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Living on the Edge of Empire: Edomite Households in the First Millennium B.C.E.

By

Stephanie Hope Brown

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Near Eastern Studies

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Benjamin Porter, Chair

Professor Christine Hastorf

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Abstract

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Professor Benjamin Porter, Chair

This dissertation explores the relationship between ancient empires and their peripheries. Due to the uneven distribution of written sources in the ancient world, the narratives describing this relationship are almost always written from the perspective of the imperial core. By ignoring the perspectives of groups living within imperial peripheries, this dissertation argues that these narratives omit a crucial element of the core-periphery relationship. Two such core-periphery relationships existed during the first millennium B.C.E. between the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Empires and the polity of Edom (located in present-day southwest Jordan). As with other core-periphery relationships in the ancient world, scholars have largely relied on sources produced by the imperial cores of the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Empires in order to understand their respective relationships with Edom, ignoring the perspectives and agency of conquered groups living in Edom.

This dissertation uses a tripartite approach to explore the core-periphery relationships between Edom and the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Empires. This approach gives equal weight to sources produced by the imperial core, the Edomite elite, and the Edomite populace in order to correct the imbalance evident in previous scholarship on Edom. The dissertation employs theories and methods associated with household archaeology and foodways practices in order to discern the actions of the Edomite populace—arguably the least historically-visible people involved in these core-periphery relationships. Because evidence produced through household-archaeological and foodways-based approaches do not rely on logocentric means of communication, they are effective means of elucidating the actions and preferences of individuals and groups about whom there is no written evidence.

The evidence explored in this dissertation found that during the period of Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian rule over Edom, life in southwest Jordan changed considerably. Neo-Assyrian political and economic policies throughout the Levant altered large-scale trade networks and forced tribute requirements on conquered peoples. This dissertation argues, however, that while both the Edomite elites and the Edomite populace took advantage of these changing regional systems, there is very little evidence of direct Neo-Assyrian or Neo-Babylonian influence found within the sources produced by both groups of Edomites (until the reign of Nabonidus); rather, the evidence suggests that these groups were closely integrated into local and Levantine social, economic, and political systems.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES	iii
LIST OF TABLES	iv
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	v
CHAPTER ONE – INTRODUCTION	1
The First Millennium Mesopotamian Empires	2
Where was Edom and Who was an Edomite?.....	4
Research Design.....	7
Household Archaeology.....	10
The Busayra Cultural Heritage Project (BCHP)	12
Dissertation Framework	13
CHAPTER TWO – EMPIRES AND COLONIALISM	15
Core-Periphery: Beyond World-Systems.....	21
Culture Contact in Colonial Contexts	24
Postcolonial Theory in Ancient Near Eastern Scholarship	29
Understanding Imperialism in Southwest Jordan during the First Millennium B.C.E.	33
CHAPTER THREE - THE NEO-ASSYRIAN EMPIRE AND EDOM.....	39
Neo-Assyrian Provinces and Vassal Kingdoms.....	41
The Neo-Assyrian Empire and Edom	43
Neo-Assyrian Imperial Involvement in Philistia and Northwestern Arabia	46
Conclusion: Neo-Assyrian Political Administration in Edom	50
CHAPTER FOUR – THE NEO-BABYLONIAN EMPIRE AND EDOM.....	52
Peripheral Administration in the Southern Levant and Edom under Nebuchadnezzar II.....	53
Peripheral Administration in the Southern Levant and Edom under Nabonidus.....	58
Conclusion: Neo-Babylonian Political Administration in the Southern Levant and Edom.....	61
CHAPTER FIVE - THE EDMITE ELITE	64
Elite Expressions of Power in Edom.....	66
Revisiting Cultural Hybridity.....	76
Conclusion: Edomite Elite Intention	78
CHAPTER SIX – HOUSEHOLD ARCHAEOLOGY IN SOUTHWEST JORDAN.....	81
Spatial Analysis of Domestic Architecture on the Southern Jordanian Plateau	83
The Busayra Cultural Heritage Project	94

2014 Excavations in Area DD at Busayra.....	95
Geophysical Survey of Busayra	96
Discussion of Domestic Architecture at Busayra.....	98
Conclusion: The Use of Space in Edomite Domestic Architecture	101
CHAPTER SEVEN – FOOD AND IDENTITY IN EDOM	104
Eating and Cooking in Multicultural Environments	105
Edomite Plant Economies	108
Botanical Remains Collected by the BCHP at Busayra.....	110
Edomite Animal Economies.....	113
Animal Remains Collected by the BCHP at Busayra	116
Edomite Ceramic Vessel Evidence	121
Ceramic Evidence Excavated by the BCHP at Busayra	123
Conclusion: Edomite Political Attachment at Busayra	125
CHAPTER EIGHT – CONCLUSION	128
BIBLIOGRAPHY	136
APPENDIX 1 – FIGURES	166

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1 – Map of Southern Jordan and Israel.....	166
Figure 1.2 – Map of Southern Jordan and the Negev	167
Figure 1.3 – Topographical Map of Busayra	168
Figure 2.1 – Parker’s expanded version of D’Altroy’s territorial-hegemonic continuum.....	169
Figure 2.2 – Parker’s model of Neo-Assyrian Provincial Administration.....	169
Figure 3.1 – Image of the Transportation of Lumber from the Phoenician Coast to Assyria	170
Figure 4.1 – The Sela Relief of Nabonidus.....	171
Figure 5.1 – Excavated Areas at Busayra	172
Figure 5.2 – The Area A Building at Busayra	173
Figure 5.3 – Reconstruction of the Iron Age grain kitchen excavated in Area A’s monumental building	174
Figure 5.4 – Oakeshott’s Jar E.....	175
Figure 5.5 – The Area C Palace at Busayra.....	176
Figure 5.6 – Carved Ivory Lion Head from Tawilan.....	177
Figure 5.7 – Stone Scaraboid seal from Tawilan.....	178
Figure 5.8 – Oakeshott’s Bowl K	179
Figure 5.9 – Carved Tridacna Shell from Busayra	180
Figure 5.10 – Impressed Sherd from Busayra 1	181
Figure 5.11 – Impressed Sherd from Busayra 2	182
Figure 6.1 – Domestic Structures at Umm al-Biyara.....	183
Figure 6.2 – Distribution of Loom Weights and Shells in the Domestic Structures at Umm al- Biyara.....	184
Figure 6.3 – Routes of Movement through the Domestic Structures at Umm al-Biyara.....	185
Figure 6.4 – Possible Uses of Space within the Domestic Structures at Umm al-Biyara.....	186
Figure 6.5 – Building A1 House at Ghrareh	187
Figure 6.6 – Areas I, II, and III at Tawilan	188
Figure 6.7 – Area II at Tawilan.....	189
Figure 6.8 – Distribution of Figurines at Tawilan	190
Figure 6.9 – Distribution of Pestles and Grinding Querns at Tawilan	191
Figure 6.10 – Distribution of Spindle Whorls, Spatulas, and Loomweights at Tawilan	192
Figure 6.11 – Area B at Busayra.....	193
Figure 6.12 – Area D at Busayra	194
Figure 6.13 – Buildings DD001 and DD002	195

Figure 6.14 – Hearth in Building DD001	196
Figure 6.15 – Busayra looking east denoting Geophysical Survey Areas A-D.....	197
Figure 6.16 – Magnetometry data from Survey Area B at Busayra	198
Figure 6.17 – Magnetometry data from Survey Area A at Busayra	199
Figure 6.18 – GPR data from Survey Area A at Busayra	200
Figure 6.19 – Magnetometry data from Survey Area C at Busayra	201
Figure 6.20 – GPR data from Survey Area C at Busayra	202
Figure 6.21 – Magnetometry data from Survey Area D at Busayra	203
Figure 6.22 – GPR data from Survey Area D at Busayra.....	204
Figure 7.1 – Map of Southwest Jordan Showing the Wadis that Connect the Southern Jordanian Plateau and the Wadi Arabah.....	205
Figure 7.2 – Total Counts and Relative Percentages of Botanical Taxa Analyzed from the BCHP’s 2014 Excavation Season at Busayra.....	206
Figure 7.3 – Relative Density of Botanical Taxa by Excavation Area from the BCHP’s 2014 Excavation Season at Busayra	207
Figure 7.4 – Distribution of Botanical Taxa from Area DD at Busayra.....	208
Figure 7.5 – Distribution of Phalanges 1 and 2 Breadth Proximal Measurements for Field DD. Orange represents unfused (juvenile) specimens; Blue represents fused (mature) specimens. (Lev-Tov 2015)	209
Figure 7.6 – Vessel Categories as a Percentage of the Total Assemblage from Area DD at Busayra	209
Figure 7.7 – Vessel Categories as a Percentage of the Total Assemblage of Late Iron Age Pottery Found in Southern Jordan	210
Figure 7.8 – Percentage of Painted and Fine-ware Sherds from Area DD at Busayra	210
Figure 7.9 – Percentage of Imitation Assyrian Palace Ware from Area DD at Busayra	211

LIST OF TABLES

Table 7.1 – Number of Animals Bones Excavated by Bennett from Busayra	116
Table 7.2 – Body Part Representation in Medium-Sized Mammals	119

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CHAPTER ONE – INTRODUCTION

The primary concern of this dissertation is the nature of asymmetrical political relationships in the ancient world, particularly those between large territorial empires and the polities over which they claimed political hegemony. This project seeks to correct the imbalance often found in scholarship that assumes empires were the primary historical agents responsible for negotiating the terms of the relationships that they maintained with their peripheries. While this imbalance can be seen in scholarship produced about empires throughout time, it is most pronounced in work on the empires of the ancient world (e.g., Luttwak 1976; Hassig 1985; D'Altroy 1992; Parker 2001).

One of the primary reasons that the empires of the ancient world are given more historical weight than their peripheries is due to the uneven distribution of written sources upon which historians rely in order to reconstruct historical events. In many cases the human and natural resources necessary to create, produce, and archive large amounts of written records were available only to those living in the imperial core. Although there were written records produced within imperial peripheries, the number preserved and available to scholars today is tragically small. This is a classic illustration of the famous saying, History is written by the victors.

In order to explore the perspective and agency of groups living within conquered polities, this project engages with post-colonial theory and models of empire, which nuance the relationship between an imperial core and its periphery. The case study presented here is concerned with the relationship between two Near Eastern empires that rose and fell throughout the course of the first half of the first millennium B.C.E.—the Neo-Assyrian Empire and the Neo-Babylonian Empire—and Edom, a polity located in southwest Jordan and the Negev, over which both Near Eastern empires claimed political control.

In what follows, this dissertation argues that individuals living in imperial peripheries exercised a significant amount of indirect power, and that their political, economic, social, and religious practices had the potential to influence imperial policy. This dissertation also argues that in order to understand these specific historical relationships, it is useful to employ a tripartite approach that accords equal analytical weight to three different perspectives: that of the imperial rulers, that of the Edomite elite, and that of the Edomite populace. The varied sources available for this undertaking require the utilization of theoretical and methodological approaches towards the analysis of both texts and material culture used in a number of fields within the humanities and social sciences (including Anthropology, History, Archaeology, and Art History).

The nature of the relationship between Edom and the first millennium Mesopotamian empires is not a new scholarly discussion. In fact, previous scholars have credited these empires, either directly or indirectly (through their interactions with the Edomite elite), with the development of the Edomite kingdom in the late eighth century (Bartlett 1989; Bennett 1982; Bienkowski and van der Steen 2001; Crowell 2004; Hart 1989; Knauf 1992; Porter 2004). This popular scholarly position stems, in large part, from the chronological correlation between the appearance of settlements within the territory of Edom on the southern Jordanian plateau and Edom's initial appearances in the Neo-Assyrian inscriptions of Adad-nirari III (811-783 B.C.E.) and Tiglath-pileser III (745-727 B.C.E.) (Millard 1992). The positions of these scholars sit on a spectrum

between the complete dismissal of any Edomite agency on the most extreme end (Hart 1989: 131; Knauf 1992: 52-53), and the attribution of political agency to members of the Edomite elite on the other end (Crowell 2004; Porter 2004). Not one of these positions, however, attempts to attribute agency to members of the Edomite populace—a group from which there is almost no written evidence. Without considering the perspective of this vast majority of Edom’s population, a critical element of the core-periphery relationship is missing.

Therefore, the ultimate goal of this project will be to explore the nature of the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Empires’ provincial policy toward Edom, while seeking to understand the way in which the inhabitants of Edom may have affected that policy through their daily subsistence, social, and economic activities and through their attachment to (or detachment from) both local and imperial hegemonic powers. Through the elucidation of the three perspectives explored in this project, this dissertation highlights the complexity of Edom’s relationships with the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Empires. Furthermore, by highlighting material evidence, it stresses that the omission of a particular group’s perspective from the written record should not invalidate the historical role played by that group. As demonstrated in the case of Edom and the first millennium B.C.E. Near Eastern empires, there are ways to understand those underrepresented historical perspectives if one takes the time to look beyond traditional sources and interpretations.

In recent decades, household archaeology has provided a means of exploring the actions of individuals for whom there is no written record. Theories associated with household archaeology understand households as social and economic groups that live and work together in a shared space that is commonly referred to as a “house” (Wilk and Rathje 1982: 620). Households are made up of three main components: the individuals that make up the household, the materials that make up the individuals’ houses and possessions, and the activities performed by the household (Wilk and Rathje 1982: 618). Theories related to household archaeology suggest that households embody their respective societies and reproduce those societies’ values throughout generations (Ashmore and Wilk 1988; Chesson 2012; Hendon 2007). Since societies are made up of households, studying households can be a useful way to understand larger societal trends and processes.

This project will use household archaeology to understand the daily activities of the Edomite populace. It will analyze and interpret the archaeological evidence associated with excavated houses in Edom as a means of accessing the larger social, religious, and economic processes at work and the ways that these processes changed over time. By exploring these processes, this project will determine whether the daily lives of individuals living in Edom were affected by their polity’s political incorporation into the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Empires.

The First Millennium Mesopotamian Empires

Fortunately for scholars studying the first millennium Mesopotamian empires, there is a plethora of written evidence produced by these empires. For the Neo-Assyrian Empire especially, these sources have allowed scholars to draw a nuanced understanding of imperial administration and write detailed political histories of the region (e.g., Liverani 1988; Pečírková 1982, 1987; Radner 2014; Saggs 1984). This type of document-centered research has greatly enhanced our

understanding of first millennium history. That said, because these texts were in large part produced by agents of the Near Eastern empires, there remains a tendency within scholarship to generalize about the periphery without taking into account the agency and complexity of local communities. These and other issues will be addressed in the pages ahead. In order, however, to understand the nature of the relationship between Edom and the first millennium Mesopotamian empires, one must first have a general sense of the historical lives of these empires.

The Near Eastern empires of the first millennium B.C.E. emerged out of a political and economic collapse. Around 1200 B.C.E., the civilizations of the Eastern Mediterranean underwent a large-scale political and economic restructuring when the palace-based economy that dominated the Eastern Mediterranean throughout the second millennium B.C.E. fell apart (Killebrew 2014: 595-596). The power vacuum created by this collapse allowed the Assyrian Empire, a moderate political force in the Late Bronze Age, to geographically expand and slowly conquer the small kingdoms that bordered the Assyrian heartland in northern Mesopotamia to the north and west.¹ Over the next two centuries, the rulers of the Neo-Assyrian Empire fought with their counterparts in neighboring kingdoms for the control of available territory and resources. Although the empire's growth was neither steady nor predictable, by the mid-ninth century, the Assyrian rulers controlled all of the territory that had been lost during the collapse of the Late Bronze Age (Radner 2015a: 4).

Over the course of the next two centuries, the Assyrian Empire continued to grow, ultimately controlling a geographic expanse that stretched from Egypt up the coast of the Mediterranean Sea into southeastern Turkey, eastward to Ecbatana in Iran, and southward to the Persian Gulf and the northern Arabian Peninsula (Kuhrt 1995: 493-501). During the mid-seventh century, Assyria was the dominant political force in both the Middle East and the Eastern Mediterranean (Radner 2015a: 5). By the end of the seventh century, however, this situation changed drastically. Although the historical details surrounding the fall of the Assyrian Empire are somewhat unclear, what is certain is that by 612 B.C.E., the great Assyrian cities of Assur, Nimrud, and Nineveh had all been destroyed by a Babylonian and Median coalition, and that a new empire—the Neo-Babylonian (or Chaldean) Empire, based in southern Mesopotamia—ruled over much of the territory formerly controlled by the Assyrians (Kuhrt 1995: 540-546).

The Neo-Babylonian Empire originally rose to power under a new dynasty of kings, the Chaldean Dynasty, which came to power in 626 B.C.E. when Nabopolassar ascended to the throne in Babylon after the city had endured a year with no king (Frame 1992: 210). Although the empire only maintained its hold on power for a short time, the Neo-Babylonian kings reconquered much of the former Neo-Assyrian Empire while bringing great wealth and prosperity to southern Mesopotamia. Much of this success occurred under the reigns of Nabopolassar and his son, Nebuchadnezzar II, but this period of prosperity did not endure throughout the reigns of Nebuchadnezzar II's successors (Vanderhooft 1999). During the controversial reign of the last Neo-Babylonian king, Nabonidus,² Babylon fell to the Achaemenid Persian king, Cyrus, in 539 B.C.E. (Briant 2002: 40-44).

¹ For insights into the development of the Assyrian ruling apparatus during the Middle Assyrian Period, see Pečírková 1982, 1987.

² See Chapter Four for a discussion of the controversy surrounding Nabonidus's reign.

The Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Empires surpassed in scale all of the Near Eastern empires that came before them, including the New Kingdom Egyptian Empire, the Hittite Empire, and the Old Babylonian Empire. As the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Empires expanded their territory they were forced to establish new and innovative strategies to control, and benefit from, their vast territories. Fortunately, there is a wealth of written evidence produced by the empires that documents different aspects of these strategies. This abundance of evidence is even more striking when compared to the relatively small amount produced by the individuals living in their southern Levantine periphery, especially in Edom. This unequal distribution of written evidence only adds to the assumption that the empires were responsible for dictating the nature of their political relationship with Edom. In the coming chapters, this dissertation explores these relationships and argues that individuals living within Edom played an important historical role in their development.

Where was Edom and Who was an Edomite?

In order to elucidate the relationship between the Mesopotamian empires and Edom, it is necessary to clearly define the geo-political term “Edom” and the term most often used to refer to Edom’s inhabitants, “Edomites,” first within the context of the available historical sources and then within the context of this dissertation. The name Edom first appears in an Egyptian text, *Papyrus Anastasi VI*, dated to the reign of the Egyptian pharaoh, Merneptah (1224-1214 B.C.E.). The text suggests that the “Shasu of Edom” were a people who practiced some degree of pastoralism, and who, under the reign of Merneptah, were allowed peaceful access to Egyptian-controlled water sources (Redford 1992: 228).

Papyrus Anastasi VI, however, is the only Egyptian text that references Edom (‘*Idm*) specifically, and therefore not much can be gleaned about the region’s precise location. More common in Egyptian texts, however, are references to a region called “Seir” (*s’rr*). The association between the regions of Edom and Seir is well attested in the Hebrew Bible, where the names appear to have been used interchangeably in several instances³ (Edelman 1995: 7-10). Despite the conflation of the names Edom and Seir by the sixth century B.C.E.—the period during which many of the texts included in the Hebrew Bible were redacted—the regions were geographically distinct during the Late Bronze Age (Levy 2009a: 258).

Overall, the Egyptian evidence indicates that during the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age, Seir/Edom was a geographical area that was inhabited by groups of pastoral nomads who may or may not have considered themselves part of the same ethnic group. This picture of the population of Seir/Edom as pastoral-nomads fits well with the archaeological evidence for the period, such as that from the cemetery at Wadi Fidan 40 (Levy et al. 1999), where the burials of a nomadic society have recently been excavated.

During the Iron II period (1000-586 B.C.E.), the term “Edom” was used in Assyrian documents to refer to a kingdom over which they claimed political control. In many of these instances the name “Edom” (*Udumu* in Akkadian) is prefaced by the KUR determinative (e.g. RINAP 1,

³ See, for example, a comparison of the wilderness accounts presented in Numbers 20 and Deuteronomy 1-2.

Tiglath-pileser III 47) indicating that *Udumu* should be understood as a geographic location, correctly translated as “the land/country of Edom.” In some later inscriptions, however, the URU determinative is used, which referenced a “city of Edom” (e.g. RINAP 4, Esarhaddon 1). This may have been used in certain instances to refer to the capital of Edom, likely Busayra, a city in southwest Jordan. It is also evident from the Assyrian records that the land/country of Edom had a leader who was recognized as legitimate by the Assyrian rulers, and that this leader served as the primary interlocutor between the Assyrian rulers and the Edomite populace.⁴ In sum, Assyrian records indicate that the rulers of Assyria recognized a geographic unit called “Edom” and that this unit had leaders who engaged politically with representatives of the Neo-Assyrian Empire.

The source in which the geo-political term Edom is most frequently found is the Hebrew Bible. In many of the earliest scholarly works on Edom, the Hebrew Bible was used as the predominant source of information regarding Edom as both a state and a territory. Prior to Crystal Bennett’s pioneering archaeological excavations in southern Jordan, the Hebrew Bible was used to establish the borders of the Edomite territory and to identify many of Edom’s key cities (see, for example, Buhl 1893: 21, 27; Glueck 1936: 143; Lury 1896: 16), as well as to reconstruct Edom’s political history.

Edom appears throughout the narrative of the Hebrew Bible as a minor character that occasionally engages politically with the work’s main characters—the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah. Although there may be some historical truth in the events that occurred between Israel/Judah and Edom in the Hebrew Bible, these events are for the most part not attested outside of the Hebrew Bible and are often contradictory to the evidence seen in the archaeological record.⁵ As a result, they are not particularly useful in the task of historical reconstruction.

The final place in which there are references to the Iron Age Edomite polity is, not surprisingly, in texts written in the Edomite language. This corpus of texts, however, is small and is restricted, based on linguistic features, to the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.E. (Vanderhooft 1995: 137). Within this corpus of texts there are several *ostraca*, seals and seal impressions, and a few incised inscriptions on pieces of pottery. As is often the case when dealing with fragmentary pieces of epigraphic evidence, the information found within the corpus consists largely of broken words, which include personal names and goods, without narrative context. One notable exception to this is found on an *ostrakon* from Horvat ‘Uza, in the Negev, that dates to the late seventh century B.C.E.⁶ This *ostrakon* reads:

1. Word of Limilk, say to Blbl
2. Are you well? I bless you
3. by Qos. Now then, deliver the grain

⁴ See references to Edomite kings in the Neo-Assyrian documents presented in Chapter Three.

⁵ This is especially true of the stories that describe events involving Edom that were said to take place during the Iron I and early Iron II period (e.g. 2 Samuel 8:14 and 1 Kings 8:20), a time for which there is scant archaeological evidence located on the southern Jordanian plateau that would suggest a settled Edomite population (Bienkowski 1992b: 6).

⁶ The original translation was published in Beit Arie and Cresson 1985: 97.

4. which is in the possession of ‘Ahi’imo and[?]
5. And [PN] will offer upon the al[tar...]
6. a sheaf of grain. (Vanderhooft 1995:142-143).

The *ostracon* is clearly a letter that instructs the reader what to do with a specific supply of grain. Based on the paleography of the *ostracon*, as well as the invocation of Qos, the primary Edomite deity, scholars assume that the author of the letter (and likely the recipient as well) was ethnically Edomite (Vanderhooft 1995: 143).

The corpus of Edomite texts also offers some limited insight into the political organization of the Iron Age Edomite polity. Several of the seals or seal impressions mention a king (*mlk*), confirming that by the seventh century there was an individual in southern Jordan that claimed that office. In all of these cases, however, scholars assume that the king ruled over Edom based on some combination of the following features: the presence of a Qos *theophoric* in the name of the king’s servant, the provenance of the sealing/impression at an Edomite site, such as Busayra, and the text’s paleography. The seal of Qos-gabr, found at Umm al-Biyara might provide the only mention of Edom as a kingdom in the Edomite corpus.

1. qwsg[br?]
2. mlk’[dm?] (Transliteration from Bennett 1966: 399-401, pl. XXIIb)

Even on this seal, however, the second line, which has been translated as “Edom,” has been largely reconstructed, and could have quite conceivably been a second personal name (Vanderhooft 1995: 151).

Finally, the personal names associated with the corpus of Edomite texts offer some information regarding the religious life and practices of the inhabitants of Edom during the late Iron Age. The frequent use of Qos as a *theophoric* element within the personal names found in the Edomite corpus suggests that during the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.E., the deity occupied a prominent place within the Edomite pantheon. Furthermore, the use of the Qos *theophoric* within the personal names of Edomite kings and their attendants reflects the prominence of Qos in the official and state-sanctioned religious practices of the Edomite polity (Bartlett 1989: 200-204).

This dissertation, therefore, uses the term “Edomite” to refer collectively to the individuals that inhabited the territories referred to by ancient authors and/or modern scholars as Edom, during the Iron II period. In modern geographic terms, the territory of Edom includes parts of the desert of northwest Arabia, all of southern Jordan (south of the Wadi al-Hasa), the Arabah Valley, and parts of the southeastern Negev.

The term “Edomite” is used in this dissertation for ease of understanding, as the term has been used in scholarship to refer to the inhabitants of Edom since such scholarship began. In English, the term “Edomite” certainly carries with it ethnic connotations, since it is often understood in parallel to the English term “Israelite.” The primary concern of this dissertation is not to explore the concept of ethnicity in the Iron Age Levant, although a fresh look at this topic is certainly warranted. Within the context of this project, the choice to use the term “Edomite” to describe the inhabitants of Edom does not in any way mean that Edom should be understood as an

ethnically homogenous polity, nor should it be assumed that an individual living within Edom would have considered herself to have been an Edomite. In fact, as it will become clear throughout this dissertation, Edom was a complex and diverse polity, and the ethnic make-up of its population reflected this diversity.

The territory that is most typically associated with Edom lies within the southern portion of the present-day Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan (**Figure 1.1**). Traditionally, scholars have determined the boundaries of this territory based on two primary lines of evidence: historical references to Edom and places associated with Edom found in the relevant Egyptian, Assyrian, and Hebrew texts; and shared traits found in material culture, most commonly ceramic objects (Whiting 2007: 40-41). These two lines of evidence have led scholars to define the territory of the Edomite Kingdom rather specifically. Scholars generally understand the heart of the Edomite territory to be located in the mountainous region of southwest Jordan (Bartlett 1989; Edelman 1995). The kingdom's territory is then bounded to the north by the Wadi al-Hasa, which runs from Jordan's eastern desert and eventually empties itself into the most southern extent of the Dead Sea. The territory extends to the east toward the Arabian Desert, and to the south until it reaches the Red Sea.

Edom's western border is perhaps the most contested in scholarly discourse. Although the Edomite heartland is considered to be on the southern Jordanian plateau, where Iron Age settlement was concentrated (Bartlett 1989; Edelman 1995), most scholars now include the Jordanian lowlands to be a part of Edom as well. This region includes the area of the Wadi Arabah, which runs from the Dead Sea in the north to the Red Sea in the south and incorporates the area of the Wadi Faynan—where much Iron Age research has taken place in the past decade. Just how far to the west the territory extends is open to debate. Following Nelson Glueck (1936: 141-158), most scholars have traditionally placed the ancient border of Edom right along the modern border between Jordan and Israel. However, as this project argues in Chapter Seven, parts of the Negev should also be included in any analysis of Edomite material remains. The expanded territory of Edom, therefore, can be generally divided into three different geographic zones: the Wadi Arabah, the southwestern Jordanian plateau, and the northern Negev.

Research Design

Tripartite Approach

This project argues that despite the growing corpus of recent scholarship that has investigated different aspects of the relationship between Near Eastern empires and their peripheries through the lens of post-colonial theory, there remains a tendency to generalize the periphery without taking into account the agency and complexity of local communities. Additionally, it demonstrates that even works focusing on the imperial periphery itself still assume that influence was moving from the core to the periphery, if not in the form of direct control, then possibly by means of elite emulation. By using Iron Age Edom as a case study, this project will question this paradigm by exploring the relationship between the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Empires and Edom, while attempting to understand the ways in which the inhabitants of Edom may have directly affected the provincial policy of the Near Eastern empires.

