the Mediterranean area, see Stucky, "Les Tridacnes à décor gravé," 219–23.

99. Stucky, *Engraved Tridacna Shells*, 86–95.

100. Stucky, "Les Tridacnes à décor grave." Also Feldman, *Communities of Style*, 32–34.

101. Porter ("Moving beyond King Mesha," 332–33) also notes the importance of the expanding trade networks. Routledge ("Mesopotamian Influence in Iron Age Jordan," 37–38) first raised the possibility of these shells as an export on the exchange networks in the Iron Age in 1997.

102. Now located at the Jordan Archaeological Museum, registration number J 12924. Bennett, "Neo-Assyrian Influence in Transjordan," 184; Bienkowski, "Transjordan and Assyria," 52. For the seal, see Bienkowski, "Small Finds," 79, figs. 9.1:1 and 9.46. See also Othmar Keel, *Goddesses and Trees, New Moon and Yahweh: Ancient Near Eastern Art and the Hebrew Bible*, JSOTSup 261 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1998), 82–83, fig. 46; and Eggler and Keel, *Corpus der Siegel-Amulette aus Jordanien*, 446–47, Tawilan no. 2.

pointed star inside. The eight-pointed star is a frequent symbol on seals and stelae of the Neo-Assyrian, Babylonian, and Achaemenid periods and is attested throughout the Near East.[103] The crescent on a pole is associated with the moon god Sîn, whose cult center was located at Harran in northern Syria. Most iconography depicting Sîn from Mesopotamia includes additional elements like a seated god, the deity in a crescent-shaped boat or other celestial symbols, but a common element is a staff, usually held by the deity, with a crescent on top.[104] Although the symbol does have an ancient Mesopotamian origin, similar iconography is documented at sites in Israel, Judah, Ammon, Phoenicia, and the Negev.[105]
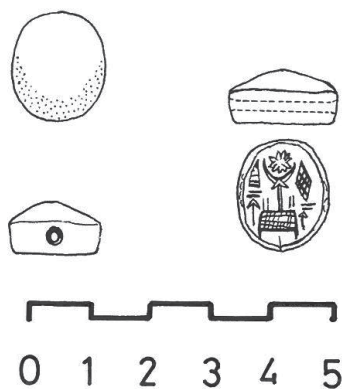
Fig. 9.5. Scaraboid seal from Tawilan (reg. 42). Adapted from Crystal-M. Bennett and Piotr Bienkowski, *Excavations at Tawilan in Southern Jordan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), fig. 9.1.1.

103. Agnès Spycket, "Le Culte du Dieu-lune à Tell Keisan," *RB* 80 (1973): 384–95.

104. For this symbol, see Dominique Collon, "Mondgott B," *RlA* 8:371–76; and Hartmut Kühne, "Der Gott in der Mondsichel," *AoF* 24 (1997): 375–82. For the symbols of the staff and crescent see Collon, "Mondgott B," nos. 2, 9–10, 14–15, 19–20, 24–26, 35. The altar stand combined with a pole and crescent moon is a common symbol in Levantine iconography, often flanked by stylized trees. See, e.g., Keel, *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette aus Palästina/Israel*, from Jerusalem (nos. 351, 384, 387–388).

105. For the symbol in Mesopotamian iconography, see Ornan, "Mesopotamian Influence on West Semitic Inscribed Seals," 60; for the symbol in Levantine iconography, see Stern, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible*, 32. In addition to the Tawilan seal, the crescent on a pole was found at locations throughout the southern Levant in eighth through sixth century BCE contexts (see Othmar Keel and Christoph Uehlinger, *Gods, Goddesses, and Images of God in Ancient Israel* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998], 298–316; Keel, *Goddesses and Trees, New Moon and Yahweh*, 73–86). The symbol has been identified at En Ḥaṣeva, Arad, Tel ʿIra, Gezer, Megiddo, Samaria, Tel Keisan, Tell en-Nasbe, Shechem, Shiqmona, Dor, Jerusalem, Ḥorvat Uza, Tell Jemmeh, and on a stela dedicated to Sîn at Raybūn in South Arabia (see Serguei A. Frantsouzoff, "Epigraphic Evidence for the Cult of the God Sīn at Raybūn and Shabwa," *PSAS* 31 [2001]: 62, 64–65). For the crescent symbol in Levantine jewelry, see David Ilan, "The Crescent-Lunate Motif in the Jewelery of the Bronze and Iron Ages in the Ancient Near East," *Proceedings of the 9th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East*

The crescent image was probably understood as a symbol of local moon gods.[106] It is unnecessary to attribute it to direct Assyrian connections since the symbol of the moon god served as a common southern Levantine symbol for millennia.

9.3.4. Ivory Lion Head from Tawilan

Ivory was a rare commodity in Edom, with only this item along with chair fittings from Busayra being examples. For the imperial apparatus in Assyria, however, ivory objects held special significance as luxury items, tributary gifts, and displays of conquest. The abundant collections of ivory objects found at Fort Shalmaneser at Kalḫu and Dūr Šarrukīn in the Assyrian center, many of which have been interpreted as representative of Levantine artistic traditions, suggest that carved ivory objects were held to be precious commodities for tribute or reception gifts by the Assyrian bureaucracy.[107] Recent studies of the ivories from Assyria, as well as the caches of ivories in the Levant like the Samaria

Fig. 9.6. Ivory lion head from Tawilan (reg. 343). Adapted from Bennett and Piotr Bienkowski, *Excavations at Tawilan*, fig. 9.13:6.

ivories, suggest that the ivory objects in Assyria were likely taken as booty during campaigns to the Syria and the Levant. Attempting to identify items with individual workshops or cities led to frustration for art historians.[108]

East June 9–13, 2014, University of Basel, ed. Rolf A. Stucky et al., 3 vols. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2016), 1:137–50.

106. Note that a temple with iconography of lunar deities was recently excavated in Ammon at Rujm al-Kursi. See a recent discussion in Tyson, "Religion of the Ammonites."

107. See recently, David Kertai, "After the Court Moved Away: A Reinterpretation of the Ivory Finds within the Royal Palaces of Kalḫu," *AoF* 42 (2015), 112–21.

108. Claudia E. Suter ("Classifying Iron Age Levantine Ivories: Impracticalities and a New Approach," *AoF* 42 [2015]: 32–41) notes the various and shifting classification categories employed by art historians over the generations of those who studied these ivories.

This ivory lion head from Tawilan (reg. no. 343) shares similar features only with objects from Nimrud.[109] The head (53 x 35 mm) has six teeth holes, two with pegs inserted, a mane and a sunk panel on the bottom. There are also two holes on the top of the head, possibly for attachments such as a sun disk or a uraeus crown, which were common on examples from Nimrud.[110] The head probably functioned as an attachment for a box or decoration for a piece of furniture. Ivory furniture attachments like this one should also be considered displays of elite status emphasizing the wealth and connectedness of those who acquired such items.[111]

9.4. Conclusions

In Iron Age Edom, the material cultural data attests to Assyrian influence, but it had only a narrowly focused clientele, concentrated almost entirely at Busayra and Tawilan. In spite of the minimal amount of data for Assyrian influence, it is significant in that some of the evidence was central to the Edomite polity. For example, while only two public buildings were excavated in Edom, both of them have architectural affinities with Assyrian palaces and temples. This is the most intensive form of emulation in Edom as the buildings were designed with specific Assyrian-style exemplars in mind. However, the construction styles and materials were entirely local, creating a localized, Edomite form of an imperial palace and temple. Assyrian-style pottery was found throughout Edom, but particularly at Busayra. In the final analysis, the relevance of the special objects discussed above is difficult to assess because some, like the seals and the ivory lion head, could have been acquired through trade and do not necessarily suggest direct Assyrian influence.

The Assyrian impact on Edomite culture does not demonstrate sustained extensive occupation of Edom by Assyrians or even the presence

---

109. For the object, see Bienkowski, "Small Finds," 85, fig. 9.13:6. Important studies include, Bennett, "Neo-Assyrian Influence in Transjordan," 187; Bienkowski, "Transjordan and Assyria," 52.

110. E.g., ND 7562; see Georgina Herrmann, *The Small Collections from Fort Shalmaneser*, Ivories from Nimrud 5 (London: The British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 1992), 83–84, pls. 44; and ND 9661; see Hermann, *Ivories from Room SW 37* 1:246, 2:pl. 358, no. 1380.

111. For a study of the social and ideological function of the Levantine ivories, see Marian H. Feldman, "Houses of Ivory: The Consumption of Ivories in the Iron Age Levant," *AoF* 42 (2015): 97–111.

Assyrian officials and troops. Bienkowski noted that visits to the Assyrian capital by delegations of high officials from vassal states in order to deliver tribute provided an occasion for such officials to view and experience Assyrian culture firsthand and then to emulate those styles in their homeland. But that proposed scenario is only one avenue of imperial interaction that may account for the level of Assyrian influence in Edom.[112] Delegations to neighboring political centers and the deeply interconnected trading networks could also provide a mechanism for much of the exposure to imperial styles and conventions. In any event, the elite of Edom, as well as those of the surrounding polities, acquired Assyrian-style objects and constructed buildings according to Assyrian elite designs in an attempt to identify with the imperial culture.[113] They sought to legitimize and solidify their positions in the empire by demonstrating and conveying their power and influence to their constituents in order to identify themselves as those who were exclusively associated to the imperial power of Assyria.

---

112. Bienkowski, "Transjordan and Assyria," 52–53; cf. Postgate, "Land of Assur and the Yoke of Assur," 260. For the role of Assyrian palatial architecture and decoration in the imperial propaganda experienced by dignitaries to the Assyrian homeland, see Gojko Barjamovic, "Pride, Pomp And Circumstance: Palace, Court and Household in Assyria 879–612 BCE," in *Royal Courts in Dynastic States and Empires: A Global Perspective*, ed. Jeroen Duindam, Tülay Artan, and Metin Kunt, Rulers & Elites 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 25–61.

113. See Helms, *Craft and the Kingly Ideal*.

Reconstructing Edom:
Conclusions and Controversies

The preceding chapters explored in detail the various types of evidence that are available about the polity in southern Jordan that developed during the Iron Age and was usually referred to as Edom. Much of the material discussed is ambiguous when considered independently and, as has been demonstrated, much of it has led to considerable debate within the communities of historians, archaeologists, and biblical critics. The conclusions presented here seek to accomplish two outcomes. First, the available material will be summarized according to a broad diachronic scheme. The preceding chapters emphasized the relation of discreet types of material to their categories (biblical texts, material culture, Assyrian evidence, etc.) but did not attempt to integrate the material chronologically. Second, three possible models will be offered for the development of Iron Age Edom. Much of the material discussed in the preceding chapters allows for multiple scenarios regarding the rise and expansion of Edom's political formation, its social complexity, and economic diversification. This approach, rather than attempting to offer a single definitive scheme for the history of Edom, will acknowledge the ambiguities inherent in using the currently existing data and hopefully allow for future discoveries and discussions to impact our understanding of Edom.

10.1. A Chronological Summary of Edomite Material and Culture

10.1.1. The Late Bronze Age

Most histories of the ancient Near East that include the southern Levant point to the Late Bronze Age as preserving the earliest possible references to the political entity of Edom. During this period Edom is first mentioned in

written documentation from Egypt, some settlements, or at least structures, were constructed in the Wadi Faynan and close to the mines at Timna, and biblical references to a king of Edom in this time period are found in Numbers and Deuteronomy. While many historians and archaeologists point out that during the end of the second millennium BCE groups in southern Jordan and the Negev were largely pastoral and nomadic, making them difficult to identify archaeologically. Nevertheless, the material culture and the structures in wadis near the copper mining areas suggest that some elements of these pastoral and nomadic groups also participated in the larger economy created by Egyptian presence and the regional demand for copper.

During the late second millennium BCE, Egyptian expansionistic interests in the southern Levant required the Egyptians to station some troops in the area and subordinate the local rulers of the major cities and their environs to Egyptian domination. Egyptian rulers consistently struggled to control and monitor the nomadic elements of society. Within the Egyptian documents of the time these problematic groups were referred to as Shasu (*šꜣśw*) in the south and as Habiru (*ʿpr.w*) in the northern parts of the Levant. Within this context, Egyptian scribes made several references to the Shasu tribes that circulated in the eastern Negev and the Wadi Arabah. The earliest references locate some Shasu in Seir (*šꜣśw sʿrr*), likely a reference to the timbered mountain range in southern Jordan. References to the Shasu of Seir are first found in the documents of Ramesses II (ca. 1290–1224 BCE; see discussion of the topographical list from Amara West and the Tanis Obelisk in ch. 3). The Tanis Obelisk describes a violent confrontation and defeat of the Shasu of Seir by the "ferocious lion" of Ramesses II. Little is known about what led to this confrontation or the details of what constituted the Shasu elements, but during the thirteenth century BCE it appears as if the region of the eastern Negev and southwestern Jordan—where Edom would eventually develop—was occupied by Shasu groups that occasionally rebelled against Egyptian rule or at least were not cooperative.

The first mention of Edom as a region rather than a political entity appears in the Papyrus Anastasi (VI, 51–61), an administrative scribal copy from a frontier official during the reign of Merenptah about 1200 BCE. The report mentions the Shasu tribes of Edom (*mhwt šꜣśw ʾIdm*) being allowed to pass through an Egyptian border fortress into Egyptian territory to graze and water their flocks. While this is a seemingly positive relationship between tribal leaders and the pharaoh, the reference betrays possible climatic issues that required the Shasu to travel long distances to

find appropriate and sufficient grazing land for their animals. This apparent truce, however, was short in duration.

Ramesses III (ca. 1184–1153 BCE) directed a critical military campaign into the Negev and southern Levant, an expedition recorded in Papyrus Harris I. In the account Ramesses III claimed to destroy the Shasu tribes of Seir along with victories over the Sea Peoples and Libyans. According to the text, Ramesses III went on to pillage their tents, property, and animals. Significantly the text refers to the tents of the Shasu tribes suggesting that they were nomadic or seminomadic. Such incursions by the Egyptians into this region were likely intended to protect their interests in the mining operations in Timna as well as the trade routes to Tayma' in northern Arabia where several engraved cartouches of Ramesses III were identified.

Within the extensive documentation of the Ramesside period in Egypt, the bands of Shasu tribes in the eastern Negev did not feature prominently and they were likely identified with Seir more than with a territory known as Edom. The references that are extant suggest that these groups lived a primarily nomadic lifestyle that centered on grazing their livestock and traveling for better access to pasturage. The relationship between the Shasu and the empire was usually peaceful, but during the reigns of Ramesses II and Ramesses III Egyptian forces violently subjugated the Shasu who might have taken opportunities to attack trade caravans or not participate in the Egyptian military or economic endeavors.

The highlands of southern Jordan were likely inhabited by mobile pastoral groups during the Late Bronze Age. Certainly, humans traversed the area but did not build large permanent settlements in the mountains south of the Wadi al Hasa and east of the Wadi Arabah. These groups were likely the ones labeled as Shasu by the Egyptians, but the lack of documentary evidence for this equation prevents a secure conclusion. These groups also left behind little evidence in the archaeological record. In the surveys and excavations in the highlands of southern Jordan there are not any secure Late Bronze Age structures or ceramic remains. However, in the Wadi Faynan and around Timna, where copper deposits were extensively exploited during the end of the Late Bronze Age and the beginning of the Early Iron Age, structures associated with mining and copper ore processing are extensive (see chs. 2 and 7). While precise dating and cultural attribution at the settlements around the Wadi Faynan and Timna are difficult, it is clear that the exploitation and preparation of copper ore for the larger Egyptian and Mediterranean markets was the primary purpose for

these structures. The role of the nomadic populations in this endeavor is important and the subject of continuing research in the area. The nomadic groups were certainly involved as a labor force and participated in the circulation of the copper ore. Excavators of the Wadi Fidan 40 cemetery directly link the individual graves with the nomadic groups, labeling them as the Shasu.[1] There is continuing debate about how to understand this nomadic population in relation to the later polity of Edom, which was founded at least a century after the mines were diminished, and centered around Busayra in the mountains to the east of the Faynan copper mining installations. This problematic link leads to what will likely be one of the major future debates in Edomite history: Should the Wadi Faynan settlements be considered "early Edom," or should they be identified with some other nomadic population, such as the Midianites or the Shasu?

There are only a few biblical texts concerning Edom that may preserve memories from a Late Bronze Age past. While several pentateuchal texts relay a story of the wandering Israelites encountering Edom on their exodus from Egypt, the texts themselves were likely written much later. These accounts—found in Deut 2, Num 20, and Exod 15—are likely related to each other, though each text has its own complex tradition history. Exodus 15:14–16 could be the earliest exemplar of this tradition, as a text that several scholars identify as an example of early Israelite poetry. Yet the Song of the Sea exhibits considerable intertextuality, drawing on mythological and cultic texts to compose a victory song in praise of Yahweh. The text makes some vague assertions about Edom, largely that Edom feared the approach of Yahweh and his people. But the story that this text might refer to is the narrative of Deut 2:4–9 that tells of a command of Yahweh that Moses should lead the people from Kadesh through the territory of Seir and that they were not to provoke Edom (here labeled the "sons of Esau") because Yahweh had given them their land. Notably there is little animosity between Edom and the Israelites, just a warning to Israel to compensate the Edomites for the food and water that the Israelites acquire while traveling through the land. The subsequently constructed narrative in Num 20:14–20 adds a confrontation between the "king of Edom" and Moses as messengers are sent to request permission to traverse the Edomite territory, prompting the king of Edom to refuse entry. In this version the Edomite king is clearly opposed to the Israelite migration and threatens to

---

1. This site was discussed in chs. 2 and 8; see the literature cited there.

use military force to prevent the Israelites from passing through his land. While some scholars point to the settlements in the Wadi Faynan as the possible location of Edom at the time, the growth of this literary tradition to eventually include considerable animosity reflects the larger ideological aspersions toward Edom that formed late in the monarchic period and likely do not reflect Late Bronze Age political relations.

10.1.2. The Early Iron Age (Iron I)

The Iron I period is one of the most difficult to identify in southern Jordan. In addition to there being few settlements that are clearly dated to this period, the pottery repertoire of the region did not change substantially during this time. Furthermore, the lack of clearly stratified sites in the area prohibits firm conclusions based on pottery analysis. With the excavations in the Wadi Faynan, however, radiocarbon data clearly suggest that copper mining and settlements associated with it continued and even increased throughout this period.

Like the Late Bronze Age in Edom, the Iron I period is represented primarily by the continuation of the settlements and the industrial extraction of copper in the Wadi Faynan and around Timna. However, it is likely that some settlement and the construction of structures in the highlands of Edom did commence during this period, even if the structures were small and associated with agriculture and not necessarily with habitations. This conclusion is based on the identification of a small number of pottery sherds as Iron I by comparison with pottery forms in Judah and the Negev. Finkelstein, for instance, argues that several sherds at Busayra that were associated with the earliest strata at the site should be identified as Iron I.[2] The sparse Iron I remains in the highlands of Edom suggest that the period continued to be characterized by pastoral nomadism with some settlements in the lowlands for participation in the copper mining endeav-

---

2. This prompted a debate in the early 1990s between Finkelstein and Piotr Bienkowski. See Bienkowski, "Beginning of the Iron Age in Edom," 167–69; Bienkowski, "Beginning of the Iron Age in Southern Jordan," 1–12; Finkelstein, "Stratigraphy, Pottery and Parallels," 171–72; Finkelstein, *Living on the Fringe*, 127–37. Finkelstein apparently now accepts Bienkowski's arguments (see Finkelstein, "Archaeology and Text in the Third Millennium," 332). Finkelstein now dates only a couple of collared rim jar sherds at Busayra to the Iron I period. See Finkelstein, "Jeroboam II in Transjordan."

ors and likely some trading enterprises from the Arabian peninsula to the Mediterranean markets.

This period is also characterized by a substantial lack of imperial expansion in the southern Levant. The Egyptians likely maintained interest in the area, especially the copper reserves in the Wadi Faynan, but there is little direct evidence of Egyptian presence in the area during the Iron I. This allowed for the emergence of other small polities like Aram to begin to expand in the area.

There is also very little biblical material concerning Edom that portrays this period. The Iron I is typically associated with the settlement of the highlands of Judah discussed in the books of Joshua, Judges, and the beginning of Samuel. The brief note about the border of Edom in Josh 15:1 reflects a later period, and the Judges (11:16–18) content refers to the encounter between Moses and Edom referenced above. The stories of Saul's battles with Edom, though compiled later, concern the Iron I period. First Samuel 14:47–48 describes Saul's victory over the Transjordanian polities, including Edom, though it is possible that these references are modeled on the Deuteronomistic descriptions of David's wars. The books of Samuel (21:8; 22:9–10, 18–22) also refer to a certain Doeg, a mercenary in Saul's court during his conflicts with David, as an Edomite. While both of these texts are about a time when there was socio-political complexity evidenced in the Wadi Faynan, the identification of those formations with Edom is still debatable. These texts could be a projection back of a later understanding of Edom into the conflicts of the era of Saul.

From this material, one might infer that there was activity in southern Jordan during the Iron I period both by seminomadic pastoralists and Egyptian troops along with craftspersons associated with copper extraction. Settlements and structures are primarily found in the wadis where the most immediate access to copper reserves could be exploited. While some settlement activity did occur in the highlands to the east of the Wadi Arabah, it was likely small and possibly ephemeral, primarily associated with pastoral and agricultural endeavors.

10.1.3. The Iron IIA

As a whole, the Iron II period for the history of Edom is more secure. Not only do more settlements appear throughout the territory of Edom, but references to the polity of Edom begin to appear in chronistic sections of the Hebrew Bible. However, the Iron IIA shares some of the same

characteristics with the preceding period including a lack of specific chronological markers, no references to Edom in documents outside the Hebrew Bible, and a concentration of activity in the Wadi Faynan. It is likely that during this period the demand for copper from Faynan continued and perhaps even increased as the copper circulation from Cyprus decreased. The stories surrounding the Judahite kings David and Solomon mentioned Edom in passing as David was said to have controlled Edom through military conquest and Solomon built outposts along the Gulf of Aqaba. Whatever comprised the historical information available in these texts it is likely combined with legend and political hyperbole.

There is an important historical anchor in the Iron IIA period: the campaign of Pharaoh Sheshonq I through the Negev, perhaps to partially control the circulation of copper being extracted and prepared for transport in the Wadi Faynan. Finkelstein argues that Sheshonq campaigned in the region to divert the flow of copper along the King's Highway going north through Moab in order to redirect it to the Beersheba Valley (or the Tel Masos polity) and the Mediterranean.[3]

For southern Jordan, the center of settlement and construction activity continued in the wadis along the Wadi Faynan. While it is difficult to ascertain the precise amount of copper extracted in any given period, it was during the Iron IIA period that the circulation of the copper from the Wadi Faynan and Timna attained its farthest known reach. The bronze ritual tripod cauldrons recovered from the Iron IIA period strata at Olympia and Delphi in Greece were formed using copper from the deposits around Faynan (see above, ch. 7). It is likely that auxiliary settlements and structures were built around the mining areas as well as agricultural support structures like terraces and pens, but the lack of a well-stratified pottery sequence in Edom prevents the certain identification of such structures in the surrounding area. The debate continues about whether there was external control of the mines during Iron IIA: the Beersheba Valley, Judah, and Egypt are all candidates for external influence. However, after centuries of Egyptian control of the mines, it is possible that the settled nomadic pastoralists had the training and skills necessary to innovate and control the mining locally.[4]

---

3. Finkelstein, "Southern Steppe of the Levant ca. 1050–750 BCE," 89–104.

4. Most recently argued in Erez Ben-Yosef et al., "Ancient Technology and Punctuated Change: Detecting the Emergence of the Edomite Kingdom in the Southern Levant," *PLoS ONE* 14.9 (2019): e0221967.

The biblical material relating to Edom in the Iron IIA period focuses on the reigns of David and Solomon. The Deuteronomistic History is the earliest text to include David's wars against the surrounding powers, including Ammon, Moab, and Edom (see 2 Sam 8 and ch. 5 above). David battled against Edom in the Valley of Salt (8:13) and achieved fame for himself. The Deuteronomist then includes a note that "David established garrisons" throughout Edom, a notice of not only subjugation of Edom but also the colonization of Judah's southeastern neighbor. The rehearsal of this event in 1 Kgs 11: 15–16 adds a detail that all the males in Edom were killed by Joab (not David) causing Hadad to flee to Egypt. These are important claims, but they are not observable in the material culture of southern Jordan during the Iron IIA period.

According to the Deuteronomistic History, Solomon did not campaign in Edom to continue to dominate the people, but he did undertake building projects in order to enhance his trading ventures. While the text does not state that Solomon built Ezion-geber, often associated with Tall al Khalayfi, he did use the port settlement to build his own ships for trading expeditions to Ophir in conjunction with the Phoenician cities (1 Kgs 9:26–28). Solomon is also noted as the king who lost total control of Edom when Hadad the Edomite (or Aramaean, see ch. 5 above) rebelled against him in 1 Kgs 11, a chapter devoted to the immediate retribution for Solomon's sins of following the gods of his many foreign wives (1 Kgs 11:1–4). This vignette about Hadad is somewhat confused since Hadad is a common name for Aramaean kings, not Edomite ones, and since Aram and Edom have been possibly confused in the Masoretic Text.

10.1.4. The Iron IIB

As with earlier periods, the pottery assemblage and the relative lack of stratification at the major sites does not allow for precise dating of Edomite sites during the Iron IIB. Yet the seal of an Edomite ruler, Qaus-gabar, was impressed on a clay bulla found at Umm al Biyara. This seal impression provides a substantial chronological link for the history of Edom. According to Assyrian records, Qaus-gabar reigned during the middle of the seventh century BCE, concurrent with the rule of the Assyrian emperors Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal. During this period, Edom became a more complex polity with more formal differentiation between roles and likely more political and economic inequalities. During the Iron IIB, a "king" of Edom was mentioned in a local seal impression and Assyrian documents,

as well as a class of officials labeled "servant(s) of the king." Precisely what was intended when the Assyrians referred to an Edomite as a king is difficult to determine. The Assyrians regularly labeled a local ruler as a king (*šarru*), but that label did not necessarily confer any kind of status on that individual. It could be that at this point in Edomite political formation, the king of Edom was more of a tribal head who maintained some level of control or influence over other tribal groups in the region. In fact, Qaus-malak, the next Edomite ruler mentioned in Assyrian inscriptions, was not labeled as a king in Assyrian or local inscriptions.

In this period Edom began to be mentioned in royal inscriptions from Assyria, usually in lists of other polities that acquiesced to Assyria and paid tribute. Edom first appeared in Assyrian records in a commemorative inscription of Adad-nirari III describing his support of Zakkur king of Hamath in a campaign in 796 BCE. In this inscription, Adad-nirari III claimed that he subdued all the nations of the Levant, including Edom, and forced them to pay tribute. While the text gives few details, the reference to Edom along with Israel, Philistia, and the Phoenician cities suggests that there was some significant level of socio-political complexity already at the turn of the eighth century BCE. Edom likely became a tributary polity during this period, expected to provide tribute and assistance when the Assyrians demanded it. Subsequent Assyrian rulers who campaigned in the west engaged Edom, at least by means of demanding tribute and acquiescence: Tiglath-pileser III interacted with an Edomite king named Qaus-malak, Sargon II demanded tribute from Edom after his punitive attack on Philistia, Sennacherib expected tribute from Aya-rāmu, king of Edom for his compliance with Hezekiah's rebellion, Esarhaddon used the support of Qaus-gabar for his palace at Nineveh, and Ashurbanipal employed Edom's troops for his adventure into Egypt and conflicts with the rebellious tribes of Arabia (see details in ch. 3). Clearly by the Iron IIB period Edom had become a recognized polity on the edge of the Assyrian Empire that could be expected to pay tribute and render assistance to the empire upon demand.

Due to the chronological links provided by the Qaus-gabar seal impression with other rulers, the pottery assemblage at Umm al Biyara, which is similar to the pottery found at other Edomite sites, the foundation and flourishing of settlements in the Edomite highlands can be dated to the eighth through sixth centuries BCE. The central fortified settlement of Busayra, with its palace and temple built on elevated platforms, expanded during this period. The other major excavated sites of Tawilan, Umm al

Biyara, and Tall al Khalayfi all experienced their economic peaks during
the Iron IIB period. Significantly, the copper mining districts at Timna
and in the Wadi Faynan decreased substantially, likely due to the reori-
entation of the copper supplies back to Cyprus. Furthermore, these sites
show at least some interaction with Assyria, especially with the appear-
ance of Assyrian-style pottery.

The biblical material suggests a relationship of conflict between Israel,
Judah, and Edom during the Iron IIB. The Deuteronomistic material men-
tions a battle against Moab (2 Kgs 3) that included a king of Edom, but
other Deuteronomistic texts suggest that there was not yet a king ruling in
Edom at the time in question, during the reign of Jehoshaphat, approxi-
mately 873–849 BCE (see 1 Kgs 22:47; 2 Kgs 8:20). The biblical texts point
to an important moment in the middle of the ninth century BCE when
Edom rebelled against Jehoram of Judah, who ruled around 850–842 BCE.
In 2 Kgs 8:20–22 and 2 Chr 21:8–10, the text suggests that the domination
of Edom established under David ended when the Edomites rebelled and
installed their own king. Jehoram's unsuccessful counterattack resulted
in an independent Edom. In the eyes of the Deuteronomists, this was a
condemnation of the reign of Jehoram for his rebellion against Yahweh.
The Deuteronomistic history has several short notices of various Judahite
kings invading Edom, like Amaziah's victory at Sela (2 Kgs 14) and vari-
ous recaptures of Ezion-geber on the coast of the Gulf of Aqaba (1 Kgs 22;
2 Kgs 14:22; 16:6). The Iron IIB was certainly the time of Edom's apex, at
least in terms of its administrative complexity, interregional relations, and
quantity of settlements.

10.1.5. The Iron IIC

The period after the fall of Assyria and during the rise of the Babylo-
nian Empire is difficult to detect in Edom. From all existing sources, the
early Babylonian rulers did not campaign in Edom or expect much from
the polity by way of tribute or resources. Two major debates about Edom
in the late Iron Age are the polity's role in the Babylonian destruction
of Jerusalem and its expansion into the southern Judahite regions of the
Negev. It appears from the Arad ostraca that even before the fall of Jeru-
salem, the Edomites in the Negev were generating anxiety for Judahite
soldiers in the region. Unfortunately, few details or explanations are avail-
able about how or why Edomites advanced into the Negev in the period
after the fall of Jerusalem.

Unlike the Assyrian documentation, there is very little information about Edom derived from Babylonian sources. Indeed, in the sources relating to Nebuchadnezzar, Edom is not even mentioned. Edom probably does appear in the Nabonidus Chronicle as a location where the rogue king campaigned on his way to Tayma (see ch. 3). That Nabonidus had some interest in controlling Edom is confirmed by the as-Silaʿ relief depicting Nabonidus, a monument to Babylonian presence only a short distance from the major Edomite settlement of Busayra. These sources suggest that Nabonidus campaigned through Edom in 551 BCE. Unfortunately, these sparse data do not allow for many conclusions regarding the demise of the Edomite polity in the highlands of southern Jordan.

From what can be determined archaeologically, the major excavated sites in the Edomite highlands—Busayra, Tawilan, Umm al Biyara, and Tall al Khalayfi—were slowly abandoned during this period. There is no evidence of widespread destruction at these sites and there are hints that the sites continued to be used for some time, including a letter from Haran found at Tawilan that is likely dated to the reign of Darius II (see ch. 3). Pottery analysis at Busayra suggests that some occupation continued until at least 300 BCE, perhaps as late as 200 BCE. It is likely that the population that identified as Edomite shifted from the highlands of southern Jordan westward to towns in the Negev that were largely abandoned after the campaigns of Nebuchadnezzar. This migration is most clearly evidenced by the extensive written evidence from the Negev that preserves names with the theophoric element of Qaus, as well as other traditionally Edomite features.[5]

The biblical material regarding this period is complicated due to some difficult and ambiguous references in the material (see esp. ch. 6). Prophetic material uniformly condemns Edom for what appears to be duplicitous actions—not acting like a "brother." This has often been interpreted to refer to Edomite complicity in the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar (Obad 11–14; Ps 137; Ezek 35–36; and 1 Esd 4:45). But even these texts are ambiguous concerning the specific actions of the Edomites other than mocking Jerusalem as it fell, according to the

---

5. This material was beyond the scope of this book. The literature on Idumea is extensive. See Amos Kloner and Ian Stern, "Idumea in the Late Persian Period (Fourth Century B.C.E.)," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Fourth Century B.C.E.*, ed. Oded Lipschits, Gary N. Knoppers, and Rainer Albertz (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 139–44; and Stern, "Population of Persian-Period Idumea," 205–38.

Obadiah passages. One distinct possibility is that the Edomites joined in an anti-Babylonian coalition with Zedekiah of Judah and the surrounding kings only to disregard that treaty in the face of Neo-Babylonian pressure during the campaign. This is supported by Jer 27 and the language in the text regarding the brotherhood of Edom, if that is to be read as a reference to their partnership in a treaty.

10.2. Scenarios for the Development of Edom in the Iron Age

As discussed above, the data concerning the rise and development of the Iron Age polity of Edom are limited and their interpretation sometimes difficult. Furthermore, new techniques and interpretive frameworks for material culture and literary texts allow for refined conclusions as well as new visions and debates about ancient history. The study of Iron Age Edom is currently undergoing a series of shifts and changes that involve nuancing and at times revising our reconstructions of Edom's Iron Age history. New discoveries and excavations like the projects focusing on copper extraction and processing can contribute significantly to trends currently impacting Edomite history but also raise new and important questions. Below I will outline three scenarios that are currently possible frameworks for the development of Edom along with data that support them and key indicators that might strengthen the support of each.

10.2.1. Scenario 1: Copper as Catalyst to Political Complexity

The most important excavations related to ancient Edom are within the copper mining districts along the Wadi Arabah, particularly around Wadi Faynan and Timna. The excavations and surveys of the region by the Edom Lowlands Regional Archaeological Project (ELRAP) have been described in chapters 2 and 7, but the conclusions of the excavators and their publications are facilitating new constructions of Iron Age Edom's historical development as evidenced in recent publications. The model, presented in part in several recent publications, considers the remains around the Wadi Faynan and its tributaries of the Wadi Ghuwayb, Wadi Khalid, and Wadi Dana to be the remains of a Late Bronze and Early Iron Age nomadic or tribal kingdom.

Much of this scenario is supported by data derived from the excavations. It is increasingly clear that the copper mines and the nearby supporting facilities processing that copper for transport were in operation during the end of the Late Bronze Age and throughout the Early Iron Age (Iron I

and IIA). Radiocarbon data, pottery analysis, information from the Wadi Fidan 40 cemetery, analysis of the slag mounds, and the few Egyptian-style artifacts all confirm that this period underwent a dramatic increase in copper exploitation and production. These findings have indeed dramatically affected recent reconstructions of this period in southern Jordan.