The remainder of this chapter will present an alternative model through which scholars can understand the relationship between the Near Eastern empires and Edom without the assumption that the larger political entity was responsible for defining the nature of the relationship. The goal of this approach is not to discredit or ignore the evidence that has been traditionally used by scholars to understand this relationship, such as the written and iconographic evidence produced by the Mesopotamian empires and the monumental architecture, prestige objects, and limited epigraphic evidence produced by the Edomite elite. Rather, the goal is to balance this evidence against new types of evidence that can provide insight into the goals and motivations of an underrepresented segment of Edom's population. It is necessary then to view this relationship from different perspectives while according equal weight to each and not privileging one type of evidence over another.

In the following chapters, using a tripartite approach, this project will explore the relationship between the first millennium Near Eastern empires and Edom through three different perspectives on that relationship: that of the core, that of the Edomite elite, and that of the Edomite populace. The choice to examine the perspectives of these three specific groups was largely influenced by the nature of the available evidence related to the relationship between Edom and the Mesopotamian empires. Although sub-dividing these groups further would provide an even more complete understanding of the core-periphery relationship, it is not currently possible to attribute much of the available evidence (with the exception of some evidence produced by the imperial core) to groups or individuals at a higher resolution than that presented in this project.

Within the tripartite approach, the term "perspective" is used. In this context, the term has a meaning similar to the phrase "point-of-view" in that it captures the attitude of a specific group or the way that group would regard something. The use of "perspective" acknowledges that the different sources available for understanding the relationship between Edom and the Mesopotamian empires were produced by different groups for different audiences (and in some cases for no intended audience at all), and that these sources reflect—either intentionally or unintentionally—the point of view or the perspective of the individuals and groups that produced them. By treating the sources produced by different groups separately, this project considers the different social, political, and economic factors that motivated each group, and it achieves a more critical and nuanced understanding of the sources produced by these groups. By employing this tripartite approach, this project presents a more comprehensive and balanced picture of the relationship between Edom and the Mesopotamian empires.

In order to further nuance and complicate our understanding of the relationship between empires and their peripheries, this project adds a diachronic element by applying the tripartite approach separately to both the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Empires. By doing this, it will be possible to understand the political and economic aspirations of both empires, and the different ways that they each interacted with their peripheries, specifically Edom, in order to accomplish their goals. Also, from the perspectives of the Edomite elite and the populace, it will be possible to see differences and similarities between Edom's response to different imperial agendas in the Southern Levant. Furthermore, by exploring the way that Edom interacts with both of the Near Eastern empires throughout time, the project can better assess the effect that the empires actually had on the inhabitants of Edom.

The first of the three perspectives to be explored within the tripartite approach will be that of the imperial core. After being the subject of archaeological exploration for the past two centuries, Mesopotamia has produced an abundance of texts and artifacts through which the modern scholar can discern different aspects of its long history. Of particular relevance to this study are the texts and artifacts excavated from the royal cities of the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Empires, as well as the propagandistic political inscriptions that were often inscribed in the periphery as the Near Eastern armies campaigned through the area.

As will become clear, the evidence used in Chapters Three and Four to construct this core perspective represents an official royal point of view. The aim of these chapters is to determine as much as is possible the way the ruling elites of the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Empires thought about the Levant in general and, when possible, about Edom specifically, at different points throughout their relationships. What was the imperial advantage to ruling Edom? Did this differ between each of the Near Eastern empires? In what ways are the political and economic aspirations of each empire made clear through their official provincial policy toward Edom and the Levant? These questions and others will frame this dissertation's presentation of the core perspective.

The people that inhabited the Iron Age territory of Edom are generally referred to as "Edomites." This is not only true within modern scholarship, but was also the case in ancient texts as well, and as a result there has been little effort to refine or develop our understanding of what constitutes Edomite culture.⁷ Despite this, in order to understand the way that Edomites thought about their relationship with the Near Eastern empires, it is necessary to first stress that it is a vast oversimplification to suggest, as many have implicitly done, that there was one monolithic Edomite people and by extension one monolithic Edomite perspective. Furthermore, it is improbable to suggest that all Edomites felt the same way about imperial involvement in the Southern Levant. Although it would be impossible to consider the perspective of each individual Edomite, it is productive to differentiate between the Edomite elite and the Edomite populace. This differentiation, while analytically useful, does impose an artificial dichotomy within Edomite society. Therefore, it must be stressed that this project in no way argues that the range of Edomite experience must have fallen into these two groups. Class differentiation in Edomite society was likely far more complicated than the proposed two-class system, even without taking into account other grouping characteristics such as tribal lineage, age, or gender. It does, however, argue that the limited evidence will not at this time permit further division of Edomite social stratification beyond this two-class differentiation. Therefore, despite the imperfections of this classification system, this project will differentiate between the Edomite elite and the Edomite populace, which will be explored in Chapters Five through Seven.

In constructing an Edomite elite perspective, this project is challenged by the scant amount of written evidence produced by the Edomite elite. Despite this fact, it is still possible to distill from other sources the position of the Edomite elites vis-à-vis their imperial counterparts. Within the territory of Edom, most of the available evidence from which an Edomite elite perspective can be constructed comes from the Edomite capital at Busayra. As mentioned above, this settlement

⁷ Crowell (2004) and Porter (2004) are notable exceptions to this.

yielded a monumental building program as well as a remarkable amount of elite material culture, which indicates some type of Mesopotamian influence (Bennett 1982).

The perspective of the general Edomite populace is perhaps the most difficult to construct due to the almost complete lack of written evidence. Therefore, the construction of this perspective will rely almost exclusively on archaeological data excavated from domestic structures within Edom.

Household Archaeology

This project will investigate the daily activities of the Edomite populace largely through household archaeology. This methodological approach, first coined by Richard Wilk and William Rathje (1982), argues that households (and their material remains—houses and the objects associated with them) embody society and reproduce its values at the most fundamental level. Therefore, understanding the social, ritual, and economic activities of households provides a window through which larger societal processes—such as Edom’s transition from an independent polity to an imperial peripheral holding—can be illuminated.

It is essential to bear in mind the important difference between archaeological households and domestic structures in the archaeological record. While domestic structures are the architectural remains of the physical places in which households lived and worked, the households themselves are the social groups that inhabited these spaces. Households should be understood as co-resident social groups, cooperatively engaged in economic activities. Households manifest themselves differently in different societies, and while members of a specific household often share ties of kinship, this is not always the case. Although emphasis is often placed on the importance of daily practice within households, it is critical that household members be understood not as automatons carrying out repetitive tasks, but rather as decision-making agents whose actions reflect a combination of tradition, practicality, individual preference, and social, economic, environmental, or political need. Following Meredith Chesson (2012), it is useful to conceptualize the intersection of a household and a domestic structure as a “home,” which Chesson argues more aptly captures the messiness of something that is built, embodied, and enlivened by peoples’ actions, thoughts, relationships, and aspirations.

Because of the constant activity and decision-making that occurs within households on a daily basis, they are often sites of societal innovation and change at its most fundamental level. A factor frequently implicit in innovation and change in daily life is the flexible element of taste. Taste is an embodied preference that can manifest itself in the material world as the driving force behind the choices agents make in both the production and consumption of material products (Bourdieu 1984). Taste, as a form of practical knowledge, has been successfully used to investigate cultural entanglements within colonial encounters (Stahl 2002). Because taste has the ability to express cultural meaning without relying on linguistic communication, it is a particularly useful entry point into the difficult task of elucidating the preferences of a cultural group from whom scant written records survive, such as that of the Edomite populace. Taste can be discerned from any artifact class that is intentionally produced or modified by human agents; within the context of this project, it will be used to explore variations in daily life in Iron Age Edom. This project will use the archaeological evidence associated with excavated houses in

Edom as a means of accessing the larger social, religious, and economic processes at work, as well as the ways that these processes changed over time.

Although household archaeological approaches are appropriate for understanding a wide array of daily activities, this project will emphasize foodways as a useful way of studying social distinction, especially in a colonial environment. Foodways refers to the sum total of the materials and practices necessary for the production and consumption of food by a particular group. The production and consumption of the quotidian meal is the unqualified *habitus* practice, which is defined by Pierre Bourdieu as a practice that creates regularities inherent in the “objective structures” of a particular cultural group (such as gender roles or class distinction) while adjusting to the cognitive and motivating structures of the agents involved (Bourdieu 1977: 72-95). The preparation of food, therefore, presents for archaeologists a practice wherein a dialectical relationship between tradition and innovation may be observed. From within the nexus of this relationship emerges the individual agent, who, through the action of producing and/or consuming the quotidian meal, is capable of both reproducing traditional elements inherent within her society as well as challenging them through innovation and change.

Household and Foodways Evidence in Edom

This project will examine some excavated houses in Edom in order to extrapolate as much as possible about the organization of daily activities and the order of domestic life in Iron Age Edom. Domestic architecture has been documented at almost all of the excavated sites in Edom, but the quality of excavation is not consistent from site to site. Unfortunately, many extensively documented houses in Edom were excavated before household archaeological methods were commonly practiced in Near Eastern archaeology. In fact, many of the excavations recorded little data from their domestic structures beyond architectural layout and phasing. This was certainly the case with Bennett’s excavations at Busayra, Tawilan, and Umm al-Biyara, and Stephen Hart’s excavations at Ghrareh (**Figure 1.2**).

Unfortunately, due to the slow pace at which methodologies associated with household archaeology have been implemented at sites in the Levant, comparable data is not available from other areas at Busayra or from other sites throughout Edom. As a result, the generalizations about the spatial organization of activities throughout Edom put forth in this project will rely heavily on the published architecture of residential structures in Edom, the occasional mentions of either installations or unusual finds excavated from within the residential structures, and relevant theoretical literature and ethnographic parallels that inform an understanding of the utilization of space within domestic residences.

As mentioned above, this project will take into account all relevant, available household data from Edom, but it will place a special emphasis on data related to foodways. The foodways data will be understood largely through the analysis of ceramic, botanical, and faunal remains. The paleoethnobotanical and zooarchaeological analyses will provide evidence of the types of food products that were being consumed and the ways that these food products were being processed prior to cooking. A functional ceramic analysis will contribute to the discussion by indicating how the food products were stored, cooked, and served, and the manner in which these practices changed over time while under the political authority of the Near Eastern empires.

If these household and foodways data suggest that the settled population at Busayra was producing and consuming plant and animal products in ways that do not reflect any observable changes, then it could be argued that Busayra and, perhaps, Edom as a whole was fairly autonomous during this period of imperial rule. The above discussed Mesopotamian architectural influence found in the settlement's monumental building projects places Busayra among a group of capitals and major centers in the Southern Levant that demonstrated their official imperial attachment by adopting elements of Mesopotamian visual culture. However, the degree to which individual inhabitants of Busayra brought elements of Mesopotamian culture into their private lives has yet to be explored. How "Mesopotamian," if at all, were the capital's inhabitants? If imperial influence stops with architectural influence found in the two most public buildings at the polity's capital, then perhaps these were political acts of conspicuous consumption and the Near Eastern empires brought less change and influence to Edom than scholars have traditionally argued. However, if the project finds prestige objects bearing Mesopotamian influence within the domestic residences, or if we see a shattering of traditional subsistence, economic, and social practices, then perhaps the Near Eastern empires were responsible for radically reshaping their periphery.

The Busayra Cultural Heritage Project (BCHP)

In order to provide systematically excavated evidence of Edomite houses and foodways practices, the author began the Busayra Cultural Heritage Project (BCHP) in 2013. The project completed three seasons of archaeological fieldwork at Busayra between 2013 and 2015, directed by the author and Dr. Benjamin Porter. The archaeological data produced by the BCHP make up the core evidence used in this dissertation to explore the perspective of the Edomite populace. These data will be presented in detail in Chapters Six and Seven.

The BCHP's first season of fieldwork took place during the summer of 2013. The primary objectives of the 2013 season were to assess the condition of the architectural evidence that Bennett excavated and left exposed in the 1970s, to create a new topographic map of the site, and to systematically collect surface sherds from the site's northeastern geological bench (where the author planned to excavate the following year). The results of this site assessment season were promising. The team found that the site was in relatively good condition, but that it needed strategic modifications in order to protect and preserve the exposed architecture. Additionally, the surface survey recorded numerous ceramic sherds that could be dated to the late Iron Age—a date consistent with the dates of the ceramic evidence excavated by Bennett's team. Finally, the team's geographic survey—carried out by Dr. Andrew Wilson and Christopher Bravo—led to the creation of a digital topographic map of Busayra (**Figure 1.3**).

During the summer of 2014, the BCHP brought a team of 16 students and academic professionals to Busayra in order to carry out the project's most extensive season of fieldwork. During this season, the project began excavations in two areas at Busayra—Areas AA and DD. One 5 m x 5 m trench was excavated in Area AA, which was located inside a back room in

Building A, which is generally interpreted as a temple (Bienkowski 2002: 95).⁸ Additionally, four 5 m x 5 m trenches were excavated in Area DD. Area DD is located adjacent to Bennett's Area D (where she found and excavated part of one domestic structure (Bienkowski 2002: 207-223)), and was selected as an excavation area because of its potential to yield additional domestic architecture. The domestic architectural evidence from Area DD will be presented in Chapter Six, and the botanical, faunal, and ceramic evidence from Area DD will be presented in Chapter Seven alongside the foodways data from other sites on the southern Jordanian plateau.

The final season of fieldwork at Busayra took place over a five-week period during December 2014 and August 2015. During this season the project carried out a geophysical survey of Busayra in collaboration with the University of Arkansas's Center for Advanced Spatial Technology and their Spatial Archaeometry Research Collaborations (SPARC) program. The geophysical survey was carried out by Katie Simon and Christine Markussen, and the domestic architectural data collected during this survey will be presented in Chapter Six.

Dissertation Framework

The theoretical impetus for the current project is presented in Chapter Two, which begins with a discussion of the historical, cultural, and theoretical implications associated with the terms Empire and Colonialism. Through a post-colonial consideration of the relationship between imperial cores and peripheries, this dissertation addresses questions such as: Did empires of the ancient world engage in colonialism in the way that it is understood today? How are we to understand the relationship between an empire's political center and the people who inhabited its geographic periphery? Next, Chapter Two presents various anthropological perspectives and models useful for understanding complex political relationships using archaeological evidence. Finally, the chapter presents its approach to understanding the relationship between Edom and the Near Eastern empires—the tripartite approach—and addresses some of the sources available for this undertaking. The chapter argues that the tripartite approach allows scholars working in Edom to understand the relationship between Edom and the Near Eastern empires without the inherent assumption that the larger political entity was responsible for defining the nature of the relationship. Instead it approaches the relationship from three different situated perspectives—that of the imperial core, that of the Edomite elite, and that of the Edomite populace.

Next, Chapter Two turns its attention to the specific relationship between the first millennium Near Eastern empires and Edom. The chapter presents a scholarly review of the different ways that scholars working in Edom over the past 90 years have understood Edom's relationships with the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Empires. Ultimately, the chapter argues that previous scholars studying the relationship between Edom and the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Empires have neglected a relevant group in the core-periphery relationship by not considering the historical agency of the Edomite populace. Instead, these scholars have placed too much emphasis on direct imperial intervention in the region.

⁸ Building A was excavated by Bennett's team. See Chapter Five for a detailed discussion of this building and its function at Busayra.

Chapters Three through Seven present a reconstruction of the imperial perspective, the Edomite elite perspective, and the perspective of the Edomite populace. In the reconstruction of the Neo-Assyrian (Chapter Three) and Neo-Babylonian (Chapter Four) perspectives on Edom, this project carefully considers historical accounts produced by imperial officials that describe the political involvement of the empires with the polities of the Southern Levant in general, and, whenever possible, with Edom specifically.

Chapter Five explores the Edomite elite perspective, which draws largely from evidence excavated from the Edomite capital at Busayra, and explores the settlement's monumental building program as well as other examples of material culture that were associated with an elite class of Edomites that lived at Busayra. The objective of this chapter is to explore the various strategies utilized by the Edomite elites to maintain and grow their political power while simultaneously negotiating their role as intermediaries who stood between the imperial rulers and the Edomite populace. The chapter will argue that these elites were employing strategies that were engaging with the elites of other Levantine polities rather than with the imperial core.

The exploration of the perspective of the general Edomite populace, presented in Chapters Six and Seven, analyzes two different types of evidence that can provide insight into the daily lives and priorities of the Edomite populace. The term "populace" is used in this dissertation to refer to the non-elite segment of Edomite society, and, as such, these chapters seek to explore the lives of the ordinary Edomites, whose historical agency has thus far been ignored. Chapter Six will employ a household archaeology approach while Chapter Seven will present evidence related to Edomite foodways in order to interpret archaeological data associated with Iron Age domestic structures excavated in southern Jordan. Chapters Six and Seven both began by presenting and interpreting evidence from the previously excavated sites of Umm al-Biyara, Ghrareh, Tawilan, and Busayra. Following these presentations, the chapters then turn to the evidence systemically collected by the author and her BCHP teammates at Busayra. Chapters Six and Seven both ultimately argue that the activities of the individuals living at Busayra were tightly integrated into an elite power structure based at Busayra, and that the daily activities of the Edomite populace at Busayra and at other settlements in southwest Jordan were not directly affected by the Neo-Assyrian or Neo-Babylonian Empires (at least until the destruction of Busayra, probably by Nabonidus).

Overall, this dissertation highlights the inadequacies of a simple, top-down approach to understanding core-periphery relationships by using a tripartite approach to nuance the relationship between the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Empires and the polity of Edom. This approach takes into account the perspective of the imperial rulers, the Edomite elite, and the Edomite populace. It argues that neither the Neo-Assyrian nor the Neo-Babylonian imperial rulers were solely responsible for dictating the terms of the empires' relationships with Edom, and that the Edomites were not merely reacting to imperial decree. The dissertation argues instead that the relationship between Edom and both empires was complex and multi-faceted, and that each of the three groups of historical actors explored within the tripartite approach played an important role in determining the nature of the relationship between Edom and the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Empires.

CHAPTER TWO – EMPIRES AND COLONIALISM

As described in Chapter One, the majority of research concerning the expansion and maintenance of the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Empires is based on the extensive corpus of written documents produced in Mesopotamia. Not only do these documents represent only the perspective of their authors, the imperial ruling elite, but the vast majority of them were written for the sole purpose of recording imperial successes. To gloss over instances of imperial failure, such sources necessarily reported only select interactions with their peripheries.

In order to address issues of the inclusion or misrepresentation of Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian peripheries within available written sources, this chapter draws from a corpus of theoretical literature to explore aspects of the core-periphery relationship. The first part of this chapter introduces two terms around which much of this dissertation is focused, “empire” and “colonialism.” Beyond that, it explores the use of these terms in specific historical, cultural, and theoretical contexts in order to demonstrate the implications inherent in their usage, and the ways in which these implications affect our understanding of empires in the ancient world. The chapter further addresses questions such as: How should scholars understand the relationship between an empire’s political center and the people who inhabited its geographic periphery? How can this relationship be understood from archaeological evidence? This section demonstrates that scholarship exploring the relationship between empires and their peripheries often treats the empire as the chief actor in determining the nature of these relationships, and that even the most recent and nuanced work on imperial peripheries often assumes that the peripheries are responding to imperial policy and not affecting it themselves.

The latter part of the chapter turns its attention to the specific relationships between the first millennium Near Eastern empires and their peripheries, and it engages with scholars’ recent thinking on this topic. The final portion of the chapter presents an assessment of how best to move forward the scholarly conversation about the relationship between empires and peripheries in general, and that of the first millennium Near Eastern empires and Edom, specifically. This section argues that this project’s approach to understanding the relationships between Edom and the Near Eastern empires—the tripartite approach—provides scholars a flexible and nuanced tool for exploring the complex relationship between core and periphery from multiple angles without privileging one over the other.

Empire

This project is about empires, but what exactly is an empire? And what makes an empire different from other types of political entities? The following section presents the definition of an empire adopted in this project, but also complicates the issue by discussing several of the different ways that this term has been used throughout history. The historical connotations associated with the use of the word “empire” have shaped the way that it is understood today, and thus affects the assumptions implicated in its use within scholarship. This section illustrates that the use of the word “empire” in the English language is linked to a specific concept of empire—one that looked to ancient Rome for its inspiration but was also firmly rooted in the historical context of modern European colonialism. As a result, the use of the term “empire” to describe a political entity in the ancient world connotes a similarity between ancient empires and modern European examples. Although this may, in some instances, be warranted, it is necessary

to bring into critical focus areas where significant differences exist between modern and ancient empires.

The term “empire” comes from the Latin *imperium*, meaning order or command. The term, however, was used in several different ways even within the context of ancient Rome, resulting in a complicated semantic picture of the term’s meaning within its modern usage. Anthony Pagden (1995) traces the semantic history of the word “empire” and isolates three distinct European understandings of the term that stem from ancient Rome. In its original usage *imperium* was used to describe the sphere of authority held by Roman magistrates, and it was this usage of the term that was employed by writers (following Cicero) in the 15th and 16th centuries (Pagden 1995: 12).

A second usage of *imperium* corresponded with our modern understanding of a state. It described a political entity that did not necessarily have to include a large or conquered territory (Pagden 1995:12). The third usage of *imperium* arose out of Rome during the first century C.E., and it is this final usage that has emerged as the source of our dominant understanding of empire as a large and diverse political entity. In the first century, the phrase *imperium romannum* was used to describe the geographic extent of Roman authority, and the phrase *immensum imperii corpus*, meaning “immense body of empire,” was used to describe the united nature of diverse and formerly separate “perfect states” (Pagden 1995: 13-14).

It is quite appropriate that the English word “empire” derives from the Latin, just as the very notion of empire in the European context derives from an understanding of the Roman Empire itself. As Michael Dietler (2010: 27-43) convincingly argues, this association stems from a particular historical moment—Europe’s so-called Renaissance in the 15th century, when European political thinkers began to look to the classical civilizations of Greece and Rome for the rationalization and inspiration that would drive their own colonial aspirations beyond the Mediterranean. Perhaps, then, it is not surprising that European colonialism adopted Latin terminology to describe their economic and political expansion, although this terminology was slightly redefined to better fit its new historical context. Despite the use of the ancient terminology, the processes by which Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries ruled can by no means be mapped onto the empires of the ancient world.

What then is an empire, and how do empires differ from other hegemonic political entities? The specific political entities that have historically been called empires are significantly diverse in nature. Gregory Areshian (2013) points out that within the broad category of empire are several different imperial types. These types include, but are not limited to, empires that originated from city-states, such as Athens and Rome; imperial unions, such as the Achaemenid Persian Empire and the Holy Roman Empire; nomadic imperial confederacies, such as the Scythians; church empires, such as the papacy; and empires based on nation-states, such as those of 19th century Europe (Areshian 2013: 5).

Considering the diverse manifestations of empire, scholars must be careful in their attempts to define the term so that it remains a productive analytical category while also enabling cross-cultural and multi-temporal comparisons. In her review of studies of the material remains of empire, Carla Sinopoli (1994: 4) notes that although scholars have put forth numerous definitions

of empires, these definitions generally share the view that empires are territorially expansive political entities that exercise control over other sociopolitical entities (Sinopoli 1994: 4). She further notes that the term “imperialism” is used by these scholars to describe the process of creating and maintaining empires. This project employs Sinopoli’s understandings of empire and imperialism. These understandings are particularly useful in their generality—in that they include within their scope empires of varying scale, which may use a variety of administrative strategies to guarantee and enforce its control. The control exercised by these empires can be partial or absolute, and might take the form of either formal control, as in the type found in a treaty, or informal control, which might refer to some type of social, economic, or cultural dependence. According to this definition, then, the term “imperialism” refers to the processes by which this control is achieved and maintained.

Despite the diverse manifestations of empire, there are elements that are largely common to each. Perhaps most notable among the factors that link historically, culturally, and temporally disparate empires is scale. Empires are large political entities, often both in terms of sheer geographic expanse as well as in political, military, and economic might. This scale is a defining characteristic of an empire, and is the result of expansionist political policies. An empire only becomes such once it has physically expanded its territory—whether by means of military intervention, political diplomacy, or cultural hegemony.

This dissertation argues that this physical geographic expansion necessitates the usage of the terms “core” and “periphery.” This terminology has seen frequent use in postcolonial studies, and as a result can be problematic. In the field of postcolonial studies, these terms are most commonly associated with the work of Immanuel Wallerstein (1974, 1980). In Wallerstein’s work, the term “core” refers to the European colonial powers of the 15th-19th centuries C.E., and the term “periphery” to the territories and peoples conquered by these powers. Unfortunately, these terms have been used by Wallerstein and others to create an over-simplified dichotomy within asymmetrical socio-political relationships.

This project employs the terms “core” and “periphery” to describe a spatial relationship between the original territory or “heartland” of the first millennium Near Eastern empires in this study and their conquered territories. It must be noted, however, that neither the core nor the periphery, even when taken geographically, are fixed concepts. Throughout the life of an empire, the conceptualizations of core and periphery are constantly being renegotiated through the actions of the individuals who inhabit the empire.

The motivating factor that drives almost all imperial expansion is the well-being of the empire’s core. This wellbeing can be understood in various ways, but is most often evident in an empire’s concern for the physical security of the core and for the extraction of resources from the periphery for the economic benefit of the core (Adams 1979). The manner in which an empire addresses these concerns can vary but often necessitates the maintenance of political control over its periphery. This brings to the forefront the subject of power—an issue that is integral to the arguments put forth in this project.

Power can be understood as one party’s ability to influence, by any means, another party to act in a way that results in the desired outcome of the first party. This project follows Terence D’Altroy

(1992: 10-14) in differentiating between different types of power in the articulation of the relationship(s) between empires and their peripheries. These types of power include political, economic, military, and ideological power. Political power can be understood as a party's ability to control consent and decision-making (D'Altroy 1992: 10, following Service 1975:12). Economic power involves control over access to resources, including natural resources, labor, and trade in finished products, whereas military power can be understood as the ability to enact forms of physical coercion. Finally, ideological power, which is a type of indirect power, justifies and therefore reduces the costs of more direct types of power (D'Altroy 1992: 14). By adopting these definitions different types of power it becomes possible to explore and nuance multiple facets of the complicated relationship between empires and their peripheries without assuming that power was a reified thing that is held by only one entity.

Although the characteristics associated with the word "empire" were based on the Roman Empire and developed within the historical context of European colonialism, the breadth of Sinopoli's definition allows many types of modern and ancient political entities to be classified as empires. Although this definition is general in nature, it acknowledges that the various types of empires share a few traits in common. Included among these are size, rate of expansion, a concern with the protection and betterment of the imperial core, and some type of power over the imperial periphery. Beyond this general definition, it is therefore necessary when discussing one particular empire to bring to light the specific historical context in which it developed, grew, and then fell.

Colonies, Colonialism, and Postcolonialism

A second term that relates to empires and imperialism is "colonialism" and its more active form, "colonization." Like the word "empire," these words are used within several relevant historical contexts, but they are most often used to refer to the European colonialism that began in the 15th and 16th centuries C.E. This section will argue that the asymmetrical political relationships that characterized the empire-colony relationship in the modern era shared much in common with certain core-periphery relationships in the ancient world, including the relationship between the first millennium Mesopotamian empires and Edom. Therefore, postcolonial theory, models, and research can provide productive tools for exploring this relationship.

The terms "colonialism" and "colonization" are most often used to refer to processes and events related to the modern world, but like "empire" these terms also finds their derivations in the classical world, coming from the Latin *colonia*, meaning farm or settlement. The *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) defines a colony as:

A settlement in a new country; a body of people who settle in a new locality, forming a community subject to or connected with their parent state; the community so formed, consisting of the original settlers and their descendants and successors, as long as the connection with the parent state is kept up.

As Ania Loomba (2005) points out, the definition of colony provided in the OED bears no mention of people other than those doing the colonizing. In Loomba's work with the postcolonial modern world, she takes issue with this definition by pointing out that it ignores the complex and

traumatic nature of the relationship between the original and new inhabitants of a conquered territory. While the OED definition of colony may not be well-suited to adequately describe the colonialism instituted by the European nation-states of the 19th century because it omits reference to conquered peoples, it does appropriately illustrate the conceptualization of the term “colony” as applied to studies of the ancient Near East.

The concept of an imperial colony is used in scholarship produced about the ancient Near East only in very specific instances, which differ greatly from the common usage of the concept in American and European history. These instances more closely reflect the Greek usage of the term *ἀποικία* (apoikía) which referred to a settlement (usually just one settlement and its associated hinterland) of *ἀποικιοί* (ápoikoi), literally, “people from home.” These Greek colonies were generally independent, politically autonomous city-states that although settled by citizens of a Greek “mother city,” maintained only cultural ties (religious, sentimental, etc.) and trade relations with that city (Dietler 2010: 349).

This Greek term *ἀποικία* was translated by Roman writers as *colonia*, although the Roman conception of *colonia* differed quite dramatically. Furthermore, like the use of the word *imperium*, the use of the word *colonia* changed throughout Roman history. While originally referring to a settlement of Roman citizens (often military veterans) in a conquered land as a means of territorial control, the term evolved to describe the highest status that could be given to a settlement within the Roman Empire, regardless of the population make-up or foundational history of that settlement (Dietler 2010: 349-350). The conceptual difference between the Roman *colonia* and the Greek *ἀποικία* is relevant because despite the differences between the two phenomena both are translated into English as “colony.” It is, however, the later Roman concept that was adopted by the Europeans of the 14th and 15th centuries, as it was Rome that prevailed as the main imperial model through the 17th century (Dietler 2010: 35).

In studies focusing on the ancient Near East, the terms “colonialism” and “colonization” are used only in very specific contexts. These contexts more closely reflect the Greek *ἀποικία* rather than the Roman *colonia*. In the ancient Near East, colonies are generally thought of as settlements founded by a particular polity in a foreign territory, usually associated with the establishment of long-distance trade. These settlements are seen as enclaves or islands, whose associated material reflects the culture of the colonizing polity rather than the culture of the indigenous population. As this project will argue below, colonial settlements in the ancient Near East are not seen as the settlements of a hostile or invading polity and often exist in very close proximity to indigenous settlements.

The expansion efforts of the first millennium Near Eastern empires explored in this project are almost never referred to by scholars as acts of colonization. Near Eastern imperial expansion in the first millennium was quite different in nature from the trading posts or settlements most associated with the common application of the term “colony” in studies of the ancient Near East. The campaigns of Near Eastern imperial rulers in the first millennium were violent, (as most clearly rendered by the Neo-Assyrian royal annals and vivid depictions captured in the wall reliefs of the Neo-Assyrian royal palaces), and the subsequent occupation of conquered territories was hostile. Furthermore, conquered territory was inhabited by indigenous populations

and while there is evidence of imperial material culture, it is almost always mixed with indigenous material culture,⁹ unlike the colonial “enclaves” described above.

The confusing result of these differences is that despite the fact that the conquest and administration of the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Empires more closely resembles Roman (and by extension, modern) conceptualizations of colonialism,¹⁰ the term “colonialism” is almost never used to describe the expansion or province administration of the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Empires. The similarities to modern conceptualizations of colonies make scholarship produced within various fields of postcolonial studies relevant to the exploration of the relationship between these first millennium Near Eastern empires and their peripheries.

Although formal decolonization was a process that began as early as the 18th century C.E. with the loss of several large European colonial holdings in the Americas, it was not until the fallout from the First World War that Europe’s colonial experiment began to fall apart in Africa and Asia. As European colonialism developed alongside capitalism and resulted in the complete restructuring of the economies of the conquered peoples and lands (Loomba 2005: 9), it should not be surprising that the intellectual critique of colonialism began in large part through Karl Marx’s critique of capitalism in the mid-19th century. These 19th century Marxist thinkers, although acknowledging the brutal nature of colonialism, often saw it as a necessary evil—the vehicle by which capitalism could be spread throughout the globe—that history must endure before the ultimate liberation of the communist revolution (Marx 1973: 306)

The continued intellectual relationship between colonialism and capitalism is evident when 20th century postcolonial discourse developed during the 1950s with work by Aimé Césaire—who coined the term ‘thingification’ in his work *Discourse on Colonialism* (1972: 21). Césaire argues that colonialism dehumanizes and objectifies the conquered subject, ultimately making that subject a commodity himself. Franz Fanon’s (1963) work, *The Wretched of the Earth*, built upon but altered the traditional Marxist understanding of colonialism as a predominately class struggle by introducing the important role of race into critiques of European colonialism. Fanon asserts that in European colonial contexts race and class come together in a way that creates a type of racial aristocracy that includes white working-class individuals, a phenomenon that was not possible within Europe itself (Fanon 1963:32).

During the 1970s the field of postcolonial studies was further advanced by the publication of several other prominent works, including Immanuel Wallerstein’s *The Modern World-System* (1974, 1980) and Edward Said’s *Orientalism* (1978). These works largely spurred the postcolonial movement that continues to analyze and critique European colonialism while challenging several prevalent western conceptions, including those of race and civilization.

Although the development of postcolonial studies in the 20th century was a reaction to a set of specific historical circumstances, the theories and concepts generated within these studies are exceedingly relevant for the historical analyses of ancient empires. Because these theories

⁹ The below section, titled “Culture Contact Studies,” addresses this further.

¹⁰ So much so, in fact, that scholars use some of the same terminology to describe the imperial territorial holdings of the first millennium Near Eastern empires that they use to describe those of the Roman Empire, for example “province,” “client state,” and “vassal state.”

problematize the asymmetrical political relationship between conquerors and conquered and strive to give a voice to subaltern populations,¹¹ they can be used as a framework to explore the relationship between ancient empires and their peripheries and to think about the populations living in imperial peripheries in new and more nuanced ways.

The relationship between empires and their colonies or peripheries can take many different forms depending largely on the specific socio-historical circumstances in which the relationship developed. This project engages with a body of postcolonial literature that examines the political, economic, and social manifestations of culture contact between empires and their peripheries. Ultimately, the project advances this scholarship by recognizing and demonstrating the indirect power and agency that a peripheral area can have over its core, as well as the way in which that power can directly affect imperial policy and administration.

Core-Periphery: Beyond World-Systems

Few scholars have influenced the study of empire more than Wallerstein. In Wallerstein's model of a capitalist world-system (1974, 1980), the world is divided into three groups: cores, peripheries, and semi-peripheries—each defined by various economic conditions. Wallerstein understood this world-system to be a product of 15th century Europe, when the core European states began the systematic exploitation of the undeveloped world. Wallerstein's model provides a useful analytical framework for archaeologists, especially those working in prehistoric contexts, for whom it provides a simplified means by which to categorize specific population groups. Wallerstein's terms "core" and "periphery" prove so useful that this project uses them as a means of spatially differentiating between the first millennium Near Eastern empires and Edom, while also drawing attention to their asymmetrical political relationship. Despite the large-scale applicability of Wallerstein's model, however, it has received scholarly criticism for the fact that his distinction between the core and the periphery creates a dichotomy that lacks nuance and development.

Wallerstein's periphery is defined in opposition to the core. Where Wallerstein's core is developed, advantaged, and politically sophisticated, his periphery is undeveloped, disadvantaged, and politically weak or unorganized (Wallerstein 1974: 349). Notwithstanding his postcolonial ideals, Wallerstein's model persists in portraying the periphery as a passive political entity. In his model, the world-system is responsible for creating rigid social structures in the peripheries that result in the continual disenfranchisement of peripheral inhabitants (Wallerstein 1974). As a result, these inhabitants are denied any agency or complexity; in Wallerstein's model the periphery is completely at the mercy of the exploitive policies of the core.

Many studies of empire have moved beyond Wallerstein's theory, introducing complexity and flexibility into the core-periphery relationship. Edward Luttwak's (1976) study of the Roman Empire, for instance, created a model for understanding the relationship between the empire and its peripheries. The model envisioned three zones of Roman imperial control during the Julio-Claudian era. The imperial core comprised the first zone, which was then encircled by a second

¹¹ See Spivak 1988 for the foundational essay on subaltern studies, which questions the very idea that a subaltern, non-western population can be understood by a western audience without first being "translated" into something inherently western.

and a third zone made up of client states and client tribes, respectively. These second and third zones of imperial control were semiautonomous and therefore not under direct Roman control. Luttwak understood these zones to be under indirect, or hegemonic, imperial control which was maintained through diplomatic treaties and alliances (Luttwak 1976: 19-20, fig. 1.2). Luttwak explains that the success of this imperial strategy lay in the fact that these outer zones essentially created a protective buffer around direct imperial holdings. Furthermore, because these zones were semi-autonomous, the Roman imperial army was not required to maintain a physical presence along the entire frontier. Rather, they let the client rulers maintain security within these zones, concentrating the Roman military force inside the core, which could then be mobilized to intervene when necessary (Luttwak 1976: 19). Luttwak's model is clearly influenced by Wallerstein's ideas about the relationship of exploitation between an imperial core and its peripheries. Luttwak, however, adds a much-needed element of flexibility into the model. For Luttwak, a strict dichotomic model was unable to sufficiently accommodate the different strategies of control that empires could apply to their peripheries.

Ross Hassig (1985) later employed Luttwak's work in his investigation of the Aztec Empire. Hassig's work challenged traditional interpretations of the Aztec Empire as weak or ineffective by advancing Luttwak's concept of hegemonic control. He argued that the imperial strategy of the Aztec Empire was not to develop direct control over large swaths of territory, but rather economic control over existing systems and networks of exchange (Hassig 1985: 263). Therefore, after conquering a specific territory, the Aztec Empire engaged in tribute negotiations with the conquered territory and then left, leaving the territory's former governing apparatus intact (Hassig 1985: 99-100). This strategy of imperial control, like that used during the Julio-Claudian era of the Roman Empire, was one maintained by the threat of force rather than direct control over imperial holdings.

Hassig points out that while these imperial strategies required fewer human and natural resources to be maintained, they also resulted in fewer exploited materials that could be made available from the periphery for consumption in the core (Hassig 1985: 101). Both Hassig's and Luttwak's research present models of imperialism that describe strategies different from that of direct imperial control as seen in the territorial empires of the 19th century. As Wallerstein's model indicates, the modern European empires' direct territorial control over their provinces resulted in a high level of exploitation in the periphery. Hassig and Luttwak's models convincingly demonstrate that direct territorial control with high amounts of exploitation was not the only strategy available to empires of the past.

Derived from the work of Luttwak and Hassig, D'Altroy's (1992) concept of the territorial-hegemonic continuum creates even more flexibility in the core-periphery model (D'Altroy 1992: 19-24). D'Altroy's work on the relationship between the Inka Empire and its periphery utilized a model in which imperial administration and control exist on a continuum between territorial (direct) control and hegemonic (indirect) control. This approach does much to address the issues that arrive from a strict understanding of an empire's periphery as one homogenous entity that, by definition, exists as the antithesis of the core. This approach has a strong spatial component and therefore allows for a notion of different peripheries—all associated with the same empire. The approach recognizes that empires of the past often benefited from flexible provincial policies in terms of cost, efficiency, and effectiveness of administration (D'Altroy 1992: 19). For

example, the rulers of an empire might decide that a conquered territory adjacent to the core region of the empire requires a greater degree of direct administration, perhaps even physical occupation, in order to manage a perceived threat to the safety of the inhabitants of the core. The same empire might feel that such costly administration is not necessary for a more removed territory from where tribute had been collected without problem for many years.

While the models discussed above were designed to take into account as much variation as possible, two important issues within these modes remain to be addressed—one of perspective and one of function. The perspective taken in each of these models is that of the empire, while the perspective of those living in the periphery is not taken into account. As a result, the periphery within this body of scholarship is still assuming a passive historical role. It is easier to study the perspective of an imperial core than it is the perspective of a periphery. In an imperial world, the empire is the most dominant and visible political entity. It unites what may have been (especially in the pre-modern world) a large number of smaller, fractious kingdoms or polities whose boundaries may have shifted frequently as a result of economic or political instability or the control of nature resources. Furthermore, empires often leave behind greater historical evidence with which scholars are able to reconstruct the imperial perspective and understand its worldview and motivations for expansion.¹² Despite the difficulties inherent in studying the relationship between an imperial core and its periphery from the perspective of a periphery, the periphery is half of the equation and therefore a necessary perspective for consideration.

The second issue in the above-discussed literature involves the utility and function of modeling empires. There is no doubt that model-building aids scholars in analytical interpretation and cross-cultural comparison; however, it does inevitably gloss over complexity and obscure variation. Kathleen Morrison (2001) rightly argues that such models of empire are by nature ideal and systemic and therefore shroud issues of imperial failure and resistance, while furthermore ignoring “process” altogether (Morrison 2001: 278).

Morrison’s work on the Vijayanagara Empire that dominated southern India from ca. 1300 C.E. to 1700 C.E. explores the process of imperial expansion, the effects of this expansion on those living in incorporated areas, and, when possible, the response to imperial incorporation in three disparate peripheries within the Vijayanagara Empire. Morrison strategically chose three case studies that differed in terms of distance from the core, environmental conditions, and the socio-economic status of the inhabitants. Her research indicates that the response to imperial incorporation varied dramatically between each of the peripheries, and that processes of imperial expansion and incorporation were fundamentally responsive to conditions at both the core and the peripheries. She found that this variance in both imposed and extant conditions allowed some incorporated populations the ability to achieve upward socio-economic mobility while other populations were marginalized. Furthermore, she found that these events of incorporation varied throughout the lifespan of the empire.

¹² Sinopoli (1994: 17-18) has noted the traditional disconnect between scholars whose research focuses on texts and those whose research focuses on material culture. She calls on anthropologists studying early empires to acquire the skills necessary to evaluate work from other academic traditions, and to use a wide range of sources within their research.

In her choice to explore the multiplicity of peripheral responses to imperial expansion and incorporation, Morrison's work nuances the concept of peripheries and engages with the imperial perspective. This is an important step toward achieving a more complete picture of the complicated relationship between an empire and its peripheries. That being said, it is possible to go further. Morrison's work is still approaching the peripheral perspective from a position of "response." This is still assuming that the empire was the active agent in negotiating the terms of the relationship. This may be a semantic argument, but it reveals an important distinction. Why do we assume that it was the periphery that was reacting to the actions of the core when the diversity of imperial policies toward its peripheries may just as easily indicate that it was the empire that was responding to a dynamic and complex periphery?

Culture Contact in Colonial Contexts

Within the vast body of post-colonial literature is the sub-field of culture contact studies, which puts forth and explores various models and ideas that strive to understand the nature of cultural exchange and inter-societal contact—including among asymmetrical political relationships such as those found in colonial contexts. Research on culture contact is based largely on the premise that human societies, or social groups, have never existed (for any significant amount of time) in isolation, and as a result contact between culturally distinct societies has always been a part of human history and has played a critical role in both the creation and development of social identities (Cusick 1998: 3).

Scholarly work in this field often focuses on the physical nature of contact and its material signatures, and therefore the theories and methods derived from this work are of particular interest to archaeologists interested in comparative analysis. Although the term "contact" is most often used to describe one historically specific case of culture contact—the one that occurred when Europeans reached the Americas in the 15th century—scholars in the past two decades have demonstrated the utility of thinking about culture contact in other geo-temporal contexts, and, as a result, conversations about the nature of culture contact have evolved to take into account different types of contact (Cusick 1998: 1). The European-American contact was a product of European colonial expansion, and, as mentioned in the above discussion of empires and world-systems theories, each imperial experiment has its own set of historical contingencies. Therefore, basing theories of contact on one instance of contact can severely limit the applicability of those theories. On the other hand, developing models of contact that attempt to imagine different types of contact among and between culture groups that have varying degrees of political, economic, or social power can aid in comparative studies.

Culture contact studies emerged from anthropological and sociological theories of acculturation, which achieved popularity during the early and mid-20th century. Acculturative models relied heavily on diffusion paradigms, which understood cultures as unique packages of traits that could be shared or borrowed by other societies (Schortman and Urban 1998: 103). Discourse on acculturation was generally restricted to the phenomenon of indigenous Americans adopting European cultural elements in the New World, and in large part it derives from one seminal work published in the 1936 issue of *American Anthropologist*, "Memorandum for the Study of Acculturation" (Redfield et al.). The authors of this work strove toward neutrality and general applicability by defining acculturation as "those phenomena which result when groups of

individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original patterns of either or both groups” (Redfield et al. 1936: 149). In addition to the fact that this definition intentionally ignored the important role that power plays in dictating the modes of interaction between groups, the “Memorandum,” additional literature written by its authors, and subsequent models based on this pivotal work resulted in theories that assumed acculturation was a unidirectional phenomenon that “funneled” change from technologically advanced and more complex (European) cultures toward simpler, more traditional (indigenous) cultures (Cusick 1998: 130-132).

Researchers working with acculturative models during the mid-20th century (Broom et al. 1954; Redfield et al. 1936; Spicer 1961) shared a few basic premises: first, that the degree of acculturation could be directly correlated with the political, economic, and technological differentiation between two specific groups; second, that the degree of cultural change would be considerably greater within the smaller or “weaker” group; and third, the culture of the “weaker” group would lose its distinctive qualities as a result of large-scale adoption of the cultural traits of the more “dominant” group (Schortman and Urban 1998: 104).

As scholars began to consider the consequences of colonialism in a more critical light, acculturative models fell largely out of vogue within anthropology. Theories of acculturation became increasingly incompatible with the changing theoretical trajectory that was occurring in many fields across the humanities and social sciences during the mid-20th century. This was in large part due to the models’ relatively simplistic views of culture, assumptions about the unidirectionality of cultural influence, and an unwillingness to address issues such as coercion and power or the phenomenon of culture contact between groups with more symmetrical political relationships. The unpopularity of acculturative models and theories unfortunately caused discussions of culture contact to disappear from the crucial body of anthropological research generated between ca. 1950 and 1975 that produced many of the theories and methods that have shaped anthropological research today (Schortman and Urban 1998: 103).

During the 1990s, anthropologists reengaged with theories of acculturation as they levied well-deserved critiques of acculturative models (Farnsworth 1986, 1992; Hoover 1989, 1992; Howson 1990; Ramenofsky 1995; and Rogers 1993). Because theories of acculturation explored culture contact between indigenous Americans and Europeans, many of these critiques were made by archaeologists studying culture contact in the Spanish American colonies and were fueled by the dialogue generated around the so-called Quincentenary, which marked the five hundredth anniversary of Christopher Columbus’ contact with the New World. These critiques advanced thinking about culture contact by emphasizing the multidirectional nature of cultural exchange and by adopting new concepts to describe the nature of this exchange (Deagan 1998).

The discussions inspired by the Quincentenary appear to have reintroduced culture contact studies into the field of archaeology as well. Armed with postcolonial and post-processual theoretical frameworks, archaeologists began for the first time to actively develop models for interpreting different types of culture contact that occurred throughout history in many different areas of the world. Edward Schortman and Patricia Urban (1998) put forth a theoretical framework that strives to address three different types of interaction between culturally distinct social groups: egalitarian, coevolving, and hierarchical. Egalitarian interaction systems occur

between groups that have no formalized political offices. The authors admit that this type of interaction has not been studied extensively, and therefore its potential manifestations are no more than working hypotheses. They contend, however, that social interactions between competing egalitarian groups might be envisioned as a type of stalemate due to the lack of resources needed to advance their agendas. This type of interaction is inherently fragile, in that changes in the distribution of resources have the ability to provide individuals the means to further their agendas and alter existing socio-political or economic structures (Schortman and Urban 1998: 110-111).

Schortman and Urban's second type of interaction system, their coevolving interaction system, occurs when a hierarchically or stratified group is incorporated into an interaction network of equally ranked groups. This type of interaction is considered to be one of mutual dependency formed between the elites or rulers of different groups. This network is often the result of the strategic adoption and display of imported or exotic products by the elites of the incorporated groups. Demonstrating control over highly valued or desired imported exotic products often serves to distinguish rulers or elites from the general populace, and provides a means through which elites may form a relationship of dependency between themselves and those who they wish to rule. Therefore, aspiring elites are encouraged to establish economic and political relationships with their counterparts from other societies (Schortman and Urban 1998: 111-114).

The third and final interaction system envisioned by Schortman and Urban is a hierarchical interaction system. This system results in a type of culture contact that more closely resembles those envisioned by the proponents of acculturative models because one group or society dictates the conditions of interaction. In this case the dominant group uses some combination of military threat, resource control, and/or technological advancement to create an interregional monopoly over the resources and labor of other groups, allowing them to construct large-scale economic and socio-political formations to their own benefit (Schortman and Urban 1998: 114-117).

Other scholars have approached the subject of culture contact in a less theoretically structured way, and have instead looked at specific contact situations at the micro scale. Michael Dietler (1998, 2010), for instance, highlights the importance of a small-scale, local approach to understanding the intricacies and complexities inherent within a contact situation. He argues that essential to understanding contact situations and their consequences is the recognition that culture change is not the product of an abstract system or structure (Dietler 1998: 299). Although acknowledging that structuring socio-political and economic forces play a part in culture change, Dietler's work on the cultural interactions that occurred between the indigenous societies of Iron Age France and the Etruscan, Greek, and Roman colonizing states emphasizes the role that individual and group agency played in the selective adoption of specific cultural traits.

Within his research, Dietler uses of the term "entanglement" to describe the process through which Greek cultural elements are adopted by the indigenous population of southern France. Archaeological evidence from the region indicates that the native population did not just adopt these foreign cultural traits wholesale, as expressed in earlier theories of diffusion and Hellenism. Rather, specific individuals and groups, working within local political and cultural structures, selected foreign cultural elements and combined them with existing cultural elements in strategic ways—transforming them into types of material culture and local practices that were

altogether new. This type of selective adoption and consumption has broader consequences for the development of a colonial encounter, and it is this process of entanglement that Dietler argues links societies together in a variety of new socio-political, cultural, and economic ways (Dietler 1998: 303-308; 2010: 55-74).

Homi Bhabha's often-cited work, *The Location of Culture* (1994), has further influenced the way that archaeologists think about culture contact by introducing two important concepts that appropriately complement archaeological work because of their ability to be observed within the material record—mimicry and hybridity. Mimicry occurs in a colonial environment when members of the colonized group adopt cultural elements from the colonizing group. This term is not a positive one within postcolonial literature because the impetus for a colonized person to engage in mimicry is a fundamental dissatisfaction with that person's status as colonized. Mimicry is typically seen as an opportunistic move on the part of the adopter to make himself seem a part of the more powerful group, thereby increasing the individual power of the adopter. Bhabha argues that so too the colonizer desires mimicry because it represents difference through the creation of a "reformed, recognizable Other, as a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite" (Bhabha 1994: 122).

With its origins in biology, hybridity refers generally to a mixing of traits from two "parent" entities. Bhabha applied this concept to instances of mixing between cultures of colonized peoples and of their colonizers. Bhabha's conceptualization of hybridity involves the selective adoption by the colonized of certain cultural traits of the colonizers. The selective adoption described in Bhabha's discussions of hybridity has not received the negative connotations associated with mimicry in postcolonial studies, and perhaps this is because of Bhabha's emphasis on hybridity as a means of subversion. Hybridity challenges the boundaries of discourse and subtly changes its terms by setting up a space where cultural authority can be negotiated (Bhabha 1994: 155). The relocation and appropriation of colonial symbols of authority articulate subaltern agency in a politically powerful way that mimicry does not (Bhabha 1994: 277).

Bhabha's concepts of mimicry and hybridity hold great potential for archaeologists interested in colonial culture contact. Despite the fact that these concepts were developed to describe the effects of European colonialism, they have the ability to help archaeologists explain the material evidence for the transference of cultural traits between colonizers and the colonized. These concepts create space for subaltern agency, both social and political, and avoid the inherent racism and underdevelopment that plagued earlier models of acculturation.

That being said, the concepts of hybridity and mimicry are not without their own potential pitfalls. As with most theories and methods that were developed to understand the physical manifestations of culture contact, there is the dangerous risk of falling back into old habits of thinking about cultures as reified things. Relatedly, hybridity can be problematized by its use within biology. Biological hybridity depends on the existence of two discrete biological parents, and this dangerously prompts scholars to envision similar discrete, or "pure," cultural parents in cases of cultural hybridity. When analyzing a hybrid object, it can be all too easy to pick out stylistic or production elements and attribute them to either Parent-culture A or Parent-culture B. This, however, does not account for the fact that all cultures are constantly undergoing processes of change and therefore there is never the pure, cultural parent necessary for cultural hybridity.

While acknowledging the existence and importance of this process, this project follows Finbarr Flood's (2009) insistence that scholars must also acknowledge the effect and importance of the "event." In particular they must bear in mind the effect that sudden shifts in socio-political control can have on patterns of circulation and contact as well as on established patterns of encounter and exchange (Flood 2009: 5). Rather than using the term "hybridity," Flood prefers the term "transculturation" to refer to the effect that material culture had on diverse modes of encounter between "Hindu" and "Muslim" cultures from the early eighth to the early 13th centuries. Despite transculturation's origins in the work of Fernando Ortiz (1995), who understood it as a unidirectional phenomenon, the term has been used recently by Flood and others to convey a complex and multi-directional mode of exchange that captures the dynamic nature of change and activity constantly occurring between and within cultures (Flood 2009: 9).

The concept of hybridity has been used effectively in materiality studies. In her work on luxury goods in the Late Bronze Age Near East, Marian Feldman (2006) discusses visual hybridity as the "active adoption and intermixing of particular elements derived from various culturally defined artistic traditions in a manner that blurs the distinction among relatively distinguishable traditions" (Feldman 2006: 62). This definition brings to the forefront the political agency present in Bhabha's conceptualization of modern colonial hybridity, but expands its usage to describe non-colonial interactions as well, such as those seen in the Late Bronze Age Near East. While Bhabha engaged with the subversive effects of colonial hybridity, Feldman's definition gives hybridity a more neutral connotation. The use of the term "neutral" should by no means be taken to mean that the visual hybridity evident in Late Bronze Age luxury goods was the result of passive cultural exchange. Rather, Feldman strongly emphasizes the role of individual and group agency in the creation of this regionally shared language of visual symbols. Those who engaged with these symbols did so with the aim of creating a sense of cultural "sameness" between elite members of different cultural groups while simultaneously excluding those considered to be beneath them (Feldman 2006: 71). It is essential to this use of hybridity that the ensuing visual result of the interweaving of different artistic traditions is such that the individual "threads" are indistinguishable (Feldman 2006: 67). Therefore, objects that display visual hybridity do not belong to one culture group or another; rather they represent a third group that is at once outside of both groups and yet an integral part of each.

Despite this commitment to a modified, neutrally valued concept of visual hybridity in *Diplomacy by Design*, even Feldman abandoned the use of visual hybridity in her work *Communities of Style* (2014). In this work, Feldman problematizes the way scholars all too often conflate style, the individual identity of the artist, and cultural identity/ethos by drawing attention to the fuzziness in the relationships between people, geography, and culture when it comes to notions of style (Feldman 2014: 36-37). The essentializing quality inherent within the concept of hybridity is insurmountable. Anthropologists are justifiably uncomfortable with the notion of a pure parent culture because research has demonstrated time and time again that there is no such thing. Instead, all cultures and their associated material remains are always undergoing processes of both internal and external hybridization or transculturation. As a result, anthropologists eschew any concept that attempts to draw a circle on map and inside of it put a set of fixed cultural traits. These anthropologists have on their side the disciplinary advantage of studying ancient cultures both diachronically and synchronically, using comparative analyses from a

variety of geo-temporal contexts—our understanding of culture has gained much from these approaches. That being said, it may be necessary for scholars to divorce themselves from their complex and refined ideas about *culture* when attempting to consider the process of translation that occurred between individuals and objects in the ancient world. Feldman’s visual hybridity emphasized the desire for a language of “sameness” between the consumers of the “international style” of the Late Bronze Age Near East, which resulted in a complexity of interwoven and indistinguishable visual symbols. What if instead the consumer desired difference?

In the above discussion of empires, colonialism, and other types of asymmetrical political configurations, this chapter has discussed the roles that elites can play in the negotiations of socio-political relationships. It has also discussed the rather tenuous and unstable power that these elites often hold, especially early in the development of these relationships. Furthermore, this power is often cemented by elite control of trade routes and access to luxury products (see Schortman and Urban 1998). In an imperial-periphery political relationship, the selective adoption by elites of cultural elements or materials associated with the imperial core can be used to grow elites’ power and influence within their own region. In this scenario, the power of the material or its visual elements almost depends on a reified notion of imperial culture. If “imperial-ness” is not a thing, how can it be emulated? The elites employing this strategy of power acquisition rely on a pure and powerful parent culture from which to selectively borrow cultural elements. This type of cultural adoption results in a dialectical relationship between elites and objects in which elites inscribe power onto specific objects while those objects simultaneously solidify and grow the power of the elites.¹³

Dielter’s entanglement, Feldman’s visual hybridity, and Flood’s transculturation are all similar in that they capture an important moment where individual agency contributes to large-scale socio-political trends. At this point something happens that is inherently complex. To explore this complexity further at a broad, theoretical scale one runs the risk of losing the uniqueness inherent in each contact scenario. It is here where the project must turn to a more historically defined scale, where if we aim to tease out the details of a specific event of culture contact, we must abandon generalities and cross-cultural comparability and turn instead to the local.