The excavators have drawn several important conclusions from the results of their decades-long investigations in these areas, some of which have been controversial and debated. First, one of the clear results of the excavations along the Wadi Faynan is that nomadic populations were major participants in the operation of the mines. The excavators argue that the mining operations were largely a local phenomenon that was fueled by a demand for copper surplus as a result of a significant decrease in the circulation of copper from Cyprus. In other words, the nomadic populations partially settled and innovated to create a successful mining and copper circulation endeavor. While the excavators do not overtly deny that certain technologies and methods were learned from outside, particularly from Egypt, the emphasis is that it was primarily a local endeavor.

Second, the excavators connect this group with the polity of Edom. While they do not make many assumptions about the nature of this polity during the early Iron Age, this connection would shift the establishment of the polity of Edom centuries earlier than had previously been proposed— from the eighth century BCE to the tenth century BCE. While the precise relationship is difficult to determine, the excavators point to the similarity of pottery styles, suggesting a continuity between the lowland settlements and the later highland polity. This was the most disruptive conclusion because for most of the latter half of the twentieth century, scholars concluded that Edom developed only in the Iron IIB period and was centered around the fortified settlement of Busayra. This point is certainly still debated. Explicit and concrete connections between the Faynan settlements and Edom are lacking. The argument primarily hinges on the proximity of these settlements and the later ones associated with Edom and the continuity of pottery styles, although the pottery is not significantly different from other forms circulating in the southern Levant at that time.

Third, recently Ben-Yosef has proposed that Edom during the Early Iron Age was a tribal kingdom and that architecture and structures should not be expected for a nomadic and tribal kingdom.[6] This is an important

---

6. Ben-Yosef, "Architectural Bias in Current Biblical Archaeology," 362–87.

proposal related to earlier debates concerning the visibility of tribal societies in the archaeological record. While the problems with identifying nomadic and tribal populations in the archaeological record have been debated for some time, Ben-Yosef connects Edom with the tribal kingdom model proposed decades earlier by Bienkowski and Van der Steen.[7] This proposal suggests that modern scholars should rely on some of the written documentation to help identify polities that are more nomadically associated. Ben-Yosef's use of the finds along the Wadi Faynan as evidence that nomadic populations can achieve high levels of political complexity is important, although these groups did produce a substantial amount of architecture, presumably constructed by tribal groups. Relying solely on written material to identify tribal polities and kingdoms in the southern Levant would inevitably lead to relying significantly on the biblical material, which has a complex compositional history and does not yield transparent results.

Many questions remain concerning the early Edom scenario. What was the cultural attribution of those who mined in the area? Were they Edomites, Midianites, or related to Negev tribes associated with the Tel Masos network? Were there external polities that helped drive the demand and exploitation of copper? Was Egypt involved, even if at an early stage in the mining processes? Finally, what is the relation between the lowland networks along the Wadi Faynan and the highland polity of Edom that later developed around Busayra? These are important questions that still need to be resolved.

10.2.2. Scenario 2: Assyrian Expansion and Trade as Catalyst for Political Complexity

Traditionally scholars and historians of ancient Edom have argued that the center of political and social complexity was located in the mountains east of the Wadi Arabah, around the fortified site of Busayra. This polity, known in texts as Edom, developed in the late eighth century BCE as political and economic networks were shifting due to the expansion of the Assyrian Empire into the region and its demand for tribute, compliance, and fealty. This scenario identifies the catalyst for political complexity as the need to produce surplus in order to provide tribute to the empire

---

7. Bienkowski and Van der Steen, "Tribes, Trade, and Towns," 21–47.

and the so-called *pax Assyriaca* that initiated an increased flow of valuable commodities along the trade routes passing through Edomite territory on its way to Mediterranean markets. The copper exploitation and circulation of the eleventh through ninth centuries BCE is significant but might not be directly connected with the later emergence of the Edomite polity centered around Busayra.

This scenario correlates with the material remains excavated at sites in the highlands like Busayra, Tawilan, and Umm al Biyara, all of which have the most complex strata that date to the Iron IIB period. This period also experienced substantial expansion into agricultural areas throughout the highlands, especially along the wadis and in fertile areas. The intensification of sedentarization during this period is evidenced by the construction of domestic areas at Busayra and the founding of small, highland settlements. However, pastoralism likely continued as nomadic and seminomadic groups participated in the social and economic networks of these settlements and circulated into neighboring territories on a regular basis.

This model also corresponds with some of the written material concerning Edom. While the Egyptians seemed to be familiar with the nomadic Shasu of Seir and Edom, politically complex but more mobile populations, the Assyrians engaged with rulers of a political apparatus with a bureaucracy necessary to solicit surplus products to pay tribute to the empire. Biblical texts also point to the Iron IIB period as a time when Edom achieved some level of political independence from Judah and Israel. While early references in the Pentateuch are generally suspect within this scenario, biblical passages from around eighth century BCE become useful for reconstructing interregional interactions at least in a more general way.

10.2.3. Scenario 3: The Adaptation Scenario

The above two scenarios do have a number of points of similarity—emphasis on the material remains, incorporation of textual material when possible, and the recognition that the minor Iron Age polities in the southern Levant were ephemeral but the populations and groups that made up the polities had been in the region for generations. While as of yet there are no written documents to suggest that the Early Iron Age communities that worked in the copper region of the Wadi Faynan and Timna were known as Edom, these kin-based pastoral groups did achieve a level of political complexity that also generated some economic and social inequalities. The

structures in the Khirbat an Nahas area of the Wadi Faynan exhibit features associated with elite buildings, especially the large residence in Area R from the tenth century BCE and the four-room building with a courtyard and upper level with some Cypro-Phoenician pottery in Area T (see above, ch. 2). These structures suggest that by the early tenth century BCE the community that settled around the Wadi Faynan and were involved in copper exploitation had achieved a level of socio-political complexity that included an elite sector that perhaps was involved in trade or supervision of the process of copper extraction.

The community that settled and worked the copper mines began to diminish in power and influence likely by the ninth century BCE as the copper production on Cyprus began to become the center of copper circulation again. This refocus on Cypriot copper might have prompted the Aramaeans to attack Gath, the major outlet of Faynan copper to the markets of the Mediterranean. Perhaps this period also saw more interaction with Judah and Israel as groups from Faynan returned to tribal circuits in the Negev and southern Jordan. Deuteronomistic stories suggest that this was a time of upheaval as David was said to have subjugated Edom, a control that was regained under Amaziah and others. There is as yet no clear evidence of Judahite control over any of the settlements in the Arabah or farther east. Some scholars argue that the Khirbat an Nahas fortress as well as En Ḥaṣeva and Tall al Khalayfi were constructed by the same authority, perhaps that of Jeroboam II.[8]

The groups that joined together to embrace the opportunity brought on by the renewed interest in the copper extraction during the tenth century seemed to have disbanded, with some groups returning to a pastoral lifestyle. Others likely continued to operate as traders, and some seem to have moved into the nearby highlands and established communities that practiced a mixed economic lifestyle. Busayra, a settlement that may be dated back into the Iron I period, seems to have drawn a larger number of groups than other areas in southern Jordan, perhaps due to its proximity to trade routes and the copper regions. Southern Jordan was occupied by a number of tribal groups during the Iron IIA, but as the Assyrians began to expand, a more specialized diplomacy, bureaucracy, and labor force was necessary to meet the needs of a community on the edge of a vast and expanding imperial force. This catalyst of imperial pressure and

---

8. Finkelstein, "Jeroboam II in Transjordan."

interconnected trading networks resulted in more inequality and the rise of a small, ruling elite in Busayra who attempted to control portions of their region. This ruling elite projected control with symbols of imperial connections like Assyrian-style pottery and structures that resembled Assyrian architecture, like the palace and temple at Busayra. Yet their actual control in areas farther from Busayra is unlikely, a possible example of "malleable territoriality," a concept that describes a ruling power that exerts power inconsistently across its territory.[9]

It is possible that the emergent sociopolitical complexity of the communities at the Iron I and Iron IIA facilities in the Wadi Faynan continued when the groups began to settle in the highlands, around the central site of Busayra, a process that could have taken several generations as the households abandoned their structures in the Wadi Faynan and possibly spent some time in nonsedentary communities. This process comports well with the model of resilient complex communities developed by Porter.[10] Leaders take on more centralized roles as communities adapt and respond to new circumstances. They begin to manage labor, establish priorities, and develop projects to sustain the community and protect the more powerful household assets under times of collective stress, prompted by the abandoning of the copper facilities, likely due to external political pressure from the Aramaean preference for Cypriot copper. The relationship between the Wadi Faynan communities and those that settled in the Edomite highlands a century later around Busayra remains an important target for future archaeological research. But it is likely that at least some of those households that acquired power as a result of involvement in the Wadi Faynan copper extraction continued to adapt to new situations and settled in the safety of the nearby highlands. Later, as the expansion of the Assyrian Empire brought new threats and opportunities to the region, these communities innovated, transformed, and adapted to the new political, economic, and social situations.

As the Assyrian power waned in the late seventh century, the political maneuvering in the far reaches of the empire began to take shape. Josiah tried to expand his territory in Judah, for instance. At this time, it is possible that Edom began to expand into the Negev, though this appears to

---

9. For this concept, see esp. James F. Osborne, "Sovereignty and Territoriality in the City–State: A Case Study from the Amuq Valley, Turkey," *JAnthArch* 32 (2013): 774–90.

10. Porter, *Complex Communities*.

have been a tribal rather than royal endeavor. Nonetheless, Edomite material and texts suggesting Edomite expansion likely resulted from the power vacuum left by the period of Assyrian weakness. As the new empire of the Babylonians rose in the east, Edomite elite seemed to gravitate toward embracing the imperial power rather than to the expansionistic interests of its neighbors. Whether Edom actively joined the Babylonians in attacking Jerusalem or simply did not aid the Judahite rulers, Edom as a polity and Busayra as a central city seemed to have survived the Babylonian campaign unscathed. Though there seems to have been a stasis in Edom with little observable growth in terms of building or expansion of villages, in fact this was likely a period of migration from the highlands of southern Jordan to the less populated villages in the Negev where many later Idumean texts were found. The polity of Edom seems to have ended with the campaign of Nabonidus through the area in 553 BCE when he had a monument engraved on the rock face near as-Silaʿ in his honor. Though excavations in Edom do not suggest many violent destructions, the campaign of Nabonidus seems to have marked a slow abandonment of the sites and a return to a pastoral lifestyle or a migration to the villages in the Negev that were more heavily populated by kin and tribal connections.

10.3. Labeling the Iron Age Polity in Edom

A perennial debate within the study of Edomite history is how to label the level of political complexity that developed during the Iron Age.[11] While several important options have been proposed—secondary state, tribal kingdom, chiefdom—they all attempt in some way to take into account the difficult and sparse evidence for a centralized authority in Edom.[12]

---

11. Bruce Routledge has recently surveyed the various models applied to Iron Age political formation in the Levant in "Is There an Iron Age Levant?," *RIHAO* 18 (2017): 49–76.

12. For "secondary state," see Joffe, "Rise of Secondary States," 425–67; and Knauf, "Cultural Impact of Secondary State Formation," 47–54. See also Joffe's recent reflections on the category "state" in the ancient Near East, Joffe, "Defining the State," in *Enemies and Friends of the State: Ancient Prophecy in Context*, ed. Christopher A. Rollston (University Park, PA: Eisenbrauns, 2017), 3–23. For "tribal kingdom," see Bienkowski and Van der Steen, "Tribes, Trade, and Towns," 21–47; Bienkowski, " 'Tribalism' and 'Segmentary Society' in Iron Age Transjordan," in *Studies on Iron Age Moab and Neighbouring Areas in Honour of Michèle Daviau*, ed. Piotr Bienkowski, ANESSup 29 (Leuven: Peeters, 2009), 7–26; Eveline J. van der Steen and Sandra Scham, "Tribes

Scholars also must struggle with the extension of the power of Edom's "king" in Busayra, the relationships of that leader to his people, his political neighbors, and the various imperial interests.

Tebes has recently characterized the Edomite polity as the "Buseirah Chiefdom," noting that the material from Edom suggests that the rulers in Busayra only pursued two routes in exercising their power over the population: the construction of Busayra and the redistribution of prestige items.[13] The cohesion formed under the leadership of the Busayra leaders was likely achieved through agreements between different segments of the society. Tebes distinguishes his chiefdom approach from the tribal kingdom model by highlighting that the reach of the Busayra elite did not seem to extend beyond the Busayra network, it was restricted to the Jebel el-Jibal region of southern Jordan. The remaining population of Edom continued to be organized as kin-based communities with the Busayra rulers obtaining goods or services by working through those networked connections. Tebes understands the references to kings in the biblical and Assyrian material as a recognition that the Assyrians did not apply nuanced designations to the rulers they interacted with, the client-chief of Edom was the king of Edom by recognizing Assyrian sovereignty and responding with the requisite gifts and tribute.

The findings of this study of the material and textual remains from and about Edom suggest that, with Tebes, the evidence of a political hierarchy does not extend far beyond the center at Busayra.[14] There do seem to be some attempts to fortify and control the reduced copper mining activities as at Rās al-Miyāh west of Busayra, but the growth of settlements during the late eighth and seventh centuries BCE is primarily related to Busayra and the need to expand agricultural productivity in the marginal

---

and Power Structures in Palestine and the Transjordan," *NEA* 69 (2006): 27–36. A recent proponent of the chiefdom model is Tebes, "Kingdom of Edom? A Critical Reappraisal," 113–22; and Tebes, "Socio-economic Fluctuations," 1–29. Emanuel Pfoh ("Cambios y continuidades en el Levante [ca. 1300–900 a.n.e.]: Una propuesta de síntesis sociopolítica," *RIHAO* 20 [2019]: 123–40) recently compared this process to those in Aram where smaller tribal units formed into larger polities.

13. See Tebes, "Kingdom of Edom? A Critical Reappraisal," 119ff.; AQ10.2 and Tebes, "Socio-Economic Fluctuations," 1–29.

14. For some of the conclusions on political complexity by the Edom Lowlands Regional Archaeology Project, see Smith, Najjar, and Levy, "New Perspectives on the Iron Age Edom Steppe and Highlands," 287–90. The ELRAP team preferred to retain the term "kingdom," but noted the difficulties of that label.

environment.[15] The Edomite elite might have attempted to expand south in order to more effectively control the prosperous trade routes through the Wadi Musa by constructing the settlement at Tawilan.

The views expressed in the tribal kingdom model are also valuable additions to the description of the political complexity in Edom.[16] After noting the rapid settlement of Edom, the proximity of Busayra to the copper mines, and the convergence of Edomite development with Assyrian expansion, Bienkowski and Van der Steen described their Edomite model as an Iron Age tribal kingdom, placing the locus of authority and political organization within the tribe and not the state.[17] The key components of the model are: (1) mixed agricultural production (land-tied, range-tied, and pastoral), (2) tribal affiliations that allowed for community affiliations, (3) tribal society accommodated the "supratribal monarchy" of the kings through cooperation and allegiances, (4) the hinterlands were administered from fortified towns, (5) power structures were heterarchical (multiple political centers with territories overlapping), and (6) militias were maintained to protect the tribal kingdom's interests.[18] Bienkowski and Van der Steen used ethnographic and historical parallels to argue that Iron Age Edom met all six criteria of the tribal kingdom model. This model certainly recognizes the centrality of Busayra, but also allows for other tribal groups to have controlled various regions in southern Jordan, particularly around Petra.[19] The key nomenclature for this model is that in Busayra the kings ruled a "supratribal monarchy," whereas for Tebes the chiefs in Busayra were unable to wield much power beyond their immediate territory. One of the strengths of the tribal kingdom is that the model employs ethnographic and historical data to illuminate what the society of

---

15. For the Rās al-Miyāh sites, see Ben-Yosef, Thomas E Levy, and Mohammad Najjar, "Rās al-Miyāh Fortresses."

16. This model was initially formulated in Bienkowski and Van der Steen's seminal 2001 article, "Tribes, Trade, and Towns." See Bienkowski's more recent discussion in "'Tribalism' and 'Segmentary Society' in Iron Age Transjordan." Eveline van der Steen, *Near Eastern Tribal Societies during the Nineteenth Century Economy: Society and Politics Between Tent and Town* (Hoboken, NJ: Routledge, 2014), has demonstrated how elements of this model operated through history.

17. Bienkowski and Van der Steen, "Tribes, Trade, and Towns," 28–29.

18. Bienkowski and Van der Steen, "Tribes, Trade, and Towns," 29.

19. See esp., Bienkowski, "'Tribalism' and 'Segmentary Society' in Iron Age Transjordan," 7–26.

ancient Edom could have been like by systematically explaining the relationships and interactions between various interested parties.

The results of this study also suggest that some elements of the secondary state formation model explain the significant impact that the rapidly expanding Assyrian Empire had on the timing and growth of the Edomite polity and the nascent attempts to display symbols of authority in relation to the Assyrian Empire. This model recognizes the various political formations that began to form during the Early Iron Age as the Late Bronze palatial system declined and Egypt reduced its interests in the Levant. These new political formations are often called "ethnic states" in the literature.[20] What is most significant about the formulation of the secondary state model is the recognition that these smaller, more insular polities imitated and responded to the expansion of larger, more complex states. In the case of Edom, this model would understand the political complexity centered around Busayra as a response to the expansion of the Assyrian Empire.

10.4. Edom on the Edge of the Assyrian Empire

The analysis of comparable empires can also add several perspectives to the discussion over political complexity in Iron Age Edom. (1) Settlement pattern changes on the edge of empire; (2) local rulers used symbols of authority that connected them to the empire; (3) those local rulers maintained a state of malleable territoriality, exerting a flexible authority over its territory, attempting to control areas as was necessary for their benefit. The Assyrian Empire was not specifically interested in controlling resources or population in southern Jordan, but as it expanded in the late eighth century BCE multiple changes occurred in the southern Levant. Just beyond the highly structured control of Assyria's Levantine provinces,

---

20. Joffe ("Rise of Secondary States," 427–29) references the work of Mario Liverani, who more fully explored his ideas on ethnic states in two Italian articles ("Dal 'piccolo regno' alla 'città-stato,'" in *Alle soglie della classicità: Il Mediterraneo tra tradizione e innovazione; Studi in onore di Sabatino Moscati*, ed. Enrico Acquaro, 3 vols. [Pisa: Instituti editoriali e poligrafici internationali, 1996], 1:249–59; and Liverani, "Stati etnici e città-stato: Una tipologia stroica per la prima età del ferro," in *Primi popoli d'Europa: Proposte e riflessioni sulle origini della civiltà nell'Europa mediterranea; Atti delle Riunioni di Palermo [14–16 ottobre 1994] e Baeza [Jaén] [18–20 dicembre 1995]*, ed. Manuel Molinos and Andrea Zifferero [Firenze: Dipartamento d'Archeologia, Universitá degli Studi de Bologna, 2002], 33–47). These ideas are summarized in Liverani's *Israel's History and the History of Israel*, 52–76.

the presence of the empire catalyzed dramatic economic and social trans-formations. One of the most important and lucrative economic activities was the expansion of activity on the Arabian trade routes. Due to a desire to protect and tax the products on the route, the Assyrians established a series of fortresses in the Levant and possibly in the Negev to monitor and control those routes. But in territories that either had preexisting polities or were too difficult to monitor, Assyria preferred to co-opt elite rulers and use them as proxies to control and protect the traffic along the routes. This appears to have been the policy implemented in Iron Age Edom.

The "kings" or "chiefs" of Edom responded to this incentive, as well as the Assyrian demands for tribute, by establishing symbolic, visual links to the empire. In this way the rulers could turn the demands of the empire into opportunities for increasing their own status and power. The most visible symbols of authority were the architectural similarities to Assyrian and provincial construction styles that were mimicked by the Edomite elite in the construction of their citadel in Busayra. Although the temple and palatial structures in Busayra are significantly smaller and simpler than Assyrian exemplars, the building plans were more elaborate and grander than any other structure in Edom of the Iron Age, with specific elements designed to heighten their status and links to the empire.

One observation that most analysts of Iron Age Edom recognize is the centrality of Busayra and the lack of specific elements of control or connection to Busayra among most of the other locations in Edom. There are few other public buildings (Tawilan and Tall al Khalayfi being the only possible exceptions) and few luxury items such as Assyrian-style pottery or elite houses that would signal the presence of members of the administration in the material culture of other regions of Edom. This suggests that the rulers in Busayra attempted to maintain some level of sovereignty over other areas by means of maintaining more immediate community and kinship connections rather than by force or establishing a bureaucratic presence in other regions. This mode of operation could approximate the practice referred to as malleable territoriality, an important mode of control in co-opted and marginal territories in empires.[21] Attempts to control or coerce leaders in nearby territories would transpire on an ad hoc basis

---

21. Osborne, "Sovereignty and Territoriality in the City–State"; and Parker Van-Valkenburgh and James F. Osborne, "Home Turf: Archaeology, Territoriality, and Politics: Archaeology, Territoriality, and Politics," *Archeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association* 22 (2012): 1–27.

as needed. Whatever attempts to control the difficult terrain and social groups within the Edomite highlands, the power of the Busayra rulers was fragile within the tribal society and exertion of that power would have required considerable negotiation.[22] The tribal communities in the Wadi Musa area might be expected to assist in caravan protection, while the Busayra elite might not have expected similar adherence in other areas at the same time.

10.5. A Concluding Sketch of Iron Age Edom

The tribal groups that circulated in the region of the eastern Negev and Wadi Arabah during the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age were referenced as the Shasu of Edom or Seir. These pastoral nomadic elements subsisted by moving to graze their livestock, raising crops when possible, and engaging with various settled networks like the one centered at Tel Masos in the northern Negev as well as the larger imperial institutions of Egypt. Some groups continued to circulate in the area, while others settled for periods of time to mine copper in the Wadi Faynan region, an operation that was likely in place during the late tenth and ninth centuries BCE. In those settlements and camps around the Wadi Faynan, households and communities organized to take advantage of the opportunities from the expanding copper market. This organization was required to operate the mines and the smelting processes, but it also resulted in increasing inequality and a group of settled elite, as evidenced by some of the structures at Khirbat an Nahas. These operations were likely diminished as the emerging power of the Aramaeans to the north desired to profit from the import and circulation of copper from Cyprus, leading the Aramaean King Hazael to attack Gath and diminish the market for copper from Faynan.

The intervening processes remain unknown. Did the elite from the copper operations decide to resettle in the mountains to the east, around Busayra? That would suggest continuity between the Faynan copper

---

22. While Edom was certainly different in scale, the fragility of early Mesopotamian states and their attempts to maintain control over complex populations has been aptly noted recently by Norman Yoffee and Andrea Seri, "Negotiating Fragility in Ancient Mesopotamia: Arenas of Contestation and Institutions of Resistance," in *The Evolution of Fragility: Setting the Terms*, ed. Norman Yoffee, McDonald Institute Conversations (Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, 2019), 183–96.

operations of the tenth and ninth centuries BCE and the Busayra polity of the eighth through sixth centuries BCE, a continuity that is in fact seen in certain distinctive Edomite pottery forms. Alternatively, the groups that built Busayra could have been settled by communities that understood the need to organize and cooperate in light of threats and opportunities that arose from the Aramaean expansion and the later Assyrian domination of the southern Levant.

Many of the biblical texts that narrate stories of battles and conflict with Edom are placed into this period spanning the tenth through eighth centuries BCE. During this early period Saul and David were credited with subjugating Edom; David's violent conflict resulted in an occupation of Edom. The occupation was forfeited under Solomon, who experienced a rebellion by Hadad, a purported (because of the unlikely employment of a name such as Hadad for an Edomite) king of Edom. Notably, the material culture of Edom does not preserve any signs of Judahite occupation, and those stories appear to be from later, probably anachronistic sources. Some of the later conflicts narrated by the Deuteronomistic History, like those of Amaziah, are more likely reliable historical memories, though the number of Edomites killed and the margins of victory seem exaggerated and employed for ideological purposes. Those responsible for inscribing the prophetic oracles such as those in Obadiah, Amos, and Isaiah were engaged in a complex construction of Edom as brother and enemy of the Judahite communities. By the time of the resettlement during the Persian period, the Yehudite literati held multiple perspectives on Edom, as given expression in their ancient texts. Some (e.g., Third Isaiah) gave voice to desired vengeance against Edom; others viewed Edom as a close associate who acted like other surrounding nations (e.g., Chronicles).

Although Edom remained a minor and relatively unimportant client within the Assyrian Empire, the economic and political integration of Edom into the Assyrian imperial system stimulated a number of developments in Edomite society. These changes were not likely imposed on Edom by Assyrian administrators; rather, the prevailing conditions in the increasingly interconnected regional environment brought about by the Assyrian expansion prompted many of the changes. As in other marginal areas, the incorporation of Edom into the Assyrian Empire led to an increase in social stratification and the rise of an elite group. This group attempted to demonstrate their connections with the imperial power, and their divine power, in order to increase their status and control as local rulers. The elite were required to provide tribute to the empire and supply

troops and provisions to Assyria whenever it demanded. The requirement of tribute led to perhaps some minor renewed exploitation of copper in the Wadi Faynan, agricultural production, and increased trade activity in regions where specialized settlements had been established. The Edomite elite may have faced resistance from groups living in the visually inaccessible mountaintop settlements in their attempts to control the Wadi Musa area. Nonelite groups were also involved in several important aspects of Edomite society. They supplied agricultural surpluses and participated in trade in the Wadi Musa. They may have participated in the administrative network of the elite residing in the Busayra area. The recognition of the importance of the role of Assyria in stimulating these types of changes in society serves to clarify the reasons for the sudden appearance of Edom in the local material culture and in the wider regional epigraphic sources and their eventual inclusion in select biblical traditions.

While it is clear that Edom persisted after the transition of imperial powers from the Assyrians to the Babylonians, debates began within the administrations of the small territorial states of the southern Levant over what relationship they should maintain with the new empire. Jeremiah 27 illustrates the various positions these polities held: revolt against the new imperial power and risk annihilation or comply with its demands to continue in a position of subjugation and enjoy continued peace. The leadership of Judah attempted to organize a rebellion that included Edom against the new king, Nebuchadnezzar. The details are lacking, but apparently Edom decided not to participate in the revolt and perhaps actively assisted the empire in its attack on Jerusalem. Regardless of Edom's actions at that time, the polity survived, and Edomites—elite, traders, pastoralists—began an unorganized migration to the towns and villages in the Negev, territories that were formerly in the control of Judah. This is suggested both by prophetic attacks on Edomites but also by the many Idumean ostraca found in Persian and Hellenistic strata of those towns and villages.

Bibliography

Abdel-Motelib, Ali, Michael Bode, Rita Hartmann, Ulrich Hartung, Andreas Hauptmann, and Kristina Pfeiffer. "Archaeometallurgical Expeditions to the Sinai Peninsula and the Eastern Desert of Egypt (2006, 2008)." *Metalla* 19 (2012): 3–59.

Adams, Russell B., James D. Anderson, John P. Grattan, David D. Gibertson, Lynne Rouse, Hannah A. Friedman, Michael M. Homan, and Henry Toland. "Report on First Season of the Barqa Landscape Survey, South-West Jordan." *ADAJ* 54 (2009): 55–120.

Adams, Russell, and Hermann Genze. "Excavations at Wadi Fidan 4: A Chalcolithic Village Complex in the Copper Ore District of Feinan, Southern Jordan." *PEQ* 127 (1995): 8–20.

Aejmelaeus, Anneli. "Jeremiah as the Turning-Point of History: The Function of Jer. xxv 1–14 in the Book of Jeremiah." *VT* 52 (2002): 459–82.

———. "Nebuchadnezzar My Servant: Redaction History and Textual Development in Jer 27." Pages 1–18 in *Interpreting Translation: Studies in the LXX and Ezekiel in Honour of Johan Lust*. Edited by Florentino García Martínez and M. Vervenne. BETL 192. Leuven: Peeters, 2005.

Aharoni, Yohanan. *Arad Inscriptions*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1981.

———. "Three Hebrew Ostraca from Arad." *BASOR* 197 (1970): 16–42.

Aḥituv, Shmuel. *Echoes from the Past: Hebrew and Cognate Inscriptions from the Biblical Period*. Carta Handbook. Jerusalem: Carta, 2008.

Ahlström, Gösta. *The History of Ancient Palestine*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993.

Ahn, John. "Psalm 137: Complex Communal Laments." *JBL* 127 (2008): 267–89.

Ahrens, Alexander. "KUR*Gi-di-ra-a* in Nimrud Letter 14 (ND 2773): A Rejoinder to Its Location in Transjordan." *NABU* 2018.2 (2018): 83–85.

Albertz, Rainer. "Das Buch Numeri jenseits der Quellentheorie: Eine Redaktionsgeschichte von Num 20–24 (Teil I)." *ZAW* 123 (2011): 171–83.

———. "Das Buch Numeri jenseits der Quellentheorie. Eine Redaktion-sgeschichte von Num 20–24 (Teil II)." *ZAW* 123 (2011): 336–47.

———. "Exile as Purification: Reconstructing the 'Book of the Four.'" Pages 252–51 in *Thematic Threads in the Book of the Twelve*. Edited by Paul L. Redditt and Aaron Schart. BZAW 325. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003.

———. "A Pentateuchal Redaction in the Book of Numbers?" *ZAW* 125 (2013): 220–33.

———. "The Recent Discussion on the Formation of the Pentateuch/Hexa-teuch." *HS* 59 (2019): 65–92.

———. "Wilderness Material in Exodus (Exodus 15–18)." Pages 151–68 in *The Book of Exodus: Composition, Reception, and Interpretation*. Edited by Thomas B. Dozeman, Craig A. Evans, and Joel N. Lohr. VTSup 164. Leiden: Brill, 2014.

Albright, William Foxwell. *From the Stone Age to Christianity: Monotheism and the Historical Process*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1940.

———. Untitled note to Nelson Glueck's "The First Campaign at Tell el-Kheleifeh (Ezion-Geber)." *BASOR* 71 (1938): 17–18.

———. Untitled note to Nelson Glueck's "The Topography and History of Ezion-geber and Elath." *BASOR* 72 (1938): 13 n. 45.

———. "Ostracon No. 6043 from Ezion-geber." *BASOR* 82 (1941): 11–15.

Alcock, Susan E., and Alex R. Knodell. "Landscapes North of Petra: The Petra Area and Wādī Silaysil Survey (Brown University Petra Archae-ological Project, 2010–2011)." *PSAS* 42 (2012): 5–15.

Alexander, Rani T. "Afterword: Toward an Archaeological Theory of Cul-ture Contact." Pages 476–96 in *Studies in Cultural Contact: Interaction, Culture Change, and Archaeology*. Edited by James G. Cusick. Center for Archaeological Investigations Occasional Paper 25. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University, 1998.

Ali, M. M., G. Dickinson, and K. J. Murphy. "Predictors of Plant Diversity in a Hyperarid Desert Wadi Ecosystem." *JAE* 45 (2000): 215–30.

Allen, Leslie C. *Jeremiah: A Commentary*. OTL. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2008.

Almasri, Eyad, and Mairna Mustafa. "Nabataean Fertility Myth, Place, Time, Rituals and Actors Based on Archaeological Evidence." *MAA* 19 (2019): 63–79.

Almathen, Faisal, Pauline Charruau, Elmira Mohandesan, Joram M. Mwacharo, Pablo Orozco-terWengel, Daniel Pitt, Abdussamad M. Abdussamad, Margarethe Uerpmann, Hans-Peter Uerpmann, Bea De

Cupere, Peter Magee, Majed A. Alnaqeeb, Bashir Salim, Abdul Raziq, Tadelle Dessie, Omer M. Abdelhadi, Mohammad H. Banabazi, Marzook Al-Eknah, Chris Walzer, Bernard Faye, Michael Hofreiter, Joris Peters, Olivier Hanotte, and Pamela A. Burger. "Ancient and Modern DNA Reveals Dynamics of Domestication and Cross-continental Dispersal of the Dromedary." *PNAS* 113 (2016): 6707–12.

Amar, Itzhak. "Chaotic Writing as a Literary Element in the Story of Ahaz in 2 Chronicles 28." *VT* 66 [2016]: 349–64.

Amr, Khairieh, Ahmed al-Momani, Suleiman Farajat, and Hani Falahat. "Archaeological Survey of the Wadi Musa Water Supply and Wastewater Project Area." *ADAJ* 42 (1998): 502–48.

Amzallag, Gérard Nissim. *Esau in Jerusalem: The Rise of a Seirite Religious Elite in Zion at the Persian Period*. CahRB 85. Pendé: Gabalda, 2015.

———. "Furnace Remelting as the Expression of YHWH's Holiness: Evidence from the Meaning of Qannāʾ (קנא) in the Divine Context." *JBL* 134 (2015): 233–52.

———. "Some Implications of the Volcanic Theophany of YHWH on His Primeval Identity." *AO* 12 (2014): 11–38.

———. "Yahweh, the Canaanite God of Metallurgy?" *JSOT* 33 (2009): 387–404.

Anderson, Bradford A. *Brotherhood and Inheritance: A Canonical Reading of the Esau and Edom Traditions*. LHBOTS 556. London: T&T Clark, 2011.

———. "Jacob, Esau, and the Constructive Possibilities of the Other." *BTB* 49 (2019): 15–21.

Anderson, Craig Evan. "The Politics of Psalmody: Psalm 60 and the Rise and Fall of Judean Independence." *JBL* 134 (2015): 313–32.

Arav, Reuma, Sagi Filin, Uzi Avner, and Dani Nadel. "Three-Dimensional Documentation of Masseboth Sites in the ʿUvda Valley Area, Southern Negev, Israel." *DAACH* 3 (2016): 9–21.

Assis, Elie. "From Adam to Esau and Israel: An Anti-Edomite Ideology in 1 Chronicles 1." *VT* 56 (2006): 287–302.

———. "Structure, Redaction and Significance in the Prophecy of Obadiah." *JSOT* 39 (2014): 209–21.

———. "Why Edom? On the Hostility towards Jacob's Brother in Prophetic Sources." *VT* 56 (2006): 1–20.

Aster, Shawn Zelig. "An Assyrian *bīt mardīte* near Tel Hadid?" *JNES* 74 (2015): 281–88.

———. "Transmission of Neo-Assyrian Claims of Empire to Judah in the Late Eighth Century B.C.E." *HUCA* 78 (2007): 1–44.

———. "What Was Doeg the Edomite's Title? Textual Emendation versus a Comparative Approach to 1 Samuel 21:8." *JBL* 122 (2003): 353–61.

Auld, A. Graeme. *I and II Samuel: A Commentary*. OTL. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2011.

———. "Samuel and Genesis: Some Questions of John Van Seters's 'Yahwist.'" Pages 23–32 in *Rethinking the Foundations: Historiography in the Ancient World and in the Bible; Essays in Honour of John Van Seters*. Edited by Steven L. McKenzie and Thomas Römer. BZAW 294. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2000.

Avigad, Nahman. "The Jotham Seal from Elath." *BASOR* 163 (1961): 18–22.

Avigad, Nahman, and Benjamin Sass. *Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals*. Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1997.

Avioz, Michael. "The Book of Kings in Recent Research (Part I)." *CurBR* 4 (2005): 11–55.

———. "The Book of Kings in Recent Research (Part II)." *CurBR* 5 (2006): 11–57.

———. "The Literary Structure of the Books of Samuel: Setting the Stage for a Coherent Reading." *CurBR* 16 (2017): 8–33.