Postcolonial Theory in Ancient Near Eastern Scholarship

In recent decades, ancient Near Eastern scholars have engaged with postcolonial theories and models, although to a somewhat limited degree. Some of the resulting scholarship can be seen in various adaptations of Wallerstein’s work for the so-called Uruk phenomenon or Uruk expansion. Guillermo Algaze (1989, 1993a, 1993b), for example, describes the creation of an Uruk world system, by which a “pristine” Mesopotamian core establishes an asymmetrical political relationship based on economic dependency with a large swath of territory to the north and east of its core. In Algaze’s reconstruction, the lack of natural resources in the lower Mesopotamian alluvial plain required that Uruk’s growing political administrative system establish a means of procuring resources to sustain Uruk’s expanding population. As a result, “colonists”¹⁴ begin to settle northward along the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers, creating settlement

¹³ This relationship will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Five.

¹⁴ Algaze’s reconstruction of the Uruk world-system is one of the above-mentioned instances where the term “colony” and its derivatives are used within Ancient Near Eastern history. This example of Near Eastern

enclaves of Mesopotamian culture. Algaze argues that the indigenous cultures with whom Uruk came into contact were transformed into dependent peripheries, in that the stability of their local economies were dependent on the continued extraction of natural resources for export to southern Mesopotamia.

Algaze's use of a world-systems approach to understand the Uruk expansion has received a fair amount of criticism. Gil Stein (1998: 226) argues that the approach does not well suit the data available for Chalcolithic Mesopotamia based on three major assumptions inherent within a world-systems approach: first, that there is a fundamental power asymmetry between the core and the periphery; second, that the core was therefore able to control the exchange system, and third, that long-distance exchange structures all other aspects of political, economic, and social life in the periphery. Stein argues that the Uruk expansion would be better understood through the application of a distance-parity model of interregional interaction. Stein's model is based on the premise that as the physical distance between a core and its peripheral polities increases, so too does the parity or symmetry in the economic and political relations between the two (Stein 1998: 228-229). According to Stein, this model better accounts for the preindustrial conditions in which the Uruk expansion occurred by taking into account the role that the cost of transport, differences in access to production, transport, or military technology, and demographic or ecological conditions played in structuring economic and power relations between polities (Stein 1998: 229-231).

Despite the engaging applications of postcolonial theory to the pre- or proto-historic Uruk Period, scholars studying the core-periphery relationships of the first millennium Near Eastern empires prefer doing so by directly engaging with the vast amount of historical evidence produced by these empires. Relatively early in studies of the imperial strategy of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, scholars recognized that the empire administered its imperial holdings in a manner that could not be captured by a simple, dichotomous model. Historical documents produced evidence that the Neo-Assyrian Empire administered provinces in a manner that was distinct from that with which they administered vassal states.¹⁵ While provinces were directly administrated by the Assyrians, vassal states were semi-autonomous and were required only to pledge loyalty and pay regular tribute (Pečírková 1987: 165). Neo-Assyrian documents were capable of nuancing imperial administration even further, suggesting that the management of vassal states changed throughout the empire's life. The earliest Neo-Assyrian treaties (either *riksu* or *rikiltu* in Akkadian) were carried out in order to ensure the mutual protection of both parties by assuring that one party would come to the military defense of the other if requested. The *riksu/rikiltu*-type of treaty was gradually replaced by the practice of establishing treaties with vassal kings (represented in Assyrian texts by the Aramaic loan word *adê*). This practice first appears in the eighth century texts of Assur-nerari V (754-745 B.C.E.), and it was used by

"colonization" supports my above suggestion that the term is used in Near Eastern history to describe a settlement phenomenon similar to the Greek *ἀποικία*, in that Uruk cultural influence is only evident in small "enclaves" that exist in an otherwise indigenous cultural and political landscape.

¹⁵ The terms "province" and "vassal state" have been used to describe the different types of imperial holdings for all two of the first millennium empires examined in this work since very early in Near Eastern Studies. The usage of these terms reflects their phenomenological similarity to Roman imperial organization. Despite broad similarity, it should go without saying that the organization and administration of the first millennium Near Eastern empires was quite different from that of the Roman Empire.

the Neo-Assyrian kings to assure the loyalty of their vassal states and to provide the justification for punitive action if this loyalty was broken (Oded 1992: 12-13, 83-93).

This type of document-centered research has greatly enhanced our understanding of first millennium history and has contributed to significant paradigmatic shifts in the understanding of imperial policies.¹⁶ That being said, these shifts are historically specific and provide little for cross-cultural comparative analyses. Furthermore, because these texts were in large part produced by agents of the Near Eastern empires, there remains a tendency within the above-discussed scholarship to generalize the periphery without taking into account the agency and complexity of local communities.

There have been some notable exceptions to this trend. Taking a modified world-systems approach, Mitch Allen (1997) explores the notion of a contested periphery, in which (much as the name implies) a peripheral area falls geographically between two world-systems and as such is incorporated into both. His work explores the way Philistia functioned as a contested periphery between both the Egyptian and Neo-Assyrian world-systems as it transformed intact from an Egyptian periphery to a Neo-Assyrian semi-peripheral zone. Allen argues that this transformation highlights the long-term stability of Levantine political and economic structures (Allen 1997: 318).

By mobilizing Wallerstein's concept of a semi-periphery, Allen problematizes the simplicity inherent in most binary adaptations of Wallerstein's work. He highlights the effect that a private, entrepreneurial sector played in the regional economy of the Ancient Near East during the height of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, and he stresses that although the Assyrians attempted to regulate interregional trade through taxation, legal proscription, and occupation of the terminus points of major trade routes, they did not control it (Allen 1997: 314). In fact, this interregional trade, in which the western provinces were key agents, directly affected the economy of the Neo-Assyrian Empire so much so that the gold and silver products of this trade increasingly became the currency that fueled the economic systems of the region. Furthermore, the Neo-Assyrian Empire authorized certain individuals from the western provinces to represent imperial interests within the trade network and adopted the system of weights and measures and the writing system that administered this trade (Allen 1997: 314).

In the past couple of decades, studies of the imperial peripheries of the first millennium Near Eastern empires have become more nuanced—resulting in part to the modern political conflicts in Iraq and Iran that have prevented foreign scholars and archaeologists from carrying out fieldwork within the geographic territory of the first millennium imperial cores. This barrier to research resulted in many archaeologists focusing their attention on the geographic areas associated with the imperial peripheries—areas where fieldwork was still a possibility. Therefore, much scholarship has emerged in recent decades about the Near Eastern empires' peripheries, especially their western peripheries in Syria and southeastern Turkey. Prominent

¹⁶ See, for example Liverani's (1988) article in which he argues for a shift in the understanding of the making of the Assyrian Empire. He argues that rather than the traditional understanding of direct control by the empire, whose waxing and waning can be directly assumed based on the presence (or absence) of specific territories listed on royal inscriptions, we should instead understand the Neo-Assyrian Empire as a network of communications under the control of a central nucleus.

among this work is Bradley Parker's (2001) *Mechanics of Empire*. Parker's investigation of Neo-Assyria's imperial expansion into the three specific territories around the upper Tigris River presents the type of approach advocated for in this project, in which a dedicated commitment to small scale, local changes in an empire's periphery has the potential to provide a more nuanced insight into the actions and priorities of imperial rule.

Following many of the scholars discussed above,¹⁷ Parker provides a definition of empire that facilitates comparative and theoretical study. Parker's definition understands empire broadly as an expansionist state that is concerned primarily with the benefit of its inhabitants living in the imperial core, and that demonstrates this concern in part by funneling resources from its periphery to its core (Parker 2001: 12). Similar to D'Altroy's observation of imperial strategy in the Inka Empire, Parker's detailed exploration of the social, economic, and political history of three distinct areas of the Neo-Assyrian northern frontier indicates that the Neo-Assyrian Empire employed a flexible system of imperial control. He asserts that this system exercised different degrees of control in different regions simultaneously, varying from direct, territorial control within the empire's provinces to indirect, hegemonic control over imperial vassal states (Parker 2001: 16).

Using Neo-Assyrian historical documents and related archaeological evidence Parker develops four different categories of Neo-Assyrian provincial administration into which he argues the empire divided its conquered territory: provinces, vassal states, buffer states, and buffer zones. Imperial provinces were ruled directly through a hierarchical system of Assyrian administration, at the top of which was an Assyrian governor. Vassal states were semi-autonomous political entities that were required to peacefully provide regular tribute to the empire. If this condition was met, local indigenous systems of governance were often left intact; however, if the vassal state opposed Assyrian rule it was subject to military retribution after which an Assyrian "puppet-ruler" replaced the local system of governance. Buffer states and zones existed between two rival states and were generally seen by both states as neutral. Buffer states differed from buffer zones in that they have viable political structures, but both maintained complete political autonomy. In the case of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, buffer states and zones served to separate the empire from other large states competing for political control in the Near East, such as Egypt and Urartu (Parker 2001: 250-252).

While Parker's work is clearly influenced by D'Altroy, he offers several modifications to the territorial-hegemonic continuum. First, he suggests that the continuum be expanded to include not only positive forms of imperial control, but also neutral and negative forms (**Figure 2.1**). In this revised continuum, Parker includes polities or areas that are not under imperial control, but that play important roles in determining imperial policy and action. These polities or areas might fall under a category of neutrality, such as the Neo-Assyrian buffer states and zones; of autonomy, which would describe an independent state that does not wish to see territorial expansion of the empire, but does not engage in anti-imperial activities; or of opposition, meaning that the state actively opposes the empire and should therefore be considered a political rival (Parker 2001: 253-254).

¹⁷ See above for a discussion of Doyle (1986), Hassig (1985), Adams (1979), D'Altroy (1992, 2014).

Parker also seeks to develop the spatial element of the territorial-hegemonic continuum. In Luttwak's model of the Roman Empire, imperial influence weakened as one travelled farther from the core. Parker argues that this was not always the case with the Neo-Assyrian Empire. According to detailed historical accounts of military campaigns and inferences drawn from Assyrian letters and archaeological evidence, the Neo-Assyrian Empire sometimes directly occupied economically or politically strategic areas that were geographically surrounded by areas that were not under direct Assyrian control but rather fell under hegemonic or neutral control. These areas formed what Parker refers to as "islands" of direct imperial control, which were connected to other imperial holdings via an extensive network of fortified transportation and communication corridors. Parker therefore argues that the Neo-Assyrian Empire should be understood as a "network empire" (**Figure 2.2**) (Parker 2001: 255-258).

Notwithstanding the high quality of Parker's work and its nuanced examination of the various means by which the Neo-Assyrian Empire managed its peripheral holdings, he (like all of the scholars considered thus far) still considers the empire to be the only active agent. Like Morrison, Parker demonstrates the complexity and diversity found within imperial holdings, but persists in considering the reactions of peripheries to the social, economic, and political actions of the empire, rather than the agency of the peripheral polities. As a result, scholars exploring empires in the Near East continue to assume that influence was moving from the core to the periphery, if not in the form of direct control, then perhaps by means of elite emulation.¹⁸ This dissertation does not operate on this assumption, and considers, instead, the possibility that the social, political, and economic situation in Edom was driving the imperial policies of the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Empires toward the polity.

Understanding Imperialism in Southwest Jordan during the First Millennium B.C.E.

During the Iron Age, the Levant underwent several large-scale social, economic, and political reorganizations, which are often seen as the result of, or response to, imperial initiative. Scholars studying the imperial expansion into the Levant often focus on the imperial motivations for the expansion, the means by which the empires gained their peripheries, the methods used to keep the peripheries within the yoke of imperial control, and the way in which these empires lost hold of their peripheries (all too often attributed to interference from another great empire). All of these historical inquiries into imperial policy toward the Levant assume (either explicitly or implicitly) that the historical agency belonged to the stronger entity, the empire, rather than to its periphery.¹⁹

Although some of these assumptions about the nature and direction of political and cultural influence may in fact be valid, they are unsatisfying at the community level when attempting to understand the degree of consent and imperial attachment felt by everyday Levantine people.

¹⁸ This concept is borrowed from Higgenbotham's (2000) analysis of Egypt's relationship with Late Bronze Age Canaan, where she contends that elite emulation is a good means for understanding a particular form of indirect control that an empire might exert over its periphery. Additionally, elite emulation is often visible in the archaeological record, potentially making it a useful construct for understanding the relationship between Iron Age Levantine elites and the first millennium Near Eastern empires.

¹⁹ For a broad overview of the effects that Neo-Assyrian expansion into the Levant had on local social, economic, and political structures see Kuhrt (1995); or for a more detailed account see Stern (2001).

Furthermore, these assumptions may even be problematic at the imperial scale. As discussed above, none of the first millennium Near Eastern empires had a monolithic imperial policy that could be evenly applied and enforced across all of their vassal states and provinces. Rather, the empires approached periphery administration differently in each of their provinces.²⁰ The fact that the empires customized their strategies of power acquisition and maintenance to fit the political and economic needs of different regions suggests that the empires took into account the local social, economic, and political environment when deciding how best to enforce and maintain political control in any one of their provinces. Therefore, it can be argued that individual communities in the periphery had more influence over the core-periphery relationship than has been acknowledged in previous scholarship.

When research on Iron Age Edom first began, it was driven by the efforts of so-called biblical archaeologists, most notably Nelson Glueck. During the 1930s Glueck spent a considerable amount of time carrying out research in Jordan, and his well-known survey of eastern Palestine (Glueck 1934, 1935, 1939a, 1951) provided the original historical cornerstone upon which all subsequent archaeologists working in Jordan have constructed their research. In addition to his survey, Glueck carried out excavations at the southern Jordanian site of Tell el-Kheleifeh, commonly believed to be the biblical site of Ezion-Geber (Glueck 1938, 1939b; Pratico 1993).

Based on his archaeological research and a literal interpretation of the Hebrew Bible, Glueck constructed a political history of Iron Age Edom. Glueck envisioned a strong Edomite kingdom already in existence by the 13th century B.C.E., the date commonly associated with the biblical account of the Israelite exodus from Egypt (Glueck 1947:77-78). Because Glueck was the first scholar to attempt to classify Jordanian ceramics, he assumed that the Iron Age painted pottery associated with many sites in southern Jordan, including Tell el-Kheleifeh, must coincide with the powerful 13th century Edomite kingdom of biblical lore. In Glueck's reconstruction, the independent kingdom of Edom thrived only until the tenth century, when the kingdom was conquered under King David of Jerusalem as a means of controlling the valuable copper sources in the Wadi Arabah. Glueck also believed that even after Edom was able to regain its autonomy by means of rebellion against Judah during the mid-ninth century B.C.E., the kingdom had been so weakened by Judean domination that it fell into decline until it was finally destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar in the sixth century B.C.E. (Glueck 1947: 80-83).

Because Glueck believed Edom to be in a state of decline by the time the Neo-Assyrian Empire expanded into southern Jordan and the Negev during the eighth century B.C.E., he understood the relationship between Edom and the Near Eastern empires to be fairly uncomplicated. The picture of straightforward conquest and eventual destruction portrayed by Glueck lacks development and complexity. Perhaps even worse is Glueck's inherent assumption that Edom's involvement with the Near Eastern empires likely paralleled that of Judah. Because Glueck understood Judah, a polity that suffered greatly as a result of the well-documented and violent campaigns of certain Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian kings, to be more powerful than its neighbor, Edom, he does not appear to have considered that Edom might have been capable of negotiating a different political outcome for itself.

²⁰ See discussion of Parker (2001) above.

Glueck's interpretation of archaeological evidence in Edom remained the scholarly consensus until Crystal M. Bennett began her work in the 1960s (Bartlett 1989: 31; Cromwell 2004:11). Bennett's work in Edom initially intended to complement Glueck's work by confirming his understanding of Edomite settlement and history. However, after her excavations at the sites of Umm al-Biyara, Tawilan, and Busayra, she was compelled to reevaluate Glueck's thesis. The evidence from all three of these sites suggested that Iron Age settlement on the Edomite Plateau did not begin during the Late Bronze Age (ca. 1550-1200 B.C.E.), as Glueck argued, but rather during the eighth century, reaching its zenith during the period of Neo-Assyrian control (late eighth through mid-seventh centuries B.C.E.) (Bennett 1982).

Bennett's re-dating of Edomite occupation brought new consideration to the relationship between Edom and the Near Eastern empires, especially the Neo-Assyrian Empire. In her 1982 article, Bennett draws attention to specific elements of Edomite material culture that belied Mesopotamian cultural influence. Prominent among this material culture are several pottery types, found in their largest quantities at Busayra but at Umm al-Biyara and Tawilan as well, and architectural parallels between Busayra's monumental buildings and Neo-Assyrian palaces in Mesopotamia.²¹ Bennett believed that this evidence, as well as the presence of so-called Edomite border fortresses identified by Glueck (Glueck: 1939: 74-75), was the result of a direct Neo-Assyrian occupation of Edom under the reign of Tiglath-pileser III (745-727 B.C.E.) (Bennett 1982: 181). She argued that prior to the reign of Tiglath-pileser III, Edom's relationship with Assyria had been restricted to official allegiance in the form of treaties, but that under his reign a network of roads, forts, and even a capital city at Busayra—which would have housed an Assyrian governor—were constructed to help the Neo-Assyrians maintain better control of the region (Bennett 1982: 187). Like Glueck, Bennett contends that Edom ultimately fell to the invading Neo-Babylonian army (Bennett 1983: 17).

Also interested in the Edomites and a contemporary of Bennett, John Bartlett sought to reconcile Bennett's newly found evidence with the biblical account of Edomite history. Although Bartlett rejected Glueck's chronology, he shared Glueck's belief in the historical importance of the biblically documented Israelite control of Edom that began in the tenth century under King David (Bartlett 1989: 104-107), despite the paucity of archaeological evidence. With respect to Edom's relationship with the Near Eastern empires, Bartlett agrees with Bennett's assertion that it was during this period that Edom saw an increase in settlement and economic prosperity (Bartlett 1989: 132-143).

During the 1990s and 2000s, Piotr Bienkowski synthesized the archaeological data excavated and surveyed in southern Jordan by Bennett and others, and he also considered the implications of various textual sources that mention Edom—including the Hebrew Bible and Neo-Assyrian inscriptions (Bienkowski 1992a, 1992b, 1992c, 1995a, 1995b, 2000, 2001a, 2001b, 2002; Bienkowski and van der Steen 2001). Largely as a result of Bienkowski's syntheses and other excavations and surveys to the west of the southern Jordanian plateau in the Wadi Faynan (Ben-Yosef 2010; Levy 2004, 2009a, 2009b; Levy et al. 2005; Smith and Levy 2008)²² we are now

²¹ This evidence will be explored fully in Chapter Five.

²² Largely due to the important role of copper production in the area, the Wadi Faynan has been the site of intense archaeological attention in the past twenty years. Under the direction of Thomas Levy excavations have been conducted at the important copper production site of Khirbet en-Nahas (Levy et al. 2004; Smith and Levy 2008) and

able to establish a framework chronology for the settlement and occupation of southern Jordan during the Iron Age. It is now clear that as early as the tenth century B.C.E. there was large-scale economic intensification in the area within and surrounding the Wadi Faynan. This intensification was associated with several identified settlements or production centers, such as Khirbet en-Nahas and Khirbet al-Jariya (Ben-Yosef 2010; Ben-Yosef et al. 2010). The majority of the workers associated with this copper production, however, maintained a nomadic or semi-nomadic lifestyle (Levy 2009b: 154; Levy et al. 1999: 306).

Beginning in the late eighth century, southern Jordan experienced a dramatic shift in settlement, which saw the copper production centers in the Wadi Faynan largely abandoned, and permanent settlements beginning to appear across the Edomite Plateau. Although scholars agree that this shift occurred, there has been much debate about its cause. The chronological correlation between the settlement shift in southern Jordan and Edom's first appearances in the Neo-Assyrian inscriptions of Adad-nirari III (811-783 B.C.E.) and Tiglath-pileser III (745-727 B.C.E.) (Millard 1992) has caused many archaeologists working in Edom to argue that this shift in settlement and subsistence strategy was an effect of either direct or indirect imperial pressure or influence (although the nature and degree of this involvement is debated—see Bartlett 1989; Bennett 1982; Bienkowski and van der Steen 2001; Crowell 2004; Hart 1989; Knauf 1992; Porter 2004).

Perhaps the strongest view of Neo-Assyrian involvement in Edom's political development is taken by Stephen Hart, who argues that the Assyrians, in their desire to protect the desert frontier, may have imported conquered peoples from elsewhere (Hart 1989: 131) and forcibly settled them in Edom. Similarly, Ernst Knauf asserts: "Edom cannot only be described as a secondary state, but...can also be described as a secondary culture" (Knauf 1992: 53). He further argues that Busayra is the only true instance of an urban center in Edom, and that its "architecture is as imported as is the institution which this architecture served." Additionally, he contends that Busayra may not have even constituted an Edomite settlement in that it "may more adequately be called an (extended) castle, or citadel [belonging to Assyria]" (Knauf 1992: 52).

These positions are even stronger than those taken by Bennett and some of her contemporaries, who assumed that Assyria directly occupied Edomite territory (Bennett 1982, Bienkowski 1992,²³ Ephal 1982, Oded 1970). All of these scholars over-emphasized the role of the Neo-Assyrians in the social and political development of Edom. Neither the Neo-Assyrian written records nor the Hebrew Bible claim that Assyria physically occupied Edom or sent populations to inhabit the polity's territory. The historical evidence asserts that the Neo-Assyrians travelled through Edom on their campaigns in the southern Levant and en route to Egypt, but there is no explicit evidence that suggests they maintained a permanent presence in Edom (Millard 1992:37).

a unique tenth century cemetery at Wadi Fidan 40 (Levy et al. 1999). These excavations and others have vastly contributed to our archaeological understanding of some of the earliest Iron Age evidence of occupation and economic intensification in southern Jordan. The evidence collected from the Wadi Faynan confirms that as early as the tenth century B.C.E. there was a highly developed and centralized copper production industry in southern Jordan (Ben-Yosef 2010; Levy 2009b).

²³ Bienkowski's position on this matter has since changed (cf. Bienkowski 2000).

More recently, scholars studying the relationship between Edom and the Near Eastern empires contend that it may have been local rulers or elites who likely encouraged political development and settlement as a means of extracting more labor from their populations (Bienkowski 2000; Crowell 2004; Porter 2004). Although this argument certainly places more agency with the inhabitants of Edom, albeit a specific class of inhabitants, it still cites direct imperial pressure as the impetus for political development in Edom during the eighth century B.C.E. (Crowell 2004:1; Porter 2004:378). This theory is satisfying on several levels: it explains the presence of Mesopotamian influence that is documented primarily from the excavations at Busayra but also from other settlements on the Edomite Plateau,²⁴ and it presents a history of Edom in which the Edomite elites were active actors.

There are, however, two aspects of this explanation of Edom's political development that remain dissatisfying. The first is that it does not take into account the political development that occurred to the west of the Plateau in the area of the Wadi Faynan, which (as mentioned above) had a thriving and well-organized copper production industry based at Khirbet en-Nahas at least two centuries years prior to the first Neo-Assyrian mention of Edom as a tribute-bearing polity (Levy et al. 2004). Additionally, recent research conducted on ceramic evidence from the Wadi Faynan has identified continuity between some tenth and ninth century vessels types from Khirbet en-Nahas and the so-called Edomite pottery previously thought to have originated on the Jordanian plateau in the eighth century (Smith and Levy 2008: 85). This evidence indicates that political development and economic intensification in Edom had already begun long before the polity felt any sort of pressure from the imperial core.

The second aspect of this theory that remains unsatisfactory is that the non-elite inhabitants of Edom have yet to be considered as agents in the political history of Edom. As is all too often the case, the elite members of a society are assumed to have wielded all of the power necessary to bring about large-scale change. It should go without saying, however, that in order for even top-down change to occur, the consent of the populace is necessary. Without wading into the thorny issue of "individual choice" in the ancient world, it should suffice to say that whether or not an individual's consent was a conscious, explicit act, that individual either adapted to sweeping political change or resisted it. Elites must gain the consent of the populace, which actually gives the populace a tremendous amount of indirect power, the manifestation of which is demonstrated in the remainder of this project.

As argued above, the extremity of Edom's geography and climate played an important role in the development of complex polities within the region as well as in the daily economic and subsistence choices made by the region's inhabitants. Acknowledging the environmental marginality of the region, previous scholars studying the relationship between Edom and the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Empires have assumed that the settlement and lifestyle changes that took place on the southern Jordanian plateau during the eighth century B.C.E. were the result of either direct imperial intervention or imperial emulation on the part of Edom's ruling elite. To varying degrees, these scholarly positions have all denied the Edomite populace historical agency in the political history of Iron Age Edom.

²⁴ See Chapter Five for a thorough discussion of this evidence.

This project argues that in order to better understand the nature of a core-periphery relationship, scholars must acknowledge the perspective of those individuals living on the periphery in addition to those representing the core—taking into account both the ruled and the rulers. Although some scholars have explored the relationship between the Edomite elite and the rulers of the first millennium Near Eastern empires, they have ignored an important component of the core-periphery dynamic by not taking into account the perspective of the Edomite populace. After all, it was the Edomite populace whose cooperation was absolutely necessary for both the Edomite elite and the imperial rulers to achieve their goals in Edom. In order to account for the perspectives and motivations of the major groups whose perspectives influence the nature of the relationship between Edom and the first millennium Mesopotamian empires, this project proposes a tripartite approach. The tripartite approach explores the perspective of the imperial rulers, the Edomite elite, and the Edomite populace. This approach weighs each perspective equally, and therefore approaches the core-periphery relationship between Edom and the first millennium empires in a more balanced and comprehensive way.

CHAPTER THREE - THE NEO-ASSYRIAN EMPIRE AND EDM

Chapter Two of this project argued that one way to understand the complex relationship between the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Empires and Edom was to employ a tripartite approach. This approach accords equal weight to three emic perspectives, which can provide a nuanced insight into these core-periphery relationships: one of the imperial cores, a second of the Edomite elites, and a third of Edom's general populace. Chapters Three and Four explore the first of the three perspectives necessary to understand the nature of the relationship between Edom and the Mesopotamian empires—that of the imperial cores.

As discussed in Chapter Two, scholars recognized early on that the Neo-Assyrian rulers administered their imperial holdings in a manner that could not be captured by a simple, dichotomic model. Furthermore, scholars trying to understand Neo-Assyrian peripheral administration roughly identified two broad administrative categories that seem to have been used by the imperial rulers: provinces, which were directly administered by the Neo-Assyrian rulers, and vassal states, which were semi-autonomous and were required only to pledge loyalty and pay regular tribute to the empire (Pečirková 1987: 164-165). For many decades, scholars studying the Assyrian Empire approached the subject through paradigms that saw the growth and development of the Neo-Assyrian Empire as that of a “territorial state (or) empire” whose rulers conquered contiguous swaths of land, over which they exerted homogenous control (Percirkova 1987: 164). These paradigms, however, did not account for the fact that Assyrian rulers often established new Assyrian centers in strategic locations outside of the imperial core, and that these locations were often surrounded by foreign polities (Liverani 1988: 86).²⁵

Mario Liverani (1988) nuanced this paradigm of Neo-Assyrian expansion with the introduction of an administrative conceptual framework called the “network empire,” in which the Neo-Assyrian imperial administration was understood as a network of communications under the control of a central nucleus. This model fits well with historical documents that suggest that the Neo-Assyrian Empire sometimes directly occupied economically or politically strategic areas that were geographically surrounded by areas that were not under direct Assyrian control. In Liverani's model, the surrounding areas sometimes fell under indirect (hegemonic) control or were politically neutral. This type of occupation essentially created islands of direct imperial control, which were connected to other imperial holdings via an extensive network of fortified transportation and communication corridors (Parker 2001: 255-258). Another key element to the concept of a network empire is that its existence does not necessitate the elimination of local centers of power, but only the installation of imperial centers (perhaps with stationary garrisons) as points in a network of communications and flow of goods (Liverani 1988: 92).

Liverani's model also accounts for what appeared to be a flexible system of imperial control employed by the Neo-Assyrian rulers as it enabled rulers to exercise different degrees of control in different regions simultaneously—varying from direct (territorial) control within the empire's provinces to indirect (hegemonic) control over imperial vassal states (Parker 2001: 16). As

²⁵ For example, the annals of Assurnasirpal indicate that he established several such centers, including Kar-Assurnasirpal and Nebarti-Assur on the Euphrates below Bit-Adini, in the eighth campaign, and Aribua in the Orontes Valley, in the ninth campaign (Liverani 1988: 86).

mentioned in Chapter Two, Parker (2001) expands the analytical categories of administration that the Neo-Assyrian rulers used to govern their diverse periphery within the network empire model. In addition to provinces and vassal states, Parker contends that scholars should also consider the importance of two other categories, termed “buffer states” and “buffer zones,” which exist between two rival states and are generally seen by both states as neutral. Buffer states differ from buffer zones in that buffer states have viable political structures, but both maintain complete political autonomy (Parker 2001: 250-252).

Deciding where to place Edom within Parker’s framework raises issues related to geographic and historical context. Both Liverani’s and Parker’s models were conceived through studying the Neo-Assyrian northern peripheries, areas that fell under Assyrian influence much earlier and under different historical circumstances than did the Southern Levant. Does Edom, then, fit into a network empire model at all? It becomes clear below that the Neo-Assyrian rulers were only directly involved in the Southern Levant for about 90 years. This period lasted from Tiglath-pileser III’s campaigns in the 730/20s B.C.E. to about 640 B.C.E. when Assurbanipal withdrew imperial resources from the periphery to address political instability in the core. During this 90-year period, the relationship between the Neo-Assyrian rulers and the Southern Levant was not static; rather, it was quite the opposite. Until ca. 640 B.C.E., there was an ever-increasing imperial presence in, and a shifting imperial administrative policy toward, the Southern Levant. Fortunately, Parker’s network empire model illustrates change over time. One might imagine, for example, that as the Neo-Assyrian Empire expanded outward from the core and into the Northern and then Southern Levant, territories that were once buffer zones or buffer states were gradually incorporated further into the empire, first as vassal states and eventually as provinces. Although this is by no means the only way that an empire might grow, it may well have been what was happening in southern Jordan during the first centuries of the Iron II period as the Neo-Assyrian Empire became more and more invested in the Southern Levant. Furthermore, the evidence suggests that the southernmost portion of the Jordanian plateau, which contains only scant evidence of permanent settlement, remained a loosely integrated buffer zone throughout the entirety of Neo-Assyrian rule in the region.

The textual and material evidence presented in this chapter indicates that, with regard to its southern Levantine vassal kingdoms, the Neo-Assyrian rulers attempted, when possible, to rule by means of indirect (hegemonic) control, and that they preferred to leave local political and economic structures in place. When this approach was no longer possible (generally because of a powerful rebellious faction), the Neo-Assyrian army would then utilize its destructive capabilities to crush its opponents and implement direct imperial control, either by means of a puppet king or, if necessary, by officially incorporating the polity into the Neo-Assyrian Empire as a province. Additionally, the evidence suggests that after the Neo-Assyrian rulers destroyed a city or kingdom, their practice was almost always to rebuild it in order to allow it to become economic profitability to the empire.

This chapter argues that the polity of Edom does fit into the network empire model. The evidence suggests that the Neo-Assyrian rulers administered the agriculturally productive territory south of the Wadi el-Hasa (Akkadian *Udūmu*) as a vassal state beginning during the reign of Tiglath-pileser III, and that *Udūmu* retained that status until the end of Neo-Assyrian rule. This type of administration allowed the empire to benefit economically from the Arabian

trade route that passed through Edom and prevented the Egyptian rulers from doing the same. Furthermore, because Edom did not often join rebellious factions against the Neo-Assyrian Empire, it was prudent for the empire to allow Edom to maintain its political autonomy, and to reap the economic benefits of regular tribute paid by Edom's king.

Neo-Assyrian Provinces and Vassal Kingdoms

In Chapter Two, empires were defined as large, expansionist political entities that exercise control over other sociopolitical entities (following Sinopoli 1994). This relationship creates an imperial core as well as a periphery that is made up of the territory into which the political entity expands. It was also noted that a motivating factor that drives almost all imperial expansion is the well-being of the empire's core. This well-being can be understood in various ways, but is most often evident in an empire's concern for the physical security of the core and for the extraction of resources from the periphery for the economic benefit of the core (Adams 1979). The manner in which an empire addresses these concerns can vary, but often necessitates the administration of political control over its periphery.

As mentioned above, scholars studying Neo-Assyrian imperial administration have argued that Neo-Assyrian territory was divided into provinces and vassal states or kingdoms. These scholars have further argued that these political categories corresponded to two designations used by the Neo-Assyrian rulers themselves, that of the "Land of Assur," which included the Assyrian core as well as the territories associated with the empire's provinces, and the "Yoke of Assur," which referred to vassal kingdoms (Postgate 2007: 203). This clear and systematic differentiation used by the Assyrian rulers allows scholars to understand with more certainty the order that the Assyrian rulers imposed upon territories that fell under their influence.

In Chapter Two, the discussion of administrative strategies used by ancient empires across the globe argued that while direct control allowed imperial rulers unilateral access to an area's resources, ancient empires often used hegemonic control (Luttwak 1976: 19-20) in areas where direct control was either prohibitively expensive or otherwise infeasible or impractical. This type of indirect control was based on the empire's threat of force, and therefore allowed the empire to collect tribute from a region without having to invest in the infrastructure necessary for permanent occupation and governance in that area.²⁶ Furthermore, it was argued that these two types of control are situated on a continuum that captures the multitude of administrative options available to ancient imperial rulers when approaching their relationships with different regions within their periphery (D'Altroy 1992: 19-24). Relevant to the discussion here is that the Neo-Assyrian rulers used both types of control, simultaneously, in different regions of their empire, varying from direct control in the provinces to indirect control in the vassal states (Parker 2001: 16).

From an analytical point of view, the provincial system employed by the Assyrians in the Southern Levant was broadly similar to the system seen in other peripheral regions in that it created both provinces and vassal (or client) kingdoms in conquered territory. As in other parts of the empire, the official Assyrian provinces were under direct Assyrian rule and had an

²⁶ See, for example, the discussion in Chapter Two of Hassig's (1985) work on the Aztec Empire.

Assyrian administrative system in place, while the vassal kingdoms were bound to the empire through diplomatic treaties that allowed them to retain much of their political autonomy in exchange for loyalty to the empire (see Na'aman 1995; Grayson 2000a: 964).²⁷

The Neo-Assyrian rulers' goal in their administration of both provinces and vassal kingdoms was to benefit the Assyrian core—to physically protect it from hostile groups and to supply it with resources so that it may grow in strength and influence. The economic aspect of this imperial goal was funded through a combination of taxation, tribute, and war booty. Taxation refers to the compulsory payments made by territories within the Land of Assur, including by the imperial provinces. These payments were often made in kind and were generally sent directly to the place of need rather than to the palace (Postgate 1974: 231). Tribute, or *maddattu* in Akkadian, is also a compulsory payment, but one made by a foreign kingdom that has been brought under the yoke of Assyria but has not been incorporated into the empire as a province (Postgate 1974: 119). Finally, booty, or *šallatu*, refers to the goods (and people) that were taken forcibly by the empire during war (Liverani 1992: 155).

Within any official Assyrian province, referred to in Neo-Assyrian texts as *pīhatu*, the highest ranked individual was the Assyrian governor, *pāhutu* or *bēl pāhete*, who answered directly to the Assyrian king. As the chosen official of the king, the governor exercised supreme control over his province (Radner 2015b: 61). Each governor was based at a capital city, which housed a provincial palace as well as storage and industrial production facilities (Parker 2001: 250). Additionally, provincial governors had access to a standing army that could be quickly mobilized in order to carry out imperial orders (Grayson 2000a: 963). Beneath the provincial governor, an assemblage of lower-ranking Assyrian officials oversaw the day-to-day functions of the province. Chief among these responsibilities was the collection of taxes, the mustering of troops for the army, and the maintenance of communication networks between the province and the imperial capital (Grayson 2000a: 963).

Following the creation of an imperial province, the Neo-Assyrian Empire often deported a carefully selected segment of that province's population. Although deportation was practiced during the reigns of Assurnasirpal II, Shalmaneser III, and Shamshi-Adad V, it was in the late eighth and early seventh centuries—under Tiglath-pileser III, Sargon II, and Sennacherib—that the widespread and systematic use of this practice occurred at a scale previously unseen in the Near East (Oded 1979: 2).

From an imperial standpoint, the deportation of conquered peoples served many functions that directly benefitted the empire. Deportation served as a punishment to client states or provinces that attempted to defy the empire, and as a threat to those who might be considering rebellion. It also succeeded in fracturing the indigenous political and social structures that could facilitate active resistance against the empire. Furthermore, deportees supplied the empire with labor, soldiers, skilled craftsmen, and business professionals. Finally, deportees were used to strategically populate urban centers within Assyria, repopulate conquered cities in the periphery,

²⁷ The specific obligations of a vassal kingdom differed from vassal to vassal. See p. 79 for a discussion of Neo-Assyrian vassal treaties.

and provide a workforce for agriculturally marginal land throughout the empire (Oded 1979: 41-74).

The treatment of vassal kingdoms within the Neo-Assyrian Empire was markedly different than the treatment of the provinces. The conditions of a vassal kingdom's treaty or agreement with Assyria varied between kingdoms.²⁸ At the most fundamental level, Assyria required that a vassal be loyal, but this loyalty could be expressed in several different ways. Sometimes a vassal polity was required to supply military intelligence; pay tribute to the empire, both in the form of natural resources and in skilled and unskilled labor; provide military support in the event of a domestic rebellion or an enemy attack; or to meet various economic or political regulations imposed by the empire. All of these obligations were supervised by an official Assyrian overseer (often referred to as a *qēpu*), who, along with a garrison, maintained a permanent presence within the vassal territory (Pečirková 1987: 166-167).

Vassal treaties were negotiated between a Neo-Assyrian ruler and the ruler of a conquered polity. As the political representative for his polity, the vassal ruler was responsible for making sure that the obligations laid out in the treaty were met. In general, as long as a conquered polity peacefully submitted to Assyria as a vassal state, the indigenous political infrastructure was allowed to remain intact and the local ruling elites maintained political autonomy. Vassal treaties generally included a violation clause as well as a curse section, which provided divine sanction for punitive actions against the vassal should the terms of the treaty be violated (Parpola 1988: XLI). Assyrian actions throughout the empire indicated that if a vassal state violated the terms of its agreement with Assyria, it would open itself up to military conflict with the empire, the result of which was often the installation of a puppet king and government.²⁹

The Neo-Assyrian Empire and Edom

The first mention of Edom in Neo-Assyrian records occurs on the Nimrud Stele of Adad-nirari III (811-783 B.C.E.), which describes his campaign to Syria against Bir-Hadad of Damascus in 796 B.C.E. Here Edom is listed along with several of its Levantine neighbors, including Tyre, Sidon, Israel, and Philistia.

...I subjugated the land of Hatti, the land of Amurru in its entirety, the land of Tyre, the land of Sidon, the land of the house of Omri, the land of Edom, the land of Philistia, as far as the large sea of the west. I established tribute (*biltu*) and tribute (*maddattu*) on them. (Translation from Tadmor 1973: 148-150; RIMA 3, 2, Adad-nirari III 8.)

This inscription indicates that around 800 B.C.E., the Neo-Assyrian rulers began to engage directly with Edom. It is unclear, however, whether or not Edom should be considered a vassal

²⁸ For a discussion of ancient Near Eastern treaties see: Hillers 1964, McCarthy 1963, Wiseman 1982, Tadmor 1982b, Parpola 1987b, 1988 and Grayson 1987.

²⁹ This type of punitive action taken by the Assyrian rulers against a rebellious vassal kingdom is clearly seen in the evolution of the political relationship between the Neo-Assyrian Empire and the Philistine city-states. See below for a discussion of this relationship.

kingdom at this time. As mentioned above, this designation refers to a polity from which royal tribute or taxation was required, but one for which the local ruler and his associated governing apparatus was initially left in place. While Adad-nirari III may have considered this interaction to be the start of what would be an ongoing political relationship, it is possible that at this early date neither Adad-nirari III, nor any of his immediate successors, had the means to enforce the obligations of the political relationship between Edom and Assyria. Despite the fact that Edom paid tribute to Adad-nirari III while he was fighting in Damascus, the Nimrud Stele does not indicate that the Assyrian campaign extended into Edomite territory, and therefore it is highly unlikely that there was any Assyrian presence in Edom at this time. This suggests that ultimately, Edom made a one-time payment to placate the Assyrian rulers after their defeat of Damascus and should not be considered a vassal of Assyria at this early date (Crowell 2004: 78).

Tiglath-pileser III's campaigns into the Southern Levant brought Edom further into the folds of the Neo-Assyrian imperial machine. Tiglath-pileser III's Levantine territorial holdings expanded further to the south during the 730s B.C.E., which is observable in the comparison of the text on a stele reportedly discovered in Iran, which is dated to ca. 737 B.C.E. (Levine 1972: 14-15), to a summary inscription of Tiglath-pileser III preserved on a clay tablet from Nimrud (K 03751; RINAP I, Tiglath-pileser III 47), which dates to ca. 729 B.C.E. The stele lists Damascus, Samaria, and a queen of the Arabs as Assyria's Levantine tributaries; but by 729 B.C.E., Judah, Gaza, Ammon, Moab, and Edom were also included in a similar list preserved on the summary inscription of Tiglath-pileser III (Millard 1992: 36). Additionally, an Edomite king, Qos-malak, appears on a list of tribute-bearing kings recorded on the Summary Inscription of Tiglath-pileser III, which, although carved in 729 B.C.E., describes the events of Tiglath-pileser III's 734 B.C.E. campaign (Tadmor 1994: 154). Therefore, it is logical to consider Edom as an official vassal kingdom of Assyria after the 734 B.C.E. campaign.

As recorded in Nimrud Letter 16 (SAA 1 110), which probably dates to the reign of Sargon II in the years just prior to his 712 B.C.E. campaign (Millard 1992: 36), Edom was obligated to do more than make payments to Assyrian rulers as they passed through the Southern Levant during their campaigns; Edom was also required to send officials to Assyria to make payments to the empire. In Nimrud Letter 16, Edom is listed, along with Ashdod and Ekron, as a component of a group that arrived in Nimrud bringing tribute to the king (Millard 1992: 36):

I have received 45 horses of the [pala]ce. The emissaries from Egypt, Gaza, Judah, Moab and Ammon entered Calah on the 12th with their tribute. The 24 horses of the (king) of Gaza are with him. The Edomite, [Ashdo]dite and Ekronite [.....]. (SAA 1, 110)

As is evident in the reconstruction of Nimrud Letter 16, a break in the tablet obscures the Edomite official's specific role within the envoy. As a result, scholars are forced to use the information that is available in the text about the other members of the envoy in order to speculate as to Edom's official status within the Neo-Assyrian administration. For example, the officials that made up that envoy were *sērani* officials. This term is used to refer to high ranking foreign emissaries who represent vassal rulers to the imperial court. These officials are most often described as tribute bringers, but they can occasionally act as ambassadors for their kingdom if needed (Postgate 1974: 120-124). If Edom can be included in this group, it would

support the scholarly consensus that Edom was a Neo-Assyrian vassal kingdom rather than an imperial province under the reign of Sargon II, thus indicating that the nature of Edom's relationship with the Neo-Assyrian Empire had changed dramatically since the reign of Adad-nirari III.

After the reign of Sargon II, mention of Edomite kings occurs more frequently in Neo-Assyrian records. Aiarammu, for example, brought gifts to Sennacherib in 701 B.C.E. (RINAP 3/1 Sennacherib 22), wisely demonstrating his loyalty and disassociating Edom from the rebellious antics of the Judean king, Hezekiah. Additionally, Qos-gabr was compelled to furnish building supplies for Esarhaddon's palace at Nineveh (RINAP 4, Esarhaddon 1) and later offered gifts to Assurbanipal during his campaign through Moab and Edom in the mid-660s B.C.E. (RINAP 5, Assurbanipal 6).

According to the Assyrian sources, it was during the reign of Assurbanipal that Assyria's direct involvement in Edom, as well as in Moab, grew exponentially—because of the kingdoms' geographic location between Assyria's economic interests in the Southern Levant and the nomadic Qedarite tribe (as well as other Arab tribes that had begun to threaten these holdings). Prism A of Assurbanipal's annals recounts that during Assurbanipal's wars against the Qedarites and the Arabs, which took place during the 660s B.C.E., Assyrian troops pursued the Qedarites through Edom (Millard 1992: 36). According to the accounts given in Assurbanipal's Prisms A (RINAP 5, Assurbanipal 11), B (RINAP 5, Assurbanipal 3), and C (RINAP 5, Assurbanipal 6), the Assyrian army, with the assistance of Edomite, Moabite, and Ammonite troops, ultimately defeated the Qedarite tribe (Millard 1992: 36).

Additionally, in Prism C, Assurbanipal states that while on campaign to Egypt “twenty-two kings of the seacoast, the midst of the sea, and dry land, [serva]nts who belonged to me, carried their substantial [audience] gift(s) [before me] and kissed my feet” (RINAP 5, Assurbanipal 6: lines 48-52). Among those kings was, “Qos-gabr, king of the land Edom” (RINAP 5, Assurbanipal 6: line 28). The use of the Sumerogram LUGAL in this passage suggests that at this time, Edom was still ruled by a king rather than an Assyrian governor, and the Qos *theophoric* in the name of this king strongly suggests that the king was ethnically Edomite (Bartlett 1989: 200-204). Although these references to Edom in the Assyrian sources are limited, they are nonetheless informative. The evidence suggests that beginning in the reign of Tiglath-pileser III and lasting throughout the period of Neo-Assyrian involvement in the Southern Levant, Edom remained a tribute-bearing vassal kingdom that retained its own local ruler. Even during Assurbanipal's war with the Qedarites, he was still using local troops to support the Assyrian military in its efforts.

Therefore, the evidence clearly indicates that Edom retained its indigenous political leadership throughout the period of Assyrian rule. The tribute demanded from Edomite rulers by the Assyrian rulers as well as the military assistance that Edom was required to provide in Assurbanipal's campaign in the Southern Levant make it clear that Edom's political relationship with Assyria was that of a vassal kingdom. Edom met the tribute and military demands of Assyria, and therefore it was able to prosper from the imperial economic investment in Southern Levant, especially with regard to the Arabian trade.

Neo-Assyrian Imperial Involvement in Philistia and Northwestern Arabia

Although the available evidence for direct interactions between the Neo-Assyrian rulers and Edom is helpful in determining the official status of Edom within the Neo-Assyrian administrative system, a broader look at Neo-Assyrian involvement in the Southern Levant provides additional information about the role that Edom may have played in the empire's goals. As the following evidence indicates, when Edom fell under the political influence of the Neo-Assyrian Empire during the military campaigns of Tiglath-pileser III, so too did many of its neighboring kingdoms. This suggests that the establishment of Edom as an imperial vassal kingdom was part of a regional strategy of imperial control, and that the relationship between Edom and the imperial rulers was inevitably linked to this strategy. Therefore, discerning the larger motives of the Neo-Assyrian rulers in, and their administrative policies toward, the Southern Levant, especially in those kingdoms geographically closest to Edom, will help to determine the role that Edom may have played in the regional strategy of the imperial rulers.

It was during Tiglath-pileser III's sweeping reorganization and expansion of the empire that a Neo-Assyrian king first campaigned into the Southern Levant. During the violent campaigns of Tiglath-pileser III (745-727 B.C.E.) and Shalmaneser V (727-722 B.C.E.), much of the Southern Levant was destroyed and the territories east of the Jordan River, including Edom, were conquered. In 738 B.C.E., Tiglath-pileser III began to engage more directly in the economic activities in the Southern Levant, and in the following years he captured several important ports along the southeast Mediterranean coast—including Gaza, the terminus of an economically profitable aromatic trade route. This trade route began in southwest Arabia, one of the few regions from where the frankincense and myrrh resins used for incense could be sourced (MacDonald 1995: 1357). The trade route ran from present-day Yemen up the western side of the Arabian Peninsula until it reached Edomite territory. From there the route continued north to the area around Busayra, which sat atop a promontory overlooking the Wadi Arabah and the entrance to the Beersheba Valley. From this area, the trade route could cross the Wadi Arabah and pass through the Beersheba Valley before reaching its terminus in Gaza (MacDonald 1995: 1356). The aromatic products traded along this route were shipped across the Mediterranean and throughout the Near East, but they were also desired in Assyria itself, where they were used by elites in religious ceremonies, in medicine, and for personal adornment,³⁰ as were other products exported from Arabia—including gold, silver, copper, and camels (Eph'al 1982: 106). Also in 738 B.C.E., Tiglath-pileser III appointed an Arab ruler, Idibi'ilu, to maintain and guard the imperial border between Gaza and Egypt, effectively protecting the empire's new economic investment in the Arabian trade (Eph'al 1982: 93).

During the reign of Sargon II (721-705 B.C.E.) and the early years (704-700 B.C.E.) of Sennacherib's reign, Judah (excluding the city of Jerusalem) was destroyed and the territory of the Philistine cities was annexed. Additionally, it was around this time that the Assyrian provinces of Megiddo, Dor, Samaria, and Gilead were established in the wake of the destruction

³⁰ See, for example, RINAP 4, Esarhaddon 48: lines 98-100, "In a favorable month, (on) a propitious day, in the same manner, I laid the foundations of Eḫursaggalkurkura — the bond of heaven and netherworld, the residence of (the god) Aššur, the king of the gods, my lord — and [E]sagil — the palace of the gods, the dwelling of the great divine lord, the god Marduk — (and) Babylon — the city of the residence of his divin[ity] — on gold, silver, desirable aromatics, honey, ghee, wine, kurunnu-wine, (and) ... (and)I secured [their] brickwork."

brought on by Tiglath-pileser III and Shalmaneser V (Na'aman 1995: 106-107). Beginning around 700 B.C.E., under Sennacherib's rule, and continuing through the reigns of Esarhaddon (680-669 B.C.E.) and Assurbanipal (668-627 B.C.E.), there was an overall increase in Assyrian presence throughout the Southern Levant.

This increased presence is especially pronounced in the territory of Philistia, defined as the land surrounding five settlements in the southwest corner of the Southern Levant: Gaza, Ekron, Ashkelon, Ashdod, and Gath. In Philistia, Neo-Assyrian rulers built settlements and fortresses in an attempt to gain better control over the important trade routes that ran through the region.³¹ The economic importance of this trade appears to have been related to what some scholars (such as Larsen 1979: 101) have argued were special administrative categories that the Neo-Assyrian rulers applied to the Philistine city-states as well as to the Arab tribes that inhabited the desert fringe. Essentially, this means that Neo-Assyrian administrative policy when dealing with these groups looks characteristically different than their policies toward most other provinces and vassal states (Na'aman 1979; Eph'al 1982).

The Philistine city-states along the southern Levantine coast were targeted along with the rest of the Southern Levant during the campaigns of Tiglath-pileser III. After the initial conquest, these cities were brought under the authority of the empire as vassal states, although, unlike Edom, these states frequently allied themselves with Egyptian rulers and rebelled against the Assyrian rulers, resulting in almost 65 years of periodic Assyrian military action in Philistia (Tadmor 1966).

As a result of frequent rebellions against the empire in the Philistine city-states, the Assyrians applied a more "hands-on" approach to the peripheral management of the Philistine city-states when compared to other vassal states. These cities were reorganized under direct Neo-Assyrian control into large-scale industrial centers (conveniently located along the coast for ease of shipping), and each center was designated for a specialized purpose. Whereas Ekron was the site of mass olive oil production, Ashdod became a ceramic production center, and Gaza served as a large international port (Gitin 1997: 84). Gaza's value to the Neo-Assyrian rulers is supported by the fact that, in 734 B.C.E., Tiglath-pileser captured the city and proclaimed it a "custom-house of Assyria" (Na'aman 1979: 83), referencing its great potential for economic revenue.

The direct involvement of the Neo-Assyrian rulers in the political and economic affairs of the Philistine city-states is evident in the Prism of Sennacherib (RINAP 3/1, Sennacherib 22), which recounts Sennacherib's 701 B.C.E. campaign in the Southern Levant. In this document, Sennacherib references King Padi of Ekron, who, at the request of Ekron's elites, had been imprisoned by King Hezekiah of Judah for his loyalty to Assyria. In retribution for this show of disloyalty by Ekron's elites, Sennacherib claims:

"I surrounded, conquered, (and) plundered the cities Eltekeh (and)
Tamnâ. I approached the city Ekron and I killed the governors (and)

³¹ For additional discussions of Assyrian's economic interest in the long-distance trade routes that connected south Arabia with the Mediterranean, see Gitin 1997, Finkelstein 1992, Na'aman 1979, Tadmor 1966.

nobles who had committed crime(s) and hung their corpses on towers around the city ... I brought out Padi, their king, from the city Jerusalem and placed (him) on the lordly throne over them, then I imposed upon him payment (in recognition) of my overlordship.” (RINAP 3/1, Sennacherib 22: lines 6-17).

Sennacherib continues and describes the punishment to which he subjected Hezekiah: “I detached from his (Hezekiah’s) land the cities of his that I had plundered and I gave (them) to Mitinti, the king of the city Ashdod, Padi, the king of the city Ekron, and Šilli-Bēl, the king of the city Gaza, and (thereby) made his land smaller” (RINAP 3/1, Sennacherib 22: lines 30-33).

The Prism of Sennacherib illustrates two important aspects of Neo-Assyrian administrative policy with regard to the Philistine city-states. First, the text makes it clear that Neo-Assyrian rulers expected loyalty from their vassals and that in return for that loyalty, the Neo-Assyrian rulers would sometimes provide protection and economic aid. Clearly, Sennacherib had established an expectation of loyalty from Padi (and likely the kings of Ashdod and Gaza as well since he also gave them land that he had taken from Hezekiah), and further that this loyalty benefitted Padi, as is evident from the fact that Sennacherib rescued him from Jerusalem and reinstated him as king. The second aspect of Neo-Assyrian rule in the Philistine city-states that the text indicates is that Sennacherib was directly supporting the economy of the Philistine city-states by adding to their hinterland from the conquered territory of Judah. This would have helped develop the economy of Ekron, which grew during the seventh century into an economy based on the industrial production of olive oil (Gitin 1997: 84). Such an economy would have required land on which to cultivate olive trees. The economic growth and prosperity seen in the Philistine cities while under Assyrian domination—especially after Sennacherib’s 701 B.C.E. campaign—indicates that the Neo-Assyrian kings were committed to the economic development of their periphery so that it might serve to funnel resources into Assyria in the form of tribute.

The Arab tribes that occupied the more arid regions of the Levant also played a key role in the Neo-Assyrian economic and political administration in the Southern Levant. First, these groups, especially those living near the Sinai, occupied a strategically important position between the Assyrian holdings in the Southern Levant and Egypt. Therefore, by gaining loyalty from some of these key tribes, the empire would essentially create a buffer between their vassals and Egypt. Additionally, these groups were largely responsible for managing the Arabian trade in aromatics, the route of which began in the mountains of southwest Arabia and ran up through the Arabian Peninsula before reaching its terminus at the Mediterranean coast, where it was loaded onto boats and shipped throughout the Near East and west into the Mediterranean (MacDonald 1995: 1355-1358).

Within Assyrian sources, Arabs were referred to as nomadic groups that occupied the desert areas in eastern and southern Syria, northern Arabia, the southern Negev, eastern Jordan, and the Sinai Peninsula. As is typical of nomadic groups, the Arabs lived in tents, and in addition to managing the Arabian aromatics trade, they practiced various types of animal husbandry (MacDonald 1995: 1355). The nature of nomadic societies makes them difficult to govern, but these features of Arab society did not stop the Neo-Assyrian rulers from subjugating them and adding the resources of Arabia to the imperial revenue—as indicated in lines 150-157 of Tiglath-

pileser III's annals, which state that he received tribute from "Zabibe, the queen of Arabia" (Pritchard 1958: 193-194; RINAP, Tiglath-pileser III 14-15: col. i 10 – ii 5).