Avner, Uzi. "Egyptian Timna—Reconsidered." Pages 103–62 in *Unearthing the Wilderness: Studies in the History and Archaeology of the Negev and Edom in the Iron Age*. Edited by Juan Manuel Tebes. ANESSup 45. Leuven: Peeters, 2014.

———. "Nabataean Standings [*sic*] Stones and Their Interpretation." *ARAM* 11–12 (1999): 97–122.

———. "Protohistoric Developments of Religion and Cult in the Negev Desert." *TA* 45 (2018): 23–62.

———. "Studies in the Material and Spiritual Culture of the Negev and Sinai Populations, during the 6th–3rd Millennia B.C." PhD diss., Hebrew University, 2002.

Avner, Uzi, Hanan Ginat, Sariel Shalev, Sana Shilstine, Boaz Langford, Amos Frumkin, Rachamim Shem-Tov, Sagi Filin, Reuma Arav, Uri Basson, Omer Shamir, and Linda Scott-Cummings. "Ancient Copper Mines at Nahal ʿAmram, Southern Arabah." Pages 147–77 in *Mining for Ancient Copper: Essays in Memory of Beno Rothenberg*. Edited by Erez Ben-Yosef. SMNIA 37. University Park, PA: Eisenbrauns; Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology, 2018.

Baden, Joel S. *The Composition of the Pentateuch: Renewing the Documentary Hypothesis*. ABRL. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012.

Bagg, Ariel M. "Assyria and the West: Syria and the Levant." Pages 268–74 in *A Companion to Assyria*. Edited by Eckhart Frahm. BCAW. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley, 2017.

———. "Palestine under Assyrian Rule: A New Look at the Assyrian Imperial Policy in the West." *JAOS* 133 (2013): 119–44.

Baines, John. "Classicism and Modernism in the Literature of the New Kingdom." Pages 157–74 in *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms*. Edited by Antonio Loprieno. PAe 10. Leiden: Brill, 1996.

Banti, Giorgio, and Riccardo Contini. "Names of Aromata in Semitic and Cushitic Languages." Pages 169–92 in *Profumi d'Arabia: Atti del convegno*. Edited by Alessandra Avanzini. SDSA 11. Rome: Bretschneider, 1997.

Bar, Shaul. "Saul's Wars against Moab, Ammon, Edom and Zobah." *OTE* 27 (2014): 825–38.

Bär, Jürgen. *Der assyrische Tribut und seine Darstellung: Eine Untersuchung zur imperialen Ideologie im neuassyrischen Reich*. AOAT 243. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag; Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, 1996.

Barbanes, Eleanor. "Domestic and Defensive Architecture on the Yemen Plateau: Eighth Century BCE–Sixth Century CE." *AAE* 11 (2000): 207–22.

Barjamovic, Gojko. "Pride, Pomp And Circumstance: Palace, Court and Household in Assyria 879–612 BCE." Pages 25–61 in *Royal Courts in Dynastic States and Empires: A Global Perspective*. Edited by Jeroen Duindam, Tülay Artan, and Metin Kunt. Rulers & Elites 1. Leiden: Brill, 2011.

Barker, Graeme. "Farmers, Herders and Miners in the Wadi Faynan, Southern Jordan: A 10,000-Year Landscape Archaeology." Pages 63–85 in *The Archaeology of Drylands: Living at the Margin*. Edited by Graeme Barker and David Gilbertson. OWA 30. London: Routledge, 2000.

Barker, Graeme, and David Mattingly. "Cores and Peripheries Revisited: The Mining Landscapes of Wadi Faynan (Southern Jordan) 5000 BC–AD 700." Pages 95–124 in *Communities and Connections: Essays in Honour of Barry Cunliffe*. Edited by Chris Gosden, Helena Hamerow, Philip de Jersey, and Gary Lock. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Barmash, Pamela. "Through the Kaleidoscope of Literary Imagery in Exodus 15: Poetics and Historiography in Service to Religious Exuberance." *HS* 58 (2017): 145–72.

Barrick, W. Boyd. "Another Shaking of Jehoshaphat's Family Tree: Jehoram and Ahaziah Once Again." *VT* 51 (2001): 9–25.

Barstad, Hans M. "Jeremiah the Historian: The Book of Jeremiah as a Source for the History of the Near East in the Time of Nebuchadnezzar." Pages 87–98 in *Studies on the Text and Versions of the Hebrew Bible in Honour of Robert Gordon*. Edited by Geoffrey Khan and Diana Lipton. VTSup 149. Leiden: Brill, 2011.

Bartlett, John R. "The Brotherhood of Edom." *JSOT* 2 (1977): 2–27.

———. *Edom and the Edomites*. JSOTSup 77. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1989.

———. "Edom and the Fall of Jerusalem, 587 B.C." *PEQ* 114 (1982): 13–24.

———. "Edom and Idumaeans." *PEQ* 131 (1999): 102–14.

———. "Edom: Edom in History." *ABD* 2:287–95.

———. "Edom in the Nonprophetical Corpus." Pages 13–21 in *You Shall Not Abhor an Edomite for He Is Your Brother: Edom and Seir in History and Tradition*. Edited by Diana Vikander Edelman. ABS 3. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995.

———. *Mapping Jordan through Two Millennia*. PEFA 10. London: Routledge, 2008.

———. "The Rise and Fall of the Kingdom of Edom." *PEQ* 104 (1972): 26–37.

Barton, John. *Amos's Oracles against the Nations: A Study of Amos 1.3–2.5*. SOTSMS 6. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.

———. *Joel and Obadiah: A Commentary*. OTL. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2001.

Bawden, Garth. "Continuity and Disruption in the Ancient Hejaz: An Assessment of Current Archaeological Strategies." *AAE* 3 (1992): 1–22.

Bawden, Garth, and Christopher Edens. "Tayma Painted Ware and the Hejaz Iron Age Ceramic Tradition." *Levant* 20 (1988): 197–213.

Baxter, Katherine. "A Home High in the Mountains: The Use of Space in Umm al-Biyara." Pages 48–54 in *Umm al-Biyara: Excavations by Crystal-M. Bennett in Petra 1960–1965*. Edited by Piotr Bienkowski. LevantSup 10. Oxford: Oxbow, 2011.

———. "The Stratigraphy." Pages 11–47 in *Umm al-Biyara: Excavations by Crystal-M. Bennett in Petra 1960–1965*. Edited by Piotr Bienkowski. LevantSup 10. Oxford: Oxbow, 2011.

Beaulieu, Paul-Alain. *The Reign of Nabonidus, King of Babylon, 556–539 B.C.* YNER 10. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.

Beck, Pirhiya. "Catalogue of Cult Objects and Study of the Iconography." Pages 27–208 in *Ḥorvat Qitmit: An Edomite Shrine in the Biblical Negev*. Edited by Itzhaq Beit-Arieh. SMNIA 11. Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology, 1995.

———. "Ḥorvat Qitmit Revisited via ʿEn Ḥazeva." *TA* 23 (1996): 102–14.

Beckers, Brian, Jonas Berking, and Brigitta Schütt. "Ancient Water Harvesting Methods in the Drylands of the Mediterranean and Western Asia." *eTopoi* 2 (2013): 145–64.

Becking, Bob. "The Betrayal of Edom: Remarks on a Claimed Tradition." *HvTSt* 72 (2016): 1–4.

———. "Deborah's Topical Song: Remarks on the Gattung of Judges 5." Pages 190–97 in *Biblical Narratives, Archaeology and Historicity: Essays in Honour of Thomas L. Thompson*. Edited by Emanuel Pfoh and Łukasz Niesiolowski-Spanò. LHBOTS 680. London: T&T Clark, 2020.

———. "Does Exile Equal Suffering? A Fresh Look at Psalm 137." Pages 181–202 in *Exile and Suffering: A Selection of Papers Read at the 50th Anniversary Meeting of the Old Testament Society of South Africa OTWSA/OTSSA, Pretoria August 2007*. Edited by Dirk Human and Bob Becking. OTS 50. Leiden: Brill, 2008.

Becking, Bob, and Meindert Dijkstra. "'A Message from the King…': Some Remarks on an Edomite Ostracon from Horvat ʾUza." *JNSL* 37 [2011]: 109–16.

Beherec, Marc A. "Nomads in Transition: Mortuary Archaeology in the Lowlands of Edom (Jordan)." PhD diss., University of California, San Diego, 2011.

Beherec, Marc A., Mohammad Najjar, and Thomas E. Levy, "Wadi Fidan 40 and Mortuary Archaeology in the Edom Lowlands." Pages 665–722 in vol. 2 of *New Insights into the Iron Age Archaeology of Edom, Southern Jordan: Surveys, Excavations, and Research from the University of California, San Diego-Department of Antiquities of Jordan, Edom Lowlands Regional Archaeology Project (ELRAP)*. 2 vols. Monumenta Archaeologica 35. Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2014.

Beherec, Marc A., Thomas E. Levy, Ofir Tirosh, Mohammad Najjar, Kyle A. Knabb, and Yigal Erel, "Iron Age Nomads and Their Relation to Copper Smelting in Faynan (Jordan): Trace Metal and Pb and Sr Isoto-

pic Measurements from the Wadi Fidan 40 Cemetery." *JAS* 65 (2016): 70–83.

Beit-Arieh, Itzhaq. "Conclusion." Pages 303–18 in *Ḥorvat Qitmit: An Edomite Shrine in the Biblical Negev*. Edited by Itzhaq Beit-Arieh. SMNIA 11. Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology, 1995.

———. "The Edomites in Cisjordan." Pages 33–40 in *You Shall Not Abhor an Edomite for He Is Your Brother: Edom and Seir in History and Tradition*. Edited by Diana Vikander Edelman. ABS 3. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995.

———. "Epigraphic Finds." Pages 122–87, 323–26 in *Ḥorvat ʿUza and Ḥorvat Radum: Two Fortresses in the Biblical Negev*. Edited by Itzhaq Beit-Arieh. SMNIA 25. Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology, 2007.

———. "Excavations at Tel Malḥata: An Interim Report." Pages 17–32 in *The Fire Signals of Lachish: Studies in the Archaeology and History of Israel in the Late Bronze Age, Iron Age, and Persian Period in Honor of David Ussishkin*. Edited by Israel Finkelstein and Nadav Naʾaman. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2011.

———, ed. *Ḥorvat Qitmit: An Edomite Shrine in the Biblical Negev*. SMNIA 11. Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology, 1995.

———, ed. *Ḥorvat ʿUza and Ḥorvat Radum: Two Fortresses in the Biblical Negev*. SMNIA 25. Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology, 2007.

———. "Inscriptions." Pages 258–68 in *Ḥorvat Qitmit: An Edomite Shrine in the Biblical Negev*. Edited by Itzhaq Beit-Arieh. SMNIA 11. Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology, 1995.

———. "Inscriptions: Epigraphic Finds from the Iron Age." Pages 487–504 in *Tel Malḥata: A Central City in the Biblical Negev*. Edited by Itzhaq Beit-Arieh and Liora Freud. SMNIA 32. Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology, 2015.

———. "Judah versus Edom in the Eastern Negev." *SHAJ* 10 (2009): 597–602.

———. "New Light on the Edomites." *BAR* 41.2 (1988): 28–41.

———, ed. *Tel ʿIra: A Stronghold in the Biblical Negev*. SMNIA 15. Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology, 1999.

———. "Tel Malḥata: The Site." Pages 11–16 in *Tel Malḥata: A Central City in the Biblical Negev*. Edited by Itzhaq Beit-Arieh and Liora Freud. SMNIA 32. Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology, 2015.

Beit-Arieh, Itzhaq, and Bruce Cresson. "An Edomite Ostracon from Horvat ʿUza." *TA* 12 (1985): 96–101.

———. "Horvat ʿUza: A Fortified Outpost on the Eastern Negev Border." *BA* 54 (1991): 126–35.

———. "Notes and News: Horvat Uza, 1982." *IEJ* 32 (1982): 262–63.

———. "Notes and News: Horvat Uza, 1983." *IEJ* 32 (1983): 271–72.

———. "Stratigraphy and Architecture." Pages 23–27 in *Ḥorvat ʿUza and Ḥorvat Radum: Two Fortresses in the Biblical Negev*. Edited by Itzhaq Beit-Arieh. SMNIA 25. Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology, 2007.

Bélisle, Véronique. "Understanding Wari State Expansion: A 'Bottom-Up' Approach at the Village of Ak'Awillay, Cusco, Peru." *LatAmAnt* 26 (2015): 180–99.

Ben David, Chaim. "Iron Age Roads in Moab and Edom: The Archaeological Evidence." *SHAJ* 10 (2009): 723–30.

Ben Zvi, Ehud. "Chronicles and Social Memory." *ST* 71 (2017): 69–90.

———. "The Contribution of Chronicles to the Memory Argument about Edom as Reflected in the Core Repertoire of the Late Persian-Period Literati of Yehud." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Society for Biblical Studies. Vancouver, BC, 3 June 2019.

———. "A Deuteronomistic Redaction in/among 'The Twelve'? A Contribution from the Standpoint of the Books of Micah, Zephaniah and Obadiah." Pages 232–61 in *Those Elusive Deuteronomists: The Phenomenon of Pan-Deuteronomism*. Edited by Linda S. Schearing and Steven L. McKenzie. JSOTSup 268. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999.

———. "Edom as a Complex Site of Memory among the Literati of Late Persian/Early Hellenistic Judah: Some Observations." *Journal for the Study of Biblical Literature* 20 (2020): 1–28.

———. "A Gateway to the Chronicler's Teaching: The Account of the Reign of Ahaz in 2 Chr. 28, 1–27." *SJOT* 7 (1993): 216–49.

———. *A Historical-critical Study of the Book of Obadiah*. BZAW 242. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1996.

———. "The Yehudite Collection of Prophetic Books and Imperial Contexts: Some Observations." Pages 145–69 in *Divination, Politics, and Ancient Near Eastern Empires*. Edited by Alan Lenzi and Jonathan Stökl. ANEM 7. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2014.

Ben-Arieh, Sara. "Temple Furniture from a *Favissa* at ʿEn Hazeva." *Atiqot* 68 (2011): 107–75.

Ben-Dor Evian, Shirly. "Egypt and Israel: The Never-Ending Story." *NEA* 80.1 (2017): 30–39.

Ben-Shlomo, David. "Petrographic Analysis of Pottery: Chalcolithic to Persian Periods." Pages 776–94 in *The Smithsonian Institutes Excava-*

tions at Tell Jemmeh, Israel, 1970–1990. Edited by David Ben-Shlomo and Gus W. Van Beek. Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology 50. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Scholarly Press, 2014.

———. "Tell Jemmeh, Philistia and the Neo-Assyrian Empire during the Late Iron Age." *Levant* 46 (2014): 58–88.

Ben-Yosef, Erez. "Archaeological Science Brightens Mediterranean Dark Age." *PNAS* 116 (2019): 5843–45.

———. "The Architectural Bias in Current Biblical Archaeology." *VT* 69 (2019): 361–87.

———. "Back to Solomon's Era: Results of the First Excavations at 'Slaves' Hill' (Site 34, Timna, Israel)." *BASOR* 376 (2016): 169–98.

———. "The Central Timna Valley Project: Research Design and Preliminary Results." Pages 28–63 in *Mining for Ancient Copper: Essays in Memory of Beno Rothenberg*. Edited by Erez Ben-Yosef. SMNIA 37. University Park, PA: Eisenbrauns; Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology, 2018.

———. "A False Contrast? On the Possibility of an Early Iron Age Nomadic Monarchy in the Arabah (Early Edom) and Its Implications to the Study of Ancient Israel." In *From Nomadism to Monarchy? "The Archaeology of the Settlement Period" Thirty Years Later*. Edited by Oded Lipschits, Omer Sergi, and Ido Koch. University Park, PA: Eisenbrauns, forthcoming.

———. "A Nomadic Error: A Reply to Israel Finkelstein." *Facebook*, October 31, 2019. https://www.facebook.com/CentralTimnaValleyProjectCtv/photos/a.556088144470646/2542689592477148.

———. "Provenancing Egyptian Metals: A Methodological Comment." *JAS* 96 (2018): 208–15.

———. "Technology and Social Process: Oscillations in Iron Age Copper Production and Power in Southern Jordan." PhD diss., University of California, San Diego, 2010.

Ben-Yosef, Erez, Dafna Langgut, and Lidar Sapir-Hen. "Beyond Smelting: New Insights on Iron Age (10th C. BCE) Metalworkers Community from Excavations at a Gatehouse and Associated Livestock Pens in Timna, Israel." *JASR* 11 (2017): 411–26.

Ben-Yosef, Erez, and Thomas E. Levy. "Challenges for a Regional Perspective on Iron Age Metal Production in Faynān: Results of the 2009 Prope [*sic*] at Khirbat al-Ghuwayba, Jordan." *SHAJ* 11 (2013): 277–90.

———. "The Material Culture of Iron Age Copper Production in Faynan." Pages 887–959 in vol. 2 of *New Insights into the Iron Age Archaeol-*

ogy of Edom, Southern Jordan: Surveys, Excavations, and Research from the University of California, San Diego-Department of Antiquities of Jordan, Edom Lowlands Regional Archaeology Project (ELRAP). 2 vols. Monumenta Archaeologica 35. Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2014.

Ben-Yosef, Erez, Thomas E. Levy, Thomas Higham, Mohammad Najjar, and Lisa Tauxe. "The Beginning of Iron Age Copper Production in the Southern Levant: New Evidence from Khirbat al-Jariya, Faynan, Jordan." *Antiquity* 84.325 (2010): 724–46.

Ben-Yosef, Erez, Thomas E Levy, and Mohammad Najjar. "Rās al-Miyāh Fortresses: New Discoveries at One of the Gateways to the Iron Age Copper Production District of Faynān, Jordan." *SHAJ* 10 (2009): 823–41.

Ben-Yosef, Erez, Brady Liss, Omri A. Yagel, Ofir Tirosh, Mohammad Najjar, and Thomas E. Levy. "Ancient Technology and Punctuated Change: Detecting the Emergence of the Edomite Kingdom in the Southern Levant." *PLoS ONE* 14.9 (2019): e0221967.

Ben-Yosef, Erez, Mohammad Najjar, and Thomas E. Levy. "Local Iron Age Trade Routes in Northern Edom from the Faynan Copper Ore District to the Highlands." Pages 493–575 in vol. 2 of *New Insights into the Iron Age Archaeology of Edom, Southern Jordan: Surveys, Excavations, and Research from the University of California, San Diego-Department of Antiquities of Jordan, Edom Lowlands Regional Archaeology Project (ELRAP)*. 2 vols. Monumenta Archaeologica 35. Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2014.

———. "New Iron Age Excavations at Copper Production Sites, Mines, and Fortresses in Faynan." Pages 767–885 in vol. 2 of *New Insights into the Iron Age Archaeology of Edom, Southern Jordan: Surveys, Excavations, and Research from the University of California, San Diego-Department of Antiquities of Jordan, Edom Lowlands Regional Archaeology Project (ELRAP)*. 2 vols. Monumenta Archaeologica 35. Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2014.

Ben-Yosef, Erez, and Omer Sergi. "The Destruction of Gath by Hazael and the Arabah Copper Industry: A Reassessment." Pages 461–70 in *Tell It in Gath: Studies in the History and Archaeology of Israel; Essays in Honor of Aren M. Maeir on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday*. Edited by Itzhaq Shai, Jeffrey R. Chadwick, Louise Hitchcock, Amit Dagan, Chris McKinny, Joe Uziel, and Aharon Me'ir. ÄAT 90. Münster: Zaphon, 2018.

Ben-Yosef, Erez, Ron Shaar, Lisa Tauxe, and Hagai Ron. "A New Chrono-logical Framework for Iron Age Copper Production in Timna (Israel)." *BASOR* 367 (2012): 31–71.

Bennett, Crystal-M. "An Archaeological Survey of Biblical Edom." *Perspective: A Journal of the Pittsburgh Theological Seminary* 12 (1971): 35–44.

———. "Biblical Traditions and Archaeological Results." Pages 75–83 in *The Archaeology of Jordan and Other Studies Presented to Siegried H. Horn*. Edited by Lawrence T. Geraty and Larry G. Herr. Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1986.

———. "A Brief Note on Excavations at Tawilan, Jordan, 1968–1970." *Levant* 3 (1971): v–vii.

———. "Excavations at Buseirah, Southern Jordan, 1971: Preliminary Report." *Levant* 5 (1973): 1–11l.

———. "Excavations at Buseirah, Southern Jordan, 1972: Preliminary Report." *Levant* 6 (1974): 1–24.

———. "Excavations at Buseirah, Southern Jordan, 1973: Third Preliminary Report." *Levant* 7 (1975): 1–19.

———. "Excavations at Buseirah, Southern Jordan, 1974: Fourth Preliminary Report." *Levant* 9 (1977): 1–10.

———. "Fouilles d'Umm el-Biyara: Rapport préliminaire." *RB* 73 (1966): 372–403.

———. "Neo-Assyrian Influence in Transjordan." *SHAJ* 1 (1982): 181–87.

———. "News and Notes." *PEQ* 98 (1966): 123–26 + pl. 30.

———. Tawilan (Jordanie)." *RB* 76 (1969): 386–90.

———. "Tawilan (Jordanie)." *RB* 77 (1970): 371–74.

Bennett, Crystal-M., and Piotr Bienkowski. *Excavations at Tawilan in Southern Jordan*. British Academy Monographs in Archaeology 8. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Berlejung, Angelika. "The Assyrians in the West: Assyrianization, Colonialism, Indifference, or Development Policy." Pages 21–60 in *Congress Volume Helsinki 2010*. Edited by Martti Nissinen. VTSup 148. Leiden: Brill, 2012.

———. "Shared Fates: Gaza and Ekron as Examples for the Assyrian Religious Policy in the West." Pages 151–74 in *Iconoclasm and Texts Destruction in the Ancient Near East and Beyond*. Edited by Natalie Naomi May. OIS 8. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2012.

Berlin, Adele. *Lamentations: A Commentary*. OTL. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002.

———. "Speakers and Scenarios: Imagining the First Temple in Second Temple Psalms (Psalms 122 and 137)" Pages 341–55 in *Functions of Psalms and Prayers in the Late Second Temple Period*. Edited by Mika S. Pajunen and Jeremy Penner. BZAW 486. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2017.

Bhabha, Homi. "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse." *October* 28 (1984): 125–33.

Biddle, Mark E. *Deuteronomy*. SHBC 4. Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2003.

Bienert, Hans-Dieter, Roland Lamprichs, and Dieter Vieweger. "Baʿja— The Archaeology of a Landscape: 9000 Years of Human Occupation; A Preliminary Report on the 1999 Field Season." *ADAJ* 44 (2000): 119–48.

Bienkowski, Piotr. "The Architecture of Edom." *SHAJ* 5 (1995): 135–43.

———. "The Beginning of the Iron Age in Edom: A Reply to Finkelstein." *Levant* 24 (1992): 167–69.

———. "The Beginning of the Iron Age in Southern Jordan: A Framework." Pages 1–12 in *Early Edom and Moab: The Beginning of the Iron Age in Southern Jordan*. Edited by Piotr Bienkowski. SAM 7. Sheffield: Collis, 1992.

———. *Busayra Excavations by Crystal-M. Bennett 1971–1980*. British Academy Monographs in Archaeology 13. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

———. "Edom during the Iron Age II Period." Pages 782–94 in *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of the Levant c. 8000–332 BCE*. Edited by Margreet L. Steiner and Ann E. Killebrew. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

———. "The Edomites: The Archaeological Evidence from Transjordan." Pages 41–92 in *You Shall Not Abhor an Edomite for He Is Your Brother: Edom and Seir in History and Tradition*. Edited by Diana Vikander Edelman. ABS 3. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995.

———. "In Search of Edomite Burials." Pages 194–211 in *Exploring the Narrative: Jerusalem and Jordan in the Bronze and Iron Ages*. Edited by Eveline van der Steen, Jeanette Boertien, and Noor Mulder-Hymans. LHBOTS 583. London: Bloomsbury, 2015.

———. "International Umm al-Biyara Project, 2012." *PEQ* 145 (2013): 72.

———. "International Umm al-Biyara Project, 2013." *PEQ* 145 (2013): 252–53.

———. "International Umm al-Biyara Project, 2014." *PEQ* 147 (2015): 338–39.

———. "Iron Age Settlement in Edom: A Revised Framework." Pages 257–69 in *The World of the Aramaeans II: Studies in History and Archaeology in Honour of Paul-Eugene Dion*. Edited by P. M. Michele Daviau, John W. Wevers, and Michael Weigl. JSOTSup 325. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001.

———. "Observations on Late Bronze Age Sites in the Wadi Hasa, Jordan." *Levant* 27 (1995): 29–37.

———. "The Pottery." Pages 55–78 in *Umm al-Biyara: Excavations by Crystal-M. Bennett in Petra 1960–1965*. Edited by Piotr Bienkowski. LevantSup 10. Oxford: Oxbow, 2011.

———. "The Small Finds." Pages 79–92 in *Excavations at Tawilan in Southern Jordan*. Edited by Crystal-M. Bennett and Piotr Bienkowski. British Academy Monographs in Archaeology 8. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.

———. "The Small Finds." Pages 93–105 in *Umm al-Biyara: Excavations by Crystal-M. Bennett in Petra 1960–1965*. Edited by Piotr Bienkowski. LevantSup 10. Oxford: Oxbow, 2011.

———. "Transjordan and Assyria." Pages 44–58 in *The Archaeology of Jordan and Beyond: Essays in Honor of James A. Sauer*. Edited by Lawrence E. Stager, Joseph A. Greene, and Michael D. Coogan. SAHL 1. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2000.

———. "'Tribalism' and 'Segmentary Society' in Iron Age Transjordan." Pages 7–26 in *Studies on Iron Age Moab and Neighbouring Areas in Honour of Michèle Daviau*. Edited by Piotr Bienkowski. ANESSup 29. Leuven: Peeters, 2009

———. "Tribes, Borders, Landscapes and Reciprocal Relations: The Wadi Arabah and Its Meaning." *JMA* 20 (2007): 33–60.

———, ed. *Umm al-Biyara: Excavations by Crystal-M. Bennett in Petra 1960–1965*. LevantSup 10. Oxford: Oxbow, 2011.

———. "Umm el-Biyara, Tawilan and Buseirah in Retrospect." *Levant* 22 (1990): 91–109.

Bienkowski, Piotr, and Russell Adams. "Soundings at Ash-Shorabat and Khirbat Dubab in the Wadi Hasa, Jordan: The Pottery." *Levant* 31 (1999): 149–72.

Bienkowski, Piotr, Russell Adams, R. A. Philpott, and Leonie Sedman. "Soundings at ash-Shorabat and Khirbat Dubab in the Wadi Hasa, Jordan: The Stratigraphy." *Levant* 29 (1997): 41–70.

Bienkowski, Piotr, Marion F. Oakeshott, and Andrea M. Berlin, "The Pottery." Pages 233–352 in *Busayra Excavations by Crystal-M. Bennett*

1971–1980. Edited by Piotr Bienkowski. British Academy Monographs in Archaeology 13. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Bienkowski, Piotr, and Leonie Sedman. "Busayra and Judah: Stylistic Parallels in the Material Culture." Pages 310–25 in *Studies in the Archaeology of the Iron Age in Israel and Jordan*. Edited by Amihai Mazar. JSOTSup 331. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001.

Bienkowski, Piotr, and Eveline van der Steen. "Radiocarbon Dates from Khirbat en-Nahas: A Methodological Critique." *Antiquity* 80 (2006): 1–3.

———. "Tribes, Trade, and Towns: A New Framework for the Late Iron Age in Southern Jordan and the Negev." *BASOR* 323 (2001): 21–47.

Bimson, John J., and Juan Manuel Tebes. "Timna Revisited: Egyptian Chronology and the Copper Mines of the Southern Arabah." *AO* 7 (2009): 75–118.

Biran, Avraham, and Rudolf Cohen, "Notes and News: Aroer, 1976." *IEJ* 26 (1976): 139–40.

Blakely, Jeffrey A., and James W. Hardin. "Coming to Recognize That Sedentary Agriculture, or Farming, Was Rarely Practiced in the Hesi Region." Pages 229–63 in *Archaeology and History of Eighth-Century Judah*. Edited by Zev I. Farber and Jacob L. Wright. ANEM 23. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2016.

Bloch, Guy, Tiago M. Francoy, Ido Wachtel, Nava Panitz-Cohen, Stefan Fuchs, and Amihai Mazar. "Industrial Apiculture in the Jordan Valley during Biblical Times with Anatolian Honeybees." *PNAS* 107 (2010): 11240–44.

Bloch-Smith, Elizabeth. "Massebot Standing for Yhwh: The Fall of a Yhwistic Cult Symbol." Pages 99–115 in *Worship, Women and War: Essays in Honor of Susan Niditch*. Edited by John J. Collins, T. M. Lemos, and Saul M. Olyan. BJS 357. Providence: Brown University Press, 2015.

Blum, Erhard. "The Jacob Tradition." Pages 181–211 in *The Book of Genesis: Composition, Reception, and Interpretation*. Edited by Craig A. Evans, David L. Petersen, and Joel N. Lohr. VTSup 152. Leiden: Brill, 2012.

Bodel, John. "Epigraphy and the Ancient Historian." Pages 1–56 in *Epigraphic Evidence: Ancient History from Inscriptions*. Edited by John Bodel. Approaching the Ancient World. London: Routledge, 2001.

Boer, Roland. "Fleets of Tarshish: Trading Ventures and Other Tall Tales of the Bible." *SJOT* 28 (2014): 58–80.

Bordreuil, Pierre. "Sceaux inscrits des pays du Levant." Pages 86–212 in vol. 12 of *Supplément au dictionnaire de la Bible*. Edited by Jacques Briend and Édouard Cothenet. Paris: Letouzey & Ane, 1992.

Borger, Rykle. *Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals: Die Prismenklassen A, B, C = K, D, E, F, G, H, J, und T sowie andere Inschriften*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996.

———. *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien*. AfOB 9 Graz: Weidner, 1956.

Bos, James M. "The 'Literarization' of the Biblical Prophecy of Doom." Pages 263–80 in *Contextualizing Israel's Sacred Writing: Ancient Literacy, Orality, and Literary Production*. Edited by Brian B. Schmidt. AIL 22. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2015.

Brenner, Martin L. *The Song of the Sea: Ex. 15:1–21*. BZAW 195. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1991.

Breton, Jean-François. "Preliminary Notes on the Development of Shabwa." *PSAS* 33 (2003): 199–213.

Briend, Jacques. "La marche des Hébreux au-delà du Jourdain." Pages 41–46 in *La Jordanie de l'âge de la pierre a l'époque byzantine*. Recontres de l'École du Louvre. Paris: La Documentation française, 1987.

Bright, John. *A History of Israel*. 4th ed. Philadelphia: Westminster, 2000.

Brody, Aaron. "Interregional Interaction in the Late Iron Age: Phoenician and Other Foreign Goods from Tell en-Nasbeh." Pages 55–69 in *Material Culture Matters: Essays on the Archaeology of the Southern Levant in Honor of Seymour Gitin*. Edited by John R. Spencer, Aaron J. Brody, and Robert A. Mullins. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2014.

Bron, François, and André Lemaire. "Nouvelle inscription sabéenne et le commerce en Transeuphratène." *Transeu* 38 (2009): 11–29.

Brown, Stephanie H. "Dining under Assyrian Rule: Foodways in Iron Age Edom." Pages 150–76 in *Imperial Peripheries in the Neo-Assyrian Period*. Edited by Craig W. Tyson and Virginia R. Herrmann. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2018.

Brown, Stephanie H., Benjamin W. Porter, Katie Simon, Christine Markussen, and Andrew T. Wilson. "Newly Documented Domestic Architecture at Iron Age Busayra Jordan: Preliminary Results from a Geophysical Survey." *Antiquity* 90.350 (2016). https://tinyurl.com/SBL1733c.

Bull, Louise J., and Michael J. Kirkby. "Dryland River Characteristics and Concepts." Pages 3–16 in *Dryland Rivers: Hydrology and Geomorphology of Semi-Arid Channels*. Edited by Louise J. Bull and Michael J. Kirkby. Chichester: Wiley, 2002.

Burnett, Joel S. "Transjordan: The Ammonites, Moabites, and Edomites." Pages 309–52 in *The World Around the Old Testament: The Peoples and Places of the Ancient Near East*. Edited by Bill T. Arnold and Brent A. Strawn. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2016.

Byrne, Ryan. "Early Assyrian Contacts with Arabs and the Impact on Levantine Vassal Tribute." *BASOR* 331 (2003): 11–25.

Caminos, Ricardo A. *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*. BEStud 1. London: Oxford University Press, 1954.

Campbell, Anthony F. *1 Samuel*. FOTL 7. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003.

———. *2 Samuel*. FOTL 8. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005.

Cannavò, Anna. "The Role of Cyprus in the Neo-Assyrian Economic System: Analysis of the Textual Evidence." *RSF* 35 (2007): 179–90.

Carr, David M. *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Carroll, Robert P. *The Book of Jeremiah: A Commentary*. OTL. London: SCM, 1986.

Carroll R., M. Daniel. "Twenty Years of Amos Research." *CurBR* 18 (2019): 32–58.

Cavigneaux, Antoine, and Bahija Khalil Ismail. "Die Statthalter von Suhu und Mari im 8. Jh. v. Chr. Anhand neuer Texte aus den irakischen Grabungen im Staugebiet des Qadissiya-Damms." *BaghM* 21 (1990): 321–456.

Childs, Brevard. *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979.

Cifarelli, Megan. "East of Assyria? Hasanlu and the Problem of Assyrianization." Pages 210–39 in *Imperial Peripheries in the Neo-Assyrian Period*. Edited by Craig W. Tyson and Virginia R. Herrmann. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2018.

Cifarelli, Megan, Manuel Castelluccia, and Roberto Dan. "Copper-Alloy Belts at Hasanlu, Iran: A Case Study in Hybridization and Heteroglossia in Material Culture." *CAJ* 28 (2018): 539–63.

Claassen, Cheryl. *Shells*. Cambridge Manuals in Archaeology. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Clark, John E. "Craft Specialization as an Archaeological Category." *ReEcAn* 16 (1995): 267–94.

Cleveland, Ray L. "More on the South-Arabian Clay Stamp Found in Beitin." *BASOR* 209 (1973): 33–36.

Cline, Eric H. Review of "Quest for King Solomon's Mines," produced and directed by Graham Townsley. *NEA* 74 (2011): 253–55.

Cogan, Mordechai. "Sennacherib's Siege of Jerusalem." *COS* 2.119B:302–3.

Cogan, Mordechai, and Hayim Tadmor, *II Kings: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. AB 11. New York: Doubleday, 1988.

Cohen, Rudolph, and Yigal Yisrael. "The Iron Age Fortresses at ʿEn Ḥaṣeva." *BA* 58 (1995): 223–35.

Cohen-Weinberger. Anat. "Provenance of the Clay Artifacts from the *Favissa* at ʿEn Ḥaṣeva." *Atiqot* 68 (2011): 185–89.

Collon, Dominique. "Mondgott B." *RlA* 8:371–76.