Additionally, in the annals of Sargon II, the author claims that in his seventh year he "crushed the tribes of Tamud, Ibadidi, Marsimanu, and Haiapa, the Arabs who live, far away, in the desert (and) who had not (yet) brought their tribute to any king. I deported their survivors and settled (them) in Samaria" (Translation by Pritchard 1958: 196).³² This passage indicates that Arab populations were subject to deportation and resettlement—as was practiced in many other territories conquered by the Neo-Assyrian rulers. Additionally, this passage highlights the fact that even though a queen of Arabia (Pritchard 1958: 196) had brought tribute to Tiglath-pileser III, this did not mean that all Arabs had been incorporated into the empire. The nomadic and segmented nature of Arab social and political structure would have added a significant challenge to the Neo-Assyrian rulers who were attempting to establish control over the Southern Levant.

The above text demonstrates one way in which the Neo-Assyrian rulers addressed the challenges inherent in controlling largely nomadic and segmented social groups, such as the Arab tribes. This strategy used by the Neo-Assyrian rulers involved maintaining an official relationship with some Arab representatives (such as Zabibe, queen of Arabia) in order to benefit from the Arabian trade route and keep it out of Egyptian hands. This would also explain why in 738 B.C.E., Tiglath-pileser III appointed an Arab ruler, Idibi'ilu, to maintain and guard the imperial border between Gaza and Egypt, effectively protecting the Arabian trade route (Eph'al 1982: 93).

The treatment of the Philistine city-states and the Arab tribes by the Neo-Assyrian rulers was not unique within Neo-Assyrian administrative policy. The Phoenician city-states of the Northern Levant were also allowed a certain degree of political leniency by the Neo-Assyrian rulers as a result of the natural resources and booming trade economy associated with that region. Additionally, like the Arab tribes and the Philistine cities, the trade that passed through the Phoenician cities had a long history of Egyptian intervention, dating back to the Late Bronze Age.³³ Therefore, the benefit to the Assyrian Empire of controlling these Phoenician resources was two-fold—it added to the revenue of the empire while simultaneously keeping that revenue from Egyptian rulers.

The value of these resources to the Neo-Assyrian rulers is made clear in the wall reliefs of Sargon II's palace at Khorsabad (Louvre AO 19889). These reliefs depict the transportation of lumber from the Phoenician coast to Assyria and demonstrate the ways in which the Neo-Assyrian rulers thought about their relationship with their Levantine periphery (**Figure 3.1**; Fontan 2001). In this narrative scene, displayed across five orthostats, people are depicted moving large timbers from a mountainous landscape associated with the Lebanon Mountains. The timber is then transported behind boats past two fortified islands (likely the Phoenician islands of Tyre and Raud) before reaching land, where it is unloaded. This scene highlights that Sargon II understood the Phoenician periphery as the place from where to extract the timber necessary to build his capital city at Khorsabad. A similar perspective is expressed in an excerpt

³² See also Lie 1929. The RINAP volume of Sargon II's inscriptions is still forthcoming.

³³ See Kuhrt 1995: 320-329 for a summary of Egypt's Late Bronze Age conquest and subsequent rule over Canaan.

from Esarhaddon's Prism B (RINAP 4, Esarhaddon 1), which recounts his campaign in the Levant.

I sent out and made them (foreign kings) transport under terrible difficulties, to Nineveh, the town (where I exercise) my rulership, as building material for my palace: big logs, long beams (and) thin boards from cedar and pine trees, products of the Sirara and Lebanon mountains, which had grown for a long time into tall and strong timber. (Pritchard 1969: 291; RINAP 4, Esarhaddon 1)

The Neo-Assyrian administrative policies toward the Philistine city-states and the Arab tribes in the Southern Levant and the Phoenician city-states in the Northern Levant indicate that the Neo-Assyrian rulers were interested primarily in the extraction of resources and revenue from their periphery, and that they desired to keep these resources out of Egyptian hands. In order to achieve this goal, the imperial rulers considered the nature of the social, political, and economic systems already in place within newly conquered territories. When tighter control was needed in order for the empire to benefit economically from a conquered territory, such as appears to have been the case with the Philistine city-states, the empire invested in more direct control. When direct control would have been prohibitively expensive, or even impossible because of existing socio-political conditions (such as in the Arabian Peninsula), indirect control was the preferred course of action.

Edom's location, which was situated between the Arabian Peninsula and the Philistine city-states, would have placed Edom in a strategically advantageous place for the Assyrian rulers. The trade routes that ran through Edom's territory were no doubt managed by Edomite middlemen who facilitated the movement of goods from the Arabian peninsula through the Edomite territory to their final destinations. As with the Arab tribes, maintaining a vassal relationship with Edom would enable the Assyrian rulers to benefit from the local systems that managed the trade without having to invest in the infrastructure needed to build a new system.

Conclusion: Neo-Assyrian Political Administration in Edom

The Neo-Assyrian imperial policy toward Edom and its closest neighbors suggests that that empire's rulers were concerned with economic prosperity, and that they saw the empire's peripheral territories, including those in the Southern Levant, as a means of achieving that prosperity. This can be seen both in the military and political policies adopted by the Assyrian rulers in their official dealings with the Levant. It is in this light that one can best understand the Assyrian imperial motives behind the economic intensification of the southern Levantine periphery. The imperial policy by which the Southern Levant was governed changed throughout the period of Neo-Assyrian rule. The Neo-Assyrian rulers preferred a more hands-off approach to governance over their peripheral territories in the Southern Levant, and whenever possible maintained their authority through hegemonic control. As the empire continued to grow, these rulers formally annexed some of their closest peripheral polities into the administrative fabric of the empire. In these official imperial provinces, direct control was maintained through a physical Assyrian administrative presence in the province. As discussed in Chapter Two, it is this type of

periphery management that yields an empire the highest return in the form of goods and revenue extracted from the periphery. This type of management, however, is also the most expensive to maintain. Whenever possible, the Assyrians attempted to extract goods and revenue in the form of tribute from peripheral areas without having to transform these areas into formal provinces.

There also appears to be something else at play here in the administrative cases of the Philistine cities and the Arab tribes, which do clearly fit into the vassal state/province paradigm. The most logical explanation for the incorporation of these groups into the empire is that they were essential for the maintenance of the inter-regional trade networks in which the Neo-Assyrian rulers wanted to participate. Whereas the rulers of Assyria could have increased their revenue from direct involvement in this trade, such a choice would have required the great initial expense of establishing the infrastructure necessary to facilitate the trade, such as creating caravan rest stops and making sure that the products remain secure throughout their long journey. In these cases, the Philistines and Arab tribes had already built the necessary infrastructure, and the empire was able to simply take from these groups' profits in the name of tribute collection. Although the Assyrians attempted to regulate this interregional trade through taxation, legal proscription, and control of the terminus points of major trade routes, they did not control it (Allen 1997: 314).

During the course of Tiglath-Pileser III's involvement in the Southern Levant, Edom becomes a permanent vassal kingdom of Assyria. It is within the context of Assyria's relationship with the Arab tribes and the Philistine city-states that we can understand Edom's strategic importance to the Assyrian Empire. Geographically located between Arabia and the Mediterranean coast, Edom was directly situated along the Arabian trade route, and the kingdom's involvement in that trade is suggested both by its location as well as by the presence of a significant amount of Edomite ceramic vessel evidence at sites in the Negev that lead through the Beersheba Valley en route to Gaza. Therefore, it benefitted Assyrian interests in the Arabian trade to allow Edom a certain amount of political autonomy in order to preserve the indigenous systems that facilitated the movement of goods along the trade route. This is significantly different from the situation in the Philistine city-states, where the trade route's termini were located. By controlling these cities (and more so by keeping them out of Egyptian control), the Neo-Assyrian Empire maximized the return on their investment in the long-distance Arabian trade.

Therefore, the available evidence indicates that Edom fit well into Liverani's and Parker's model for an Assyrian network model. From the time of Tiglath-pileser III, Edom falls into the analytical category of a vassal kingdom. The kingdom met several of the common obligations of vassal treaties, including providing tribute to Assyria and supplying troops to aid the Assyrian military, as in Assurbanipal's war with the Qedarite Arabs. As will be discussed in subsequent chapters, there is no evidence (neither Assyrian nor Edomite) to suggest that Edom was ever directly administered by Assyrian officials, or that it was ever occupied by the Assyrian military. As a result, the indigenous social and political structures remained intact and maintained the urban centers and the roads and fortified sites found throughout Edom.

CHAPTER FOUR – THE NEO-BABYLONIAN EMPIRE AND EDM

The Neo-Babylonian Empire, with the support of the Median Empire, was responsible for bringing about the end of the Neo-Assyrian Empire. Following the death of Assurbanipal (627 B.C.E.), the political power of Assyria weakened due to internal revolts,³⁴ which allowed Nabopolassar the opportunity to strengthen his power in Babylonia. By the end of 626 B.C.E. he had driven the Assyrians out of Babylon and ascended to the Babylonian throne (Grayson 2000: 88, Babylonian Chronicle 2: lines 10-15). Over the course of the next fifteen years, Nabopolassar lead his army in the gradual takeover of Assyria's Mesopotamia territory, eventually ushering in the Neo-Babylonian Period with his defeat of the Assyrian army at Harran in 609 B.C.E. (Grayson 2000: 90-96, Babylonian Chronicle 3).

In the Southern Levant, there was approximately a 40-year period between Assurbanipal's withdrawal from the region in ca. 640 B.C.E. and the start of Neo-Babylonian intervention in the region, which began with the campaigns of Nebuchadnezzar II (605 B.C.E.). As a result of the break in cuneiform sources describing events in the Southern Levant during this 40-year period, the political organization of the Southern Levant at that time remains unclear. The precise date of 640 B.C.E. is not accepted by all scholars, and some (Aharoni 1979: 408; Alt 1934; Na'aman 1991: 38, 40) argue that in the years prior to the death of Assurbanipal in 627 B.C.E. there was no indigenous force in the Southern Levant that could rival the Neo-Assyrian provincial structures already in place, suggesting that those Assyrian administrative structures would have remained functional even after the withdrawal of Assurbanipal's forces. There are, however, two primary factors that suggest that there was in fact a significant break in official Mesopotamian control of the Southern Levant at some point during this 40-year period. The first was a growing Egyptian influence in the region, especially along the Mediterranean coast, which stretched to Harran by 609 B.C.E., when Nabopolassar's army confronted an Assyrian-Egyptian alliance in that city (Grayson 2000: 18-19). The second was the reappearance of indigenous power structures in some southern Levantine kingdoms. A clear example of this phenomenon is evident in the reign of the Judean king, Josiah, who, in the wake of the Neo-Assyrian withdrawal, reasserted Judean political independence and died defending his kingdom's political independence against the Egyptian forces marching north to Harran (Lipschits 2005: 29; 2 Chronicles 35).

What was the political landscape in the Southern Levant when Nebuchadnezzar II began to campaign in the region after the death of his father, Nabopolassar? What were his goals in the Southern Levant and Edom and how were they influenced by the ideology and worldview of the Neo-Babylonian kings? And, how did the administrative policies of these kings toward the Southern Levant and Edom differ from those of the Neo-Assyrian rulers that came before them? This chapter argues that the Neo-Babylonian kings, at least prior to the rule of Nabonidus, viewed the polities in their southern Levantine periphery as a physical threat to the security of the imperial core because of the region's history of military uprisings against the empire, its close proximity to and history of allying itself with Egypt. Because so few narrative Babylonian documents exist that mention Edom, this chapter will look more broadly at Babylonian policy in the Southern Levant and northwest Arabia in order to understand the ways that Edom would

³⁴ See Lipschits 2005: 11-20 for a summary of and bibliography for the fall of Assyria.

have fit into this policy. This chapter asserts that Nebuchadnezzar II's response to this threat was similar to that of the Neo-Assyrian rulers who came before him: he ordered his armies to destroy the major urban centers of rebellious polities. Unlike the Neo-Assyrian rulers, however, Nebuchadnezzar II did not invest imperial resources to rebuild these cities, and as a result rendered the destroyed polities incapable of economic growth. The chapter also argues that Nabonidus may have been attempting to reignite the economy of the Southern Levant during his tenure at Tayma, and that his provincial policy was more similar to that of the Neo-Assyrian rulers than it was to earlier Neo-Babylonian policy. Despite Edom's close location to Egypt, this chapter will contend that the kingdom appears to have escaped destruction by Nebuchadnezzar II. And finally, the chapter argues that Edom played a strategic role in what can be discerned of the political and economic plans of Nabonidus, and, as a result, was more directly incorporated into the Neo-Babylonian Empire.

Peripheral Administration in the Southern Levant and Edom under Nebuchadnezzar II

In order to determine the administrative policy of Nebuchadnezzar II toward Edom, it is first necessary to investigate his peripheral administrative policies in general. As mentioned above, about 40 years passed between the end of Assyrian rule and the beginning of Babylonian rule in the Southern Levant. Therefore, before turning to Edom, it is necessary to determine to what degree Nebuchadnezzar II's peripheral administrative policies departed from Neo-Assyrian administrative policies.

During the early years of Neo-Babylonian rule, the Assyrians desperately clung to power in Northern Syria. After Nabopolassar's death, his son, Nebuchadnezzar II, who was campaigning in the Northern Levant at the time, inherited the throne of Babylonia. In 605 B.C.E., Nebuchadnezzar II defeated the last remnants of Assyrian control at the city of Carchemish. After the Babylonian army succeeded in defeating the Assyrians and their Egyptian allies at Carchemish, they pursued the Egyptians towards the south, arriving at the Philistine city of Ashkelon in 604 B.C.E. Excavations at the Philistine cities indicate that almost all of the major centers (including Ashkelon, Ekron, Ashdod, and Tel Batash/Timnah) were completely destroyed at this time (Vanderhoof 1999: 82-83).

In 598 B.C.E., Nebuchadnezzar II returned to the Southern Levant en route to Egypt, where he hoped to force the Egyptians to submit to Neo-Babylonian rule. The Egyptian campaign was ultimately a failure and resulted in rebellion among the Neo-Babylonian territorial holdings in the Levant, the most notable of which was led by the Judean king Jehoiakim. Nebuchadnezzar II responded to the failure of his campaign and the resistance of the Levantine kingdoms by annexing the kingdoms into his territory. The Hebrew Bible, along with the Babylonian Chronicle, recounts that Nebuchadnezzar II first targeted the Arab tribes (Jeremiah 49:28-33; Grayson 1975: 101, Chronicle 5). He then called upon the kingdoms of Moab and Ammon to side with the Babylonian army in its attempt to suppress the Judean revolt (2 Kings 24:2). In 598/597 B.C.E., Nebuchadnezzar II finally forced the Judean kingdom, now ruled by Jehoiakim's son, Jehoiachin, to the point of surrender and deportation and placed Jehoiakim's younger brother, Zedekiah, on the Judean throne. In 588 B.C.E., Zedekiah rebelled against the Babylonians with the support of the Egyptian pharaoh Apries (referred to as Hophra in Jeremiah 44:30), and in 586 B.C.E., Nebuchadnezzar II returned to the Southern Levant, succeeded in

destroying Jerusalem, and deported to Babylon a majority of Jerusalem's remaining ruling elite and upper class (2 Kings 25:12; Jeremiah 39:9-10; 52:15-16; Vanderhooft 1999: 87, 143). After Nebuchadnezzar II's destructive campaigns in the Southern Levant, many of the local ruling dynasties were eliminated. The available evidence tells that the annexed kingdoms were then ruled by Babylonian officials, although there is some evidence that some of these officials may have been chosen from among the remaining members of local dynasties.³⁵

Contrary to the opinion of some scholars,³⁶ it is unlikely that the Neo-Babylonian kings inherited wholesale the Neo-Assyrian administrative apparatus, which had collapsed prior to Nabopolassar's conquest of Nineveh (Vanderhooft 1999: 90). Nevertheless, Nebuchadnezzar II's organization of its periphery borrowed heavily from the Neo-Assyrian model. Similar to Neo-Assyrian organization, territories in the Neo-Babylonian periphery fell into either the category of provinces or vassal states, although there is much less written evidence available to understand the details of this administration than there is for the Neo-Assyrian Empire (Vanderhooft 1999: 99).

There is limited evidence, however, that the Neo-Babylonian rulers used terminology similar to that of the Neo-Assyrian rulers to refer to provincial officials in the Levant, such as governors (*piḫātu*) and *šakkanakku* officials (Vanderhooft, 2003: 245–246). Some of this evidence comes from Nebuchadnezzar II's Etemenanki Cylinder (Wetzel and Weissbach 1938) and Nebuchadnezzar II's Prism (EŞ 7834, Istanbul Archaeological Museum), also known as the Hofkalender (Da Riva 2013). The Etemenanki Cylinder lists territories within the Neo-Babylonian Empire that contributed labor and/or resources to the construction of Marduk's ziggurat in Babylon. Within this list, several officials from Hatti and Eber Nāri (the territory west of the Euphrates in northern Syria and southern Turkey) are named, including *piḫātu* and *šakkanakku* officials. In addition to these officials, kings of several Levantine coastal cities (Tyre, Gaza, Sidon, Arwad, and Ashdod) are mentioned. As discussed in Chapter Three, *piḫātu* and *šakkanakku* officials were representatives of the Assyrian Empire who operated within imperial provinces, which suggests that these officials may have played similar roles within Neo-Babylonian provinces. There is not sufficient textual evidence, however, to speculate as to the exact duties of these Babylonian officials or to how closely the offices replicated those by the same name from the Neo-Assyrian period (Da Riva 2013: 200).

Like the Etemenanki Cylinder, the Hofkalender also provides a list of imperial and provincial officials. The Hofkalender commemorates renovations made to the Old Palace in Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar II. The text is unusual for the Neo-Babylonian period in several ways, but most notably for its detailed list of the dignitaries and officials who contributed to the construction project (Da Riva 2013: 197). Included on this list are several *bel piḫātu* officials as well as specific Levantine kings who fall within the imperial administration (Da Riva 2013: 204-205). The mention of Levantine kings on both the Etemenanki Cylinder and the Hofkalender suggests

³⁵ An example of this phenomenon is suggested in the case of Gedaliah of Judah (2 Kings 25: 25; Jeremiah 41:3). It should be acknowledged, however, that Gedaliah is known only from the Hebrew Bible, and that it does not suggest, on its own, that the promotion of Babylonian officials from among local elites was a common practice in the Southern Levant.

³⁶ See Grayson 1991: 161, Mitchell 1991: 415; Saggs 1988: 261; Machinist 1992: 76-77; Sack 2004 for this opinion.

that within his Levantine periphery, Nebuchadnezzar II maintained vassal kingdoms (MacGinnis 2010: 155).

In the absence of detailed written evidence describing the political relationship between the Neo-Babylonian Empire and the polities of the Southern Levant, such as the detailed chronicles written by the Neo-Assyrian rulers, Neo-Babylonian policy must be interpreted through the actions of Neo-Babylonian rulers in that region. Although much is made of the destructive policies of Nebuchadnezzar II, his policies toward his vassal states in the Southern Levant were in some ways remarkably similar to those of the Neo-Assyrian kings. Some of the similarities between Nebuchadnezzar II's management of polities in the Southern Levant become evident if one compares, for example, Sargon II's conquest of Ashdod (recorded on the so-called Great Summary Inscription, found in his capital city of Dur-Šarruken) to Nebuchadnezzar's conquest of Jerusalem. The Sargon II inscription records that the king of Ashdod, Azuri, violated the terms of his vassal agreement with Assyria by refusing to pay tribute and by plotting rebellion against Assyria. Sargon II responded by removing Azuri from the throne and replacing him with his brother, Ahimetu. The reign of Ahimetu was cut short by the inhabitants of Ashdod, who overthrew him and elevated to kingship an illegitimate revolutionary by the name of Yamani. As the inhabitants of Ashdod had clearly hoped, Yamani rebelled against Assyria, attempting to form a coalition between several other southern Levantine kingdoms (Hallo and Younger 2003: 296-297). As a result, Sargon II was finally forced to destroy Ashdod. Some scholars believe that after Ashdod's destruction, Sargon II built a new Assyrian province in its place, although later sources continue to list the names of the province's kings (Stern 2001: 105).

Overall, the Great Summary Inscription recounts historical events through which Sargon II's policy toward Ashdod can be understood. The policy implicit in Sargon II's actions is quite similar to Nebuchadnezzar II's policy toward Jerusalem. The Great Summary Inscription recounts that a Neo-Assyrian king initially attempted to incorporate a city-state into the Neo-Assyrian Empire as a vassal kingdom with minimal violence and without fully provincializing the kingdom, or incorporating it into the Neo-Assyrian system of administration, as Nebuchadnezzar II did with Jerusalem. After being met with rebellion, however, Sargon II used the destructive power of his army to lay waste to the city, again similar to Nebuchadnezzar II's later actions in Jerusalem.

The major difference between the two historical scenarios occurs after a vassal city has been destroyed, when the city falls under direct imperial control as a province. The Assyrian kings built Assyrian cities atop destroyed vassal cities at places such as Megiddo, Samaria, Dor, and possibly Ashdod, and peopled these cities with displaced populations from throughout the empire (Oded 1979). These actions required an economic investment in these provinces that would benefit the province as well as its surrounding vassal states.

The Babylonian kings, however, did not rebuild the Levantine cities that they destroyed, nor did they repopulate conquered regions with deportees from other parts of the empire. Furthermore, evidence suggests that Nebuchadnezzar II's destructive military campaigns in the Southern Levant, especially clear in the case of Philistia, favored a scorched earth policy of total destruction. This policy suggests that, for Nebuchadnezzar II, it was more important to prevent the Egyptians from benefiting from the southern Levantine territory than it was to economically

develop these territories for the benefit of the Neo-Babylonian Empire (Vanderhoof 1999: 82-83).

As a result of Nebuchadnezzar II's campaigns and his reluctance to rebuild destroyed cities, the Southern Levant suffered from a lack of development, which resulted in an economic recession. As a result, there was a severe decrease in the number of settlements, their size, their associated economic activity, and their material culture during the sixth century B.C.E. (Lipschits 2003; Na'aman 1995: 114-115). In Judah, for example, Oded Lipschits (2003) argues that the archaeological evidence suggests a dramatic population drop during the Neo-Babylonian period—when the number of settlements fell considerably, as did the size of the settlements that remained.³⁷

Despite the widespread destruction found at many of the settlements dating to that period, there is evidence that suggests that Nebuchadnezzar II was interested in maintaining the physical ownership of his empire's periphery. Some of this evidence comes from the monumental rock inscriptions that were erected within the empire's periphery. Early in Nebuchadnezzar II's reign, campaigns within the territory of present-day Lebanon were mentioned regularly in the Babylonian Chronicles. These campaigns served as a systematic means of reinforcing the Babylonian claim to authority over the territory through punitive military action and the extraction of tribute. The enduring effects of these campaigns were physically etched into the landscape of Lebanon in four different locations: Wadi as-Saba, Shir as-Sanam, Brisa, and Nahr al-Kalb (Da Riva 2015: 614).

The Nahr al-Kalb rock relief is perhaps the most informative of the four carvings; it was carved in a symbolically charged place where the east-west Nahr al-Kalb River, which cuts through the Lebanon Mountains on its way to the Mediterranean Sea, meets with the north-south Levantine trade route known as "the Way of the Sea." This location is the site of royal rock inscriptions carved by both the Egyptian and Assyrian rulers who claimed political control over this landscape (Da Riva 2015: 614). As is evident from his military tactics in the Southern Levant, Nebuchadnezzar II strove to diminish Egypt's power by weakening its hold on the kingdoms of the Southern Levant—even at the cost of rendering these kingdoms economically impotent and of no benefit to the Babylonian core. Therefore, by carving his likeness alongside the Egyptian and Assyrian rulers who had formerly claimed political control over the Lebanese mountains, Nebuchadnezzar II was symbolically stating for all eternity his superiority and dominance over these rulers and their empires.

There is very little known about the actions and motivating factors that characterized the relationship between Edom and the Neo-Babylonian Empire. What is known comes largely from the Hebrew Bible, and much of this information is highly speculative and reflects Judah's strained relationship with both with Edom and with the Neo-Babylonian Empire, especially Nebuchadnezzar II. The Hebrew Bible claims that Edom played an active role in Nebuchadnezzar II's destruction of Jerusalem when the Edomite kingdom came to the aid of the

³⁷ It should be stated, however, that these numbers can be problematic; after all, they only account for the people that are living in settlements that are archaeologically visible. It is possible that the urban destruction and collapse resulted in a shift in economic subsistence strategies that were decentralized and/or nomadic in nature, making them harder to detect in the archaeological record.

Neo-Babylonian army in the suppression of the rebellious Judah (Psalms 137; Ezekiel 35-36).³⁸ Although the authenticity of these claims is not entirely trustworthy, if in fact Edom provided Nebuchadnezzar II with military and political support in his campaign against Judah, it would explain why major sites in Edom do not have the massive destruction layers such as those found at sites destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar II.

Deportation Policy under Nebuchadnezzar II

Like the Assyrians, the Neo-Babylonian kings deported conquered populations, but rather than spreading these populations throughout the empire as the Assyrians did, the Babylonians settled the majority of displaced peoples within the imperial core in southern Mesopotamia. Given that most of these deportations resulted from Nebuchadnezzar II's military campaigns, and that Nebuchadnezzar II was concerned with elevating the status of Babylonia, it might not be surprising that Nebuchadnezzar II would have seen these displaced populations as a type of war booty that could be taken back to Babylonia to aid in the region's reconstruction and revitalization. Under Nebuchadnezzar II, entire communities were resettled within the Babylonian core,³⁹ where the labor generated by the deported populations could support the imperial economy and aid in Nebuchadnezzar II's immense building projects in Babylonia (Vanderhooft 1999: 110-112).

The result of this policy was that Nebuchadnezzar II's Babylonia became one of great diversity, in which many communities of exiled population groups formed. The way that these foreign populations were integrated into the world of sixth century Babylonia can help to understand the role that the ruling elite of Babylon expected these people to play in the advancement of the empire. Much prosopographical research has been conducted in recent years that explores the daily life and nature of relationships between individuals belonging to some of these exiled communities. This research suggests that within each of these exiled communities there were many individuals with a shared ethnic background, and that these communities were named after the homeland of the occupants. There was, for example, in the vicinity of Nippur a "Gaza," an "Ashkelon," a "Til-Abubu," and a "House of the Tyrians" (Eph'al 1978; Stern 2001: 306).

³⁸ In the later, prophetic texts of the Hebrew Bible, which were largely composed during and after the period of the Babylonian exile (598/7 through 538 B.C.E.), the biblical authors portray Edom as one of Judah's greatest enemies. Cresson (1972) was among the earliest scholars to discuss the role of Edom in the prophetic texts. Leaning heavily on historical evidence presented by the biblical authors, he suggests that the source of the prophetic authors' hatred toward Edom involved their participation in Nebuchadnezzar II's destruction of Jerusalem in 587 B.C.E. as well as in their subsequent encroachment into territory that had previously fallen under the purview of the Judean kingdom (Cresson 1972: 125). Bartlett (1989), however, rejects this understanding, claiming that Edom was falsely accused by the biblical authors, and that according to at least one biblical reference (Jeremiah 40:11) some Judahites sought refuge from Nebuchadnezzar II's army in Edom (Bartlett 1989: 151-157). Tebes (2011a) supports Bartlett's position that the Edomites were perhaps wrongly accused. He offers a rereading of the relevant biblical texts while taking into account narratives often espoused by "defeated societies." Tebes claims that these narratives often contain rhetoric that is staunchly nationalist and xenophobic in nature. Furthermore, he argues that the exilic and post-exilic writings about Edom's role in the fall of Judah are more a reaction to the post-exilic presence of Edomites living within territory that once fell under Judean purview than it is evidence of any sort of historical wrong-doing (Tebes 2011a: 255).

³⁹ For example, there is evidence of an Egyptian community at Bīt Miširāya (attested from Nabonidus year 15; MacGinnis 2010: 159) as well as a community of Judeans in the city of al-Yahudu in southern Mesopotamia (attested from Nebuchadnezzar year 33; Pearce and Wunsch 2014: 98-99).