Cooper, Julien. "Toponymy on the Periphery: Placenames of the Eastern Desert, Red Sea, and South Sinai in Egyptian Documents from the Early Dynastic until the End of the New Kingdom." PhD diss., Macquarie University, 2015.

Corbett, Glenn J. "The Impact of Long-Distance Trade on the Pastoral-Nomadic Populations of Southern Jordan and Northwestern Arabia during the Iron Age." *SHAJ* 9 (2007): 241–46.

Corbett, Glenn J., Donald R. Keller, Barbara A. Porter, and Christopher A. Tuttle. "Archaeology in Jordan, 2012 and 2013 Seasons." *AJA* 118 (2014): 627–76.

Cordova, Carlos E. "Geomorphological Evidence of Intense Prehistoric Soil Erosion in the Highlands of Central Jordan." *PhyGeo* 21 (2000): 538–67.

Courtois. L. C., and A. M. Doray. "Technologie et céramiques levantines au temps de la domination assyrienne (IXe–VIIe siècles av. J.C.)." Pages 125–36 in *Comptes rendus du 108e Congrès National des Sociétés Savantes, Grenoble, Section des Sciences, 4: Histoire des sciences*. Paris: Comité des Travaux historiques et scientifiques, 1983.

Cowling, Richard M., P. W. Rundel, B. B. Lamont, M. Kalin Arroyo, and M. Arianoutsou. "Plant Diversity in Mediterranean-Climate Regions." *TEE* 11 (1996): 362–66.

Cresson, Bruce C. "The Condemnation of Edom in Postexilic Judaism." Pages 125–48 in *The Use of the Old Testament in the New and Other Essays: Studies in Honor of William Franklin Stinespring*. Edited by James M. Efird. Durham: Duke University Press, 1972.

Crochetti, Silvia. "The Shasu and Their Relationship with Egypt." *OrAnt* NS 1 (2019): 33–37.

Cross, John R. "Craft Specialization in Nonstratified Societies." *ReEcAn* 14 (1993): 61–84.

Crowell, Bradley L. "The Development of Dagan: A Sketch." *JANER* 1 (2004): 32–83.

———. "Nabonidus, as-Silaʿ, and the Beginning of the End of Edom." *BASOR* 348 (2007): 75–88.

———. "A Reevaluation of the Edomite Wisdom Hypothesis." *ZAW* 120 (2008): 404–16.

Da Riva, Rocío. "El yacimiento de Sela (Jordania): La expansión imperial neo-babilónica en el altiplano de Edom a mediados del I milenio a.C." *Historiae* 13 (2016): 31–39.

Da Riva, Rocío, and Roser Marsal. "Estudio preliminar del yacimiento de Sela (Tafila, Jordania)." *Akros, Revista de Patrimonio* 15 (2017): 7–14.

Dahood, Mitchell J. *Psalms: Introduction, Translation, and Notes; Volume 2, Psalms 51–100*. 3rd ed. AB 17. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1968.

Dalley, Stephanie. "The Cuneiform Tablet." Pages 67–68 in *Excavations at Tawilan in Southern Jordan*. Edited by Crystal-M. Bennett and Piotr Bienkowski. British Academy Monographs in Archaeology 8. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Dalley, Stephanie, and Anne Goguel. "The Sela Sculpture: A Neo-Babylonian Rock Relief in Southern Jordan." *ADAJ* 41 (1997): 169–76.

Dalley, Stephanie, and J. N. Postgate. *The Tablets from Fort Shalmaneser*. CTN 3. London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 1984.

Dandamayev, M. A. "Nabonid (Nabû-nāʾid). A." *RlA* 9:6–11.

Darby, Erin. "Judean Pillar Figurines and the Making of Female Piety in Ancient Israelite Religion." Pages 193–214 in *Gods, Objects, and Ritual Practice*. Edited by Sandra Blakely. SAMR 1. Atlanta: Lockwood, 2017.

Darr, Katheryn Pfisterer. "Ezekiel among the Critics." *CurBS* 2 (1994): 9–24.

Davage, David Willgren. "Why Davidic Superscriptions Do Not Demarcate Earlier Collections of Psalms." *JBL* 139 (2020): 67–86.

Daviau, P. M. Michèle. "Assyrian Influence and Changing Technologies at Tall Jawa, Jordan." Pages 214–38 in *The Land That I Will Show You: Essays on the History and Archaeology of the Ancient Near East in Honor of J. Maxwell Miller*. Edited by J. Andrew Dearman and M. Patrick Graham. JSOTSup 343. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001.

———. "The Coroplastics of Transjordan: Forming Techniques and Iconographic Traditions in the Iron Age." Pages 1–10 in *Figuring Out the Figurines of the Ancient Near East*. Edited by Stephanie M. Langin-Hooper, Occasional Papers in Coroplastic Studies 1. Association for Coroplastic Studies, 2014.

———. "Diversity in the Cultic Setting: Temples and Shrines in Central Jordan and the Negev." Pages 435–58 in *Temple Building and Temple*

Cult: Architecture and Cultic Paraphernalia of Temples in the Levant (2.–1. Mill. B.C.E.); Proceedings of a Conference on the Occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the Institute of Biblical Archaeology at the University of Tübingen (28–30 May 2010). Edited by Jens Kamlah. ADPV 41. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012.

———. "Technological Change and Assyrian Influence at Tall Jawa, Jordan." *BCSMS* 29 (1997): 23–32.

Daviau, P. M. Michèle, and Andrew J. Graham. "Black-Slipped and Burnished Pottery: A Special 7th-Century Technology in Jordan and Syria." *Levant* 41 (2009): 41–58.

Daviau, P. M. Michèle, and Stanley Klassen, "Conspicuous Consumption and Tribute: Assyrian Glazed Ceramic Bottles at Khirbat al-Mudayna ath-Thamad." *BASOR* 372 (2014): 99–122.

Davies, Philip R. "Saul, Hero and Villain." Pages 131–40 in *Remembering Biblical Figures in the Late Persian and Early Hellenistic Periods: Social Memory and Imagination*. Edited by Diana V. Edelman and Ehud Ben Zvi. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Dayton, John. "Herodotus, Phoenicia, the Persian Gulf and India in the First Millennium B.C." Pages 363–75 in *Arabie orientale, Mésopotamie et Iran meridional: De l'Age du Fer au début de la period islamique*. Edited by Rémy Boucharlat and Jean-François Salles. ERCM 37. Paris: Editions recherche sur les civilisations, 1984.

Dearman, J. Andrew. "Edomite Religion: A Survey and an Examination of Some Recent Contributions." Pages 119–36 in *You Shall Not Abhor an Edomite for He Is Your Brother: Edom and Seir in History and Tradition*. Edited by Diana Vikander Edelman. ABS 3. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995.

Deller, Karlheinz. "SAG.DU UR.MAH 'Löwenkopfsitula, Löwenkopfbecher,'" *BaghM* 16 (1985): 327–46.

Dezsö, Tamás. *The Assyrian Army, II: Recruitment and Logistics*. Antiqua et Orientalia 2.6. Budapest: Eötvös University Press, 2012.

Dicou, Bert. *Edom, Israel's Brother and Antagonist: The Role of Edom in Biblical Prophecy and Story*. JSOTSup 169. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1994.

Dietler, Michael. "Consumption, Agency, and Cultural Entanglement: Theoretical Implications of a Mediterranean Colonial Encounter." Pages 288–315 in *Studies in Cultural Contact: Interaction, Culture Change, and Archaeology*. Edited by James G. Cusick. Center for Archaeologi-

cal Investigations Occasional Paper 25. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University, 1998.

Dietrich, Walter. "The Layer Model of the Deuteronomistic History and the Book of Samuel." Pages 39–65 in *Is Samuel among the Deuteronomists? Current Views on the Place of Samuel in a Deuteronomistic History*. Edited by Cynthia Edenburg and Juha Pakkala. AIL 16. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013.

DiVito, Robert A. "The Tell el-Kheleifeh Inscriptions." Pages 51–64 in *Nelson Glueck's 1938–1940 Excavations at Tell el-Kheleifeh: A Reappraisal*. Edited by Gary D. Pratico. ASORAR 3. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993.

Dobbs-Allsopp, F. W., and Daniel Pioske. "On the Appearance of Royal Inscriptions in Alphabetic Scripts in the Levant: An Exercise in 'Historically Anchored Philology.'" *MAARAV* 23 (2019): 389–442.

Dohmen, Christoph. *Exodus 1–18*. HThKAT. Freiburg am Breisgau: Herder, 2015.

Dolan, Annlee Elizabeth, and Steven John Edwards. "Preference for Periphery? Cultural Interchange and Trade Routes along the Boundaries of Late Iron Age Moab." *PEQ* 152 (2020): 53–72.

Dorsey, David A. *The Roads and Highways of Ancient Israel*. ASOR Library of Biblical and Near Eastern Archaeology. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991.

Dothan, Trude, and Seymour Gitin. "Tel Miqne (Ekron)." *AJA* 100 (1996): 738–40, 745–46.

Dozeman, Thomas B. *Commentary on Exodus*. ECC. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009.

———. *The Pentateuch: Introducing the Torah*. Introducing Israel's Scriptures. Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2017.

———. "The Song of the Sea and Salvation History." Pages 94–113 in *On the Way to Nineveh: Studies in Honor of George M. Landes*. Edited by Stephen L. Cook and Sara C. Winter. ASORB 4. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999.

Driver, G. R. "Seals from Amman and Petra." *QDAP* 11 (1945): 81–82.

Dubovský, Peter. "Assyrians under the Walls of Jerusalem and the Confinement of Padi." *JNES* 75 (2016): 109–26.

Durand, Caroline. "The Nabataeans and Oriental Trade: Roads and Commodities (Forth [*sic*] Century BC to First Century AD)." *SHAJ* 10 (2009): 405–12.

Eddisford, Daniel, and Robert Carter. "The Vernacular Architecture of Doha, Qatar." *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 51 (2017): 81–107.

Edelman, Diana Vikander. "Edom: A Historical Geography." Pages 1–11 in *You Shall Not Abhor an Edomite for He Is Your Brother: Edom and Seir in History and Tradition*. Edited by Diana Vikander Edelman. ABS 3. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995.

———. "David in Israelite Social Memory." Pages 141–57 in *Remembering Biblical Figures in the Late Persian and Early Hellenistic Periods: Social Memory and Imagination*. Edited by Diana V. Edelman and Ehud Ben Zvi. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

———. "Solomon's Adversaries Hadad, Rezon and Jeroboam: A Trio of 'Bad Guy' Characters Illustrating the Theology of Immediate Retribution." Pages 166–91 in *The Pitcher Is Broken: Memorial Essays for Gösta W. Ahlström*. Edited by Steven W. Holloway and Lowell K. Handy. JSOTSup 190. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1995.

Edenburg, Cynthia, and Juha Pakkala. "Is Samuel among the Deuteronomists?" Pages 1–15 in *Is Samuel among the Deuteronomists? Current Views on the Place of Samuel in a Deuteronomistic History*. Edited by Cynthia Edenburg and Juha Pakkala. AIL 16. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013.

Edens, Christopher, and Garth Bawden. "History of Tayma and Hejazi Trade during the First Millennium BC." *JESHO* 32 (1989): 48–103.

Eggler, Jürg, and Othmar Keel. *Corpus der Siegel-Amulette aus Jordanien: Vom Neolithikum bis zur Perserzeit*. OBO.SA 25. Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006.

Eichrodt, Walther. *Ezekiel: A Commentary*. OTL. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1970.

Elayi, Josette. *Sargon II: King of Assyria*. ABS 22. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2017.

Eliyahu-Behar, Adi, Naama Yahalom-Mack, Sana Shilstein, Alexander Zukerman, Cynthia Shafer-Elliott, Aren M. Maeir, Elisabetta Boaretto, Israel Finkelstein, and Steve Weiner. "Iron and Bronze Production in Iron Age IIA Philistia: New Evidence from Tell es-Safi/Gath, Israel." *JAS* 39 (2012): 255–67.

Engel, Thomas. "Charcoal Remains from an Iron Age Copper Smelting Slag Heap at Feinan, Wadi Arabah (Jordan)." *VegHistArch* 2 (1993): 205–11.

Engel, Thomas, and Wolfgang Frey. "Fuel Resources for Copper Smelting in Antiquity in Selected Woodlands in [*sic*] the Edom Highlands to the Wadi Arabah/Jordan." *Flora* 191 (1996): 29–39.

Engstrom, Christin M. A. "The Neo-Assyrians at Tell el-Hesi: A Petrographic Study of Imitation Assyrian Palace Ware." *BASOR* 333 (2004): 69–81.

Ephʿal, Israel. *The Ancient Arabs: Nomads on the Borders of the Fertile Crescent 9th–5th Centuries B.C.* Jerusalem: Magnes, 1982.

———. "Changes in Palestine during the Persian Period in Light of Epigraphic Sources." *IEJ* 48 (1988): 106–19.

———. "Stages and Aims in the Royal Historiography of Esarhaddon." *Orient* 49 (2014): 51–68.

Erb-Satullo, Nataniel L., and Joshua T. Walton. "Iron and Copper Production at Iron Age Ashkelon: Implications for the Organization of Levantine Metal Production." *JASR* 15 (2017): 8–19.

Erisman, Angela Roskop. "Transjordan in Deuteronomy: The Promised Land and the Formation of the Pentateuch." *JBL* 132 (2013): 769–89.

Eshel, Esther, and Michael Langlois. "The Aramaic Divination Texts." Pages 213–23 in *Excavations at Maresha Subterranean Complex 169: Final Report; Seasons 2000–2016.* Edited by Ian Stern. Annual of The Nelson Glueck School of Biblical Archaeology 11. Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 2019.

Etz, Donald V. "The Genealogical Relationships of Jehoram and Ahaziah, and of Ahaz and Hezekiah, Kings of Judah." *JSOT* 71 (1996): 39–53.

Fahlander, Fredrik. "Third Space Encounters: Hybridity, Mimicry and Interstitial Practice." Pages 15–41 in *Encounters, Materialities, Confrontations: Archaeologies of Social Space and Interaction.* Edited by Per Cornell and Fredrik Fahlander. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2007.

Faigenbaum-Golovin, Shira, Arie Shaus, Barak Sober, David Levin, Nadav Naʾaman, Benjamin Sass, Eli Turkel, Eli Piasetzky, and Israel Finkelstein. "Algorithmic Handwriting Analysis of Judah's Military Correspondence Sheds Light on Composition of Biblical Texts." *PNAS* 113 (2016): 4664–69.

Fales, F. M. "After Taʾyinat: The New Status of Esarhaddon's Adê for Assyrian Political History." *RA* 106 (2012): 133–58.

Fales, F. M., and J. N. Postgate. *Imperial Administrative Records, Part II: Provincial and Military Administration.* SAA 11. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1995.

Fales, F. M., and Karen Radner. "Aia-rāmu." Page 92 in *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire. Volume 1, Part I.* Edited by Karen Radner. Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1998.

Falsone, Gioacchino. "Phoenicia as a Bronzeworking Centre in the Iron Age." Pages 227–50 in *Bronzeworking Centres of Western Asia c. 1000–539 B.C.* Edited by John Curtis. London: Kegan Paul, 1988.

Fantalkin, Alexander. "Neo-Assyrian Involvement in the Southern Coastal Plain of Israel: Old Concepts and New Interpretations." Pages 162–85 in *The Southern Levant under Assyrian Domination*. Edited by Shawn Zelig Aster and Avi Faust. University Park, PA: Eisenbrauns, 2018.

Fantalkin, Alexander, and Israel Finkelstein. "The Sheshonq I Campaign and the 8th Century BCE Earthquake: More on the Archaeology and History of the South in the Iron I–IIA." *TA* 33 (2006): 18–42.

Fantalkin, Alexander, and Oren Tal. "Re-Discovering the Iron Age Fortress at Tell Qudadi in the Context of Neo-Assyrian Imperialistic Policies." *PEQ* 141 (2009): 188–206.

Faust, Avraham. "Israelite Temples: Where Was Israelite Cult Not Practiced and Why." *Religions* 10.2 (2019). DOI: 10.3390/rel10020106.

Faust, Avraham, and Ehud Weiss. "Between Assyria and the Mediterranean World: The Prosperity of Judah and Philistia in the Seventh Century BCE in Context." Pages 189–204 in *Interweaving Worlds: Systemic Interactions in Eurasia, 7th to the 1st Millennia BC*. Edited by Toby C. Wilkinson, Susan Sherratt, and John Bennet. Oxford: Oxbow, 2011.

———. "Judah, Philistia, and the Mediterranean World: Reconstructing the Economic System of the Seventh Century B.C.E." *BASOR* 338 (2005): 71–92.

Feldman, Louis H. "Rabbinic Insights on the Decline and Forthcoming Fall of the Roman Empire." *JSJ* 31 (2000): 275–97.

Feldman, Marian H. *Communities of Style: Portable Luxury Arts, Identity, and Collective Memory in the Iron Age Levant*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014.

———. "Houses of Ivory: The Consumption of Ivories in the Iron Age Levant." *AoF* 42 (2015): 97–111.

Feliu, Lluís. *The God Dagan in Bronze Age Syria*. CHANE 19. Leiden: Brill, 2003.

Finkelstein, Israel. "Arabah Copper and the History of Ancient Israel: Can a 'Chance Discovery' Change Everything We Know about Biblical Israel?" *Facebook*, October 25, 2019. https://www.facebook.com/Prof.IsraelFinkelstein/posts/1164550793744423.

———. "The Arabah Copper Polity and the Rise of Edom: An Alternative Model." *VT* (forthcoming).

———. "Archaeology and Text in the Third Millennium: A View from the Center." Pages 323–42 in *Congress Volume: Basel, 2001*. Edited by André Lemaire. VTSup 92. Leiden: Brill, 2002.

———. "The Archaeology of Tell el-Kheleifeh and the History of Ezion-Geber/Elath." *Sem* 56 (2014): 105–36.

———. "Edom in the Iron I." *Levant* 24 (1992): 159–66.

———. "From Sherds to History: Review Article." *IEJ* 48 (1998): 120–31.

———. "Geographical and Historical Realities behind the Earliest Layer in the David Story." *SJOT* 27 (2013): 131–50.

———. "Ḥorvat Qiṭmit and the Southern Trade in the Late Iron Age II." *ZDPV* 108 (1992): 156–70.

———. "Jeroboam II in Transjordan." *SJOT* 34 (2020): 19–29.

———. "Khirbet en-Nahas, Edom and Biblical History." *TA* 32 (2005): 119–25.

———. "The Last Labayu: King Saul and the Expansion of the First North Israelite Territorial Entity." Pages 171–87 in *Essays on Ancient Israel in Its Near Eastern Context: A Tribute to Nadav Naʾaman*. Edited by Yairah Amit, Ehud Ben Zvi, Israel Finkelstein, and Oded Lipschits. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2006.

———. *Living on the Fringe: The Archaeology and History of the Negev, Sinai and Neighbouring Regions in the Bronze and Iron Ages*. MMA 6. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1995.

———. "The Southern Steppe of the Levant ca. 1050–750 BCE: A Framework for a Territorial History." *PEQ* 146 (2014): 89–104.

———. "Stratigraphy, Pottery and Parallels: A Reply to Bienkowski." *Levant* 24 (1992): 171–72.

———. "Tell el-Ful Revisited: The Assyrian and Hellenistic Periods (with a New Identification)." *PEQ* 143 (2011): 106–18.

———. "The Wilderness Narrative and Itineraries and the Evolution of the Exodus Tradition." Pages 39–53 in *Israel's Exodus in Transdisciplinary Perspective: Text, Archaeology, Culture, and Geoscience*. Edited by Thomas E. Levy, Thomas Schneider, and William H. C. Propp. Cham: Springer International, 2015.

Finkelstein, Israel, Ido Koch, and Oded Lipschits. "The Biblical Gilead: Observations on Identifications, Geographic Divisions and Territorial History." *UF* 43 (2011): 131–59.

Finkelstein, Israel, and Dafina Langgut. "Climate, Settlement History, and Olive Cultivation in the Iron Age Southern Levant." *BASOR* 379 (2018): 153–69.

Finkelstein, Israel, and Eli Piasetzky. "Radiocarbon and the History of Copper Production at Khirbet en-Nahas." *TA* 35 (2008): 82–95.

Finkelstein, Israel, and Thomas Römer, "Comments on the Historical Background of the Jacob Narrative in Genesis." *ZAW* 126 (2014): 317–38.

Finkelstein, Israel, and Neil Asher Silberman. *The Bible Unearthed: Archaeology's New Vision of Ancient Israel and the Origin of Its Sacred Texts.* New York: Free Press, 2001.

Finkelstein, Israel, and Lily Singer-Avitz. "The Pottery of Edom: A Correction." *AO* 6 (2008): 13–24.

———. "The Pottery of Khirbet en-Nahas: A Rejoinder." *PEQ* 141 (2009): 207–18.

Finkelstein, Israel, and David Ussishkin. "Archaeological and Historical Conclusions." Pages 576–605 in *Megiddo III: The 1992–1996 Seasons.* Edited by Israel Finkelstein, David Ussishkin, and Baruch Halpern. SMNIA 18. Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology, 2000.

Finkelstein, Israel, Steve Weiner, and Elisabetta Boaretto. "Preface—The Iron Age in Israel: The Exact and Life Sciences Perspectives." *Radiocarbon* 57 (2015): 197–206.

Finné, Martin, Karin Holmgren, Hanna S. Sundqvist, Erika Weiberg, and Michael Lindblom. "Climate in the Eastern Mediterranean, and Adjacent Regions, during the Past 6000 Years—a Review." *JAS* 38 (2011): 3153–73.

Fishbane, Michael. "The Treaty Background of Amos 1:11 and Related Matters." *JBL* 89 (1970): 313–18.

Fitzpatrick, Matthew P. "Provincializing Rome: The Indian Ocean Trade Network and Roman Imperialism." *JWH* 22 (2011): 27–54.

Fontan, Elisabeth, and Giorgio Affanni, eds. *Les ivoires d'Arslan Tash: Décor de mobilier syrien IXe–VIIIe siècles avant J.-C.* Paris: Picard, 2018.

Frahm, Eckhart. *Einleitung in die Sanherib-Inschriften.* AfOB 26. Vienna: Institut für Orientalistik der Universität Wein, 1997.

———. "The Neo-Assyrian Period (ca. 1000–609 B.C.E.)." Pages 161–208 in *A Companion to Assyria.* Edited by Eckhart Frahm. BCAW. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley, 2017.

Frame, Grant. "The Inscription of Sargon II at Tang-i Var." *Or* 68 (1999): 31–57.

———. *Rulers of Babylonia: From the Second Dynasty of Isin to the End of Assyrian Domination (1157–612 B.C.).* RIMB 2. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995.

Frangié-Joly, Dina. "Perfumes, Aromatics, and Purple Dye: Phoenician Trade and Production in the Greco-Roman Period." *JEMAHS* 4 (2016): 36–56.

Frank, Fritz. "Aus der Araba I: Reiseberichte." *ZDPV* 57 (1934): 191–280.

Frantsouzoff, Serguei A. "Epigraphic Evidence for the Cult of the God Sīn at Raybūn and Shabwa." *PSAS* 31 (2001): 59–67.

Freedman, David Noel. "Early Israelite History in the Light of Early Israelite Poetry." Pages 3–35 in *Unity and Diversity: Literature and Religion of the Ancient Near East*, ed. Hans Goedicke and J. J. M. Roberts. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975. Repr. as pages 167–78 in *Pottery, Poetry, and Prophecy: Studies in Early Hebrew Poetry*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1980.

———. "Early Israelite Poetry and Historical Reconstructions." Pages 85–96 in *Symposia Celebrating the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Founding of the American Schools of Oriental Research (1900–1975)*. Edited by Frank Moore Cross. Cambridge: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1979. Repr. as pages 137–66 in *Pottery, Poetry, and Prophecy: Studies in Early Hebrew Poetry*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1980.

———. "Strophe and Meter in Exodus 15." Pages 163–203 in *A Light Unto My Path: Old Testament Studies in Honor of Jacob M. Myers*. Edited by Howard N. Bream, Ralph D. Heim, and Carey A. Moore. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1974. Repr. as pages 187–227 in *Pottery, Poetry, and Prophecy: Studies in Early Hebrew Poetry*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1980.

Frendo, Andthony J. "The Capabilities and Limitations of Ancient Near Eastern Nomadic Archaeology." *Or* 65 (1996): 1–23.

Freud, Liora. "Local Production of Edomite Cooking Pots in the Beersheba Valley: Petrographic Analyses from Tel Malhata, Horvat 'Uza and Horvat Qitmit." Pages 283–306 in *Unearthing the Wilderness: Studies in the History and Archaeology of the Negev and Edom in the Iron Age*. Edited by Juan Manuel Tebes. ANESSup 45. Leuven: Peeters, 2014.

Freud, Liora, and Itzhaq Beit-Arieh. "Pottery." Pages 209–57 in *Ḥorvat Qitmit: An Edomite Shrine in the Biblical Negev*. Edited by Itzhaq Beit-Arieh. SMNIA 11. Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology, 1995.

Frevel, Christian. "'Esau, der Vater Edoms' (Gen 36,9.43): Ein Vergleich der Edom-Überlieferungen in Genesis und Numeri vor dem Hintergrund der historischen Entwicklung." Pages 329–64 in *The Politics of*

the Ancestors Exegetical and Historical Perspectives on Genesis 12–36. Edited by Mark G. Brett and Jakob Wöhrle. FAT 124. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018.

———. "The Importance of the Book of Numbers in Pentateuchal Research." *HBAI* 8 (2019): 203–12.

———. "The Various Shapes of Moab in the Book of Numbers: Relating Text and Archaeology." *HBAI* 8 (2019): 257–86.

Fritz, Volkmar. "Ergebnisse diner Sondage in Ḥirbet en-Naḥās, Wādī el-Araba (Jordanien)." *ZDPV* 112 (1996): 1–9.

———. "Vorbericht über die Grabungen in Barqā el-Hetīye im Gebiet von Fēnān, Wādī el-Araba (Jordanien) 1990." *ZDPV* 110 (1994): 125–50.

Fuchs, Andreas. *Die Annalen des Jahres 711 v. Chr.* SAA 8. Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1998.

———. *Die Inschriften Sargons II. aus Khorsabad*. Göttingen: Cuvillier, 1994.

Gal, Zvi, and Yardenna Alexandre. *Ḥorbat Rosh Zayit: An Iron Age Fort and Village*. IAA Report 8. Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2000.

Galil, Gershon. *The Chronology of the Kings of Israel and Judah*. SHCANE 9. Leiden: Brill, 1996.

Galili, Ehud, Noel Gale, and Baruch Rosen. "Bronze Age Metal Cargoes off the Israeli Coast." *Skyllis* 11 (2011): 64–73.

Gallagher, William R. *Sennacherib's Campaign to Judah: New Studies*. SHCANE 18. Leiden: Brill, 1999.

Gansell, Amy Rebecca, Jan-Willem van de Meent, Sakellarios Zairis, and Chris H. Wiggins. "Stylistic Clusters and the Syrian/South Syrian Tradition of First-Millennium BCE Levantine Ivory Carving: A Machine Learning Approach." *JAS* 44 (2014): 194–205.

Gardner, Andrew. "Thinking about Roman Imperialism: Postcolonialism, Globalisation and Beyond?" *Britannia* 44 (2013): 1–25.

Garfinkel, Yosef, Michael G Hasel, Martin G Klingbeil, Hoo-Goo Kang, Gwanghyun Choi, Sang-Yeup Chang, Soonhwa Hong, Saar Ganor, Igor Kreimerman, and Christopher Bronk Ramsey. "Lachish Fortifications and State Formation in the Biblical Kingdom of Judah in Light of Radiometric Datings." *Radiocarbon* 61 (2019): 695–712.

Gass, Erasmus. "Topographical Considerations and Redaction Criticism in 2 Kings 3." *JBL* 128 (2009): 65–84.

Gentili, Paolo, and Claudio Saporetti. "Nabonedo a Sela." *Geo-Archeologia* 2001 (2001): 39–58.

Genz, Hermann. "The Organization of Early Bronze Age Metalworking in the Southern Levant." *Paléorient* 26 (2001): 55–65.

Gerardi, Pamela. "The Arab Campaigns of Aššurbanipal: Scribal Reconstruction of the Past." *SAAB* 6.2 (1992): 67–103.

Gerstenberger, Erhard S. *Psalms, Part 2, and Lamentations*. FOTL 15. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001.

Gertz, Jan Christian, Bernard M. Levinson, Dalit Rom-Shiloni, and Konrad Schmid, eds. *The Formation of the Pentateuch: Bridging the Academic Cultures of Europe, Israel, and North America*. FAT 111. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016.

Ghazanfar, Shahina A. "Present Flora as an Indicator of Palaeoclimate: Examples from the Arabian Peninsula." Pages 263–75 in *Palaeoenvironmental Reconstruction in Arid Lands*. Edited by A. K. Singhvi and Edward Derbyshire. Rotterdam: Balkema, 1999.

Ghisleni, Lara. "Contingent Persistence: Continuity, Change, and Identity in the Romanization Debate." *CurrAnthr* 59 (2018): 138–66.

Ghul, Omar al-. "The Ostracon." Pages 85–92 in *Umm al-Biyara: Excavations by Crystal-M. Bennett in Petra 1960–1965*. Edited by Piotr Bienkowski. LevantSup 10. Oxford: Oxbow, 2011.

Gilboa, Ayelet, and Dvory Namdar. "On the Beginnings of South Asian Spice Trade with the Mediterranean Region: A Review." *Radiocarbon* (2015): 265–83.

Gilboa, Ayelet, and Ilan Sharon. "The Assyrian *kāru* at Dor (Ancient Du'ru)." Pages 241–52 in *The Provincial Archaeology of the Assyrian Empire*. Edited by John MacGinnis, Dirk Wicke, and Tina Greenfield. Cambridge: MacDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, 2016.

Gitin, Seymour. "The Neo-Assyrian Empire and Its Western Periphery: The Levant, with a Focus on Philistine Ekron." Pages 77–103 in *Assyria 1995: Proceedings of the 10th Anniversary Symposium of the Neo-Assyrian Empire and Its Western Periphery*. Edited by Simo Parpola and Robert M. Whiting. Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Test Corpus Project, 1997.

———. "Temple Complex 650 at Ekron: The Impact of Multi-Cultural Influences on Philistine Cult in the Late Iron Age." Pages 223–256 in *Temple Building and Temple Cult: Architecture and Cultic Paraphernalia of Temples in the Levant (2.–1. Mill. B.C.E.); Proceedings of a Conference on the Occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the Institute of Biblical Archaeology at the University of Tübingen (28–30 May 2010)*. Edited by Jens Kamlah. ADPV 41. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012.

Giveon, Raphael. *Les Bédouins Shosou des documents égyptiens*. DMAO 18. Leiden: Brill, 1971.

———. Toponymes ouest-asiatiques à Soleb." *VT* 14 (1964): 239–55.

Glatt-Gilad, David. "The Re-interpretation of the Edomite-Israelite Encounter in Deuteronomy II." *VT* 474 (1997): 441–55.

Glueck, Nelson. "The Boundaries of Edom." *HUCA* 11 (1936): 141–57.

———. "The Civilization of the Edomites." *BA* 10 (1947): 77–84.

———. "Explorations in Eastern Palestine and the Negeb." *BASOR* 55 (1934): 3–21.

———. *Explorations in Eastern Palestine, II*. New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1935.

———. *Explorations in Eastern Palestine, III*. New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1939.

———. "Ezion-geber." *BA* 28 (1965): 70–87.

———. "Ezion-geber: Elath—City of Bricks and Straw." *BA* 3 (1940): 51–55.

———. "Ezion-geber: Solomon's Naval Base on the Red Sea." *BA* 1 (1938): 13–16.

———. "The First Campaign at Tell el-Kheleifeh (Ezion-Geber)." *BASOR* 71 (1938): 3–18.

———. "King Solomon's Pittsburgh." Pages 191–206 in *The Treasures of Time*. Edited by Leo Deuel. Cleveland: World Publishing, 1961.

———. "Ostraca from Elath." *BASOR* 82 (1941): 3–10.

———. *The Other Side of the Jordan*. New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1940.

———. "Solomon's Seaport: Ezion-geber." *Asia* 38 (1938): 591–95.

———. "Tell el-Kheleifeh Inscriptions." Pages 225–42 in *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William Foxwell Albright*. Edited by Hans Goedicke. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1971.

———. "The Third Season of Excavations at Tell el-Kheleifeh." *BASOR* 79 (1940): 2–18.

———. "The Topography and History of Ezion-Geber and Elath." *BASOR* 72 (1938): 2–13.

———. "Transjordan." *BA* 9 (1946): 45–61.

Goedicke, Hans. "Papyrus Anastasi VI 51–61." *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 14 (1987): 83–98.

Gogel, Sandra L. *A Grammar of Epigraphic Hebrew*. RBS 23. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998.

Golani, Amir. "Cowrie Shells and Their Imitations as Ornamental Amulets in Egypt and the Near East." *PAM* 23 (2011): 71–83.

———. *Jewelry from the Iron Age II Levant*. OBO.SA 34. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; Fribourg: Presses Universitaires, 2013.

Golub, Mitka. "The Distribution of Personal Names in the Land of Israel and Transjordan during the Iron II Period." *JAOS* 134 (2014): 621–42.

Grabbe, Lester L. *Ancient Israel: What Do We Know and How Do We Know It?* Rev. ed. London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2017.

———. "Introduction." Pages 2–43 in *"Like a Bird in a Cage": The Invasion of Sennacherib in 701 BCE*. Edited by Lester L. Grabbe. JSOTSup 363. ESHM 4. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2003.

Graham, M. Patrick. "Aspects of the Structure and Rhetoric of 2 Chronicles 25." Pages 78–89 in *History and Interpretation: Essays in Honour of John H. Hayes*. Edited by M. Patrick Graham, William P. Brown, and Jeffrey K. Kuan. JSOTSupp 173. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993.

Graybill, Rhiannon. "Jeremiah, Sade, and Repetition as Counterpleasure in the Oracle against Edom." Pages 128–44 in *Concerning the Nations: Essays on the Oracles against the Nations in Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel*. Edited by Else K. Holt, Hyun Chul Paul Kim, and Andrew Mein. LHBOTS 612. London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2015.

Grayson, A. K. "Assyria 668–635 B.C.: The Reign of Ashurbanipal." Pages 142–61 in *The Assyrian and Babylonian Empire and Other States in the Near East, from the Eighth to the Sixth Centuries B.C.* Edited by John Boardman, I. E. S. Edwards, E. Sollberger, and N. G. L. Hammond. 2nd ed. CAH 3.2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

———. "Assyria: Sennacherib and Esarhaddon (704–669 B.C.)." Pages 103–41 in *The Assyrian and Babylonian Empire and Other States in the Near East, from the Eighth to the Sixth Centuries B.C.* Edited by John Boardman, I. E. S. Edwards, E. Sollberger, and N. G. L. Hammond. 2nd ed. CAH 3.2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

———. "Assyria: Tiglath-pileser III to Sargon II (744–705 B.C.)." Pages 71–102 in *The Assyrian and Babylonian Empire and Other States in the Near East, from the Eighth to the Sixth Centuries B.C.* Edited by John Boardman, I. E. S. Edwards, E. Sollberger, and N. G. L. Hammond. 2nd ed. CAH 3.2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

———. *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*. TCS 5. Locust Valley, NY: Augustin, 1975.

———. *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC I (1114–859 BC)*. RIMA 2. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.

———. "Assyrians." *OEANE* 1:228–33.

Grayson, A. K., and Jamie Novotny. *The Royal Inscriptions of Sennacherib, King of Assyria (704–681), Part 1.* RINAP 3.1. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2012.

Green, Anthony. "The Ninevite Countryside: Pots and Places of the Eski-Mosul Region in the Neo-Assyrian and Post-Assyrian Records." Pages 91–126 in *Iron Age Pottery in Northern Mesopotamia, Northern Syria and South-Eastern Anatolia: Papers Presented at the Meetings of the International "table ronde" at Heidelberg (1995) and Nieborów (1997) and Other Contributions.* Edited by Arnulf Hausleiter and Andrzej Reiche. AVO 10. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1999.

Greener, Aaron, and Erez Ben-Yosef. "The Ground Stone Assemblage of a Metal Workers Community: An Unexplored Dimension of Iron Age Copper Production at Timna." *JLS* 3 (2016): 191–220.

Greengus, Samuel. "Remembering Nelson Glueck: HUC-JIR Founders' Day, 28 March 2018." *AJAJ* 70 (2018): 119–29.

Greenhut, Zvi, and Alon De Groot, eds. *Salvage Excavations at Tel Moẓa: The Bronze and Iron Age Settlements and Later Occupations.* IAA Report 39. Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2009.

Grigson, Caroline. "Camels, Copper and Donkeys in the Early Iron Age of the Southern Levant: Timna Revisited." *Levant* 44 (2012): 82–100.

Groom, Nigel. *Frankincense and Myrrh: A Study of the Arabian Incense Trade.* London: Stacey, 2002.

Grosse, Bernard. "Detournement de la vengeance du Seigneur contre Edom et les nations en Isa 63, 1–6." *ZAW* 102 (1990): 105–10.

———. "Isaïe 34–35: La chatiment d'Edom et des nations, salut pour Sion." *ZAW* 102 (1990): 396–404

Gruntfest, Yaakov, and Michael Heltzer. "Nabonid, King of Babylon (556–539 B.C.E.) in Arabia in Light of New Evidence." *BN* 110 (2001): 25–30.

Gubel, Eric. "On the Interaction between Ammon, Moab and Edom with the Phoenician Coast: Some Addenda and Afterthoughts." Pages 187–204 in *"From Gilead to Edom": Studies in the Archaeology and History of Jordan in Honor of Denyse Homès-Fredericq on the Occasion of Her Eightieth Birthday.* Edited by Ingrid Moriah Swinnen and Eric Gubel. AkkSup 12. Brussells: Dossin, 2014.

Guillaume, Phillippe. "The Myth of the Edomite Threat: Arad Letters # 24 and 40." Pages 97–108 in *"Schrift und Sprache": Papers Read at the 10th Mainz International Colloquium on Ancient Hebrew (MICAH), Mainz, 28–30 October 2011.* Edited by Reinhard G. Lehmann and Anna Elise Zernecke. KUSATU 15. Kamen: Spenner, 2013.

Gunneweg, Jan, and Marta Balla. "Appendix 1: Instrumental Neutron Activation Analysis, Busayra and Judah." Pages 483–85 in *Busayra Excavations by Crystal-M. Bennett 1971–1980*. Edited by Piotr Bienkowski. British Academy Monographs in Archaeology 13. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

———. "The Provenience of 7th–6th Century BCE Cult Vessels from the Iron Age II Fortress at ʿEn Haseva Using Instrumental Neutron Activation Analysis (INAA)." *STRATA* 34 (2016): 57–72.

Gunneweg, Jan, and H. Mommsen. "Instrumental Neutron Activation Analysis of Vessels and Cult Objects." Pages 280–86 in *Ḥorvat Qitmit: An Edomite Shrine in the Biblical Negev*. Edited by Itzhaq Beit-Arieh. SMNIA 11. Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology, 1995.

Hadjiev, Tchavdar S. *The Composition and Redaction of the Book of Amos*. BZAW 393. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009.

Hankins, Davis. "'Much Madness Is Divinest Sense' The Economic Consequences of Yahweh's Parasocial Identity." *BCT* 14 (2018): 17–41.

Harding, Lankester. "Some Objects from Transjordan." *PEQ* 69 (1937): 253–55.

Harrison, Timothy P. "Articulating Neo-Assyrian Imperialism at Tell Tayinat." Pages 80–96 in *Archaeologies of Text: Archaeology, Technology, and Ethics*. Edited by Matthew T. Rutz and Morag M. Kersel. JIP 6. Oxford: Oxbow, 2014.

———. "The Neo-Assyrian Governor's Residence at Tell Taʿyinat." *BCSMS* 40 (2005): 23–33.

———. "The Neo-Assyrian Provincial Administration at Tayinat (Ancient Kunalia)." Pages 253–64 in *The Provincial Archaeology of the Assyrian Empire*. Edited by John MacGinnis, Dirk Wicke, and Tina Greenfield. Cambridge: MacDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, 2016.

———. "Temples, Tablets and the Neo-Assyrian Provincial Capital of Kinalia." *JCSMS* 6 (2011): 29–37.

———. "West Syrian *Megaron* or Neo-Assyrian *Langraum*? The Shifting Form and Function of the Tell Taʿyīnāt (*Kunulua*) Temples." Pages 3–21 in *Temple Building and Temple Cult: Architecture and Cultic Paraphernalia of Temples in the Levant (2.–1. Mill. B.C.E.); Proceedings of a Conference on the Occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the Institute of Biblical Archaeology at the University of Tübingen (28–30 May 2010)*. Edited by Jens Kamlah. ADPV 41. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012.

Harrison, Timothy P., and James F Osborne. "Building XVI and the Neo-Assyrian Sacred Precinct at Tell Tayinat." *JCS* 64 (2012): 125–43.

Hart, Stephen. "The Archaeology of the Land of Edom." PhD diss., Macquarie University, 1989.

———. "Area D at Buseirah and Edomite Chronology." Pages 241–64 in *Trade, Contact and the Movement of Peoples in the Eastern Mediterranean: Studies in Honour of J. Basil Hennessy*. Edited by Stephen Bourke and Jean-Paul Descoeudres. MAS 3. Sydney: Meditarch, 1995.

———. "Excavations at Ghrareh, 1986: Preliminary Report." *Levant* 20 (1988): 89–99.

———. "Five Soundings in Southern Jordan." *Levant* 19 (1987): 33–47.

———. "The Pottery." Pages 53–66 in *Excavations at Tawilan in Southern Jordan*. Edited by Crystal-M. Bennett and Piotr Bienkowski. British Academy Monographs in Archaeology 8. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.

———. "Selaʿ: The Rock of Edom?" *PEQ* 118 (1986): 91–95.

Harvey, Sarah M. "The Iron Age II Period in the Central Negev Highlands and Edom: A Comparison of Settlement Intensification and Land Exploitation." PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1999.

Hasel, Michael. *Domination and Resistance: Egyptian Military Activity in the Southern Levant, ca. 1300–1185 B.C.* PAe 10. Leiden: Brill, 1998.

Hauptmann, Andreas. *The Archaeometallurgy of Copper: Evidence from Faynan, Jordan*. Berlin: Springer, 2007.

———. "Die Gewinnung von Kupfer: Ein uralter Industriezweig auf der Ostseite des Wadi Arabah." Pages 31–43 in *Petra: Neue Ausgrabungen und Entdeckungen*. Edited by Manfred Lindner. Munich: Delp, 1986.

———. *Zur frühen Metallurgie des Kupfers in Fenan/Jordanien*. Der Anschnitt 11. Bochum: Deutches Bergbau-Museum, 2001.

Hauptman, Andreas, Friedrich Begemann, and Sigrid Schmitt-Strecker. "Copper Objects from Arad—Their Composition and Provenance." *BASOR* 314 (1999): 1–17.

Hauptmann, Andreas, and Gerd Weisgerber. "Archaeometallurgical and Mining-Archaeological Investigations in the Area of Feinan, Wadi Arabah (Jordan)." *ADAJ* 31 (1987): 419–37.

Hauptmann, Andreas, Gerd Weisgerber, and Hans-Gert Bachmann. "Ancient Copper Production in the Area of Feinan, Khirbet en-Nahas and Wadi el-Jariye, Wadi Arabah, Jordan." Pages 6–16 in *History of Technology: The Role of Metals*. Edited by Stuart J. Fleming and Helen R. Schenck. MASCA Research Papers in Science and Archaeology 6. Philadelphia: University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, 1989.

Hausleiter, Arnuf. "Neo-Assyrian Pottery from Kalhu/Nimrud, with Special Reference to the Polish Excavations in the 'Central Building' (1974–76)." Pages 16–60 in *Iron Age Pottery in Northern Mesopotamia, Northern Syria and South-Eastern Anatolia: Papers Presented at the Meetings of the International "table ronde" at Heidelberg (1995) and Nieborów (1997) and Other Contributions*. Edited by Arnulf Hausleiter and Andrzej Reiche. AVO 10. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1999.

Hayajneh, Hani. "First Evidence of Nabonidus in the Ancient North Arabian Inscriptions from the Region of Taymāʾ." *PSAS* 31 (2001): 81–95.

Heard, R. Christopher. *Dynamics of Diselection: Ambiguity in Genesis 12–36 and Ethnic Boundaries in Post-Exilic Judah*. Semeia 39. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2001.

Heckl, Raik. "'Deep Is the Well of the Past': Reconsidering the Origins of the Exodus Motif in Its Cultural Context." *VeEc* 34.2 (2013): 1–6.

———. "Remembering Jacob in the Late Persian/Early Hellenistic Era." Pages 38–80 in *Remembering Biblical Figures in the Late Persian and Early Hellenistic Periods: Social Memory and Imagination*. Edited by Diana V. Edelman and Ehud Ben Zvi. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Heide, Marin. "The Domestication of the Camel: Biological, Archaeological, and Inscriptional Evidence from Mesopotamia, Egypt, Israel, and Arabia, and Literary Evidence from the Hebrew Bible." *UF* 42 (2010): 331–84.

Helck, Wolfgang. "Seʿir." Pages 828–29 in vol. 5 of *Lexikon der Agyptologie*. Edited by Wolfgang Helck et al. 7 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1972–1992.

Helms, Mary W. *Craft and the Kingly Ideal: Art, Trade, and Power*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993.

Hendrix, Ralph E., Philip R. Drey, and J. Bjørnar Storfjell. *Ancient Pottery of Transjordan: An Introduction Utilizing Published Whole Forms; Late Neolithic through Late Islamic*. Berrien Springs, MI: Institute of Archaeology/Horn Archaeological Museum, Andrews University, 1996.

Hens-Piazza, Gina. *Lamentations*. WCS 30. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2017.

Hepper, F. Nigel. "Trees and Shrubs Yielding Gums and Resins in the Ancient Near East." *BSA* 3 (1987): 107–14.

Herr, Larry G. "The Formal Scripts of Iron Age Transjordan." *BASOR* 238 (1980): 21–34.

———. "The Iron Age Pottery from Burton MacDonald's Last Three Surveys in the Highlands of Southern Jordan." Pages 151–82 in *Walking through Jordan: Essays in Honour of Burton MacDonald*. Edited by Michael P. Neeley, Geoffrey A. Clark, and Michèle P. M. Daviau. Sheffield: Equinox, 2017.

———. "Jordan in the Iron I Period." *SHAJ* 10 (2009): 549–62.

———. "The Palaeography of West Semitic Stamp Seals." *BASOR* 312 (1998): 45–77.

———. *The Scripts of Ancient Northwest Semitic Seals*. HSM 18. Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1978.

———. "The Southern Levant (Transjordan) during the Iron Age I Period." Pages 649–59 in *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of the Levant c. 8000–332 BCE*. Edited by Margreet L. Steiner and Ann E. Killebrew. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Herr, Larry G., and Muhammad Najjar. "The Iron Age." Pages 323–45 in *The Archaeology of Jordan*. Edited by Burton MacDonald, Russell Adams, and Piotr Bienkowski. LA 1. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001.

Herrmann, Georgina. *Ivories from Room SW 37 Fort Shalmaneser*. 2 vols. Ivories from Nimrud 4.1. London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 1986.

———. *The Small Collections from Fort Shalmaneser*. Ivories from Nimrud 5. London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 1992.

Herrmann, Virgina R., and Craig W. Tyson. "Introduction." Pages 3–40 in *Imperial Peripheries in the Neo-Assyrian Period*. Edited by Craig W. Tyson and Virginia R. Herrmann. Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2018.

Hildebrandt, Samuel. "The Servants of Saul: 'Minor' Characters and Royal Commentary in 1 Samuel 9–31." *JSOT* 40 (2015): 179–200.

Hill, Andrew E. *Malachi: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. AB 25D. New York: Doubleday, 1998.

Hingley, Richard. "Frontiers and Mobilities: The Frontiers of the Roman Empire and Europe." *EurJArch* 21 (2018): 78–95.

Hoffmeier, James K., Thomas W. Davis, and Rexine Hummel. "New Archaeological Evidence for Ancient Bedouin (Shasu) on Egypt's Eastern Frontier at Tell el-Borg." *AeL* 26 (2016): 285–311.

Ho, Craig Y. S. "The Stories of the Family Troubles of Judah and David: A Study of Their Literary Links." *VT* 49 (1999): 514–31.

Honeychurch, William, and Cheryl A. Makarewicz. "The Archaeology of Pastoral Nomadism." *ARA* 45 (2016): 341–59.

Hopkins, Denise Dombkowski. *Psalms: Books 2–3*. WCS 21. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2016.

Horowitz, Wayne. *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography*. MC 8. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1998.

———. "Moab and Edom in the Sargon Geography." *IEJ* 43 (1993): 151–56.

Hossfeld, Frank-Lothar. *Psalms 2: A Commentary on Psalms 51–100*. Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005.

Hossfeld, Frank-Lothar, and Erich Zenger. *Psalms 3: A Commentary on Psalms 101–150*. Translated by Linda Maloney. Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2011.

Hoyland, Robert G. *Arabia and the Arabs: From the Bronze Age to the Coming of Islam*. London: Routledge, 2001.

Hübner, Ulrich. "Qurayyāt el-Manṣūr und Ḫirbet el-Faiḍ in Südjordanien." *ZDPV* 120 (2004): 141–56.

Humbert, Jean-Baptiste, and Fawzi Zayadine. "Trois campagnes de fouilles à Ammân (1988–1991): Troisième Terrasse de la Citadelle." *RB* 99 (1992): 214–60.

Hunt, Alice M. W. *Palace Ware across the Neo-Assyrian Imperial Landscape: Social Value and Semiotic Meaning*. CHANE 78. Leiden: Brill, 2015.

Hunt, Alice M. W., and Johannes H. Sterba. "Chemical Composition by Neutron Activation Analysis (INAA) of Neo-Assyrian Palace Ware from Iraq, Syria and Israel." *JOAD* 2 (2013): 1–3.

Hunt, Chris, and Hwedi el-Rishi. "Human Paleoecology in the Ancient Metal-Smelting and Farming Complex in the Wadi Faynan, SW Jordan, at the Desert Margin in the Middle East." Pages 121–34 in *Landscapes and Societies: Selected Cases*. Edited by I. Peter Martini and Ward Chesworth. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 2010.

Hunter, Fraser. "Roman and Native in Scotland." *JRA* 14 (2001): 289–309.

Hunziker-Rodewald, Regine, and Peter Fornaro. "RTI Images for Documentation in Archaeology: The Case of the Iron Age Female Terracotta Figurines from Buṣayra, Jordan." *JEMAHS* 7 (2019): 188–204.

Ikeda, Yutaka. "King Solomon and His Red Sea Trade." *BMECCJ* 5 (1991): 113–32.

Ilan, David. "The Crescent-Lunate Motif in the Jewelery of the Bronze and Iron Ages in the Ancient Near East." Pages 137–50 in vol. 1 of *Proceedings of the 9th International Congress on the Archaeology of the*

Ancient Near East East June 9–13, 2014, University of Basel. Edited by Rolf A. Stucky, Oskar Kelin, Hans-Peter Mathys, Jamieson Andrew, and Susanne Bickel. 3 vols. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2016.

———. "Iron Age Mortuary Practices and Beliefs in the Southern Levant." Pages 51–66 in *Engaging with the Dead: Exploring Changing Human Beliefs about Death, Mortality and the Human Body*. Edited by Jennie Bradbury and Chris Scarre. Oxford: Oxbow, 2017.

Inomata, Takeshi. "The Power and Ideology of Artistic Creation: Elite Craft Specialists in Classic Maya Society." *Curr Anthropol* 42 (2001): 321–49.

Intilia, Andrea. "Qurayyah Painted Ware: A Reassessment of 40 Years of Research on Its Origins, Chronology and Distribution." Pages 175–255 in *The Archaeology of North Arabia: Oases and Landscapes: Proceedings of the International Congress Held at the University of Vienna, 5–8 December, 2013*. Edited by Marta Luciani. OREA 4. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2016.

Irudayaraj, Dominic S. *Violence, Otherness and Identity in Isaiah 63:1–6: The Trampling One Coming from Edom*. LHBOTS 633. London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2017.

Israel, Felice. "Miscellanea idumea." *RivB* 27 (1979): 171–205.

———. "Supplementum idumeum I." *RivB* 35 (1987): 337–56.

Jacob-Rost, Liane. *Die Stempelsiegel im Vorderasiatischen Museum*. Mainz: von Zabern, 1997.

Jansen, Moritz. Andreas Hauptmann, Sabine Klein, and Hans-Michael Seitz. "The Potential of Stable Cu Isotopes for the Identification of Bronze Age Ore Mineral Sources from Cyprus and Faynan: Results from Uluburun and Khirbat Hamra Ifdan." *ArchAnthSci* 10 (2018): 1485–1502.

Janzen, David. "Politics, Settlement, and Temple Community in Persian-period Yehud." *CBQ* 64 (2002): 490–510.

Jasmin, Michaël. "The Emergence and First Development of the Arabian Trade across the Wadi Arabah." Pages 143–50 in *Crossing the Rift: Resources, Settlements, Patterns, and Interactions in the Wadi Araba*. Edited by Piotr Bienkowski and Katharina Galor. LevantSup 3. Oxbow, 2005.

Joannès, Francis. "A Propos de la Tablette Cunéiforme de Tell Tawilan." *RA* 81 (1987): 165–66.

Joffe, Alexander H. "Defining the State." Pages 3–23 in *Enemies and Friends of the State: Ancient Prophecy in Context*. Edited by Christopher A. Rollston. University Park, PA: Eisenbrauns, 2017.

———.The Rise of Secondary States in the Iron Age Levant." *JESHO* 45 (2002): 425–67.

Johnson, Vivan L. *David in Distress: His Portrait through the Historical Psalms*. LHBOTS 505. New York: T&T Clark, 2009.

Jong, Matthijs J. de. *Isaiah among the Ancient Near Eastern Prophets: A Comparative Study of the Earliest Stages of the Isaiah Tradition and the Neo-Assyrian Prophecies*. VTSup 117. Leiden: Brill, 2007.

Jurado, Jesús Fernández. "The Tartessian Economy: Mining and Metallurgy." Pages 241–62 in *The Phoenicians in Spain*. Edited by Marilyn R. Bierling. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2002.

Kafafi, Zeidan A. "New Insights on the Copper Mines of Wadi Faynan, Jordan." *PEQ* 146 (2014): 263–80.

Kamlah, Jens. "Temples of the Levant—Comparative Aspects." Pages 507–34 in *Temple Building and Temple Cult: Architecture and Cultic Paraphernalia of Temples in the Levant (2.–1. Mill. B.C.E.); Proceedings of a Conference on the Occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the Institute of Biblical Archaeology at the University of Tübingen (28–30 May 2010)*. Edited by Jens Kamlah. ADPV 41. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012.

Kassianidou, Vasiliki. "The Exploitation of the Landscape: Metal Resources and the Copper Trade during the Age of the Cypriot City-Kingdoms." *BASOR* 370 (2013): 49–82.

Keel, Othmar. *Corpus des Stempelsiegel-Amulette aus Palästina/Israel: Von den Anfängen bis zur Perserzeit; Katalog Band V; Von Tell el-ʿIdham bis Tel Kitan*. OBO.SA 35. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; Fribourg: Presses Universitaires, 2017.

———. *Goddesses and Trees, New Moon and Yahweh: Ancient Near Eastern Art and the Hebrew Bible*. JSOTSup 261. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1998.

Keel, Othmar, and Christoph Uehlinger. *Gods, Goddesses, and Images of God in Ancient Israel*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998.

Kellerman, Ulrich. "Der Amosschluss als Stimme deuteronomistischer Heilshoffnung." *EvT* 29 (1969): 169–83.

———. "Erwägungen zum deuteronomischen Gemeindegesetz Dt 23,2–9." *BN* 2 (1977): 33–47.

———. "Erwägungen zum historischen Ort von Psalm LX." *VT* 28 (1978): 56–65.

———. "Psalm 137." *ZAW* 90 (1978): 43–58.

Kelley, Justin. "Toward a New Synthesis of the God of Edom and Yahweh." *AO* 7 (2009): 255–80.

Kennedy, Will M. "Ein Versuch einer Higuchi-Viewshed-Analyse am Beispiel eines Wachturms auf der Umm al-Biyara in Petra, Jordanien." Pages 157–79 in *3D-Anwendungen in der Archäologie: Computeranwendungen und quantitative Methoden in der Archäologie; Workshop der AG CAA und des Exzellenzclusters Topoi 2013*. Edited by Undine Lieberwirth and Irmela Herzog. BSAW 34. Berlin: Topoi, 2016.

Kertai, David. "After the Court Moved Away: A Reinterpretation of the Ivory Finds within the Royal Palaces of Kalḫu." *AoF* 42 (2015), 112–21.

———. *The Architecture of Late Assyrian Royal Palaces*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

———. "The Art of Building a Late Assyrian Royal Palace." Pages 689–712 in *Critical Approaches to Ancient Near Eastern Art*. Edited by Brian A. Brown and Marian H. Feldman. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2013.

Kessler, Rainer. "Jakob und Esau als Brüderpaar in Mal 1,2–5." Pages 209–29 in *Diasynchron: Beiträge zur Exegese, Theologie und Rezeption der Hebräischen Bibel; Walter Dietrich zum 65. Geburtstag*. Edited by Thomas Naumann and Regine Hunziker-Rodewald. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2009.

———. *Maleachi*. HThKAT. Freiburg am Breisgau: Herder, 2011.

Kiderlen, Mortiz, Michael Bode, Andreas Hauptmann, and Yannis Bassiakos. "Tripod Cauldrons Produced at Olympia Give Evidence for Trade with Copper from Faynan (Jordan) to South West Greece, c. 950–750 BCE." *JASR* 8 (2016): 303–13.

Kiderlen, Moriz, Anno Hein, Hans Mommsen, and Noémi S. Müller. "Production Sites of Early Iron Age Greek Bronze Tripod Cauldrons: First Evidence from Neutron Activation Analysis of Casting Ceramics." *Geoarch* 32 (2017): 321–42.

Kisilevitz, Shua. "The Iron IIA Judahite Temple at Tel Moẓa." *TA* 42 (2015): 147–64.

———. "Terracotta Figurines from the Iron IIA Temple at Moẓa, Judah." *Les Carnets de l'ACoSt (Association of Coroplastic Studies)* 15 (2016): 1–7.

Kisilevitz, Shua, and Oded Lipschits. "Another Temple in Judah: The Tale of Tel Moẓa." *BAR* 46.1 (2020): 40–49.

Kitchen, Kenneth A. "The Egyptian Evidence on Ancient Jordan." Pages 21–34 in *Early Edom and Moab: The Beginning of the Iron Age in Southern Jordan*. Edited by Piotr Bienkowski. SAM 7. Sheffield: Collis, 1992.

———. *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments*. 4 vols. Oxford: Blackwell, 1993–2014.

———. *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated and Annotated: Translations*. 7 vols. Oxford: Blackwell, 1993–2014.

Kleiman, Assaf. "The Damascene Subjugation of the Southern Levant as a Gradual Process (ca. 842–800 BCE)." Pages 57–78 in *In Search of Aram and Israel: Politics, Culture and Identity*. Edited by Omer Sergi, Manfred Oeming, and Izaak J. de Hulster. ORA 20. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016.

———. "A Late IIA Destruction Layer at Tel Aphek in the Sharon Plain." *TA* 42 (2015): 177–232.

Klein, Ralph W. *1 Chronicles: A Commentary*. Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2006.

———. *2 Chronicles: A Commentary*. Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012.

———. "Reflections on Historiography in the Account of Jehoshaphat." Pages 643–57 in *Pomegranates and Golden Bells: Studies in Biblical, Jewish, and Near Eastern Ritual, Law, and Literature in Honor of Jacob Milgrom*. Edited by David P. Wright, David Noel Freedman, and Avi Hurvitz. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1995.

Kletter, Raz. "The Inscribed Weights of the Kingdom of Judah." *TA* 18 (1991): 121–63.

———. "The Rujm el-Malfuf Buildings and the Assyrian Vassal State of Ammon." *BASOR* 284 (1991): 33–50.

Kletter, Raz, and Wolfgang Zwickel. "The Assyrian Building of ʿAyyelet ha-Šaḥar." *ZDPV* 122 (2006): 151–86.

Kloner, Amos, and Ian Stern. "Idumea in the Late Persian Period (Fourth Century B.C.E.)." Pages 139–44 in *Judah and the Judeans in the Fourth Century B.C.E.* Edited by Oded Lipschits, Gary N. Knoppers, and Rainer Albertz. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2007.

Knabb, Kyle A., Yigal Erel, Ofir Tirosh, Tammy Rittenour, Sofia Laparidou, Mohammad Najjar, and Thomas E. Levy. "Environmental Impacts of Ancient Copper Mining and Metallurgy: Multi-Proxy Investigation of Human-Landscape Dynamics in the Faynan Valley, Southern Jordan." *JAS* 74 (2016): 85–101.

Knabb, Kyle A., Ian W. N. Jones, Mohammad Najjar, and Thomas E. Levy. "Patterns of Iron Age Mining and Settlement in Jordan's Faynan District: The Wadi al-Jariya Survey in Context." Pages 577–625 in vol. 2 of *New Insights into the Iron Age Archaeology of Edom, Southern Jordan: Surveys, Excavations, and Research from the University of California, San Diego-Department of Antiquities of Jordan, Edom Lowlands Regional Archaeology Project (ELRAP)*. Edited by Thomas E. Levy, Mohammad Najjar, and Erez Ben-Yosef. 2 vols. Monumenta Archaeologica 35. Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2014.

Knabb, Kyle A., Mohammad Najjar, and Thomas E. Levy. "Characterizing the Rural Landscape during the Iron Age and Roman Period (ca. 1200 B.C–A.D. 400): An Intensive Survey of Wadi al-Feidh, Southern Jordan." *JFA* 40 (2015): 365–80.

Knapp, A. Bernard, and Sturt W. Manning. "Crisis in Context: The End of the Late Bronze Age in the Eastern Mediterranean." *AJA* 120 (2016): 99–149.

Knauf, Ernst Axel. "Alter und Herkunft der edomitischen Königsliste Gen 36, 31–39." *ZAW* 97 (1985): 245–53.

———. "The Cultural Impact of Secondary State Formation: The Cases of the Edomites and Moabites." Pages 47–54 in *Early Edom and Moab: The Beginning of the Iron Age in Southern Jordan*. Edited by Piotr Bienkowski. SAM 7. Sheffield: Collis, 1992.

———. "Edom: The Social and Economic History." Pages 93–117 in *You Shall Not Abhor an Edomite for He Is Your Brother: Edom and Seir in History and Tradition*. Edited by Diana Vikander Edelman. ABS 3. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995.

———. "Psalm LX und Psalm CVIII." *VT* 50 (2000): 55–65.

———. "Qôs." Pages 674–77 in *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*. Edited by Karel van der Toorn, Bob Becking, and Pieter W. van der Horst. Leiden: Brill, 1999.

———. "Seir." *ABD* 5:1072–73.

———. "Supplementa Ismaelitica 12: Camels in Late Bronze and Iron Age Jordan: The Archaeological Evidence." *BN* 40 (1987): 20–23.

———. "Supplementa Ismaelitica 13: Edom und Arabien." *BN* 45 (1988): 62–81.

———. "The Thamudic Seal Impression, Appendix." *Levant* 20 (1988): 98–99.

Knierim, Rolf P., and George W. Coats. *Numbers*. FOTL 4. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005.

Knodell, Alex R., Susan E. Alcock, Christopher A. Tuttle, Christian F. Cloke, Tali Erickson-Gini, Cecelia Feldman, Gary O. Rollefson, Micaela Sinibaldi, Thomas M. Urban, and Clive Vella. "The Brown University Petra Archaeological Project: Landscape Archaeology in the Northern Hinterland of Petra, Jordan." *AJA* 121 (2017): 621–83.

Knohl, Israel. "Jacob-El in the Land of Esau and the Roots of Biblical Religion." *VT* 67 (2017): 481–84.

Knoppers, Gary N. "Reform and Regression: The Chronicler's Presentation of Jehoshaphat." *Bib* 72 (1991): 500–524.

Knudtzon, J. A. *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*. 2 vols. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1915.

Kogan-Zehavi, Elena. "Tel Ashdod." *Hadashot* 118 (2006): 1–7.

Koucky, Frank L., and Nathan R. Miller "The Metal Objects from Tell el-Kheleifeh." Pages 65–69 in *Nelson Glueck's 1938–1940 Excavations at Tell el-Kheleifeh: A Reappraisal*. Edited by Gary D. Pratico. ASORAR 3. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993.

Kratz, Reinhard G. *The Composition of the Narrative Books of the Old Testament*. London: T&T Clark, 2005.

Kraus, Hans-Joachim. *Psalm 60–150: A Commentary*. Continental Commentaries. Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1989.

Kritsky, Gene. "Beekeeping from Antiquity through the Middle Ages." *AnnRevEnt* 62 (2017): 249–64.

Kuan, Jeffrey Kah-Jin. *Neo-Assyrian Historical Inscriptions and Syria-Palestine: Israelite/Judean-Tyrian-Damascene Political and Commercial Relations in the Ninth–Eighth Centuries BCE*. Jian Dao Dissertation Series 1. Bible and Literature 1. Hong Kong: Alliance Bible Seminary, 1995.

Kühne, Hartmut. "Der Gott in der Mondsichel." *AoF* 24 (1997): 375–82.

Kuteil, Pua, Haim Kutiel, and Hanoch Lavee. "Vegetation Response to Possible Scenarios of Rainfall Variations along a Mediterranean-Extreme Arid Climatic Transect." *JAE* 44 (2000): 278–90.

LaBianca, Øystein S. "Salient Features of Iron Age Tribal Kingdoms." Pages 19–29 in *Ancient Ammon*. Edited by Burton MacDonald and Randall W. Younker. CHANE 17. Leiden: Brill, 1999.

LaBianca, Øystein S., and Randall W. Younker. 1995. "The Kingdoms of Ammon, Moab and Edom: The Archaeology of Society in the Late Bronze/Iron Age Transjordan (ca. 1400–500 BCE)." Pages 399–415 in *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land*. Edited by Thomas E. Levy. New York: Facts on File.

Langford, Boaz, Amos Frumkin, Uzi Avner, and Hanan Ginat. "Nahal ʿAmram, Southern Arabah Valley: A Survey of Underground Copper Mines." Pages 217–27 in *Mining for Ancient Copper: Essays in Memory of Beno Rothenberg*. Edited by Erez Ben-Yosef. SMNIA 37. University Park, PA: Eisenbrauns; Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology, 2018.

Langgut, Dafna, Israel Finkelstein, Thomas Litt, Frank Harald Neumann, and Mordechai Stein. "Vegetation and Climate Changes during the Bronze and Iron Ages (~3600–600 BCE) in the Southern Levant Based on Palynological Records." *Radiocarbon* 57 (2015): 217–35.

Lauinger, Jacob. "Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty at Tell Tayinat: Text and Commentary." *JCS* 64 (2012): 87–123.

———. "The Neo-Assyrian *adê*: Treaty, Oath, or Something Else?" *ZABR* 19 (2013): 99–115.

———. "Some Preliminary Thoughts on the Tablet Collection in Building XVI from Tell Tayinat." *JCSMS* 6 (2011): 5–14.

Layton, Scott C. "A New Interpretation of an Edomite Seal Impression." *JNES* 50 (1991): 37–43.

Lee, Lydia. *Mapping Judah's Fate in Ezekiel's Oracles against the Nations*. ANEM 15. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2016.

Lee, Woo Min. "Edomophobia? An Exilic or a Post-exilic Reading of Doeg in 1 Samuel 21 and 22." *HvTSt* 74 (2018): 1–4.

Lemaire, André. "Ammon, Moab, Edom: L'époque du fer en Jordanie." Pages 47–74 in *La Jordanie de l'âge de la pierre a l'époque byzantine*. Paris: Recontres de l'École du Louvre, 1987.

———. "Balaʾam/Belaʾ fils de Beʾor." *ZAW* 102 (1990): 180–87.

———. "D'édom à l'idumée et à Rome." Pages 81–103 in *Des Sumériens aux Romain d'Orient la perception géographique du Monde: Espaces et territoires au Proche-orient ancien; Acts de la table ronde du 16 novembre 1996 organisée par l'URA 1062 'Études sémitiques*. Edited by Arnaud Sérandour. AntSem 2. Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1997.

———. "Edom and the Edomites." Pages 225–43 in *The Books of Kings: Sources, Composition, Historiography and Reception*, ed. André Lemaire, Baruch Halpern, and Matthew Joel Adams. VTSup 129. Leiden: Brill, 2010.

———. "Hadad l'Édomite ou Hadad l'Arameen?" *BN* 43 (1988): 14–18.

———. "La Reine de Saba à Jérusalem: La tradition ancienne reconsidérée." Pages 43–55 in *Kein Land für sich allein: Studien zum Kulturkontakt in Kanaan, Israel/Palästina und Ebirnâri für Manfred Weippert zum 65. Geburtstag*. Edited by Ulrich Hübner and Ernst Axel Knauf. OBO

186. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; Fribourg: Presses Universitaires, 2002.

———. "Les critères non-iconographiques de la classification des sceaux nord-ouest sémitiques inscrits." Pages 1–26 in *Studies in the Iconography of Northwest Semitic Inscribed Seals: Proceedings of a Symposium Held in Fribourg on April 17–20, 1991*. Edited by Benjamin Sass and Christoph Uehlinger. OBO 125. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht; Fribourg: Presses Universitaires, 1993.

———. "Les langues de la Transjordanie dans la première moitié du Ier millénaire av J.-C." Pages 301–20 in *Sprachen in Palästina im 2. und 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* Edited by Ulrich Hübner and Herbert Niehr. ADPV 43. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2017.

———. "Les premiers rois araméens dans la tradition biblique." Pages 113–43 in *The World of the Aramaeans: Studies in Honour of Paul-Eugène Dion*. Edited by P. M. Michèle Daviau, John Wevers, and Michael Weigl. JSOTSup 324. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001.