These ethnically, or geographically organized communities in southern Mesopotamia indicate that the Neo-Babylonian rulers employed different practices of resettlement than those that occurred under the Neo-Assyrian Empire. As mentioned above, the Neo-Assyrian rulers worked to break up displaced population groups and integrate individuals into the fabric of northern Mesopotamia, more or less “Assyrian-izing” them. The large concentrations of displaced groups settled within southern Mesopotamia indicate that such integration was not Nebuchadnezzar II’s goal; rather, the Neo-Babylonian ruler intentionally did not interfere in the social lives of these groups. This allowed these groups to maximize their own economic productivity without much Babylonian bureaucratic oversight (Eph’al 1978: 87). The resettlement of these communities on agrarian land was a state-sponsored attempt to bind deportees to the Babylonian heartland through service and tax obligations associated with their new land holdings.⁴⁰

Peripheral Administration in the Southern Levant and Edom under Nabonidus

In the following section, it will become clear that the peripheral policies of Nabonidus differed considerably from those of Nebuchadnezzar II. Therefore, this section begins by discussing some of the political and administrative changes that occurred under the reign of Nabonidus. These changes ultimately had a significant effect on Edom and may have even resulted in the destruction of Busayra and the annexation of Edom into the Neo-Babylonian Empire.

The kings who followed Nebuchadnezzar II, Amēl-Marduk (562-560 B.C.E.), Nergal-šarra-ušur (Neriglissar) (560-556 B.C.E.), and Lābāši-Marduk (556 B.C.E.), were not in power long enough to have had any great influence on the political, social, and economic life of those living in the Southern Levant. The last Babylonian king, Nabonidus (556-539 B.C.E.), however, became directly involved with affairs in the Southern Levant, and he impacted the region in ways that were radically different from his predecessors. Brought to power in 556 B.C.E. through a military coup largely orchestrated by his son, Belshazzar (Beaulieu 1989: 104), Nabonidus was not a direct descendant of the Chaldean line of Nabopolassar and his successors. Rather, Nabonidus hailed from a family with ethnic ties to Syria and Harran (Albertz 2003: 63; Beaulieu 1989: 67-86).

During his reign, Nabonidus led the Neo-Babylonian Empire in a new direction. One of the earlier and notably controversial examples of this can be seen in Nabonidus’s efforts to rebuild the temple to Sin at Harran, efforts for which Nabonidus received bitter resistance from the Babylonian elites (Beaulieu 1989: 43). By that point in the sixth century B.C.E., many of the elites in Babylon were involved in one way or another with the temple and extended cult of Marduk, which had grown substantially in power and influence thanks in large part to the efforts of the previous Neo-Babylonian kings who had invested so many resources in Babylon and its supreme deity. Their association with the cult of Marduk provided these powerful elites with the religious justification and divine sanction necessary to portray Nabonidus as spiritually corrupt. This tension reached its apex in 553 B.C.E. when cities throughout Babylonia rebelled against Nabonidus, forcing the king into what has been described as a “self-imposed exile” (Beaulieu 1989: 62-63).

⁴⁰ See Jursa (2011: 431-432, 437) for a discussion of and bibliography relating to the status of deportees in Babylonia under the reign of Nebuchadnezzar.

In 553/552 B.C.E., Nabonidus left the city of Babylon for a period of ten years and settled in the northwest Arabian city of Tayma (Schaudig 2001: 9-23), and en route he campaigned through the Southern Levant—as indicated by both the Sela’ Inscription in Southern Jordan,⁴¹ which bears his likeness, and the Royal Chronicle (Schaudig 2001: 593, P4 V 20). Although Nabonidus’s motives for his move to Tayma are debated, it is clear that this move did a great deal to anger the Babylonian elites. Chief among the elites’ complaints was that, during Nabonidus’s absence from Babylon, the annual *Akitu* Festival, held in honor of Marduk at the beginning of the new year, for which the king’s presence in Babylon was absolutely necessary, could not be celebrated.

It is likely that the most egregious aspect of Nabonidus’s neglect of the Babylonian *Akitu* celebration was an intentional political move on the part of Nabonidus to elevate the role of Sin, who had ties to both the Babylonian core as well as to the Levantine and Arabian periphery, to that of an imperial god. Some of this evidence comes from the Babylonian Chronicle, which indicates that Nabonidus ultimately returned to Babylon on the 17th day of the month of Tašrītu (Beaulieu 1989: 151; Inscription 13, Col. II, 13-14), which was the day on which the *Akitu* Festival was held according to the religious calendar of Harran (Beaulieu 1989: 152-153). The choice to follow the religious calendar of Harran, rather than that of Babylon, would have been seen as a clear insult to the Babylonian religious elites. By elevating Sin and the city of Harran, Nabonidus showed his neglect of the religious practices of Babylon, and, by extension, neglect of the city itself.

With regard to Neo-Babylonian peripheral administration, there is a significant policy shift that occurred under the reign of Nabonidus. Although the impetus for Nabonidus’s move to Tayma is unclear, scholars in the past have put forth a number of theories, such as the idea that Nabonidus was motivated by some type of religious zealotry (Lambert 1972; Lewy 1946). Recently, however, scholars have drawn attention to the potential economic and political advantages that Nabonidus may have sought in Tayma. During his reign, Tayma was an important caravan spot on the Arabian trade route from which Nabonidus would have exerted a maximum amount of control over the goods traveling north out of Arabia to destinations both within the Near East as well as throughout the Mediterranean (Eichmann et al. 2006: 163-164; Schaudig 2001: 9-23).

Some scholars (Albertz 2003; Beaulieu 1989) suggest that Nabonidus’s move to Tayma may have been an effort to shift the imperial policies of Nebuchadnezzar II and the other Neo-Babylonian kings by attempting to reinvent the very concept of Babylonian kingship. Some of the evidence used by these scholars comes from the titularies used by Neo-Babylonian kings in their inscriptions. While the titularies of previous Neo-Babylonian kings suggest that they considered themselves foremost as kings of the city of Babylon, Nabonidus’ titularies adopted a more expansive and Assyrianizing worldview. Unlike the Neo-Babylonian rulers that came before him, Nabonidus’s titularies list Assyrian kings as his predecessors and construct political continuity between the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian empires. Paul-Alain Beaulieu argues that this move symbolically positioned Nabonidus as the ruler of an empire whose legacy is associated with a far more expansive territory (Beaulieu 1989: 142-143).

⁴¹ Both the Sela’ Inscription and the implications of this campaign are discussed at length below.

It is possible that the political and military implications of Nabonidus's reinvention of Babylonian kingship were reflected in Nabonidus's sojourn to Arabia (Beaulieu 1989: 146-147). Whereas, Nebuchadnezzar II campaigned regularly in the territories west of the Euphrates, he generally returned to his residence in Babylon upon the campaign's completion. Alternatively, Nabonidus did not return to Babylon until 554 B.C.E., ten years after his initial departure (Hausleiter and Schaudig 2016: 225). Many of the limited details of Nabonidus's actions in Arabia are recorded on his Harran Stele, in which he lists Tayma, Dadanu, Paddaku, Hibra, Yadi, and Yatribu as cities in Arabia to which he traveled (Schaudig, 2001: 3.1 I 24–27).

In recent years, a German-Saudi archaeological project in northwest Saudi Arabia has uncovered new evidence directly related to Nabonidus's activities in Arabia, the most impressive of which are two rock monuments attributed to the Neo-Babylonian king—a stele from the site of Tayma (Eichmann, Schaudig, and Hausleiter 2006) and a rock relief from a present-day oasis town called al-Ḥā'it, which has been identified as ancient Paddaku (Hausleiter and Schaudig 2016). As with Nebuchadnezzar II's rock monuments in Lebanon, the presence of rock monuments attributed to Nabonidus reflects the king's desire to establish his control of the newly conquered and tenuously held territory (Da Riva 2015: 624).

The actions and policies of Nabonidus suggest that he was interested in investing economically in the Neo-Babylonian periphery. Nabonidus's personal connection to Sin and to Harran surely influenced his decision to rebuild the Sin temple there, but these efforts also demonstrate his willingness to invest in building projects outside of Babylonia (Beaulieu 1989: 43), and during his sojourn in Arabia, Nabonidus lived and campaigned for ten years in important stops along the Arabian trade route (Grayson 2000: 105-113; Schaudig, 2001: 3.1 I 24–27), demonstrating his commitment to controlling this source of revenue. Despite these efforts, Nabonidus's reign did not last long enough to determine the long-term effect that these policies would have ultimately had in the Southern Levant.

An important piece of evidence for the Nabonidus' dealings in Edom comes from a rock carving at the Edomite site of Sela', in southwest Jordan (**Figure 4.1**). The monumental relief, which is approximately 2 m high and 3 m wide, was carved high into a cliff side. The relief contains both text and image. The relief's inscription is located on the righthand side of the relief and consists of 30 lines of text, of which only the first line is legible. The left portion of the relief is dominated by the figure of a Mesopotamian king. The king looks to his right, facing three divine astral symbols: a moon, a winged disc, and a star. The king is dressed in clothing that is known from other Neo-Babylonian royal inscriptions where it identifies both Nebuchadnezzar II and Nabonidus (Dalley and Goguel 1997: 173-174).

The first line of the Sela' Inscription reads: [ana-ku] ^{ld}MUATI [LU]GAL E[^{ki}...], "I am Nabonidus, king of Babylon" (Schaudig 2001: 544). This inscription is thought to date to the period of Nabonidus's campaign en route to Tayma around the year 553/552 B.C.E. According to the Nabonidus Chronicle, Nabonidus's campaign to Tayma began in Syria and at some point on his journey the king and his army camped at a place whose name ends with the signs –du-um-mu, which has been reconstructed to read [kur^U]-du-um-mu, which has been translated as "Edom" (Grayson 1975: 282, 293-4). André Lemaire (2003: 287-288) argues that the relief at

Sela' marked a battle between the Neo-Babylonian king and an Edomite army in 553/552 B.C.E. Rocío Da Riva, who has carried out archaeological work at the site of Sela', agrees that the iconography and geographic location of the inscription suggest that it was carved to commemorate a military victory (Da Riva 2015: 621).

Additional evidence for a military conflict between Edom and Nabonidus might be found in the destruction layers at the settlement of Busayra (Bienkowski 2002)⁴². The settlement has two significant destruction layers; however, and it is difficult to date these layers. As a result, there has been a lack of consensus as to who is responsible for the latter of the two destructions, which effectively mark the end of the Iron Age occupation at Busayra.⁴³ Recently, however, the first two C14 dates processed by the Busayra Cultural Heritage Project suggest that occupation in at least one part of the settlement, Bennett's Area D (see Chapters Six and Seven), does not continue past the sixth century B.C.E. Despite this chronological uncertainty, the evidence suggests that Nabonidus's journey through Edom resulted in a military conflict at Busayra, and that the city was partially destroyed.

When taken together, the small amount of evidence that directly references Neo-Babylonian interactions with the Edomite polity creates a picture of the relationship between the empire and Edom under the reign of Nabonidus. The evidence presented in the Hebrew Bible does raise the possibility that Edom may have supported Nebuchadnezzar II in his campaigns against Jerusalem, preserving for a time their own political autonomy as a Neo-Babylonian vassal kingdom. Additionally, Nabonidus's Sela' Inscription indicates that during his reign, Edom played a politically strategic role in the peripheral management of the Neo-Babylonian Empire, so much so that Nabonidus commissioned the work in order to symbolically assert Neo-Babylonian control (perhaps even direct control) over the territory surrounding the settlement of Busayra. The possibility that Edom was brought under direct Neo-Babylonian control by Nabonidus as a part of his empire-building goals in northwest Arabia may be further supported by the destruction layers at Busayra that likely date to the mid-sixth century B.C.E.

Conclusion: Neo-Babylonian Political Administration in the Southern Levant and Edom

Edom seems to have escaped the large-scale destruction of the Southern Levant at the hands of Nebuchadnezzar II. Perhaps this is because the kingdom actively supported Nebuchadnezzar II's campaign against Judah, or Nebuchadnezzar II did not have the resources to attack Edom, or perhaps it is simply because the kingdom peacefully fulfilled its tribute requirements to the empire and therefore did not provoke imperial military retribution. Regardless, Nebuchadnezzar II's tendency to focus his efforts within the imperial core suggests that Edom was likely left largely alone, as long as they continued to meet tribute requirements.

⁴² Additional discussions of Busayra's archaeological evidence are found Chapters Five, Six, and Seven.

⁴³ Bennett (1983: 17) believed that the second of the two destruction layers should be attributed to Nabonidus's campaign through Edom, marking the end of the Iron Age settlement on the southern portion of the Jordanian plateau. Bienkowski (2002: 478) argues that Nabonidus was responsible for the earlier of the two destruction layers, one that he describes as more ephemeral and symbolic. He bases this argument on the presence of two late-fourth century and one third century Attic pottery sherds that were discovered in the latest phase of Building A, which was destroyed in the second, and most dynamic, destruction layer. Although he concedes that the third century sherd might be a "stray," he does argue that the final destruction of Busayra could not have occurred before the late fourth century (Bienkowski 2002: 95).

When Nabonidus came to power, the evidence suggests that he may have attempted to alter this policy. While documents from temple archives in Babylonia that reference Nabonidus often focus on his religious roles (admonishing him for neglecting the *Akitu* Festival and criticizing his work on the Sin temple at Harran), it may be that the king's motive for his Arabian campaign and tenure at Tayma was in fact his attempt to help grow the empire economically by gaining control of the Arabian trade routes (Vanderhooft 1999: 58).

Nabonidus's campaign to Arabia most certainly would have affected Edom. By stationing himself in Arabia, he would have significantly altered the management strategy over the trade route that had been used by the Assyrian kings—who had focused their direct control at the trade route's terminus (see Chapter Three). If in fact the destruction layer at Busayra and Nabonidus's inscription at Sela' mark an important battle fought between the Neo-Babylonian and Edomite forces, it is quite possible then that the urban, indigenous rule over Edom that had been centered at Busayra ended during Nabonidus's reign. Additionally, it is possible that at that time southern Jordan was incorporated into a newly-formed Babylonian province in Arabia, perhaps ruled from Tayma itself, though currently there is not sufficient evidence of Nabonidus's activities at Tayma to make this claim with any certainty.

The evidence presented in Chapters Three and Four indicates that both the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Empires employed strikingly different strategies of peripheral administration. As these chapters have illustrated, neither empire maintained a static relationship with the Levantine polities that made up their western periphery, and throughout the history of both empires, specific kings and historical events resulted in a dynamic and ever-changing relationship between the imperial cores and the Southern Levant. Several observations can be made, however, that highlight some general similarities and differences between the perspectives of both empires with respect to the Southern Levant and Edom.

First, the rulers of both empires clearly sought to obtain and maintain political control of the Southern Levant for the twin purposes of benefitting economically from the Arabian trade route and keeping that economic benefit out of Egyptian control. Additionally, both empires ruled their peripheries by a system that divided the periphery into both provinces and vassal states. Although it is likely that the Neo-Babylonian rulers did not adopt the complex bureaucratic system of the Neo-Assyrians wholesale, Nebuchadnezzar II's Etemenanki Cylinder does suggest that they used some of the same administrative categories and terminology to organize provinces in eastern Syria and southeast Turkey. It also appears that both empires preferred whenever possible to rule their peripheries in the Southern Levant as vassal kingdoms, using hegemonic (indirect) control, rather than through direct control or the creation of provinces. When hegemonic control achieved through the threat of force did not work and a vassal state rebelled, rulers of each empire took military action to insure that the rebellious polity was punished. This is where the operational similarities between the two empires diverged.

Direct rule, or provincialization, was costly to the empire because it required a constant imperial administrative and military presence in the province. Investing in infrastructure would insure that the province would continue to be an economic benefit to the imperial core, thus justifying its inclusion within the empire. With regard to the Southern Levant, the Neo-Assyrian rulers were

willing to take on that expense, as evident from the provincialization of states such as Megiddo, Dor, and Gilead. Additionally, as argued in Chapter Three, an increasing imperial presence under the later Neo-Assyrian kings in Judah, the Philistine city-states, Egypt, and Edom suggests that the provincialization of these areas may too have been a part of an unrealized imperial strategy. Alternatively, the Neo-Babylonian rulers, at least until the rule of Nabonidus, viewed their periphery in the Southern Levant as a physical threat to the security of the imperial core. Therefore, Nebuchadnezzar II chose to render the periphery incapable of military uprising even at the cost of also rendering it incapable of economic growth. This situation may have been on the verge of change under the rule of Nabonidus, perhaps indicated by his sojourn at Tayma and his campaign through Edom, but his rule was cut short by Cyrus's conquest of Babylon making it impossible to know the long-term effects of his provincial policies.

The differences between these imperial policies can also be seen in the way that the rulers of both empires handled populations deported from the Southern Levant. As discussed in Chapter Three, the Neo-Assyrian kings strategically used deported populations in several ways: to punish vassal kingdoms or provinces that attempted to defy the empire; to fracture the indigenous political and social structures that could facilitate active resistance against the empire; to supply the empire with labor, soldiers, skilled craftsmen, and business professionals; to strategically populate urban centers within Assyria and repopulate conquered cities in the periphery; and to provide an agricultural workforce for agriculturally marginal land throughout the empire (Oded 1979: 41-74). As a result, the Neo-Assyrian rulers settled some populations within the imperial core, but many were scattered throughout the provinces in order to repopulate and make productive underpopulated areas.

On the other hand, the Neo-Babylonian rulers resettled most deported populations within more-or-less ethnically homogenous communities in southern Mesopotamia, essentially focusing all of the human labor from the periphery directly into the imperial core. Furthermore, while excavations in the city of Babylon itself recorded large-scale building projects under the Neo-Babylonian kings, defeated vassal kingdoms in the Southern Levant were not rebuilt. These policies left these former vassal kingdoms (such as Judah and the Philistine city-states) destroyed, depopulated, and economically crippled.

In summation, the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Empires approached their administration of the Southern Levant, and specifically of Edom, in different manners. The strategy of management used by the Neo-Assyrian Empire capitalized on the threat of force and allowed Edom to maintain autonomy so that local rulers could continue to facilitate the movement of goods toward the Assyrian-controlled terminus points in the Philistine city-states. Although this strategy of peripheral management was quite different from that of Nebuchadnezzar II, who was primarily concerned with suppressing rebellious factions in the Southern Levant, the end result was that he too allowed Edom to maintain its autonomy. Finally, Nabonidus, who was attempting to reinstitute the Neo-Assyrian policy of economic development in the periphery, approached the control of the Arabian trade route by taking direct control of a more southern and inland portion of the Arabian trade route, perhaps destroying Busayra and incorporating Edom into an Arabian province based at Tayma.

CHAPTER FIVE - THE EDMITE ELITE

The material evidence produced by Edom's elite has dominated academic discussions about Edom's relationship with Assyria (Bennett 1978; Bienkowski 2000; Crowell 2004; Porter 2004). Though the scholars participating in these discussions take different positions concerning the role that Edom's elite played in determining the nature of Assyria and Edom's relationship, they all accept that the elite architecture at Busayra and the prestige objects found at some large settlements in Edom clearly show Assyrian stylistic influence and result from Assyrian rule over the polity. This chapter challenges the idea that Assyrian stylistic influence in Edom was the direct result of Assyrian hegemony, and positions the Edomite elite within the context of elites throughout the Levant.

As discussed in Chapter Two, local elites can play a powerful role in negotiating the relationship between a polity and an expanding empire. This power is often cemented by elite control of trade routes and access to luxury products (Schortman and Urban 1998). From the perspective of the imperial rulers, these local elites function as the official representatives of the local polity, and it is with these elites that imperial rulers engage in treaty negotiation, war, and other acts of diplomacy. Functioning in this capacity, local elites wield a great deal of power over the people living within their polity. This power, however, can be quite fragile, especially in a polity such as Edom where the indigenous political structure was loosely integrated. Elites ruling over segmented societies⁴⁴ such as Edom must balance their desire for increased status and power with the traditional expectations of their populace. In doing so, elites function in a way that is more recognizable—and as a result more acceptable—in the eyes of their constituents (Porter 2004: 376). This balance, however, is not easily maintained, especially when the desire for increased power is amplified by the inherent competition that comes with participation in larger, regional economic and political engagements with elite counterparts in other polities. Such was the situation of the Edomite elite during the late eighth through mid-sixth centuries B.C.E.

Chapter Two discussed Schortman and Urban's (1998) models for different interactive types between culturally distinct social groups, including a model for interaction between polities of equal status and power. Schortman and Urban call this their coevolving interaction system. This type of interaction is considered to be one of mutual dependency formed between the elites or rulers of particular groups. Schortman and Urban argue that this dependency network can be the result of the strategic adoption and display of imported or exotic products by the elites of the incorporated groups in an attempt to distinguish elites from their general populace. Therefore, aspiring elites are encouraged to establish economic and political relationships with their counterparts within other societies (Schortman and Urban 1998: 111-114).

This particular model provides a useful framework for thinking about Levantine elites in the late Iron Age. One way that these elites might have communicated their status to both their peers as well as their populace was through the ownership and display of certain prestige goods and architectural styles. As put forth in a recent study of Levantine ivories and metalworks (Feldman

⁴⁴ The idea of the segmentary state, originally put forth by Evans-Pritchard (1940), has been used by Routledge (2000, 2003, and 2004) to describe the political organization of the Iron Age Levantine kingdoms located east of the Jordan Rift Valley.

2014), such Levantine prestige objects belonged to communities of artistic style that were not founded on familial ties or geo-political allegiances but rather on networks of shared practices (Feldman 2014: 40). In this study, Feldman suggests that artistic style played a key role in generating and maintaining emerging Iron Age identities (Feldman 2014: 65). The appearance throughout the Levant of prestige objects and certain architectural styles suggests that these objects and buildings would have created a shared bond between the elites that commissioned and/or owned them. This chapter presents and analyzes the prestige objects and elite buildings from Edom in order to understand how Edomite elites fit into broader patterns of Levantine elite activity, and ultimately what these activities can tell scholars about the relationships between Edom and the first millennium Mesopotamian empires.

The evidence available for any segment of the Edomite population is almost entirely archaeological in nature and there are only a few extant texts produced by Edomite elites. As a result, this project defines the concept of elites based on their associated material culture. Therefore, the elites of Edom are those whose material culture is exceptional in quality, style, or scale. Thus far, the archaeological evidence from Iron Age southern Jordan suggests that Busayra is the only settlement that was populated by a significant number of elite individuals. There were certainly elites who lived throughout southern Jordan, as evident from the more scattered examples of prestige objects, and undoubtedly there were individuals living throughout Edom who wielded a certain degree of power over their extended families or communities. At this time, however, the evidence necessary to distinguish these individuals from the larger Edomite populace does not exist.

Additionally, there is the challenge of dealing with a scant amount of written evidence produced by the Edomite elite. Despite this fact, it is still possible to distill from other (largely archaeological) sources the position of the Edomite elites vis-à-vis their elite peers from other southern Levantine kingdoms, their imperial counterparts, and the Edomite populace. Within the territory of Edom, most of the available evidence from which an elite Edomite perspective can be understood comes from the Edomite capital at Busayra, where certain objects and architectural features stand out from the objects and architectural features more commonly associated with Edomite remains. These cultural remains are generally associated with a distinct, elite segment of the Edomite population based on specialization, knowledge, and access to materials necessary for their production.

This chapter presents three types of evidence associated with the Edomite elite. It begins by discussing the monumental architecture uncovered at Busayra, focusing primarily on two large buildings at the settlement: Buildings A and C. Next, the chapter presents prestige objects found throughout Edom. Finally, the chapter discusses some of the limited epigraphic data, specifically texts referencing the Edomite god, Qos, who has been associated with the Edomite elite.

Through careful analysis of this textual and archaeological evidence, the chapter examines the specific strategies employed by these elites to maintain and grow their power and influence within a broader Levantine elite community as well as at home among the Edomite populace. Ultimately, the chapter argues that, contrary to the theories put forth by earlier scholars studying

the Edomite elite,⁴⁵ these elites were employing strategies that were possibly engaging with the elites of other Levantine polities rather than with the imperial core. Additionally, the chapter puts forth that the character of the prestige objects and architecture created for and commissioned by the Edomite elites indicates that one aspect of these strategies involved taking local materials and ideas that were unique to southern Jordan and blending them with broader Levantine—and occasionally Assyrian—symbols of power and authority.

Elite Expressions of Power in Edom

Monumentality at Busayra

Among the excavated sites in southern Jordan, Busayra stands out in terms of the monumental nature of the settlement's architecture. The very scale of the building projects at Busayra suggests that these projects were commissioned by a group of elites who had the financial or corporal power to extract (or coerce) the natural and human resources necessary to create such examples of monumental architecture. Additionally, some of this monumental architecture reflects certain elements of Assyrian style. These elements have traditionally led scholars to contend that it may have been Assyrian officials living at Busayra who commissioned these projects, or at the very least individuals knowledgeable about common Assyrian architectural features. The evidence presented below, however, does not demand either of these possibilities, but instead it raises the possibility that the individual(s) who conceived of and contracted Busayra's monumental architecture may have instead been influenced by other elites living in neighboring kingdoms.

Busayra (**Figure 5.1**) was excavated by Crystal M. Bennett during four seasons of excavation carried out at the site between the years of 1971 and 1980 (Bienkowski 2002). Busayra lies on a long spur of land bounded on three sides by deep valleys and is made up of both an upper and lower city, which occupy 2.6 and 2.9 hectares, respectively. The complete expanse of the walled settlement's southeastern portion is today obscured by a modern village and school—whose construction cut into the site's acropolis, or citadel. Bennett's work at the site focused on five major areas of excavation (referred to as Areas A, B, C, D, and H) and established Busayra's importance as a regional Iron Age administrative center (Bienkowski 2002). Beginning in 2013, the BCHP renewed archaeological work at Busayra with the intention of building upon the work done by Bennett and her team. At present the BCHP has carried out excavations in both Bennett's Area A and Area D (the BCHP's Areas AA and DD, respectively), as well as a geophysical survey of the site's acropolis.

Bennett's excavations in Areas A and C yielded an elite building program whose remains conspicuously exhibit Mesopotamian influences. These areas are each dominated by a monumental building, both of which are elevated on artificial, or built, podiums. These podiums consist of a network of walls built on bedrock, which were then filled with debris and sediment. The walls vary in height based on the elevation of the bedrock in order to achieve level platforms on which the monumental buildings could be built. Podiums serving as the foundation for monumental buildings are found throughout the core of Assyria at its royal capitals, Khorsabad, Nineveh, and Nimrud. At the early Neo-Assyrian capital of Nimrud, the architects of the city

⁴⁵ See Chapter Two.

constructed the citadel by reshaping the mound formed by the ruins of a previous settlement (Mallowan 1966: 75). In later capitals, however, artificial platforms were built to raise important buildings. For instance, at the city of Khorsbad, the Nabu temple, and Sargon II's palace were built upon large platforms (Loud and Altman 1938: 18). While the platform of the Nabu temple was constructed of mudbrick, excavators believe that the platform on which Sargon II's palace was built was at least partially built from a natural mound using rubbish to shape the mound (Loud and Altman 1938: 54).

Artificial or partially artificial podiums were also constructed in the Levant. As in Assyria, these podiums may have demonstrated a preference for placing important buildings above the remainder of the settlement. An example of this architectural feature can be seen in the so-called Lachish residency. Like Buildings A and C at Busayra, this building was built on top of a system of large walls from which a foundation filled with debris had been constructed (Aharoni 1975: 34; Reich 1992: 208-9; Ussishkin 1993:906-7).

The architectural plans of the buildings in Areas A and C at Busayra also contain Mesopotamian architectural elements. The building in Area A (**Figure 5.2**) sits on the settlement's highest point, and although the full expanse of the building is obscured by the modern school (whose construction dug out the southeast portion of the building), what remains still covers ca. 2,325 m². This monumental structure (76.5 m x 38 m) boasts thick, external walls constructed of huge stones, some 1.5 m in length, and the majority of the interior walls and floors were coated in plaster. Building A is a large rectangular building that is made up of two wings, each of which consists of a large courtyard surrounded by small rooms likely used for storage. There is no direct access between the building's two wings, and it seems, therefore, that the wings functioned separately.

The southwest wing likely served as an area for storage and production facilities. Although Bennett's excavation did not yield many clues to this wing's function, the BChP's renewed excavations in this area, which focused on the excavation of one small room against the southwest wall of the building (Trench AA01) (**Figure 5.3**), suggest that the room was used as a grain storage and baking facility—complete with a thickly-lined plaster platform (likely used for grain processing) and a large mudbrick *tabun* (or oven).