———. "Levantine Literacy ca. 1000–750 BCE." Pages 11–46 in *Contextualizing Israel's Sacred Writing: Ancient Literacy, Orality, and Literary Production*. Edited by Brian B. Schmidt. AIL 22. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2015.

———.Nabonidus in Arabia and Judah in the Neo-Babylonian Period." Pages 285–98 in *Judah and the Judeans in the Neo-Babylonian Period*. Edited by Oded Lipschits and Joseph Blenkinsopp. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2003.

———. "Note on an Edomite Seal-Impression from Buseirah." *Levant* 7 (1975): 18–19.

———. "Recherches sur les ateliers sigillaires jordaniens au Fer II." *SHAJ* 5 (1995): 479–88.

———. "Tarshish-*Tarsisi*: Problème de topographie historique biblique et assyrienne." Pages 44–62 in *Studies in Historical Geography and Biblical Historiography: Presented to Zecharia Kallai*. Edited by Gershon Galil and Moshe Weinfeld. VTSup 81. Leiden: Brill, 2000.

Lemche, Niels Peter. "Solomon as Cultural Memory." Pages 158–81 in *Remembering Biblical Figures in the Late Persian and Early Hellenistic Periods: Social Memory and Imagination*. Edited by Diana V. Edelman and Ehud Ben Zvi. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

———. "On the Problems of Reconstructing Pre-Hellenistic Israelite (Palestinian) History." Pages 150–67 in *"Like a Bird in a Cage": The Inva-*

sion of Sennacherib in 701 BCE. Edited by Lester L. Grabbe. JSOTSup 363. ESHM 4. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2003.

Leuchter, Mark. "Eisodus as Exodus: The Song of the Sea (Exod 15) Reconsidered." Bib 92 (2011): 321–46.

Leuenberger, Martin. "YHWH's Provenance from the South: A New Evaluation of the Arguments pro and contra." Pages 157–79 in The Origins of Yahwism. Edited by Jürgen van Oorschot and Markus Witte. BZAW 484. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2017.

Levi, Yossi. "Rishon Lezion." AJA 100 (1996): 744.

Levin, Christoph. "Aram und/oder Edom in den Büchern Samuel und Könige." Text 24 (2009): 65–84.

Levine, Baruch A. Numbers 1–20: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary. AB 4. New York: Doubleday, 1993.

Levy, Thomas E. "Ethnic Identity in Biblical Edom, Israel, and Midian: Some Insights from Mortuary Contexts in the Lowlands of Edom." Pages 251–61 in Exploring the Longue Durée: Essays in Honor of Lawrence E. Stager. Edited by J. David Schloen. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2008.

———. "Pastoral Nomads and Iron Age Metal Production in Ancient Edom." Pages 147–78 in Nomads, Tribes, and the State in the Ancient Near East: Cross Disciplinary Perspectives. Edited by Jeffrey Szuchman. OIS 5. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2009.

———. "'You Shall Make for Yourself No Molten Gods': Some Thoughts on Archaeology and Edomite Ethnic Identity." Pages 239–55 in Sacred History, Sacred Literature: Essays on Ancient Israel, the Bible, and Religion in Honor of R. E. Friedman on His Sixtieth Birthday. Edited by Shawna Dolansky. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2008.

Levy, Thomas E., Russell B. Adams, and Adolfo Muniz. "Archaeology and the Shasu Nomads: Recent Excavations in the Jabal Hamrat Fidan, Jordan." Pages 63–89 in Le-David Maskil: A Birthday Tribute for David Noel Freedman. Edited by Richard Elliot Friedman and William H. C. Propp. BJSUCSD 9. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2004.

Levy, Thomas E., Russell B. Adams, Mohammad Najjar, Andreas Hauptmann, James D. Anderson, Baruch Brandl, Mark A. Robinson, and Thomas Higham. "Reassessing the Chronology of Biblical Edom: New Excavations and 14C Dates from Khirbat en-Nahas (Jordan)." Antiquity 78 (2004): 865–79.

Levy, Thomas E., Russell B. Adams, and Rula Shafiq. "The Jabal Hamrat Fidan Project: Excavations at the Wadi Fidan 40 Cemetery, Jordan (1997)." *Levant* 3 (1999): 293–308.

Levy, Thomas E., Erez Ben-Yosef, and Mohammad Najjar. "The Iron Age Edom Lowlands Regional Archaeology Project: Research, Design, and Methodology." Pages 1–88 in vol. 1 of *New Insights into the Iron Age Archaeology of Edom, Southern Jordan: Surveys, Excavations, and Research from the University of California, San Diego-Department of Antiquities of Jordan, Edom Lowlands Regional Archaeology Project (ELRAP).* Edited by Thomas E. Levy, Mohammad Najjar, and Erez Ben-Yosef. 2 vols. Monumenta Archaeologica 35. Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2014.

Levy, Thomas E., Megan Bettilyon, and Margie M. Burton. "The Iron Age Copper Industrial Complex: A Preliminary Study of the Role of Ground Stone Tools at Khirbat en-Nahas, Jordan." *JLS* 3 (2016): 313–35.

Levy, Thomas E., and Augustin F. C. Holl. "Migrations, Ethnogenesis, and Settlement Dynamics: Israelites in Iron Age Canaan and Shuwa-Arabs in the Chad Basin." *JAnthArch* 21 (2002): 83–118.

Levy, Thomas E., Stefan Münger, and Mohammad Najjar. "A Newly Discovered Scarab of Sheshonq I: Recent Iron Age Explorations in Southern Jordan." *Antiquity* 88.341 (2014). https://tinyurl.com/SBL1733d.

Levy, Thomas E., and Mohammad Najjar. "Edom and Copper: The Emergence of Ancient Israel's Rival." *BAR* 32.4 (2006): 24–35, 70.

Levy, Thomas E., Mohammad Najjar, and Erez Ben-Yosef. "Conclusions." Pages 977–1001 in vol. 2 of *New Insights into the Iron Age Archaeology of Edom, Southern Jordan: Surveys, Excavations, and Research from the University of California, San Diego-Department of Antiquities of Jordan, Edom Lowlands Regional Archaeology Project (ELRAP).* Edited by Thomas E. Levy, Mohammad Najjar, and Erez Ben-Yosef. 2 vols. Monumenta Archaeologica 35. Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2014.

———, eds. *New Insights into the Iron Age Archaeology of Edom, Southern Jordan: Surveys, Excavations, and Research from the University of California, San Diego-Department of Antiquities of Jordan, Edom Lowlands Regional Archaeology Project (ELRAP).* 2 vols. Monumenta Archaeologica 35. Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2014.

Levy, Thomas E., Mohammad Najjar, Thomas Higham, Yoav Arbel, Adolfo Muniz, Erez Ben-Yosef, Neil G. Smith, Marc Beberec, Aaron Gidding,

Ian W. Jones, Daniel Frese, Craig Smitheram, and Mark Robinson. "Excavations at Khirbat en-Nahas 2002–2009: An Iron Age Copper Production Center in the Lowlands of Edom." Pages 89–246 in vol. 1 of *New Insights into the Iron Age Archaeology of Edom, Southern Jordan: Surveys, Excavations, and Research from the University of California, San Diego-Department of Antiquities of Jordan, Edom Lowlands Regional Archaeology Project (ELRAP)*. Edited by Thomas E. Levy, Mohammad Najjar, and Erez Ben-Yosef. 2 vols. Monumenta Archaeologica 35. Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2014.

Levy, Thomas E., Mohammad Najjar, Adolfo Muniz, Sarah Malena, Elizabeth Monroe, Marc Beherec, Neil G. Smith, Thomas Higham, Stefan Munger, and Kenneth Maes. "Iron Age Burial in the Lowlands of Edom: The 2004 Excavations at Wadi Fidan 40, Jordan." *ADAJ* 49 (2005): 443–87.

Lindenberger, James M. *Ancient Aramaic and Hebrew Letters*. 2nd ed. WAW 14. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003.

Lindner, Manfred. "Archaeological Explorations in the Petra Region 1980–1984." *SHAJ* 3 (1987): 291–94.

Lindner, Manfred, and Suleiman Farajat. "An Edomite Mountain Stronghold North of Petra (Baʾja III)." *ADAJ* 31 (1987): 175–85.

Lindner, Manfred, Suleiman Farajat, Ernst Axel Knauf, and J. P. Zeitler, "Es-Sadeh—A Lithic-Early Bronze Iron II (Edomite)–Nabataean Site in Southern Jordan: Report on the Second Exploratory Campaign, 1988." *ADAJ* 34 (1990): 193–237.

Lindner, Manfred, Ulrich Hübner, and Johannes Hübl. "Nabataean and Roman Presence between Petra and Wadi ʿArabah Survey Expedition 1997/98: Umm Ratam." *ADAJ* 44 (2000): 535–68.

Lindner, Manfred, Ernst Axel Knauf, and J. P. Zeitler, "An Edomite Fortress and a Late Islamic Village Near Petra (Jordan): Khirbat al-Muʿallaq." *ADAJ* 40 (1996): 111–35.

Lindsay, John. "The Babylonian Kings and Edom, 605–550 B.C." *PEQ* 108 (1976): 23–39.

———. "Edomite Westward Expansion: The Biblical Evidence." *ANES* 36 (1999): 48–89.

Lines, Joan. "Late Assyrian Pottery from Nimrud." *Iraq* 16 (1954): 164–67.

Lipiński, Edward. *The Aramaeans: Their Ancient History, Culture, Religion*. OLA 100. Leuven: Peeters, 2000.

———. "Edom at the Crossroads of 'Incense Routes' in the 8th–7th Centuries B.C." *RO* 66.2 (2013): 64–85.

———. *A History of the Kingdom of Israel*. OLA 275. Leuven: Peeters, 2018.

———. *Itineraria Phoenicia*. OLA 127. StPhoen 18. Leuven: Peeters, 2004.

Lipschits, Oded. "Demographic Changes in Judah between the Seventh and the Fifth Centuries B.C.E." Pages 323–76 in *Judah and the Judeans in the Neo-Babylonian Period*. Edited by Oded Lipschits and Joseph Blenkinsopp. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2003.

Lipschits, Oded, Yuval Gadot, and Dafna Langgut. "The Riddle of Ramat Raḥel: The Archaeology of a Royal Persian Period Edifice." *Transeu* 41 (2012): 57–79.

Lipschits, Oded, Yuval Gadot, Manfred Oeming, and Benjamin Arubas. "The 2006 and 2007 Excavation Seasons at Ramat Raḥel: Preliminary Report." *IEJ* 59 (2009): 1–20.

Liverani, Mario. "Dal 'piccolo regno' alla 'città-stato.'" Pages 249–59 in vol. 1 of *Alle soglie della classicità: Il Mediterraneo tra tradizione e innovazione; Studi in onore di Sabatino Moscati*. Edited by Enrico Acquaro. 3 vols. Pisa: Instituti editoriali e poligrafici internationali, 1996.

———. "Early Caravan Trade between South-Arabia and Mesopotamia." *Yemen* 1 (1992): 111–15.

———. "'I Constructed Palaces throughout My Country': Establishing the Assyrian Provincial Order; The Motif and Its Variants." *RA* 106 (2012): 181–91.

———. *Israel's History and the History of Israel*. New York: Routledge, 2014.

———. "The Sargon Geography and the Late Assyrian Mensuration of the Earth." *SAAB* 13 (1999–2001): 57–85.

———. "Stati etnici e città-stato: Una tipologia stroica per la prima età del ferro." Pages 33–47 in *Primi popoli d'Europa: Proposte e riflessioni sulle origini della civiltà nell'Europa mediterranea; Atti delle Riunioni di Palermo (14–16 ottobre 1994) e Baeza (Jaén) (18–20 dicembre 1995)*. Edited by Manuel Molinos and Andrea Zifferero. Firenze: Dipartamento d'Archeologia, Universitá degli Studi de Bologna, 2002.

Livingstone, Alasair. "Arabians in Babylonia/Babylonians in Arabia: Some Reflections á propos New and Old Evidence." Pages 97–105 in *L'Arabie preislamique et son Environnement historique et culturel*. Edited by Toufic Fahd. Leiden: Brill, 1989.

———. "New Light on the Ancient Town of Taimā'." Pages 133–43 in *Studia Aramaica: New Sources and New Approaches*. Edited by Markham J. Geller, Jonas C. Greenfield, and Michael P. Weitzman. JSSSup 4. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Llop, Jaume. "Qauš-gabri." Page 1011 in *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, Volume 3, Part I*. Edited by Heather D. Baker. Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2002.

———. "Qauš-malaka." Page 1011 in *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, Volume 3, Part I*. Edited by Heather D. Baker. Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2002.

Long, Burke O. *Planting and Reaping Albright: Politics, Ideology, and Interpreting the Bible*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997.

Long, Jesse C., Jr. "Elisha's Deceptive Prophecy in 2 Kings 3: A Response to Raymond Westbrook." *JBL* 126 (2007): 168–71.

Longacre, Drew. "Developmental Stage, Scribal Lapse, or Physical Defect? 1QIsaᵃ's Damaged Exemplar for Isaiah Chapters 34–66." *DSD* 201 (2013): 17–50.

López-Ruiz, Carolina. "Tarshish and Tartessos Revisited: Textual Problems and Historical Implications." Pages 255–80 in *Colonial Encounters in Ancient Iberia: Phoenician, Greek, and Indigenous Relations*. Edited by Michael Dietler and Carolina López-Ruiz. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009.

Loprieno, Antonio. "Defining Egyptian Literature: Ancient Texts and Modern Theories." Pages 39–58 in *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms*. Edited by Antonio Loprieno. PAe 10. Leiden: Brill, 1996.

Lozovyy, Joseph. "Saul, Doeg, Nabal and the 'Son of Jesse': Readings in 1 Samuel 16–25." PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, 2006.

Luciani, Marta. "Mobility, Contacts and the Definition of Culture(s) in New Archaeological Research in Northwest Arabia." Pages 21–56 in *The Archaeology of North Arabia: Oases and Landscapes; Proceedings of the International Congress Held at the University of Vienna, 5–8 December, 2013*. Edited by Marta Luciani. OREA 4. Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 2016.

———. "Pottery from the 'Midianite Heartland'? On Tell Kheleifeh and Qurayyah Painted Ware: New Evidence from the Harvard Semitic Museum." Pages 392–438 in *To the Madbar and Back Again: Studies in the Languages, Archaeology, and Cultures of Arabia Dedicated to Michael C. A. Macdonald*. Edited by Laïla Nehmé and Ahmad al-Jallad. SSLL 92. Leiden: Brill, 2018.

Ludden, David. "The Process of Empire: Frontiers and Borderlands." Pages 132–50 in *Tributary Empires in Global History*. Edited by Peter Fibiger

Bang and C. A. Bayly. Cambridge Imperial and Post-colonial Studies. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Lumsden, Stephen. "Neo-Assyrian Pottery from Nineveh." Pages 3–15 in *Iron Age Pottery in Northern Mesopotamia, Northern Syria and South-Eastern Anatolia: Papers Presented at the Meetings of the International "table ronde" at Heidelberg (1995) and Nieborów (1997) and Other Contributions.* Edited by Arnulf Hausleiter and Andrzej Reiche. AVO 10. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1999.

Lundbom, Jack R. *Deuteronomy: A Commentary.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013.

Luukko, Mikko. *The Correspondence of Tiglath-Pileser III and Sargon II from Calah/Nimrud.* SAA 19. Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2012.

MacDonald, Burton. *"East of the Jordan": Territories and Sites of the Hebrew Scriptures.* ASORB 6. Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research, 2000.

———. "The Hinterland of Busayra." Pages 47–52 in *Busayra Excavations by Crystal-M. Bennett 1971–1980.* Edited by Piotr Bienkowski. British Academy Monographs in Archaeology 13. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

———, ed. *The Shammakh to Ayl Archaeological Survey, Southern Jordan (2010–2012).* ASORAR 24. Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research, 2016.

———, ed. *The Southern Ghors and Northeast Arabah Archaeological Survey.* SAM 5. Sheffield: Collis, 1992.

———. *The Southern Transjordan Edomite Plateau and the Dead Sea Rift Valley: The Bronze Age to the Islamic Period (3800/3700 BC–AD 1917).* Oxford: Oxbow, 2015.

———, ed. *The Tafila-Busayra Archaeological Survey 1999–2001, West-central Jordan.* ASORAR 9. Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research, 2004.

———, ed. *The Wadi el Hasa Archaeological Survey 1979–1983, West-central Jordan.* Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1988.

Macdonald, Michael C. A. "Arabs and Empires before the Sixth Century." Pages 11–89 in *Arabs and Empires before Islam.* Edited by Greg Fisher. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

———. *Literacy and Identity in Pre-Islamic Arabia.* Variorum Collected Series 906. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009.

———. "Trade Routes and Trade Goods at the Northern End of the 'Incense Road' in the First Millennium B.C." Pages 333–49 in *Profumi d'Arabia: Atti del convegno*. Edited by Alessandra Avanzini. SDSA 11. Rome: Bretschneider, 1997.

———. "Was There a 'Bedouinization of Arabia'?" *Islam* 92 (2015): 42–84.

MacDonald, Nathan. "Deuteronomy and Numbers: Common Narratives concerning the Wilderness and Transjordan." *JAJ* 3 (2012): 141–65.

———. "Edom and Seir in the Narratives and Itineraries of Numbers 20–21 and Deuteronomy 1–3." Pages 83–103 in *Deuteronomium: Tora für eine neue Generation*. Edited by Georg Fischer, Dominik Markl, and Simone Paganini. BZABR 17. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2011.

Macklin, Mark G., John Lewin, and Jamie C. Woodward. "Quaternary Fluvial Systems in the Mediterranean Basin." Pages 1–28 in *Mediterranean Quaternary River Environments*. Edited by John Lewin, Mark G. Macklin, and Jamie C. Woodward. Rotterdam: Balkema, 1995.

Maeir, Aren M. "The Aramaean Involvement in the Southern Levant: Case Studies for Identifying the Archaeological Evidence." Pages 79–87 in *In Search of Aram and Israel: Politics, Culture and Identity*. Edited by Omer Sergi, Manfred Oeming, and Izaak J. de Hulster. ORA 20. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016.

———. "Can Material Evidence of Aramean Influences and Presence in Iron Age Judah and Israel Be Found?" Pages 53–67 in *Wandering Aramaeans—Aramaeans Outside Syria: Textual and Archaeological Perspectives*. Edited by Angelika Berlejung, Aren M. Maeir, and Andreas Schüle. Leipziger Altorientalistische Studien 7. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2017.

Maeir, Aren M., and Shira Gur-Arieh. "Comparative Aspects of the Aramean Siege System at Tell eṣ-Ṣāfi/Gath." Pages 227–44 in *The Fire Signals of Lachish: Studies in the Archaeology and History of Israel in the Late Bronze Age, Iron Age, and Persian Period in Honor of David Ussishkin*. Edited by Israel Finkelstein and Nadav Na'aman. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2011.

Maigret, Alessandro de. "The Arab Nomadic People and the Cultural Interface between the 'Fertile Crescent' and 'Arabia Felix.'" *AAE* 10 (1998): 220–24.

———. "The Frankincense Road from Najrān to Maʿān: A Hypothetical Itinerary." Pages 315–31 in *Profumi d'Arabia: Atti del convegno*. Edited by Alessandra Avanzini. SDSA 11. Rome: Bretschneider, 1997.

Mallory-Greenough, Leanne, John D. Greenough, and Charles Fipke. "Iron Age Gold Mining: A Preliminary Report on the Camps in the Al Maraziq Region, Yemen." *AAE* 11 (2000): 223–36.

Malul, Meir. "ʿāqēb 'Heel' and ʿāqab 'to Supplant' and the Concept of Succession in the Jacob-Esau Narratives." *VT* 46 (1996): 190–212.

Mandolfo, Carleen. "Language of Lament in the Psalms." Pages 114–30 in *The Oxford Handbook of the Psalms*. Edited by William P. Brown. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Manuelli, Federico. "Assyria and the Provinces: Survival of Local Features and Imposition of New Patterns in the Peripheral Regions of the Empire." *Mesopotamia* 44 (2009): 113–28.

Marciak, Michał. "Idumea and Idumeans in the Light of the Pseudepigrapha." *JSP* 27 (2018): 163–203.

Marcus, Michelle. "Emblems of Authority: The Seals and Sealings from Hasanlu IVB." *Expedition* 31 (1989): 53–63.

———. *Emblems of Identity and Prestige: The Seals and Sealings from Hasanlu, Iran; Commentary and Catalog*. Hasanlu Special Studies 3. University Museum Monograph 84. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1996.

Marom, Nimrod, Meirav Meiri, and Guy Bar-Oz. "Note on the Contribution of Genetics to Understanding the Organization of Camel Caravans in Antiquity." *PNAS* 113 (2016): E4582.

Martin, Mario A. S., and Israel Finkelstein. "Iron IIA Pottery from the Negev Highlands: Petrographic Investigation and Historical Implications." *TA* 40 (2013): 6–45.

Masson-Berghoff, Aurélia, Ernst Pernicka, Duncan Hook, and Andrew Meek. "(Re)sources: Origins of Metals in Late Period Egypt." *JASR* 21 (2018): 318–39.

Master, Daniel M. "Economy and Exchange in the Iron Age Kingdoms of the Southern Levant." *BASOR* 372 (2014): 81–97.

Mathews, Clair R. *Defending Zion: Edom's Desolation and Jacob's Restoration (Isaiah 34–35) in Context*. BZAW 236. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995.

Maugh, Thomas H., II. "Ruins Bolster Legend of Solomon." *Los Angeles Times*. October 28, 2008.

Mayer, Walter. *Politik und Kriegskunst der Assyrer*. ALASP 9. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1995.

———. "Sennacherib's Campaign of 701 BCE: The Assyrian View." Pages 168–200 in *"Like a Bird in a Cage": The Invasion of Sennacherib in 701*

BCE. Edited by Lester L. Grabbe. JSOTSup 363. ESHM 4. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2003.

Mays, James L. *Psalms*. IBC. Louisville: John Knox, 1994.

Mazar, Amihai. "Culture, Identity and Politics Relating to Tel Reḥov in the 10th–9th Centuries BCE." Pages 89–119 in *In Search of Aram and Israel: Politics, Culture, and Identity*. Edited by Omer Sergi, Manfred Oeming, and Izaak J. de Hulster. ORA 20. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016.

———. "The Iron Age Apiary at Tel Reḥov, Israel." Pages 40–49 in *Beekeeping in the Mediterranean from Antiquity to the Present*. Edited by Fani Hatjina, Georgios Mavrofridis, and Richard Jones. Nea Moudania: Division of Apiculture, 2017.

———. "Three 10th–9th Century B.C.E. Inscriptions from Tēl Reḥōv." Pages 171–84 in *Saxa Loquentur: Studien zur Archäologie Palästinas/Israel; Festschrift für Vokmar Fritz*. Edited by Cornelius G. den Hertog. AOAT 302. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2003.

Mazar, Amihai, and Nava Panitz-Cohen. "It Is the Land of Honey: Beekeeping at Tel Reḥov." *NEA* 70 (2007): 202–19.

Mazar, Eilat, David Ben-Shlomo, Shmuel Aḥituv. "An Inscribed Pithos from the Ophel, Jerusalem." *IEJ* 63 (2013): 39–49.

McCarter, P. Kyle. "Obadiah 7 and the Fall of Edom." *BASOR* 221 (1976): 87–91.

McGinnis, Claire Mathews, and Patricia K. Tull. "Remembering the Former Things: The History of Interpretation and Critical Scholarship." Pages 1–28 in *"As Those Who Are Taught": The Interpretation of Isaiah from the LXX to the SBL*. Edited by Claire Mathews McGinnis and Patricia K. Tull. SymS 27. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006.

McKenzie, Judith S., Andres T. Reyes, and Joseph A. Greene. "The Context of the Khirbet et-Tannur Zodiac, Jordan." *ARAM* 24 (2012): 379–420.

Mclaughlin, John L. "Is Amos (Still) among the Wise?" *JBL* 133 (2014): 281–303.

Mendel, Anat. "Who Wrote the Aḥiqam Ostracon from Ḥorvat ʿUza?" *IEJ* 61 (2011): 54–67.

Meshel, Zeʾev. "Kuntillet Ajrud." *OEANE* 3:310–312.

———, ed. *Kuntillet Ajrud (Ḥorvat Teman): An Iron Age II Religious Site on the Judah-Sinai Border*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2012.

Michalowski, Piotr. "Biography of a Sentence: Assurbanipal, Nabonidus, and Cyrus." Pages 203–10 in *Extraction and Control: Studies in Honor*

of Matthew W. Stolper. Edited by Michael Kozuh, Wouter F. M. Henkelman, Charles E. Jones, and Christopher Woods. SAOC 68. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2014.

Michel, Patrick M. *Le culte des pierres à Emar à l'époque hittite.* OBO 266. Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014.

Mienis, Henk K. "Molluscs." Pages 122–30 in *Excavations at the City of David 1978–1985 Directed by Yigal Shiloh, Volume III: Stratigraphical, Environmental, and Other Reports.* Edited by Alon de Groot and Donald T. Ariel. Qedem 33. Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1992.

Millard, Alan. "Assyrian Involvement in Edom." Pages 35–39 in *Early Edom and Moab: The Beginning of the Iron Age in Southern Jordan.* Edited by Piotr Bienkowski. SAM 7. Sheffield: Collis, 1992.

———. *The Eponyms of the Assyrian Empire 910–612 BC.* SAA 2. Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1994.

———. "Inscribed Material." Pages 429–39 in *Busayra Excavations by Crystal-M. Bennett 1971–1980.* Edited by Piotr Bienkowski. British Academy Monographs in Archaeology 13. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Millek, Jesse Michael. "Crisis, Destruction, and the End of the Late Bronze Age in Jordan." *ZDPV* 135 (2019): 119–42.

Miller, J. Maxwell, and John H. Hayes. *A History of Ancient Israel and Judah.* Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1986.

Miscall, Peter D. *Isaiah 34–35: A Nightmare/A Dream.* JSOTSup 281. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999.

Mittmann, Siegfried. "Das südliche Ostjordanland im Lichte eines neuassyrischen Keilschrifttextes aus Nimrūd." *ZDPV* 89 (1973): 15–25.

———. "Num 20,14–21: Eine redaktionelle Kompilation." Pages 143–49 in *Wort und Geschichte: Festschrift für Karl Elliger zum 70. Geburtstag.* Edited by Hartmut Gese and Hans Peter Rüger. AOAT 18. Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1973.

Moorey, P. R. S. "Bronzeworking Centres of Western Asia c. 1000–539 BC: Problems and Perspectives." Pages 23–32 in *Bronzeworking Centres of Western Asia c. 1000–539 B.C.* Edited by John Curtis. London: Kegan Paul, 1988.

Morello, Nathan. "Building the Frontier: Frontier Fortifications in the Assyrian Empire." Pages 43–52 in *Focus on Fortifications: New Research on Fortifications in the Ancient Mediterranean and the Near*

East. Edited by Rune Frederiksen, Silke Müth, Peter I. Schneider, and Mike Schnelle. MoDIA 18. Oxford: Oxbow, 2016.

Morris, Miranda. "The Harvesting of Frankincense in Dhofar, Oman." Pages 231–47 in *Profumi d'Arabia: Atti del convegno*. Edited by Alessandra Avanzini. SDSA 11. Rome: Bretschneider, 1997.

Morrison, Craig E. *2 Samuel*. Berit Olam. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2013.

Morschauser, Scott. "A 'Diagnostic' Note on the 'Great Wrath upon Israel' in 2 Kings 3:27." *JBL* 129 (2010): 299–302.

Morton, William H. "A Summary of the 1955, 1956 and 1965 Excavations at Dhiban." Pages 239–46 in *Studies in the Mesha Inscription and Moab*. Edited by J. Andrew Dearman. ABS 2. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989.

Muhly, James D. "Mining and Metalwork in Ancient Western Asia." *CANE* 3:1501–6.

Müller, Gerfrid G. W. "Gedanken zur neuassyrischen 'Geldwirtschaft.'" Pages 115–22 in *Assyrien im Wandel der Zeiten: XXXIXe Recontre Assyriologique Internationale, Heidelberg, 6–10 Juli 1992*. Edited by Hartmut Waetzoldt and Harald Hauptmann. HSAO 6. Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag, 1997.

Müller, Reinhard, Juha Pakkala, and Baster Romeny. *Evidence of Editing: Growth and Change of Texts in the Hebrew Bible*. RBS 75. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2014.

Multhoff, Anne. "Merchant and Marauder—The Adventures of a Sabaean Clansman." *AAE* 30 (2019): 239–62.

Münger, Stefan. "References to the Pharaoh in the Local Glyptic Assemblage of the Southern Levant during the First Part of the 1st Millennium BCE." *JAEI* 18 (2018): 40–62.

Münger, Stefan, and Thomas E. Levy, "The Iron Age Egyptian Amulet Assemblage." Pages 741–65 in vol. 2 of *New Insights into the Iron Age Archaeology of Edom, Southern Jordan: Surveys, Excavations, and Research from the University of California, San Diego-Department of Antiquities of Jordan, Edom Lowlands Regional Archaeology Project (ELRAP)*. Edited by Thomas E. Levy, Mohammad Najjar, and Erez Ben-Yosef. 2 vols. Monumenta Archaeologica 35. Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2014.

Muniz, Adolfo A. "2006 Excavations at Khirbat en-Nahas, Area F." DOI: 10.6075/J0WD3XHP.

Muniz, Adolfo A., and Thomas E. Levy, "Feeding the Iron Age Metalworkers at Khirbat en-Nahas." Pages 627–63 of vol. 2 of *New Insights into the*

Iron Age Archaeology of Edom, Southern Jordan: Surveys, Excavations, and Research from the University of California, San Diego-Department of Antiquities of Jordan, Edom Lowlands Regional Archaeology Project (ELRAP). Edited by Thomas E. Levy, Mohammad Najjar, and Erez Ben-Yosef. 2 vols. Monumenta Archaeologica 35. Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2014.

Mussell, Marie-Louise. "Tell el-Kheleifeh." *ACOR Newsletter* 11.1 (1999): 5–6.

———. "Tell el-Kheleifeh." *AJA* 104 (2000): 577–78.

Na'aman, Nadav. "An Assyrian Residence at Ramat Rahel?" *TA* 28 (2001): 260–80.

———. "The Boundary System and Political Status of Gaza under the Assyrian Empire." *ZDPV* 120 (2004): 55–72.

———. "The Brook of Egypt and Assyrian Policy on the Border of Egypt." *TA* 6 (1979): 68–90.

———. "Canaanite Jerusalem and Its Central Hill Country Neighbors in the Second Millennium B.C.E." *UF* 24 (1992): 275–91.

———. "The Contribution of Royal Inscriptions for a Re-Evaluation of the Book of Kings as a Historical Source." *JSOT* 82 (1999): 3–17.

———. "The Deuteronomist and Voluntary Servitude to Foreign Powers." *JSOT* 65 (1995): 37–53.

———. "Game of Thrones: Solomon's 'Succession Narrative' and Esarhaddon's Accession to the Throne." *TA* 45 (2018): 89–113.

———. "In Search of Reality behind the Account of David's Wars with Israel's Neighbours." *IEJ* 52 (2002): 200–224.

———. "Israel, Edom and Egypt in the 10th Century B.C.E." *TA* 19 (1992): 71–93.

———. "The Jacob Story and the Formation of Biblical Israel." *TA* 41 (2014): 95–125.

———. "The Kingdom of Judah in the 9th Century BCE: Text Analysis versus Archaeological Research." *TA* 40 (2013): 247–76.

———. "Literacy in the Negev in the Late Monarchical Period." Pages 47–70 in *Contextualizing Israel's Sacred Writing: Ancient Literacy, Orality, and Literary Production*. Edited by Brian B. Schmidt. AIL 22. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2015.

———. "A New Look at the Epigraphic Finds from Horvat 'Uza." *TA* 39 (2012): 84–101.

———. "The Pre-Deuteronomistic Story of King Saul and Its Historical Significance." *CBQ* 54 (1992): 638–58.

———. "Province System and Settlement Pattern in Southern Syria and Palestine in the Neo-Assyrian Period." Pages 103–115 in *Neo-Assyrian Geography*. Edited by Mario Liverani. QGS 5. Rome: Sargon, 1995.

———. "Qurdi-Aššur-Lamur as Governor in Phoenicia and South Syria." *NABU* 2018.1 (2018): 42–45.

———. "Royal Inscriptions and the Histories of Joash and Ahaz, Kings of Judah." *VT* 48 (1998): 333–49.

———. "Samaria and Judah in an Early 8th-Century Assyrian Wine List." *TA* 46 (2019): 12–20.

———. "Sennacherib's 'Letter to God' on His Campaign to Judah." *BASOR* 214 (1974): 25–39.

———. "The Suhu Governors' Inscriptions in the Context of Mesopotamian Royal Inscriptions." Pages 221–36 in *Treasures on Camels' Humps: Historical and Literary Studies from the Ancient Near East Presented to Israel Eph'al*. Edited by Mordechai Cogan and Dan'el Kahn. Jerusalem: Hebrew University Magnes Press, 2008.

———. "Textual and Historical Notes on the Eliashib Archive from Arad." *TA* 38 (2011): 83–93.

———. "Three Notes on the Aramaic Inscription from Tel Dan." *IEJ* 50 (2000): 92–104.

———. "Two Notes on the History of Ashkelon and Ekron in the Late Eighth–Seventh Centuries B.C.E." *TA* 25 (1998): 219–27.

———. "Was Dor the Capital of an Assyrian Province?" *TA* 36 (2009): 95–109.

Najjar, Mohammad. "Solomonic Phobia or 10th Century BCE Phobia? Response to Zeidan A. Kafafi, 'New Insights on the Copper Mines of Wadi Faynan, Jordan.'" *PEQ* 147 (2015): 247–53.

Na'aman, Nadav, and Yifat Thareani-Sussely. "Dating the Appearance of Imitations of Assyrian Ware in Southern Palestine." *TA* 33 (2006): 61–82.

Nash, Dustin. "Edom, Judah, and Converse Constructions of Israeliteness in Genesis 36." *VT* 68 (2018): 111–28.

Naum, Magdalena. "Re-Emerging Frontiers: Postcolonial Theory and Historical Archaeology of the Borderlands." *JAMT* 17 (2010): 101–31.

Naveh, Joseph. "The Scripts of Two Ostraca from Elath." *BASOR* 183 (1966): 27–30.

Niemi, Tina M., and Andrew M. Smith. "Initial Results of the Southeastern Wadi Araba, Jordan Geoarchaeological Study: Implications for Shifts in Late Quaternary Aridity." *Geoarch* 14 (1999): 791–820.

Niskanen, Paul. *Isaiah 56–66*. Berit Olam. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2014.

Nodet, Étienne. "Édom, c'est l'Idumée! Le rejet littéraire d'Édom hors de Juda." *RB* 126 (2019): 161–206.

Nogalski, James D. "The Day(s) of YHWH in the Book of the Twelve." Pages 192–213 in *Thematic Threads in the Book of the Twelve*. Edited by Paul L. Redditt and Aaron Schart. BZAW 325. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003.

———. "Not Just Another Nation: Obadiah's Placement in the Book of the Twelve." Pages 89–108 in *Perspectives on the Formation of the Book of the Twelve: Methodological Foundations—Redactional Processes—Historical Insights*. Edited by Rainer Albertz, James D. Nogalski, and Jakob Wöhrle. BZAW 433. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012. Repr. as pages 115–34 in *The Book of the Twelve and Beyond: Collected Essays of James D. Nogalski*. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2017.

———. "Obadiah 7: Textual Corruption or Politically Charged Metaphor?" *ZAW* 110 (1998): 67–71. Repr. as pages 289–95 in *The Book of the Twelve and Beyond: Collected Essays of James D. Nogalski*. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2017.

Notarius, Tania. "The Syntax of Clan Names in Aramaic Ostraca from Idumea." *MAARAV* 22 (2018): 21–44.

Noth, Martin. *The Deuteronomistic History*. JSOTSup 15. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1981.

———. *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien: Die sammelnden und bearbeitenden Geschichtswerke im Alten Testament*. 2nd ed. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1957.

Novotny, Jamie, and Joshua Jeffers. *The Royal Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal (668–631 BC), Aššur-etel-ilāni (630–627 BC), and Sîn-šarra-iškun (626–612 BC), Kings of Assyria, Part 1*. RINAP 5.1. University Park, PA: Eisenbrauns, 2018.

Oates, Joan. "Late Assyrian Pottery from Fort Shalmaneser." *Iraq* 21 (1959): 130–46.

Oates, Joan, and David Oates. *Nimrud: An Assyrian Imperial City Revealed*. London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 2001.

Oded, Bustanay. "Observations on Methods of Assyrian Rule in Transjordania after the Palestinian Campaign of Tiglath-pileser III." *JNES* 29 (1970): 177–86.

Oh, Abraham Sung-Ho. *Oh, That You Would Rend the Heavens and Come Down! Eschatological Theology in Third Isaiah (Isaiah 56–66)*. Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2014.

Ogden, Graham S. "Prophetic Oracles against Foreign Nations and Psalms of Communal Lament: The Relationship of Psalm 137 to Jeremiah 49:7–22 and Obadiah." *JSOT* 7.24 (1982): 89–97.

———. "Psalm 60: Its Rhetoric, Form, and Function." *JSOT* 31 (1985): 83–94.

Ogden, Jack. "Metals." Pages 148–76 in *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*. Edited by Paul T. Nicholson and Ian Shaw. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Orian, Matan. "Numbers 20:14–21 as a Reply to Deuteronomy 23:4–9." *VT* 69 (2019): 109–16.

Orlando, Ludovic. "Back to the Roots and Routes of Dromedary Domestication." *PNAS* 113 (2016): 6588–90.

Ornan, Tallay. "The Mesopotamian Influence on West Semitic Inscribed Seals: A Preference for the Depiction of Mortals." Pages 52–73 in *Studies in the Iconography of Northwest Semitic Inscribed Seals: Proceedings of a Symposium Held in Fribourg on April 17–20, 1991*. Edited by Benjamin Sass and Christoph Uehlinger, OBO 125. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht; Fribourg: Presses Universitaires, 1993.

Osborne, James F. "Sovereignty and Territoriality in the City–State: A Case Study from the Amuq Valley, Turkey." *J Anthropol Archaeol* 32 (2013): 774–90.

Oswald, Wolfgang. "Die Revision des Edombildes in Numeri XX 14–21." *VT* 50 (2000): 218–32.

Otto, Eckart. *Deuteronomium 1,1–4,43*. HThKAT. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 2012.

———. *Deuteronomium 12,1–23,15*. HThKAT. Freiburg am Breisgau: Herder, 2016.

Parayre, Dominique. "A propos des sceaux ouest-sémitiques: Le role de l'iconographie dans l'attribution d'un sceau à une aire Culturelle ou à un atelier." Pages 27–51 in *Studies in the Iconography of Northwest Semitic Inscribed Seals: Proceedings of a Symposium Held in Fribourg on April 17–20, 1991*. Edited by Benjamin Sass and Christoph Uehlinger. OBO 125. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht; Fribourg: Presses Universitaires, 1993.

Pardee, Dennis. "Arad 21: A Son's Letter." *COS* 3.43J:84.

Parker, Bradly J. "Archaeological Manifestations of Empire: Assyria's Imprint on Southeastern Anatolia." *AJA* 107 (2003): 525–57.

———. *The Mechanics of Empire: The Northern Frontier of Assyria as a Case Study in Imperial Dynamics*. Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2001.

Parker, Simon B. "Ammonite, Edomite, and Moabite." Pages 43–60 in *Beyond Babel: A Handbook for Biblical Hebrew and Related Languages*. Edited by John Kaltner and Steven L. McKenzie. RBS 42. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2002.

Parpola, Simo, and Kazuko Watanabe. *Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths*. SAA 2. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1988.

Parr, Peter J. "Aspects of the Archaeology of North-west Arabia in the First Millennium BC." Pages 9–66 in *L'Arabie preislamique et son Environnement historique et culturel*. Edited by Toufic Fahd. Leiden: Brill, 1989.

———. "Contacts between Northwest Arabia and Jordan in the Late Bronze and Iron Ages." *SHAJ* 1 (1981): 127–33.

———. "The Early History of the Hejaz: A Response to Garth Bawden." *AAE* 4 (1992): 48–58.

———. "Edom and the Hejaz." Pages 41–46 in *Early Edom and Moab: The Beginning of the Iron Age in Southern Jordan*. Edited by Piotr Bienkowski. SAM 7. Sheffield: Collis, 1992.

Paul, Shalom M. *Isaiah 40–66: Translation and Commentary*. ECC. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012.

Peersmann, Jennifer. "Assyrian Magiddu: The Town Planning of Stratum III." Pages 524–34 in *Megiddo III: The 1992–1996 Seasons*. Edited by Israel Finkelstein, David Ussishkin, and Baruch Halpern. SMNIA 18. Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology, 2000.

Peilstöcker, Martin. "Rishon Le-Ziyyon Sand Dunes." *Hadashot* 110 (1999): 94*, 117.

Person, Raymond F., Jr., Richard D. Nelson, Steven L. McKenzie, Eckart Otto, Yairah Amit, and Thomas Römer. "In Conversation with Thomas Römer, *The So-Called Deuteronomistic History: A Sociological, Historical and Literary Introduction* (London: T. & T. Clark, 2005)." *JHebS* 9 (2009): article 17. DOI: 10.5508/jhs.2009.v9.a17.

Petit, Lucas P. "A Wheel-Made Anthropomorphic Statue from Iron Age Tell Dāmiyah, Jordan Valley." Pages 145–53 in *A Timeless Vale: Archaeological and Related Essays on the Jordan Valley in Honour of Gerrit Van Der Kooij on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*. Edited by

Eva Kaptijn and Lucas P. Petit. ASLU 19. Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2009.

Petrie, W. M. Flinders. *Anthedon, Sinai*. London: British School of Egyptian Archaeology, 1937.

Pfeiffer, Robert H. "Edomitic Wisdom." *ZAW* 64 (1926): 13–25.

Pfoh, Emmanuel. "Cambios y continuidades en el Levante (ca. 1300–900 a.n.e.): Una propuesta de síntesis sociopolítica." *RIHAO* 20 (2019): 123–40.

Philip, Graham, Philip W. Clogg, David Dungworth, and Sophie Stos. "Copper Metallurgy in the Jordan Valley from the Third to the First Millennia BC: Chemical, Metallographic and Lead Isotope Analyses of Artefacts from Pella." *Levant* 35 (2003): 71–100.

Pilcher, E. J. "Bronze Weight from Petra." *PEQ* 54 (1922): 71–73.

Pope, Marvin A. "Adam, Edom and Holocaust." Pages 199–210 in *Boundaries of the Ancient Near Eastern World: A Tribute to Cyrus H. Gordon*. Edited by Meir Lubetski, Claire Gottleib, and Sharon Keller. JSOTSup 273. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1998.

Porter, Benjamin W. "Assembling the Iron Age Levant: The Archaeology of Communities, Polities, and Imperial Peripheries." *JAR* 24 (2016): 373–420.

———. "Authority, Polity, and Tenuous Elites in Iron Age Edom (Jordan)." *OJA* 23 (2004): 373–95.

———. *Complex Communities: The Archaeology of Early Iron Age West-Central Jordan*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2013.

———. "Moving beyond King Mesha: A Social Archaeology of Iron Age Jordan." Pages 324–36 in *The Social Archaeology of the Levant: From Prehistory to the Present*. Edited by Assaf Yasur-Landau, Eric H. Cline, and Yorke Rowan. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.

Postgate, J. N. "The Assyrian Army in Zamua." *Iraq* 62 (2000): 89–108.

———. "The Land of Assur and the Yoke of Assur." *WA* 23 (1992): 247–63.

———. *Taxation and Conscription in the Assyrian Empire*. Studia Pohl 3. Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1974.

Potts, Daniel T. *Mesopotamian Civilization: The Material Foundations*. Athlone Publications in Egyptology and Ancient Near Eastern Studies. London: Athlone, 1997.

———. "Tayma and the Assyrian Empire." *AAE* 2 (1991): 10–23.

Prag, Kay. "Crystal-M. Bennett OBE, BA, D.Litt., FSA: A Memoir." *PEQ* 142 (2010): 43–63.

Pratico, Gary D. *Nelson Glueck's 1938–1940 Excavations at Tell el-Kheleifeh: A Reappraisal*. ASORAR 3. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993.

———. "The Pottery." Pages 35–50 in *Nelson Glueck's 1938–1940 Excavations at Tell el-Kheleifeh: A Reappraisal*. Edited by Gary D. Pratico. ASORAR 3. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993.

Pressler, Carolyn. *Numbers*. AOTC. Nashville: Abingdon, 2017.

Prouser, Joseph H. "Seeing Red: On Translating Esau's Request for Soup." *CJud* 56.2 (2004): 13–20.

Puech, Emile. "Documents épigraphiques de Buseirah." *Levant* 9 (1977): 11–20.

Pury, Albert de. "The Jacob Story and the Beginning of the Formation of the Pentateuch." Pages 51–72 in *A Farewell to the Yahwist? The Composition of the Pentateuch in Recent European Interpretation*. Edited by Thomas B. Dozeman and Konrad Schmid. SymS 34. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006.

Quirke, Stephen G. "Archive." Pages 379–402 in *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms*. Edited by Antonio Loprieno. PAe 10. Leiden: Brill, 1996.

Raabe, Paul R. *Obadiah: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. AB 24D. New York: Doubleday, 1996.

Rademakers, Frederik W., Thilo Rehren, and Ernst Pernicka. "Copper for the Pharaoh: Identifying Multiple Metal Sources for Ramesses' Workshops from Bronze and Crucible Remains." *JAS* 80 (2017): 50–73.

Radine, Jason. *The Book of Amos in Emergent Judah*. FAT 45. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010.

———. "Deuteronomistic Redaction of the Book of the Four and the Origins of Israel's Wrongs." Pages 287–302 in *Perspectives on the Formation of the Book of the Twelve: Methodological Foundations—Redactional Processes—Historical Insights*. Edited by Rainer Albertz, James D. Nogalski, and Jakob Wöhrle. BZAW 433. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012.

Radner, Karen. "Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Muṣaṣir, Kumme, Ukku and Šubria—the Buffer States between Assyria and Urarṭu." Pages 243–64 in *Biainili-Urartu: The Proceedings of the Symposium Held in Munich 12–14 October 2007*. Edited by Stephan Kroll, Claudia Gruber, Ursula Hellwag, Michael Roaf, and Paul E. Zimansky. Acta Iranica 51. Leuven: Peeters, 2012.

———. "Esarhaddon's Expedition from Palestine to Egypt in 671 BCE: A Trek through Negev and Sinai." Pages 305–14 in *Fundstellen: Gesammelte Schriften zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altvorderasiens ad hon-*

orem Hartmut Kühne. Edited by Dominik Bonatz, Rainer M Czichon, and F. Janoscha Kreppner. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008.

———. "Revolts in the Assyrian Empire: Succession Wars, Rebellions Against a False King and Independence Movements." Pages 39–54 in *Revolt and Resistance in the Ancient Classical World and the Near East: In the Crucible of Empire*. Edited by John J. Collins and J. G. Manning. CHANE 85. Leiden: Brill, 2016.

———. "Traders in the Neo-Assyrian Period." Pages 102–26 in *Trade and Finance in Ancient Mesopotamia*. Edited by Jan G. Dercksen. MOS Studies 1. Istanbul: Nederlands historisch-Archaelogisch Instituut, 1999.

Rainey, Anson F. "The Chronicler and His Sources—Historical and Geographical." Pages 30–72 in *The Chronicler as Historian*. Edited by M. Patrick Graham, Kenneth G. Hoglund, and Steven L. McKenzie. JSOTSup 238. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1997.

Reade, Julian. "Assyrian Illustrations of Arabs." Pages 221–32 in *Arabia and Its Neighbours: Essays on Prehistorical and Historical Developments in Honour of Beatrice de Cardi*. Edited by C. S. Phillips, Daniel T. Potts, and Sarah Searight, Abiel 2. Turnhout: Brepols, 1998.

———. "The Ishtar Temple at Nineveh." *Iraq* 67 (2005): 347–90.

Redditt, Paul L. "The Formation of the Book of the Twelve: A Review of Research." Pages 1–26 in *Thematic Threads in the Book of the Twelve*. Edited by Paul L. Redditt and Aaron Schart. BZAW 325. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003.

Redford, Donald B. *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992.

———. "Taharqa in Western Asia and Libya." *ErIsr* 24 (1993): 188*–191*.

Reese, David S. "Fossil and Recent Marine Invertebrates." Pages 441–69 in *Busayra Excavations by Crystal-M. Bennett 1971–1980*. Edited by Piotr Bienkowski. British Academy Monographs in Archaeology 13. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

———. "Marine Invertebrates and Other Shells from Jerusalem (Sites A, C and L)." Pages 265–78 in *Excavations by K. M. Kenyon in Jerusalem 1961–1967 Volume IV: The Iron Age Cave Deposits on the South-east Hill and Isolated Burials and Cemeteries Elsewhere*. Edited by Itzhak Eshel and Kay Prag. British Academy Monographs in Archaeology 6. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.

———. "On Incised Scapulae and *Tridacna*." *EI* 29 (2009): 188*–93*.

———. "Shells and Fossils from Tall Jawa, Jordan." Pages 276–91 in *Excavations at Tall Jawa, Jordan, Volume 2: The Iron Age Artefacts*. Edited by P. M. Michèle Daviau. CHANE 11.2. Leiden: Brill, 2002.

———. "Shells from Sarepta (Lebanon) and East Mediterranean Purple Dye Production." *MAA* 10 (2010): 113–141.

———. "The Trade of Indo-Pacific Shells into the Mediterranean Basin and Europe." *OJA* 10 (1991): 159–96.

Reese, David S., and Catherine Sease. "Additional Unpublished Engraved *Tridacna* and *Anadara* Shells." *JNES* 63 (2004): 29–41.

Reich, Ronny. "The Identification of the 'Sealed *kāru* of Egypt.'" *IEJ* 34 (1984): 32–38.

———. "Palaces and Residencies in the Iron Age." Pages 202–222 in *The Architecture of Ancient Israel: From the Prehistoric to the Persian Periods*. Edited by Aharon Kempinski and Ronny Reich. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1992.

———. "The Stratigraphic Relationship between Palaces 1369 and 1052 (Stratum III) at Megiddo." *BASOR* 331 (2003): 39–44.

Renkema, Johan. *Obadiah*. HCOT. Leuven: Peeters, 2003.

Renzi, Martina, Andrea Intilia, Arnulf Hausleiter, and Thilo Rehren. "Early Iron Age Metal Circulation in the Arabian Peninsula: The Oasis of Taymā as Part of a Dynamic Network." *PSAS* 46 (2016): 237–46.

Retsö, Jan. *The Arabs in Antiquity: Their History from the Assyrians to the Umayyads*. London: Routledge, 2003.

———. "The Domestication of the Camel and the Establishment of the Frankincense Road from South Arabia." *OS* 40 (1991): 187–219.

Richelle, Matthieu. "Elusive Scrolls: Could Any Hebrew Literature Have Been Written Prior to the Eighth Century BCE?" *VT* 66 (2016): 556–94.

———. "La guerre du Néguev a-t-elle eu lieu? Essai de réévaluation historique des relations conflictuelles entre Juda et Edom aux VIIe et VIe s. avant n.è." *JA* 305 (2017): 13–21.

Ridout-Sharpe, Janet. "Shell Ornaments, Icons and Other Artefacts from the Eastern Mediterranean and Levant." Pages 209–307 in *Molluscs in Archaeology: Methods, Approaches and Applications*. Edited by Michael J. Allen. Studying Scientific Archaeology 3. Oxford: Oxbow, 2017.

Roaf, M. "Nabonid. B. Archäologisch." *RlA* 9:11–12.

Robin, Christian, and Alî al-Ghabbân. "Une première mention de Madyan dans un texte épigraphique d'Arabie." *CRAIBL* (2017): 363–96.

Rofé, Alexander. "Properties of Biblical Historiography and Historical Thought." *VT* 66 (2016): 433–55.

Roll, Israel. "Imperial Roads across and Trade Routes beyond the Roman Provinces of Judaea-Palaestina and Arabia: The State of Research." *TA* 32 (2005): 107–18.

Rollston, Christopher A. "The Iron Age Edomite Script and Language Methodological Strictures and Preliminary Statements." Pages 961–75 in vol. 2 of *New Insights into the Iron Age Archaeology of Edom, Southern Jordan: Surveys, Excavations, and Research from the University of California, San Diego-Department of Antiquities of Jordan, Edom Lowlands Regional Archaeology Project (ELRAP)*. Edited by Thomas E. Levy, Mohammad Najjar, and Erez Ben-Yosef. 2 vols. Monumenta Archaeologica 35. Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2014.

———. "Inscriptional Evidence for the Writing of the Earliest Texts of the Bible: Intellectual Infrastructure in Tenth- and Ninth-Century Israel, Judah, and the Southern Levant." Pages 15–45 in *The Formation of the Pentateuch: Bridging the Academic Cultures of Europe, Israel, and North America*. Edited by Jan Christian Gertz, Bernard M. Levinson, Dalit Rom-Shiloni, and Konrad Schmid. FAT 111. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016.

———. "Scripture and Inscriptions: Eighth-Century Israel and Judah in Writing." Pages 457–73 in *Archaeology and History of Eighth-Century Judah*. Edited by Zev I. Farber and Jacob L. Wright. ANEM 23. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2018.

———. "Scribal Curriculum during the First Temple Period: Epigraphic Hebrew and Biblical Evidence." Pages 71–102 in *Contextualizing Israel's Sacred Writing: Ancient Literacy, Orality, and Literary Production*. Edited by Brian B. Schmidt. AIL 22. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2015.

Römer, Thomas C. *The So-Called Deuteronomistic History: A Sociological, Historical and Literary Introduction*. London: T&T Clark, 2005.

———. "Transformations in Deuteronomistic and Biblical Historiography: On Book-Finding and Other Literary Strategies." *ZAW* 109 (1997): 1–11.

———. "Zwischen Urkunden, Fragmenten und Ergänzungen: Zum Stand der Pentateuchforschung." *ZAW* 125 (2013): 2–24.

Rosen, Baruch. "Wine and Oil Allocations in the Samaria Ostraca." *TA* 13 (1986): 39–45.

Rosen, Steven A. "Trade through the Desert: A Long-Term Perspective on Goods, Animals, and Polities in the Negev." *Chungará* 51 (2019): 71–84.

Rothenberg, Beno. "Archaeo-metallurgical Researches in the Southern Arabah 1959–1990, Part 2: Egyptian New Kingdom (Ramesside) to Early Islam." *PEQ* 131 (1999): 149–75.

Rothenberg, Beno, and J. Glass. "The Midianite Pottery." Pages 65–124 in *Midian, Moab and Edom: The History and Archaeology of Late Bronze and Iron Age Jordan and North-west Arabia*. Edited by John F. A. Sawyer and David J. A. Clines. JSOTSup 24. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983.

Routledge, Bruce. "Conditions of State Formation at the Edges of Empires: The Case of Iron Age Moab." Pages 77–98 in *State Formation and State Decline in the Near and Middle East*. Edited by Rainer Kessler, Walter Sommerfeld, and Leslie Tramontini. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2016.

———. "Is There an Iron Age Levant?" *RIHAO* 18 (2017): 49–76.

———. "Mesopotamian 'Influence' in Iron Age Jordan: Issues of Power, Identity and Value." *BCSMS* 32 (1997): 33–41.

———. "Transjordan in the Eighth Century BCE." Pages 139–60 in *Archaeology and History of Eighth-Century Judah*. Edited by Zev I. Farber and Jacob L. Wright. ANEM 23. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2018.

Routledge, Bruce, Danielle S. Farkin, Benjamin W. Porter, and Katherine Adelsberger. "Long-Term Settlement Change at Dhībān." *SHAJ* 11 (2013): 131–41.

Russell, Brian D. *The Song of the Sea: The Date of Composition and Influence of Exodus 15:1–21*. StBL 101. New York: Lang, 2007.

Ryckmans, G. "Un fragment de jarre avec caractères minéens à Tell el-Kheleyfeh." *RB* 48 (1939): 247–49.

Saggs, H. W. F. *The Nimrud Letters, 1952*. CTN 5. London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 2001.

———. "The Nimrud Letters, 1952—Part II." *Iraq* 17 (1955): 126–60.

Salje, Beate. "The Kingdoms of Transjordan and the Assyrian Expansion." *SHAJ* 10 (2009): 737–44.

Sapir-Hen, Lidar, and Erez Ben-Yosef. "The Introduction of Domestic Camels to the Southern Levant: Evidence from the Aravah Valley." *TA* 40 (2013): 277–85.

———. "The Socioeconomic Status of Iron Age Metalworkers: Animal Economy in the 'Slaves' Hill,' Timna, Israel." *Antiquity* 88.341 (2014): 775–90.

Sass, Benjamin. "Arabs and Greeks in Late First Temple Jerusalem." *PEQ* 122 (1990): 59–61.

———. "The Pre-exilic Hebrew Seals: Iconism vs. Aniconism." Pages 194–256 in *Studies in the Iconography of Northwest Semitic Inscribed Seals: Proceedings of a Symposium Held in Fribourg on April 17–20, 1991.* Edited by Benjamin Sass and Christoph Uehlinger, OBO 125. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht; Fribourg: Presses Universitaires, 1993.

Sasson, Jack M. "Doeg's Job." *Scriptura* 87 (2004): 317–22.

Sauer, James A. "Artistic and Faunal Evidence for the Influence of the Domestication of Donkeys and Camels on the Archaeological History of Jordan and Arabia." *SHAJ* 5 (1995): 39–48.

———. "Transjordan in the Bronze and Iron Ages: A Critique of Glueck's Synthesis." *BASOR* 263 (1986): 1–26.

Sauer, James A., and Jeffrey A. Blakely, "Archaeology along the Spice Route of Yemen." Pages 91–115 in *Araby the Blest: Studies in Arabian Archaeology*. Edited by Daniel T. Potts. CNI Publication 7. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1988.

Schaudig, Hanspeter. *Die Inschriften Nabonids von Babylon und Kyros' des Grossen samt den in ihrem Umfeld entstandenen Tendenzschriften: Textausgabe und Grammatik.* AOAT 256. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2001.

Savran, Gerorge W. "'How Can We Sing a Song of the Lord?' The Strategy of Lament in Psalm 137." *ZAW* 112 (2000): 43–58.

Schart, Aaron. "The Fifth Vision of Amos in Context." Pages 46–71 in *Thematic Threads in the Book of the Twelve*. Edited by Paul L. Redditt and Aaron Schart. BZAW 325. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003.

Scheyhing, Nicola. "Fossilising the Holy: Aniconic Standing Stones of the Near East." Pages 95–112 in *Sacred Space: Contributions to the Archaeology of Belief*. Edited by Louis Daniel Nebelsick, Joanna Wawrzeniuk, and Katarzyna Zeman-Wiśniewska. Archaeologica Hereditas Monographs of the Institute of Archaeology of the Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński 13. Warsaw: University of Warsaw, 2018.

Schmid, Konrad. *The Old Testament: A Literary History*. Translate by Linda M. Maloney. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012.

———. "The Biblical Writings in the Late Eighth Century BCE." Pages 489–501 in *Archaeology and History of Eighth-Century Judah*. Edited by Zev I. Farber and Jacob L. Wright. ANEM 23. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2016.

———. "Von Jakob zu Israel: Das antike Israel auf dem Weg zum Judentum im Spiegel der Fortschreibungsgeschichte der Jakobüberlieferungen der Genesis." Pages 33–67 in *Identität und Schrift: Fortschreibungsprozesse als Mittel religiöser Identitätsbildung*. Edited by Marianne Grohmann. BThSt 169. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2017.

Schmidt, Brian B. *Israel's Beneficent Dead: Ancestor Cult and Necromancy in Ancient Israelite Religion and Tradition*. FAT 11. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994.

———. *The Materiality of Power: Explorations in the Social History of Ancient Israelite Magic*. FAT 105. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016.

———. "Memorializing Conflict: Toward an Iron Age 'Shadow' History of Israel's Earliest Literature." Pages 103–32 in *Contextualizing Israel's Sacred Writing: Ancient Literacy, Orality, and Literary Production*. Edited by Brian B. Schmidt. AIL 22. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2015.

Schmidt, Steven G., and Piotr Bienkowski. *The International Umm al-Biyara Project*. www.auac.ch/iubp/.

Schmitt, Götz. "Gaba, Getta und Gintikirmil." *ZDPV* 130 (1987): 22–48.

Schmitt, Rüdiger. "A Typology of Iron Age Cult Places." Pages 265–86 in *Family and Household Religion: Toward a Synthesis of Old Testament Studies, Archaeology, Epigraphy, and Cultural Studies*. Edited by Rainer Albertz, Beth Alpert Nakhai, Saul M. Olyan, and Rüdiger Schmitt. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2014.

Schneider, Ellen. "'Assyrische' Schalen aus Tell Sheikh Hassan (Syrien) und ihre Stellung innerhalb der Keramik des assyrischen Einflußgebietes." Pages 347–75 in *Iron Age Pottery in Northern Mesopotamia, Northern Syria and South-Eastern Anatolia: Papers Presented at the Meetings of the International "table ronde" at Heidelberg (1995) and Nieborów (1997) and Other Contributions*. Edited by Arnulf Hausleiter and Andrzej Reiche. AVO 10. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1999.

Scholte, Jan Aart. *Globalization: A Critical Introduction*. 2nd ed. New York: Macmillan, 2005.

Schortman, Edward M., and Patricia A. Urban. "Culture Contact Structure and Process." Pages 102–25 in *Studies in Cultural Contact: Interaction, Culture Change, and Archaeology*. Edited by James G. Cusick. Center for Archaeological Investigations Occasional Paper 25. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University, 1998.

Scoralick, Ruth. "The Case of Edom in the Book of the Twelve: Methodological Reflections on Synchronic and Diachronic Analysis." Pages 35–54 in *Perspectives on the Formation of the Book of the Twelve: Meth-*

odological Foundations—Redactional Processes—Historical Insights. Edited by Rainer Albertz, James D. Nogalski, and Jakob Wöhrle. BZAW 433. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012.

Sedman, Leonie. "The Small Finds." Pages 353–428 in *Busayra Excavations by Crystal-M. Bennett 1971–1980*. Edited by Piotr Bienkowski. British Academy Monographs in Archaeology 13. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Segert, Stanislav. "Phoenician and the Eastern Canaanite Languages." Pages 174–86 in *The Semitic Languages*. Edited by Robert Hetzron. London: Routledge, 1997.

Seitz, Christopher R. "Isaiah 1–66: Making Sense of the Whole." Pages 102–26 in *Reading and Preaching the Book of Isaiah*. Edited by Christopher R. Seitz. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988.

———. *Zion's Final Destiny: The Development of the Book of Isaiah; A Reassessment of Isaiah 36–39*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991.

Seland, Eivind Heldaas. "Camels, Camel Nomadism and the Practicalities of Palmyrene Caravan Trade." *ARAM* 27 (2015): 45–54.

———. "The Persian Gulf or the Red Sea? Two Axes in Ancient Indian Ocean Trade, Where to Go and Why." *WA* 43 (2011): 398–409.

Semmler María Eugenia Aubet. "Notes on the Economy of the Phoenician Settlements in Southern Spain." Pages 79––95 in *The Phoenicians in Spain*. Edited by Marilyn R. Bierling. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2002.

———. "Phoenician Trade in the West: Balance and Perspectives." Pages 97–112 in *The Phoenicians in Spain*. Edited by Marilyn R. Bierling. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2002.

Sergi, Omer. "The Battle of Ramoth-Gilead and the Rise of the Aramean Hegemony in the Southern Levant during the Second Half of the 9th Century BCE." Pages 81–97 in *Wandering Aramaeans—Aramaeans Outside Syria: Textual and Archaeological Perspectives*. Edited by Angelika Berlejung, Aren M. Maeir, and Andreas Schüle. Leipziger Altorientalistische Studien 7. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2017.

Sergi, Omer, and Izaak J. de Hulster. "Some Historical and Methodological Considerations Regarding the Question of Political, Social and Cultural Interaction between Aram and Israel in the Early Iron Age." Pages 1–16 in *In Search of Aram and Israel: Politics, Culture and Identity*. Edited by Omer Sergi, Manfred Oeming, and Izaak J. de Hulster. ORA 20. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016.

Sergi, Omer, and Assaf Kleiman. "The Kingdom of Geshur and the Expansion of Aram-Damascus into the Northern Jordan Valley: Archaeological and Historical Perspectives." *BASOR* 379 (2018): 1–18.

Shahack-Gross, Ruth, and Israel Finkelstein, "Settlement Oscillations in the Negev Highlands Revisited: The Impact of Microarchaeological Methods." *Radiocarbon* 57 (2015): 253–64.

Sharon, Ilan, and Anabel Zarzecki-Peleg, "Podium Structures with Lateral Access: Authority Ploys in Royal Architecture in the Iron Age Levant." Pages 145–67 in *Confronting the Past: Archaeological and Historical Essays on Ancient Israel in Honor of William G. Dever*. Edited by Seymour Gitin, J. Edward Wright, and J. P. Dessel. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2006.

Shaw, Ian. "Pharaonic Quarrying and Mining: Settlement and Procurement in Egypt's Marginal Regions." *Antiquity* 68 (1994): 108–19.

———. "Quarries and Mines." Pages 99–104 in vol. 3 of *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*. Edited by Donald B. Redford. 3 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Shehadeh, Numan. "The Climate of Jordan in the Past and Present." *SHAJ* 2 (1985): 25–37.

Sherrard, Brooke. "American Biblical Archaeologists and Zionism: The Politics of Historical Ethnography." PhD diss., Florida State University, 2011.

———. "American Biblical Archaeology and Jewish Nationalism: Rabbi Nelson Glueck, the American Schools of Oriental Research and the Israeli State." *HLS* 11 (2012): 151–74.

Shiloh, Yigal. *Excavations at the City of David I: 1978–1982; Interim Report of the First Five Seasons*. Qedem 19. Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1984.

———. "South Arabian Inscriptions from the City of David, Jerusalem." *PEQ* 119 (1987): 9–18.

Shorman, Abdulla al-, and Ali Khwaileh. "Burial Practices in Jordan from the Natufians to the Persians." *EstJArch* 15 (2011): 88–108.

Siddall, Luis. *The Reign of Adad-nīrārī III: An Historical and Ideological Analysis of an Assyrian King and His Times*. CM 45. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

Simango, Daniel. "A Comprehensive Reading of Psalm 137." *OTE* 31 (2018): 217–42.

Singer-Avitz, Lily. "Arad: The Iron Age Pottery Assemblages." *TA* 29 (2002): 110–214.

———. " 'Busayra Painted Ware' at Tel Beersheba." *TA* 31 (2004): 80–89.

———. "The Date of the Qurayyah Painted Ware in the Southern Levant." *AO* 12 (2014): 123–48.

———. "Edomite Pottery in Judah in the Eighth Century BCE." Pages 267–81 in *Unearthing the Wilderness: Studies in the History and Archaeology of the Negev and Edom in the Iron Age*. Edited by Juan Manuel Tebes. ANESSup 45. Leuven: Peeters, 2014.

———. "Epilogue: The Dating of Qurayyah Painted Ware in the Southern Levant." Pages 388–89 in *The Ancient Pottery of Israel and Its Neighbors from the Middle Bronze Age through the Late Bronze Age, Volume 3*. Edited by Seymour Gitin. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2019.

———. "On Pottery in Assyrian Style: A Rejoinder." *TA* 34 (2007): 182–203.

Singer-Avitz, Lily, and Yoram Eshet. "Beersheba—A Gateway Community in Southern Arabian Long-distance Trade in the Eighth Century B.C.E." *TA* 26 (1999): 3–75.

Sinha, Ashish, Gayatri Kathayat, Harvey Weiss, Hanying Li, Hai Cheng, Justin Reuter, Adam W. Schneider, Max Berkelhammer, Selim F. Adalı, Lowell D. Stott, and R. Lawrence Edwards. "Role of Climate in the Rise and Fall of the Neo-Assyrian Empire." *Science Advances* 5.11 (2019): eaax6656.

Ska, Jean-Louis. *Introduction to Reading the Pentateuch*. Translated by Pascale Dominique. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2006.

Smith, Mark S. "The Literary Arrangement of the Priestly Redaction of Exodus: A Preliminary Investigation." *CBQ* 58 (1996): 25–50.

———. "The Poetics of Exodus 15 and Its Position in the Book." Pages 23–34 in *Imagery and Imagination in Biblical Literature: Essays in Honor of Aloysius Fitzgerald, F.S.C.* Edited by Lawrence Boadt and Mark S. Smith. CBQMS 32. Washington, D C: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 2001.

Smith, Neil G., Yuval Goren, and Thomas E. Levy. "The Petrography of Iron Age Edom: From the Lowlands to the Highlands." Pages 461–91 in vol. 1 of *New Insights into the Iron Age Archaeology of Edom, Southern Jordan: Surveys, Excavations, and Research from the University of California, San Diego-Department of Antiquities of Jordan, Edom Lowlands Regional Archaeology Project (ELRAP)*. Edited by Thomas E. Levy, Mohammad Najjar, and Erez Ben-Yosef. 2 vols. Monumenta Archaeologica 35. Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2014.

Smith, Neil G., and Thomas E. Levy, "Iron Age Ceramics from Edom: A New Typology." Pages 297–459 in vol. 1 of *New Insights into the Iron*

Age Archaeology of Edom, Southern Jordan: Surveys, Excavations, and Research from the University of California, San Diego-Department of Antiquities of Jordan, Edom Lowlands Regional Archaeology Project (ELRAP). Edited by Thomas E. Levy, Mohammad Najjar, and Erez Ben-Yosef. 2 vols. Monumenta Archaeologica 35. Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2014.

———. "The Iron Age Pottery from Khirbat en-Nahas, Jordan: A Preliminary Study." *BASOR* 352 (2008): 41–91.

Smith, Neil G., Mohammad Najjar, and Thomas E. Levy. "New Perspectives on the Iron Age Edom Steppe and Highlands: Khirbat al-Malayqtah, Khirbat al-Kur, Khirbat al-Iraq Shmaliya, and Tawilan." Pages 247–95 in vol. 1 of *New Insights into the Iron Age Archaeology of Edom, Southern Jordan: Surveys, Excavations, and Research from the University of California, San Diego-Department of Antiquities of Jordan, Edom Lowlands Regional Archaeology Project (ELRAP)*. Edited by Thomas E. Levy, Mohammad Najjar, and Erez Ben-Yosef. 2 vols. Monumenta Archaeologica 35. Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2014.

———. "A Picture of the Early and Late Iron Age II in the Lowlands: Preliminary Soundings at Rujm Hamra Ifdan." Pages 723–39 in vol. 2 of *New Insights into the Iron Age Archaeology of Edom, Southern Jordan: Surveys, Excavations, and Research from the University of California, San Diego-Department of Antiquities of Jordan, Edom Lowlands Regional Archaeology Project (ELRAP)*. Edited by Thomas E. Levy, Mohammad Najjar, and Erez Ben-Yosef. 2 vols. Monumenta Archaeologica 35. Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, 2014.

Smith, Paul A. *Rhetoric and Redaction in Trito-Isaiah: The Structure, Growth and Authorship of Isaiah 56–66*. VTSup 62. Leiden: Brill, 1995.

Smith, Sidney. *Babylonian Historical Texts Relating to the Capture and Downfall of Babylon*. London: Methuen, 1924.

Smoak, Jeremy, and William Schniedewind. "Religion at Kuntillet ʿAjrud." *Religions* 10 (2019): 1–18.

Snyman, Fanie. *Malachi*. HCOT. Leuven: Peeters, 2015.

Snyman, Gerrie F. "A Hermeneutic of Vulnerability: Edom in Malachi 1:2–5." *JSem* 25 (2016): 595–629.

Soldi, Sebastiano. "Aramaeans and Assyrians in North-Western Syria: Material Evidence from Tell Afis." *Syria* 86 (2009): 97–118.

Somaglino, Claire, and Pierre Tallet. "A Road to the Arabian Peninsula in the Reign of Ramesses III." Pages 511–18 in *Desert Road Archaeol-*

ogy in Ancient Egypt and Beyond. Edited by Frank Förster and Heiko Riemer. AfrPrae 27. Cologne: Heinrich-Barth-Institut, 2013.

———. "Une mystérieuse route sud-orientale sous le règne de Ramsès III." *BIFAO* 111 (2011): 361–70.

Sommer, Benjamin. "Allusions and Illusions: The Unity of the Book of Isaiah in Light of Deutero-Isaiah's Use of the Prophetic Tradition." Pages 156–87 in *New Visions of Isaiah.* Edited by Roy F. Melugin and Marvin A. Sweeney. JSOTSup 214. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1996.

Spalinger, Anthony. *Leadership under Fire: The Pressures of Warfare in Ancient Egypt.* EdE 20. Paris: Soleb, 2019.

———. "Ramesses II at Luxor: Mental Gymnastics." *Or* 79 (2010): 425–79.

Spencer, Neal. "Creating and Re-Shaping Egypt in Kush: Responses at Amara West." *JAEI* 6 (2014): 42–61.

Sperveslage, Gunnar. "Intercultural Contacts between Egypt and the Arabian Peninsula at the Turn of the 2nd to the 1st Millennium BCE." Pages 303–30 in *Dynamics of Production in the Ancient Near East (1300–500 BC).* Edited by Juan Carlos Moreno García. Oxford: Oxbow, 2016.

Spycket, Agnès. "Le Culte du Dieu-lune à Tell Keisan." *RB* 80 (1973): 384–95.

St. John, Amy, and Neal Ferris. "Unravelling Identities on Archaeological Borderlands: Late Woodland Western Basin and Ontario Iroquoian Traditions in the Lower Great Lakes Region." *CanGeogr* 63 (2019): 43–56.

Stackert, Jeffrey. *A Prophet Like Moses: Prophecy, Law, and Israelite Religion.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Stager, Lawrence E. "Port Power in the Early and the Middle Bronze Age: The Organization of Maritime Trade and Hinterland Production." Pages 625–38 in *Studies in the Archaeology of Israel and Neighboring Lands in Memory of Douglas L. Esse.* Edited by Samuel R. Wolff. SAOC 59. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2001.

Staubli, Thomas. *Das Image der Nomaden: Im Alten Israel und in der Ikonographie seiner sesshaften Nachbarn.* OBO 107. Fribourg: Presses Universitaires; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991.

Steen, Eveline J. *Near Eastern Tribal Societies during the Nineteenth Century Economy: Society and Politics between Tent and Town.* Hoboken, NJ: Routledge, 2014.

Steen, Eveline J. van der, and Sandra Scham. "Tribes and Power Structures in Palestine and the Transjordan." *NEA* 69 (2006): 27–36.

Stein, Gil. J. "The Comparative Archaeology of Colonial Encounters." Pages 3–31 in *The Archaeology of Colonial Encounters: Comparative Perspectives*. Edited by Gil J. Stein. SARAS. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 2005.

Steiner, Margreet L. "Iron Age Cultic Sites in Transjordan." *Religions* 10.3 (2019). DOI: 10.3390/rel10030145.

Steiner, Richard C. "Incomplete Circumcision in Egypt and Edom: Jeremiah (9:24–25) in Light of Josephus and Jonckheere." *JBL* 118 (1999): 497–505.

Stek, Tesse D., and Bleda S. Düring, "Towards a Patchwork Perspective on Ancient Empires." Pages 351–62 in *The Archaeology of Imperial Landscapes: A Comparative Study of Empires in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean World*. Edited by Bleda S. Düring and Tesse D. Stek. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.

Stern, Ephraim. *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible, Volume II: The Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian Periods (732–332 B.C.E.)*. ABRL. New York: Doubleday, 2001.

Stern, Ian. "The Population of Persian-Period Idumea according to the Ostraca: A Study of Ethnic Boundaries and Ethnogenesis." Pages 205–38 in *A Time of Change: Judah and Its Neighbours in the Persian and Early Hellenistic Period*. Edited by Yigal Levin. LSTS 65. London: T&T Clark, 2007.

Stöllner, Thomas. "Mining and Economy—A Discussion of Spatial Organisations and Structures of Early Raw Material Exploitation." Pages 415–46 in *Man and Mining: Studies in Honour of Gerd Weisgerber on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*. Edited by Thomas Stöllner, G. Körlin, G. Steffens, and J. Cierny. Der Anschnitt 16. Bochum: Deutschen Bergbau-Museum, 2003.

Stowe, David W. *Song of Exile: The Enduring Mystery of Psalm 137*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.

Strange, John. "Jordan between Mesopotamia and Egypt in the Bronze and Iron Ages." *SHAJ* 8 (2004): 427–32.

Stromberg, Jacob. *An Introduction to the Study of Isaiah*. T&T Clark Approaches to Biblical Studies. New York: T&T Clark, 2011.

Stucky, Rolf A. *The Engraved Tridacna Shells*. Dédalo 10. Revista de Arqueologia e Etnologia 10.19. São Paulo: Universidade de São Paulo, 1974.

———. "Les Tridacnes à décor gravé." Pages 218–23 in *La Méditerranée des Phéniciens: De Tyr à Carthage, Exposition, Institut du monde arabe, 6 novembre 2007–20 avril 2008*. Paris: Institut du monde arabe, 2007.

Suter, Claudia E. "Classifying Iron Age Levantine Ivories: Impracticalities and a New Approach." *AoF* 42 (2015): 31–45.

Sutton, Lodewyk. "The Dawn of Two Dawns: The Mythical, Royal and Temporal Implications of Dawn for Psalms 108 and 110." *HvTSt* 73.3 (2017): 1–7.

Sweeney, Deborah. "The Inscription of Ramessesempere in Context." Pages 109–17 in *Mining for Ancient Copper: Essays in Memory of Beno Rothenberg*. Edited by Erez Ben-Yosef. SMNIA 37. University Park, PA: Eisenbrauns; Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology, 2018.

Sweeney, Marvin A. *I and II Kings: A Commentary*. OTL. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2007.

———. "The Book of Isaiah in Recent Research." *CurBS* 1 (1993): 141–62.

———. "Reevaluating Isaiah 1–39 in Recent Critical Research." *CurBS* 4 (1996): 79–113.

———. "The Place and Function of Joel in the Book of the Twelve." Pages 133–54 in *Thematic Threads in the Book of the Twelve*. Edited by Paul L. Redditt and Aaron Schart. BZAW 325. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003.

———. *The Twelve Prophets.* Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2000.

Szamocki, Grzegorz. "'YHWH Came from Sinai' (Deut 33:2): The Motif of the Mountain in the Context of the Pentateuch Redaction." *Biblica et Patristica Thoruniensia* 12 (2019): 513–30.

Tadmor, Hayim. "The Campaigns of Sargon II of Assur: A Chronological-Historical Study." *JCS* 12 (1958): 77–100.

———. "The Historical Inscriptions of Adad-nirari III." *Iraq* 35 (1973): 141–50.

———. *The Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III King of Assyria: Critical Edition, with Introductions, Translations and Commentary*. Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1994.

Tadmor, Hayim, and Shigeo Yamada. *The Royal Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III (744–727 BC) and Shalmaneser V (726–722 BC), Kings of Assyria*. RINAP 1. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2011.

Tappy, Ron. "The Depositional History of Iron Age Tel Zayit: A Response to Finkelstein, Sass, and Singer-Avitz." *ErIsr* 30 (2011): 127*–43*.

Tebes, Juan Manuel. "Assyrians, Judaeans, Pastoral Groups, and the Trade Patterns in the Late Iron Age Negev." *HistComp* 5 (2007): 619–31.

———.The Edomite Involvement in the Destruction of the First Temple: A Case of Stab-in-the-Back Tradition?" *JSOT* 36 (2011): 219–55.

———. "Iconographies of the Sacred and Power of the Desert Nomads:

A Reappraisal of the Desert Rock Art of the Late Bronze/Iron Age Southern Levant and Northwestern Arabia." *WO* 47 (2017): 4–24.

———. "Investigating the Painted Pottery Traditions of First-Millennium BC North-western Arabia and Southern Levant: Chronological Data and Geographical Distribution." *PSAS* 43 (2013): 317–35.

———. "Investigating the Painted Pottery Traditions of the First Millennium BC Northwestern Arabia and Southern Levant: Contexts of Discovery and Painted Decorative Motives." *ARAM* 27 (2015): 255–82.

———. "Iron Age 'Negevite' Pottery: A Reassessment." *AO* 4 (2006): 95–117.

———. "The Kingdom of Edom? A Critical Reappraisal of the Edomite State Model." Pages 113–22 in *Framing Archaeology in the Near East: The Application of Social Theory to Fieldwork*. Edited by Ianir Milevski and Thomas E. Levy. New Directions in Anthropological Archaeology. Sheffield: Equinox, 2016.

———. "'A Land Whose Stones Are Iron, and Out of Whose Hills You Can Dig Copper': The Exploitation and Circulation of Copper in the Iron Age Negev and Edom." *DavarLogos* 6 (2007): 69–91.

———. "Memories of Humiliation, Cultures of Resentment towards Edom and the Formation of Ancient Jewish National Identity: Memories of Humiliation." *NatNat* 25 (2019): 124–45.

———. "The Mesha Inscription and Relations with Moab and Edom." Pages 286–92 in *Behind the Scenes of the Old Testament: Historical, Cultural, and Social Contexts*. Edited by Jonathan S. Greer, John W. Hilber, and John H. Walton. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2018.

———. "The Potter's Will: Spheres of Production, Distribution and Consumption of the Late Iron Age Southern Transjordan-Negev Pottery." *STRATA* 29 (2011): 61–101.

———. "The Pottery from Khirbet en-Nahas: Another View." *Wadi Arabah Project Website*, 2009. https://tinyurl.com/SBL1733a.

———. Review of *Complexity and Diversity in the Late Iron Age Southern Levant: The Investigations of "Edomite" Archaeology and Scholarly Discourse*, by Charlotte M. Whiting. *PEQ* 142 (2010): 148–50.

———. "Socio-Economic Fluctuations and Chiefdom Formation in Edom, the Negev and the Hejaz during the First Millennium BCE." Pages 1–30 in *Unearthing the Wilderness: Studies in the History and Archaeology of the Negev and Edom in the Iron Age*. Edited by Juan Manuel Tebes. ANESSup 45. Leuven: Peeters, 2014.

———. "The Southern Home of YHWH and Pre-Priestly Patriarchal/ Exodus Traditions from a Southern Perspective." *Bib* 99 (2018): 166–88.

———. "The Symbolic and Social World of the Qurayyah Pottery Iconography." Pages 163–201 in *Unearthing the Wilderness: Studies in the History and Archaeology of the Negev and Edom in the Iron Age*. Edited by Juan Manuel Tebes. ANESSup 45. Leuven: Peeters, 2014.

———. "Trade and Nomads: The Commercial Relations between the Negev, Edom, and the Mediterranean in the Late Iron Age." *Journal of the Serbian Archaeological Society* 22 (2006): 45–62.

———. "'You Shall Not Abhor an Edomite, for He Is Your Brother': The Tradition of Esau and the Edomite Genealogies from an Anthropological Perspective" *JHebS* 6 (2006). DOI: 10.5508/jhs.2006.v6.a6.

Terpstra, Taco. *Trade in the Ancient Mediterranean: Private Order and Public Institutions*. Princeton Economic History of the Western World. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019.

Terrien, Samuel. "Amos and Wisdom." Pages 108–15 in *Israel's Prophetic Heritage: Essays in Honor of James Muilenburg*. Edited by Bernhard W. Anderson and Walter J. Harrelson. New York: Harper, 1962.

Thareani, Yifat. "The Empire and the 'Upper Sea': Assyrian Control Strategies along the Southern Levantine Coast." *BASOR* 375 (2016): 77–102.

———. "Forces of Decline and Regeneration: A Socioeconomic Account of the Iron Age II Negev Desert." Pages 207–35 in *The Economy of Ancient Judah in Its Historical Context*. Edited by Gary N. Knoppers, Ehud Ben Zvi, and Marvin Lloyd Miller. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2015.

———. "The Judean Desert Frontier in the Seventh Century BCE: A View from 'Aroer." Pages 227–65 in *Unearthing the Wilderness: Studies in the History and Archaeology of the Negev and Edom in the Iron Age*. Edited by Juan Manuel Tebes. ANESSup 45. Leuven: Peeters, 2014.

———. "'The Self-Destruction of Diversity': A Tale of the Last Days in Judah's Negev Towns." *AO* 12 (2014): 185–224.

Thareani-Sussely, Yifat. "Ancient Caravanserais: An Archaeological View from 'Aroer." *Levant* 39 (2007): 123–41.

———. "Desert Outsiders: Extramural Neighborhoods in the Iron Age Negev." Pages 197–212 in *Bene Israel: Studies in the Archaeology of Israel and the Levant during the Bronze and Iron Ages in Honour of Israel Finkelstein*. Edited by Assaf Yasur-Landau and Alexander Fantalkin. CHANE 31. Leiden: Brill, 2008.

Thomas, Kenneth D. "Molluscs Emergent, Part I: Themes and Trends in the Scientific Investigation of Mollusc Shells as Resources for Archaeological Research." *JAS* 56 (2015): 133–40.

———. "Molluscs Emergent, Part II: Themes and Trends in the Scientific Investigation of Molluscs and Their Shells as Past Human Resources." *JAS* 56 (2015): 159–67.

Thompson, R. Campbell. *The Prisms of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal Found at Nineveh, 1927–8*. London: British Museum, 1931.

Thornton, Christopher Peter. "The Emergence of Complex Metallurgy on the Iranian Plateau: Escaping the Levantine Paradigm." *JWP* 22 (2009): 301–27.

Throntveit, Mark A. "The Chronicler's Speeches and Historical Reconstruction." Pages 223–45 in *The Chronicler as Historian*. Edited by M. Patrick Graham, Kenneth G. Hoglund, and Steven L. McKenzie. JSOTSup 238. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1997.

Timm, Stefan. "Das ikonographische Repertoire der moabitischen Siegel und seine Entwicklung: Von Maximalismus zum Minimalismus." Pages 161–93 in *Studies in the Iconography of Northwest Semitic Inscribed Seals: Proceedings of a Symposium Held in Fribourg on April 17–20, 1991*. Edited by Benjamin Sass and Christoph Uehlinger. OBO 125. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht; Fribourg: Presses Universitaires, 1993.

Tobolowsky, Andrew. "Israelite and Judahite History in Contemporary Theoretical Approaches." *CurBR* 17 (2018): 33–58.

Tov, Emanuel. "The Jeremiah Scrolls from Qumran." *RevQ* 14 (1989): 189–206.

———. *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992.

———. *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*. 3rd ed. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012.

Townsley, Graham, producer and director. "Quest for King Solomon's Mines." NOVA/PBS. Aired November 2010.

Treves, Marcus. "The Date of Joel." *VT* 7 (1953): 149–56.

Tull, Patricia K. *Isaiah 1–39*. SHBC. Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2010.

———. "One Book, Many Voices: Conceiving of Isaiah's Polyphonic Message." Pages 279–314 in *"As Those Who Are Taught": The Interpretation of Isaiah from the LXX to the SBL*. Edited by Claire Mathews McGinnis and Patricia K. Tull. SymS 27. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006.

Turbitt, Mary Beth D. "The Production and Exchange of Marine Shell Prestige Goods." *JAR* 11 (2003): 243–77.

Turner, Geoffrey. "The State Apartments of Late Assyrian Palaces." *Iraq* 32 (1970): 177–213.

Tushingham, A. D. "Dhiban." *OEANE* 2:156–58.

Tushingham, A. D., and Peter H. Pedrette. "Mesha's Citadel Complex (Qarhoh) at Dhiban." *SHAJ* 5 (1995): 151–59.

Tyson, Craig W. "The Religion of the Ammonites: A Specimen of Levantine Religion from the Iron Age II (ca. 1000–500 BCE)." *Religions* 10.3 (2019): 153. DOI: 10.3390/rel10030153.

Uehlinger, Christoph. "Anthropomorphic Cult Statuary in Iron Age Palestine and the Search for Yahweh's Cult Images." Pages 97–155 in *The Image and the Book: Iconic Cults, Aniconism, and the Rise of Book Religion in Israel and the Ancient Near East*. Edited by Karel van der Toorn. CBET 21. Leuven: Peeters, 1997.

———."Arad, Qitmit—Judahite Aniconism vs. Edomite Iconic Cult? Questioning the Evidence." Pages 80–112 in *Texts, Artifacts and Images: Revealing Ancient Israelite Religion*. Edited by Gary Beckman and Theodore J. Lewis. BJS 346. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006.

———. "Beyond 'Image Ban' and 'Aniconism': Reconfiguring Ancient Israelite and Early Jewish Religion/s in a Visual and Material Religion Perspective." Pages 99–123 in *Figurations and Sensations of the Unseen in Judaism, Christianity and Islam: Contested Desires*. Edited by Birgit Meyer and Terje Stordalen. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019.

Ussishkin, David. "Area Pal.: The Judean Palace-Fort." Pages 768–870 in vol. 2 of *The Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Lachish*. Edited by David Ussishkin. 5 vols. SMNIA 22. Tel Aviv: Emery and Claire Yass Publications in Archaeology, 2004.

———. *Excavations at Tel Lachish—1973–1977: Preliminary Report*. Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology, 1978.

———. "'En Ḥaṣeva: On the Gate of the Iron Age II Fortress." *TA* 37 (2010): 246–53.

———. "Gath, Lachish and Jerusalem in the 9th Cent. B.C.E.—An Archaeological Reassessment." *ZDPV* 131 (2015): 129–49.

———. "Lachish." *ABD* 4:114–26.

Utzschneider, Helmut, and Wolfgang Oswald. *Exodus 1–15*. IECOT. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2015.

Van Beek, Gus W., and A. Jamme. "The Authenticity of the Bethel Stamp Seal." *BASOR* 199 (1970): 59–65.

Van Oyen, Astrid. "Deconstructing and Reassembling the Romanization Debate through the Lens of Postcolonial Theory: From Global to Local and Back?" *Terra Incognita* 6 (2015): 205–26.

———. "Towards a Post-Colonial Artefact Analysis." *ArchDial* 20 (2013): 81–107.

Van Seters, John. "In the Babylonian Exile with J: Between Judgment in Ezekiel and Salvation in Second Isaiah." Pages 71–89 in *The Crisis of Israelite Religion: Transformations of Religious Tradition in Exilic and Post-exilic Times*. Edited by Bob Becking and Marjo C. A. Korpel. OTS 42. Leiden: Brill, 1999.

———. *The Life of Moses: The Yahwist as Historian in Exodus-Numbers*. CBET 10. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1994.

———. *The Pentateuch: A Social-Science Commentary*. Trajectories 1. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999.

———. *Prologue to History: The Yahwist as Historian in Genesis*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1992.

Vanderhooft, David S. "Babylonian Strategies of Imperial Control in the West: Royal Practice and Rhetoric." Pages 235–62 in *Judah and the Judeans in the Neo-Babylonian Period*. Edited by Oded Lipschits and Joseph Blenkinsopp. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2003.

———. "The Edomite Dialect and Script: A Review of Evidence." Pages 137–57 in *You Shall Not Abhor an Edomite for He Is Your Brother: Edom and Seir in History and Tradition*. Edited by Diana Vikander Edelman. ABS 3. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995.

VanValkenburgh, Parker, and James F. Osborne. "Home Turf: Archaeology, Territoriality, and Politics." *Archeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association* 22 (2012): 1–27.

Vassiliev, Alexandre. "The Localization of the Shasu-land of Ramses II's Rhetorical Texts." Pages 162–68 in *Current Research in Egyptology 2006: Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Symposium Which Took Place at the University of Oxford, April 2006*. Edited by Maria Cannata. Oxford: Oxbow, 2007.

Vaughn, Andrew G. "Palaeographic Dating of Judean Seals and Its Significance for Biblical Research." *BASOR* 313 (1999): 43–64.

Vaux, Roland de. "Teman, ville ou région d'Edom?" *RB* 76 (1969): 379–85.

Vawter, Bruce. *On Genesis: A New Reading*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1977.

Veen, Peter van der. "The Seal Material." Pages 79–84 in *Umm al-Biyara: Excavations by Crystal-M. Bennett in Petra 1960–1965*. Edited by Piotr Bienkowski. LevantSup 10. Oxford: Oxbow, 2011.

Veen, Pieter Gert van der. "Arabian Seals and Bullae along the Trade Routes of Judah and Edom." *JERD* 3 (2009): 25–39.

———. "The Final Phase of Iron Age IIC and the Babylonian Conquest: A Reassessment with Special Emphasis on Names and Bureaucratic Titles on Provenanced Seals and Bullae from Israel and Jordan." PhD diss., University of Bristol, 2005.

Veen, Pieter Gert van der, and François Bron. "Arabian and Arabizing Epigraphic Finds from the Iron Age Southern Levant." Pages 203–26 in *Unearthing the Wilderness: Studies in the History and Archaeology of the Negev and Edom in the Iron Age*. Edited by Juan Manuel Tebes. ANESSup 45. Leuven: Peeters, 2014.

Verreth, Herbert. "The Egyptian Eastern Border Region in Assyrian Sources." *JAOS* 119 (1999): 234–47.

Versluys, John. "Understanding Objects in Motion: An Archaeological Dialogue on Romanization." *Arch Dialogues* 21 (2014): 1–20.

Vriezen, Theodorus C. "The Edomite Deity Qaus." *OtSt* 14 (1965): 330–53.

Wagenaar, Jan A. " 'From Edom He Went up…': Some Remarks on the Text and Interpretation of Micah ii 12–13." *VT* 50 (2000): 531–39.

Walsh, Jerome T. "The Organization of 2 Kings 3–11." *CBQ* 72 (2010): 238–54.

Waltke, Bruce K., and Michael P. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990.

Warburton, David. "Egyptian Campaigns in Jordan Revisited." *SHAJ* 7 (2001): 233–37.

Ward, William A. "The Shasu 'Bedouin': Notes on a Recent Publication." *JESHO* 15 (1972): 35–60.

Wazana, Nili. "Ahaz and the Altar from Damascus (2 Kings 16:10–16): Literary, Theological, and Historical-Political Considerations." Pages 379–99 in *In Search of Aram and Israel: Politics, Culture and Identity*. Edited by Omer Sergi, Manfred Oeming, and Izaak J. de Hulster. ORA 20. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016.

Webster, Jane. "Creolizing the Roman Provinces." *AJA* 105 (2001): 209–25.

Weeden, Mark. "Tuwati and Wasusarma: Imitating the Behaviour of Assyria." *Iraq* 72 (2010): 39–61.

Weinfeld, Moshe. *Deuteronomy 1–11: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. AB 5. New York: Doubleday, 1991.

Weinstein-Evron, Mina, and Silvia Chaim. "Palynological Investigations of Tenth- to Early Ninth-Century BCE Beehives from Tel Rehov, Jordan Valley, Northern Israel." *Palynology* 40 (2016): 289–301.

Weippert, Manfred. "Die Feldzüge Adadnararis III. nach Syrien Voraussetzungen, Verlauf, Folgen." *ZDPV* 108 (1992): 42–67.

———. *Historisches Textbuch zum Alten Testament*. GAT 10. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010.

———. "Menahem von Israel und seine Zeitgenossen in einer Steleninschrift des assyrischen Königs Tiglathpileser III. aus dem Iran." *ZDPV* 89 (1973): 26–53.

———. "The Relations of the States East of the Jordan with the Mesopotamian Powers during the First Millennium BC." *SHAJ* 3 (1987): 97–105.

———. "Semitische Nomaden des zweiten Jahrtausends: Über die šꜣsw der ägyptischen Quellen." *Bib* 55 (1974): 265–80, 427–33.

Westbrook, Raymond. "Elisha's True Prophecy in 2 Kings 3." *JBL* 124 (2005): 530–32.

Westermann, Claus. *Isaiah 40–66: A Commentary*. OTL. London: SCM, 1969.

Wilkinson, Darryl. "The Influence of Amazonia on State Formation in the Ancient Andes." *Antiquity* 92.365 (2018): 1362–76.

Wilkinson, T. J. "The Organization of Settlement in Highland Yemen during the Bronze and Iron Ages." *PSAS* 33 (2003): 157–68.

Wilkinson, T. J., and Christopher Edens. "Survey and Excavation in the Central Highlands of Yemen: Results of the Dhamar Survey Project, 1996 and 1998." *AAE* 10 (1999): 1–33.

Wilson, Ian D. "History and the Hebrew Bible: Culture, Narrative, and Memory." *Brill Research Perspectives in Biblical Interpretation* 3.2 (2018): 14–21.

———. *Kingship and Memory in Ancient Judah*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.

———. "The Song of the Sea and Isaiah: Exodus 15 in Post-Monarchic Prophetic Discourse." Pages 123–47 in *Thinking of Water in the Early Second Temple Period*. Edited by Ehud Ben Zvi and Christoph Levin. BZAW 461. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014.

Winter, Irene J. "North Syria as a Bronzeworking Centre in the Early First Millennium BC: Luxury Commodities at Home and Abroad." Pages 193–225 in *Bronzeworking Centres of Western Asia c. 1000–539 B.C.* Edited by John Curtis. London: Kegan Paul, 1988.

Wolfe, Alexander. *Objects with Semitic Inscriptions 1100 B.C.–A.D. 700. Auktion XXIII, 20 nov. 1989*. Zurich: Sternberg, 1989.

Wolff, Hans Walter. *Joel and Amos: A Commentary on the Books of the Prophets Joel and Amos*. Hermeneia. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977.

Wong, Ka Leung. *The Idea of Retribution in the Book of Ezekiel*. VTSup 87. Leiden: Brill, 2001.

Woolf, Greg. "Beyond Romans and Natives." *WA* 28 (1997): 339–50.

Wright, George R. H. *Ancient Building in South Syria and Palestine*. 2 vols. HdO 7. Leiden: Brill, 1985.

Wright, J. Edward, ed. *The House that Albright Built*. NEA 65.1 (2002).

Wright, John W. "The Fight for Peace: Narrative and History in the Battle Accounts in Chronicles." Pages 150–77 in *The Chronicler as Historian*. Edited by M. Patrick Graham, Kenneth G. Hoglund, and Steven L. McKenzie. JSOTSup 238. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1997.

Yadin, Yigael. "An Inscribed South-Arabian Clay Stamp from Bethel?" *BASOR* 196 (1970): 37–45.

Yagel, Omri A., Erez Ben-Yosef, and Paul T. Craddock. "Late Bronze Age Copper Production in Timna: New Evidence from Site 3." *Levant* 48 (2016): 33–51.

Yahalom-Mack, Naama, and Adi Eliyahu-Behar. "The Transition from Bronze to Iron in Canaan: Chronology, Technology, and Context." *Radiocarbon* 57 (2015): 285–305.

Yahalom-Mack, Naama, Adi Eliyahu-Behar, Mario A. S. Martin, Assaf Kleiman, Ruth Shahack-Gross, Robert S. Homsher, Yuval Gadot, and Israel Finkelstein. "Metalworking at Megiddo during the Late Bronze and Iron Ages." *JNES* 76 (2017): 53–74.

Yahalom-Mack, Naama, Ehud Galili, Irina Segal, Adi Eliyahu-Behar, Elisabetta Boaretto, Sana Shilstein, and Israel Finkelstein. "New Insights into Levantine Copper Trade: Analysis of Ingots from the Bronze and Iron Ages in Israel." *JAS* 45 (2014): 159–77

Yahalom-Mack, Naama, Mario A. S. Martin, Ofir Tirosh, Yigal Erel, and Israel Finkelstein. "Lead Isotope Analysis of Slag-Tempered Negev Highlands Pottery." *AO* 13 (2015): 83–98.

Yahalom-Mack, Naama, and Irina Segal. "The Origin of the Copper Used in Canaan during the Late Bronze/Iron Age Transition." Pages 313–31 in *Mining for Ancient Copper: Essays in Memory of Beno Rothenberg*. Edited by Erez Ben-Yosef. SMNIA 37. University Park, PA: Eisenbrauns; Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology, 2018.

Yamada, Shigeo. *The Construction of the Assyrian Empire: A Historical Study of the Inscriptions of Shalmaneser III (859–824 BC) Relating to His Campaigns to the West*. CHANE 3. Leiden: Brill, 2000.

———. "*Kārus* on the Frontiers of the Neo-Assyrian Empire." *Orient* 40 (2005): 56–90.

———. "Qurdi-Assur-Lamur: His Letters and Career." Pages 296–311 in *Treasures on Camels' Humps: Historical and Literary Studies from the Ancient Near East Presented to Israel Ephʿal*. Edited by Mordechai Cogan and Danʾel Kahn. Jerusalem: Hebrew University Magnes Press, 2008.

Yoffee, Norman, and Andrea Seri. "Negotiating Fragility in Ancient Mesopotamia: Arenas of Contestation and Institutions of Resistance." Pages 183–96 in *The Evolution of Fragility: Setting the Terms*. Edited by Norman Yoffee. McDonald Institute Conversations. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, 2019.

Younger, K. Lawson. "Assyria's Expansion West of the Euphrates (ca. 870–701 BCE)." Pages 17–33 in *Archaeology and History of Eighth-Century Judah*. Edited by Zev I. Farber and Jacob L. Wright. ANEM 23. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2018.

———. "Calah Orthostat Slab." *COS* 2.114G:276–77.

———. *A Political History of the Arameans: From Their Origin to the End of Their Polities*. ABS 13. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2016.

———. "Recent Study on Sargon II, King of Assyria: Implications for Biblical Studies." Pages 288–329 in *Mesopotamia and the Bible: Comparative Explorations*. Edited by Mark W. Chavalas and K. Lawson Younger Jr. JSOTSup 341. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2002.

———. "Summary Inscription 7." *COS* 2.117D:289–90.

Younker, Randall W. "The Emergence of the Ammonites." Pages 189–218 in *Ancient Ammon*. Edited by Burton MacDonald and Randall W. Younker. SHCANE 17. Leiden: Brill, 1999.

Younker, Randall W., and Katharine Koudele. "Camel Petroglyphs in the Wadi Nasib and Their Implications for the Use of Camels in the Late Bronze Age." *SHAJ* 9 (2007): 53–60.

Zadok, Ran. "A Prosopography of Samaria and Edom/Idumea." UF 30 (1998): 781–828.

Zamazalová, Silvie. "Before the Assyrian Conquest in 671 B.C.E.: Relations between Egypt, Kush and Assyria." Pages 297–328 in *Egypt and the Near East—the Crossroads: Proceedings of an International Conference on the Relations of Egypt and the Near East in the Bronze Age,*

Prague, September 1–3, 2010. Edited by Jana Mynářová. Prague: Univerzita Karlova, 2011.

Zayadine, Fawzi. "Cosmetic Techniques: A Historical and Botanical Approach." *SHAJ* 5 (1995): 67–75.

———. "Le relief Néo-Babylonien à Sela' près de Tafileh interpretation historique." *Syria* 76 (1999): 83–90.

Zeist, Willem van, and Sytze Bottema. *Late Quaternary Vegetation of the Near East.* BTAVO A 18. Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1991.

Zeitlin, Solomon. "The Origin of the Term Edom for Rome and the Roman Church." *JQR* 60 (1970): 262–63.

Zeitler, J. P. "'Edomite' Pottery from the Petra Region." Pages 167–76 in *Early Edom and Moab: The Beginning of the Iron Age in Southern Jordan.* Edited by Piotr Bienkowski. SAM 7. Sheffield: Collis, 1992.

Zimmerli, Walther. *Ezekiel 2: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel Chapters 25–48.* Hermeneia. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983.

Zohar, Motti, and Tali Erickson-Gini. "The 'Incense Road' from Petra to Gaza: An Analysis Using GIS and Cost Functions." *IJGIS* 34 (2020): 292–310.

Zorea, Carlos. "Spain in the Bible: From 'Tarshish' to 'Sefarad.'" *Polis* 28 (2016): 157–88.

Zorn, Jeffrey R. "Tell en-Nasbeh and the Problem of the Material Culture of the Sixth Century." Pages 413–47 in *Judah and the Judeans in the Neo-Babylonian Period.* Edited by Oded Lipschits and Joseph Blenkinsopp. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2003.

Zucconi, Laura M. "From the Wilderness of Zin alongside Edom: Edomite Territory in the Eastern Negev during the Eighth–Sixth Centuries B.C.E." Pages 241–56 in *Milk and Honey: Essays on Ancient Israel and the Bible in Appreciation of the Judaic Studies Program at the University of California, San Diego.* Edited by Sarah Malena and David Miano. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2007.

Zuckerman, Bruce. "Shading the Difference: A Perspective on Epigraphic Perspectives of the Kheleifeh Jar Stamp Impressions." *MAARAV* 11 (2004): 233–52.

Zwickel, Wolfgang. "Das 'edomitische' Ostrakon aus Hirbet Gazza (Horvat Uza)." *BN* 41 (1988): 36–40.

Ancient Sources Index

Modern Authors Index

Subject Index