The northeast wing seems to have functioned as a cultic space. Against the southwest wall of this wing there is what appears to be a cultic room (perhaps a *cella* of sorts), the entrance to which is marked by three small stairs leading to a sandstone threshold that is flanked on each side by a circular stone base, which likely supported a pillar or statue. This long, narrow plastered room was associated with two stone *podia* and several copper furniture fixtures, which indicate the presence of some type of furniture—possibly a chair or throne (Bienkowski 2002: 80). Just to the southeast of the niche is a thickly lined plastered room—possibly used for some sort of ritual cleaning or ablution (as suggested by the presence of a drain that leads from this room to a stone-lined cistern in the middle the courtyard).

The architectural layout of Building A is similar in design to a group of large buildings in the Levant that are often referred to as Assyrian open-court buildings (Bennett 1974: 4, 1982: 187; Bienkowski 1995a: 140). As a group, these Assyrian open-court buildings share several key

architectural features, including a rectangular shape, open courtyards, a small side entrance rather than a large central entrance, and sometimes a double row of inner rooms and/or a drainage system (Amiran and Dunayevsky 1958: 29). Assyrian open-court buildings are called such because their specific set of architectural features has been observed at sites in Assyria that were constructed during the latter part of the Neo-Assyrian Empire's rule, including, but not limited to, Sargon II's palace at Khorsabad (Loud and Altman 1938 pl. 67), Sargon II's residences at Khorsabad (Loud and Altman 1938: pl. 70), and the Assyrian palace at Til Barsip (Thureau-Dangin and Dunand 1936: Plan B). Examples of Assyrian open-court buildings are found in the Levant at Megiddo, Buildings 1052 and 1369 (Lamon and Shipton 1939: fig. 89); Hazor, the fortress in Area B, Stratum III (Yadin et al. 1958: 45-47, pl. CLXXVII); and Lachish (Aharoni 1975: 34-40).

The features of Building A's cultic space also have parallels at other sites in the Levant and northern Mesopotamia. For example, a similar long, narrow plastered room (which was identified as a cultic space) was associated with an eighth century courtyard at Kuntillet 'Ajrud (Meshel 1978). Also, temples at Khorsabad (Loud and Altman 1938: pls. 18: A-C, 26: E), Tel Halaf (Nauman et al. 1950: 349-357, fig. 165, tables 66: 1, 67: 2), and Tel Abu Salima (Petrie and Ellis 1937: 6-7, pls. II: 7, X, XI, XXXI; Reich 1984), include *cella* entryways or thresholds that were likely flanked by statues or other cultic objects.

It is clear from her publications that, following her excavation of Building A, Bennett (1977: 4-6; 1983: 15) believed that Building A functioned as a temple. When describing the northwest wing of the building, she draws a clear ritual connection between the central cistern, the drainage system, the plastered washing room, and the *cella* (Bennett 1983: 15). Bennett, however, understood the two wings of Building A to belong to different construction periods (Bennett 1983: 13-15), and therefore, did not recognize the full size and scale of Building A.

When Bienkowski began working on the material from Busayra, he disagreed with Bennett's interpretation and argued that nothing found within Building A necessitates that the building should be understood as a temple. He argued that the building should instead be identified as a palace or residency based on similarities with other Iron Age palaces in the Levant and in northern Mesopotamia (Bienkowski 1995a). By the time of his publication of the final Busayra report (2002), however, Bienkowski conceded that although he was unable to rule out the possibility that Building A functioned as a palace, it is more likely that it served as a temple. Bienkowski, in part, comes to this conclusion based on his identification of Building C as a palace (see below) (Bienkowski 2002: 95).

The identification of Building A is based largely on architecture, although the identification is strengthened by the appearance of a particular type of cylindrical jar (Oakeshott's Jar E) (**Figure 5.4**), which was found throughout the small rooms that surrounded the cultic niche in the northeast wing of Building A. This vessel is unique to Building A and has not been documented outside of this building at Busayra, nor at any other site in southern Jordan, suggesting that these cylindrical jars served a specific function. Similar cylindrical jars (although not the exact same type) were found at Ekron in a seventh-century context inside small rooms along the courtyard that faced the sanctuary of Temple Complex 650 (Bienkowski 2002: 95; Gitin and Cogan 1999: 195, fig. 3). Other types of similar jars were found at Beersheba in an eighth century storehouse

(Aharoni 1973: pl. 58: 18-28) and at Malhata within a public building dating to the seventh century (Beit-Arieh 1998: 32, 35). Bienkowski contends that these parallels might indicate that these cylindrical jars may have been used to store oil for use in temple ceremonies (Bienkowski 2002: 95).

The building that dominates Area C, Building C (**Figure 5.5**), sits slightly lower than Building A atop its built podium on Busayra's acropolis. Building C was also partially dug out during the construction of the modern school, but what remains of this monumental building covers ca. 2400 m² (although more than 75% of this area, virtually the entire southwest portion of the building, remains unexcavated). Of the area that has been excavated, the central feature is a plastered courtyard or reception room, in which there is an unplastered recess built into the southwest wall. Such rooms are well-attested in Neo-Assyrian palaces, and the unplastered recess may have been where the king or governor's throne originally sat—perhaps on a stone podium similar to those found in the cultic room in Building A. On the northeast side of the reception room, during the second of two occupation phases, a gate and possible gatehouse were constructed (Bienkowski 2002: 194).

Located behind the unplastered recess, on the other side of the reception room's southwest wall is a bathroom, which had a stone toilet as well as a plaster bath with steps leading into it. This room is a common feature in Assyrian palaces of the eighth and seventh centuries (Bienkowski 2002; Turner 1970: 190-194). In the Southern Levant, palatial bathrooms have been documented in the Assyrian-style palaces of the eighth and seventh centuries at the Amman citadel (Humbert and Zayadine 1992: 250, fig. 10, pls. XIIb and XIVa), at Megiddo (Reich 1992: 218), and in the City of David excavations at Jerusalem (Shiloh 1984: pls. 16 and 31). To the northwest of this bathroom, there is a stone-paved storage area, which was identified based on the presence of a large plastered bin, two pits, and the fragments of several storage vessels (Bienkowski 202: 194).

Building C at Busayra has been interpreted as a palace based on the sheer size of the building and the presence of architectural features, such as the raised artificial platform on which the building sits, the reception room with its throne niche, and the bathroom located near the reception room. These features, taken together, suggest that the building was heavily influenced by a specific building plan that finds parallels in Neo-Assyrian palaces in both the Assyrian core and in its peripheries (Turner 1970). It is important to note, however, that although Building C exhibits certain features of Assyrian palaces, it is by no means an exact copy of a typical Neo-Assyrian palace. Rather, the building has its own unique design elements. For example, in a typical Assyrian palace the courtyard and the reception hall are two distinct spaces (e.g. Fort Shalmaneser at Nimrud, Mallowan 1966: 370), whereas in Building C, the courtyard and the reception room are one and the same (Bienkowski 2002: 199).

Further evidence of Busayra's political importance was identified in Areas B and H, where portions of a massive stone fortification system and gate were identified. The fortification system, the plan of which is largely visible on the surface of the site, runs along the edge of the promontory on which Busayra lies, enclosing both the upper and lower city. The southern extent of the fortification system and its southernmost wall is entirely obscured by the presence of the modern school and the adjacent village. Area H, however, contains a small area of the northern fortification, making clear the northern extent of the walled city. In Area B, Bennett's team

excavated a large, two-chambered gate, which was eventually blocked off after its last phase of use (Bienkowski 2002: 138). The gate provided an entrance through the southwestern fortification wall, which would have been accessed via a road or pathway that ran alongside the fortification wall out onto the promontory. This entrance would not have provided the most direct means of entering Busayra from the major north-south route that runs through the area, the so-called “King’s Highway,” and therefore was not likely the main entrance for the settlement. It seems far more likely that the main gate would have been quite a bit larger and positioned on the southeastern fortification wall, which is now obscured by the modern school located on the site.

The monumental building projects at Busayra speak to the power that the local Edomite elite had over at least some segment of southern Jordan’s population. The sheer scale of Buildings A and C and the large fortification system—the original expanse of which is not known—implies that those who commissioned these architectural works had access to the natural resources and the human labor necessary for their construction. In addition to the materials and labor necessary to build such large and well-planned constructions, the Mesopotamian influence found in Buildings A and C required that someone involved in their design knew the basic architectural elements of temples and palaces in Assyria.

As discussed above, however, these buildings were not exact copies of Assyrian architectural plans, which suggests that they were not designed or conceived by individuals who had extensive knowledge of Assyrian building plans. Rather, it is more likely that these buildings were designed by individuals who had seen or maybe visited an Assyrian city or palace, and who wanted to capture the essence of what they had seen. Alternatively, it is possible that the architects of Buildings A and C at Busayra were not basing their designs off of buildings that they had visited in the imperial core at all, but rather off of examples found in the Levant. Although the general style and layout certainly reflect architectural elements that appear first in northern Mesopotamia, it is possible that by the late eighth century, when the Busayra buildings were constructed, it was the palaces and temples of the Levant (from settlement such as Megiddo, Hazor, and Lachish) that were the stylistic sources from which the Edomite elite drew their inspiration. Furthermore, it is possible that the Edomite elites were drawing from a Levantine stylistic language when communicating their power to both their peers in neighboring kingdoms as well as to the Edomite populace over whom they sought control.

Prestige Objects

In addition to the monumental building projects commissioned at Busayra, there are several examples of prestige objects that are found throughout Edom. Prestige objects in this project are objects that, as a result of their rarity and distinction, stand out from the objects that are more commonly found in the region. Such distinction is often the consequence of craft specialization, knowledge, and access to materials necessary for the objects’ production—elements that would set the objects’ owners apart from the Edomite populace in general. The objects discussed below have traditionally been understood to result from Neo-Assyrian control and influence in Edom (Bennett 1978, 1982; Bienkowski 2000; Crowell 2004). This argument was based on the appearance of similar objects that were discovered at cities, such as Nimrud, in Assyria. In the discussion below, it becomes clear that many of the objects found in Edom have stylistic origins in the Levant, which raises the possibility that their presence in key Assyrian cities should instead be seen as the result of tribute payments or war booty from Levantine polities that are

frequently mentioned in Neo-Assyrian texts and are archaeologically visible at Neo-Assyrian capitals, especially Nimrud.⁴⁶

The consumption of these objects by the Edomite elite highlights another strategy through which the elite developed and enhanced their own status—both among their Levantine elite peers and above the Edomite populace. Interestingly, it may be that if the below objects are understood to reflect Levantine style and production, rather than Assyrian, the power and distinction that the elites may have derived from these objects was not necessarily related to Mesopotamia at all, suggesting that the elites were engaging with a more regional (Levantine) concept of prestige.⁴⁷

Edomite elites did occasionally incorporate elements of Assyrian style into some of their associated material culture, perhaps to demonstrate their attachment to or association with the Neo-Assyrian Empire, or perhaps because such styles were gaining popularity throughout the Near East. Before discussing these objects, it is relevant to consider that, as was the case with the monumental architecture discussed above, Assyrian-influenced objects are found most often at the site of Busayra.

Of the prestige objects found in Edom, there are only two objects excavated from the traditional Edomite territory in southern Jordan that can really claim direct Assyrian influence. This position is contra that traditionally put forward by other scholars working on the relationship between Edom and Assyria (Bennett 1982; Bienkowski 2000; Crowell 2004), who all argue that several other items also bear Assyrian influence.⁴⁸ Of these two objects, the single one that sees its closest parallels in Assyria is a carved ivory lion's head, which was excavated from a burnt pit found within an Iron II room at Tawilan (Bennett 1978: 170, fig. 4B; Bienkowski 1995e: 85, fig. 9.13: 6) (**Figure 5.6**).

The lion's head is relatively small, only 53 mm x 35 mm, and was likely designed to be attached to some type of furniture, or perhaps the top of a box (Bennett 1978: 170). The underside, which would have been flush against a piece of furniture or box, is smooth and uncarved, save a sunk square panel with a deep cut that would have facilitated the attachment of the object to a small peg on the furniture or box. There are also five small holes drilled through the piece as well as two small pegs inserted into the underside that were used to attach the object to a piece of furniture. The obverse of the object bears the lion-head design. Carved into the ivory is a three-dimensional likeness of the top half of a lion's head. The back portion of the head is covered in wavy striations that create the illusion of a thick mane, while rendered on the front of the head are two almond-shaped eyes and the upper portion of the lion's muzzle, including what appears to be seven of his front teeth. The piece is quite unique in the Levant. It does, however, share many similar features with objects excavated from Nimrud (Bienkowski 1995e: 85, citing Herrmann 1986: pl. 358 no. 1380).

⁴⁶ See Feldman (2014: 93-95) for a discussion of this phenomenon.

⁴⁷ Feldman (2014) makes a similar argument related to Levantine ivories and metal bowls. She argues that these objects were not the products of centralized workshops within a particular city-state, but rather of decentralized artistic networks that existed throughout the Levant (Feldman 2014: 40-41). Furthermore, Feldman emphasizes the role that material culture and style play in the creation and maintenance of community identity (Feldman 2014: 176).

⁴⁸ These other items (discussed below) include: a carved *Tridacna* shell and two stamped ceramic vessels from Busayra.

A scarab seal found at Tawilan also contains imagery that is reminiscent of that found in the art of Assyria and the Levant (Bienkowski 1995e: 79, fig. 9.1:1, 9.46). The seal (**Figure 5.7**) depicts a podium or altar between two stylized trees. On the podium is a staff, the top of which bears an upturned crescent with an eight-pointed star inside. The crescent staff is associated with the god Sin and is a relatively common motif in the Southern Levant, although it is most common in the territories of the three Assyrian provinces: Megiddo, Samaria, and Dor (Stern 2001: 32). It is certainly the case that scarab stamp seals are associated with the Levant rather than with northern Mesopotamia; however, the worship of Sin is much more closely connected to northern Levantine and Assyrian cultic practice than to that of the Southern Levant. Therefore, although the seal itself was very likely produced in the Levant, it was quite obviously influenced by Assyrian themes.

Assyrian-style pottery makes up the remaining portion of the objects from Edom that clearly exhibit direct Assyrian influence; the ceramic vessel form that highlights these objects is Oakeshott's Bowl K (**Figure 5.8**). The characteristic feature of this type of bowl is its long everted rim, which extends out sharply from the vessel's shoulder and sits above a rounded base. The vessels are very often decorated with a polychrome slip and are highly burnished (Bienkowski, Oakeshott, and Berlin 2002: 282).

The form closely imitates Neo-Assyrian carinated bowls and beakers that were produced in Northern Mesopotamia from the so-called Assyrian palace ware, which refers to the high quality and fine nature of the pottery's fabric. The ware of Bowl K is among the finest found in southern Jordan, but the decoration and style of manufacture indicates that these bowls are locally made. Although a neutron activation analysis of one example of Bowl K from Busayra indicated that the bowl's fabric was made from clay for which the provenance was unknown, it should still be assumed that Bowl K was a local imitation rather than an import until further data is collected to refute this assumption (Bienkowski, Oakeshott, and Berlin 2002: 282).

The assumption that Bowl K was made locally may also be supported by its parallels throughout the Southern Levant, all of which date from the late eighth century B.C.E. into the Persian period. Admittedly, imported Assyrian Palace Ware has possibly been found in the Southern Levant, but only at sites such as Tell Jemmeh and Tel Sera', where Assyrian presence is documented and Assyrian building projects were occurring (Van Beek 1993; Oren 1993).⁴⁹ Assyrian palace ware has never been found east of the Jordan Rift Valley. Imitations of the Assyrian carinated bowls and beakers, however, are found throughout the Southern Levant, and although they are documented at almost all of the major Iron Age sites in southern Jordan, both their number and quality is greatest at Busayra.

The following prestige objects are those whose stylistic influences appear to be Levantine in origin. Perhaps one of the rarest of the prestige objects found at Busayra is the carved shell of the giant clam *Tridacna*, which was excavated from the last phase of a domestic dwelling in

⁴⁹ Even this is contested. A recent X-ray fluorescence analysis of palace ware sherds from Tell Jemmeh suggests that these sherds might have been locally made, although perhaps by Assyrian potters (unpublished study cited in Lehmann 2001: 95).

Busayra's Area B (**Figure 5.9**). Based on the context in which it was discovered, as well as on similar parallels found throughout the Levant, the piece dates to the end of the seventh or the beginning of the sixth century B.C.E. The engraving on the Busayra example depicts a large bird of prey. Carved into the external side of the large bivalve's *umbo*, or joint, is the top half of the bird's face. The tip of the shell appears to have been sharpened to reflect the bird's pointed beak, above which two large eyes were carved. The body of the bird, which takes a "V"-shape, is covered in about 23 small, carved, diamond-shaped boxes, inside each of which is a smaller carved diamond. Fanning out from underneath the bottom point of the bird's body are three long tail feathers. The bird's left wing spreads wide across the expanse of the shell, following its natural shape. The right wing and leg of the bird are missing due to a break in the shell. The left leg of the bird appears from underneath the bird's body and left wing. The top, feathery portion of the bird's leg is rendered by a cross-hatching pattern, while the bird's feet sprout three lotus blossoms and two lotus buds. Around the edge of the shell's interior there are two registers of decoration. The innermost register is decorated with a row of triangles in which every other triangle is filled in with a cross-hatching design. The outer register is also decorated with a row of triangles although none of these exhibit cross-hatching (description adapted from Reese, McNamara, and Sease 2002: 455-456).

Although there are more than 125 extant examples of carved tridacna shells there are only six examples that depict a bird's head on the shell's *umbo*: one from the Amman Citadel, two from Ekron, one from Assur, one from Susa, and one that is un-provenanced and currently resides in a private collection in Japan (Reese, McNamara, and Sease 2002: 456). The shells' joints more commonly depict the head of a woman rather than a bird. Although Bennett and Bienkowski argue that the carved tridacna shell from Busayra has Assyrian stylistic traits, similar to those found on objects from cities in Assyria (Bennett 1981: 187; Bienkowski 2000: 52),⁵⁰ it is likely that the shell was actually produced in the Levant. As a corpus, the carved tridacna shells share many stylistic features found in the carved ivories that have traditionally been attributed to the Northern Levant, such as the prominence of female heads with almond-shaped eyes and drill-bit pupils, lotus flowers, and other Egyptian motifs—including the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt (Curtis and Reade 1995: 148-149).

Recently, it has been argued that the tridacna shells were likely produced in eastern Israel, Palestine, and Jordan, based on the large number of unworked tridacna shells that have been found at sites in this region as well as the carved cosmetic palettes from Jordan (of which some depict a female head almost identical to those found on carved tridacna shells) (Stucky 2007: 223). Furthermore, the natural source of the tridacna shells in the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf lends credence to that argument that their production should be located in the Southern as opposed to the Northern Levant (Feldman 2014: 33-34).

Another example of Levantine prestige objects found in the domestic structures in Area D at Busayra are two fragments of fine ware bowls into which a square stamp has been pressed just below the rim of the vessels' outer surface. The first sherd (**Figure 5.10**) has two different impressions stamped into its clay: the first depicts a grazing stag, and the second depicts a cow

⁵⁰ This argument was based in large part on stylistic parallels between the Busayra tridacna shell and similar examples from Nimrud (Layard 1849c: pl. 95.7) and Nineveh (Stucky 1974: no. 18, pl. x; no. 17, pl. x).

and her suckling calf. The stamped impression on the second sherd (**Figure 5.11**) depicts the small grazing stag preserved on the first sherd. The bowls onto which the impressions were stamped are not imports, but rather examples of the so-called Edomite ware or Busayra painted ware. Although not painted with the same design, both sherds are decorated with the painted lines or stripes associated with Edomite pottery. The larger sherd, however, also has two ladder-patterned stripes that go around the vessel, one above and one below the line of impressed stamps. The remaining surface of both the vessel's interior and exterior were covered completely in red paint (Sedman 2002: 353).

Although stags are common motifs in Assyrian glyptic art, the closest parallels to the Busayra impressions are found among the ivories at Arslan Tash (Thureau-Dangin 1931: pl. XXXIX no. 71) and Nimrud (Mallowan 1970: 142-154, 43, pl. XXXV), which are generally considered to be of Levantine style (Sedman 2002: 355). The impression of the cow and suckling calf is in fact so similar to images found on the Arslan Tash and Nimrud ivories that it almost appears to be an exact copy. The practice of stamping vessels was not common in either the Levant or in Assyria, but a few other Iron II stamped sherds have been recovered at the sites of Tall Nimrin, En Gedi, Tall ar-Rameh, Tall Iktanu, and Nimrud. Only one of these examples (that from Tall ar-Rameh) occurs on a sherd that is otherwise decorated (Sedman 2002: 354-355). Although it is unknown whether the stamp itself was carved at Busayra, the fact that the pottery was locally produced to reflect a unique Edomite aesthetic suggests that the Busayra stamped sherds are yet another example of Edomite elites taking broadly Levantine artistic elements and adapting them to enhance local traditions.

This chapter has roughly divided the prestige objects found in Edom into two stylistic groups: one that sees its origins in northern Mesopotamia and another that sees its origins in the Levant. The purpose for this distinction is to highlight the largely ignored Levantine stylistic influence seen in these objects. Contrary to the arguments put forth by the above-mentioned scholars, the presence of these objects in Edom does not imply direct Neo-Assyrian control and influence in the region. What it does suggest is that the elites living in Edom, like those living in other Levantine polities, were aware of and took part in a regional economy in which prestige items were available to those who had the means or diplomatic connections necessary to acquire them.

A Levantine economy of prestige goods most certainly existed during the Iron Age. Feldman suggests that these objects belonged to communities of artistic style that were founded on networks of shared practices rather than on familial ties or geo-political allegiances (Feldman 2014: 40). By engaging with Bourdieu's notion of *habitus*⁵¹ as well as various conceptualizations of collective memory this study further suggests that artistic style played a key role in generating and maintaining emerging Iron Age identities (Feldman 2014: 65). The appearance throughout the Levant of prestige objects similar to those found in Edom suggests that these objects held value similar to Levantine ivories, and that they too would have worked to cement a bond between those who had the means to acquire them.

⁵¹ The concept of *habitus* is introduced in Chapter Two of this project as a means of understanding the cultural relevance of foodways.

Elite Ideology

The common theme found in the above-discussed material remains of elite authority and prestige is that they blend local style and production with elements or symbols of power from the broader Levant and Assyria. Although evidence for Edomite elite activities beyond those seen in objects and architecture is quite rare, there is a small amount of epigraphic data that can shed some light onto these activities.

The activity that is most clear is the official sanctioning and promotion of the Qos cult throughout southern Jordan. The origins of the deity Qos are not entirely clear. The name Qos is related to the Northwest Semitic word *qws* for “bow” (in later Arabic, *qaus*, meaning “rainbow”), and it is thus argued that Qos should be understood as the personified and deified bow of the Syrian storm god, who is often associated with war (Bartlett 1989: 202). The semantic relationship between *qws* and *qaus* does not demand that Qos’ origins are located within the Arabian Peninsula, but when taken along with the numerous attestations of the deity in later Nabataean and Lihyanite inscriptions (in addition to the absence of references to Qos in other Northwest Semitic contexts), northwest Arabia emerges as a likely candidate for Qos’ origins.

Most of the references to Qos found throughout the Iron Age occur in the form of a theophoric element within a personal name. Not surprisingly, the epigraphic evidence from southern Jordan that mentions Qos first shows up in the eighth century B.C.E., when writing on stone and pottery becomes more common in southern Jordan. There is evidence, however, from personal names from the region that appear in Egyptian sources that Qos was used as a theophoric prior to the eighth century (Knauf 1999), although it is contended that the cult may have been more suppressed during the period of Judean rule in Edom when the cult of Yahweh was more dominant (Bartlett 1989: 130).

The scant amount of epigraphic evidence available indicates that at least two Edomite kings were from families that supported the veneration of the Qos deity based on the Qos theophoric present in their names—Qos-malak (Tadmor 1994: 154-175, pls. LIV-LV) and Qos-gabr (Bennett 1966: 399-401). Qos-malak ruled over Edom during the reign of Tiglath-pileser III and was the first Edomite king to be mentioned in an Assyrian text, indicating that at the time of Tiglath-pileser III’s campaigns in Edom the Qos cult was already an important cult for the royal elite. Qos-gabr, on the other hand, was mentioned in a text of Esarhaddon dating to the 660s, demonstrating that the Qos cult and the Edomite royal family were closely connected almost throughout the entire span of time during which Assyria ruled over Edom.

It may be assumed that based on the connection between the Qos cult and the Edomite royal family, the temple (Building A) at Busayra may have been the institutionalized center of the Qos cult. Other cultic areas associated with Qos based on epigraphic references, such as Horvat Qitmit (Beit-Arieh 1991), or those associated with cultic paraphernalia assumed to be associated with Qos, such as ‘En Haseva (Cohen and Yisrael 1995), suggest that it did not take long for Qos worship to have become such an important aspect of Edomite daily life. Furthermore, the numerous attestations of Qos as a theophoric within the ever-growing corpus of fourth century

ostraca from Idumea (Eph'al and Naveh 1996: 15; Kloner and Stern 2007: 143),⁵² indicates that the elevation of the Qos cult by the Edomite elite during or just before the late eighth century was influential enough that the worship of Qos remained an important marker of identity among Edomites throughout the Persian period, outliving the cultic center at Busayra.

Onomastic as well as biblical evidence indicates that several of the important Northwest Semitic deities were revered in Edom, including Baal and El, and several scholars have drawn attention to the possibility that Yahweh was at one time a principle god in southern Jordan (Bartlett 1989: 194-200; Rose 1977).⁵³ It is therefore possible that the elevation of the Qos cult above the others, especially above the cult of Yahweh, was a strategic move by the Edomite elite to demonstrate their independence and autonomy from Judah. In doing so, it is possible that these elites were using the Qos cult as a means of divine justification for their rule, thus attempting to assert their power both among their peers in the other kingdoms of the Southern Levant and above the Edomite populace.

It was certainly not uncommon for the royal elite in the Southern Levant to promote the worship of one particular “national” deity—such as Yahweh in Judea and Israel or Chemosh in Moab—as a means of legitimizing their rule through divine authority. Although there is no Edomite literary evidence—such as the Hebrew Bible or the Mesha Inscription—that clarifies the role of the king and his supporters in the propagation of a specific cult, the evidence that is available indicates that the Edomite royal elite was quite successful in elevating the status of Qos. This act made his worship an integral part of Edomite life and identity, and as a result it likely increasing their own status and authority in relationship to that deity.

Revisiting Cultural Hybridity

Just as the rulers of the Near Eastern empires used the material world to demonstrate the scope of their power and influence, so too did the Edomite elite. Beginning at the end of the eighth century B.C.E., the Edomite elite developed a specific strategy of presenting their power, which among other things involved the foundation of the settlement that would become the capital city of the Iron II Edomite polity, Busayra, and the consumption of prestige materials that contain both Mesopotamian and Levantine stylistic influence.⁵⁴

⁵² For a more complete list of references to the work done on the fourth century Idumean ostraca see Porten and Yardeni (2007: note 3).

⁵³ There is a strong biblical tradition that sees Yahweh's origins in the geographic area of southern Jordan, the Negev, and the Sinai. For example, Deuteronomy 33: 2 states that, “The Lord came from Sinai, and dawned from Seir upon us,” or Judges 5:4, which states: “Lord, when you went out from Seir, when you marched from the region of Edom, the earth trembled and the heavens poured.” Even in the tradition of the Israelite exodus from Egypt Moses finds Yahweh while staying in the land of Midian, believed to have been located in the southern Negev. Therefore, it does not seem far-fetched to imagine that the people of southern Jordan also took part in some type of Yahweh worship. In fact, Rose (1977) and Barlett (1989) both argue that this may help explain the language of “brotherhood” used in Deuteronomy 23:8 with regard to the Edomites, as well as the fact that unlike the Moabite deity, Chemosh, or the Ammonite deity, Milkum, the Edomite deity is not negatively referenced by the Biblical writers. For that matter, he is not even mentioned.

⁵⁴ This observation in no way suggests that the eighth century, the construction and settlement of Busayra, or the appearance of Mesopotamian influenced objects and features mark the origins of an Edomite elite social class. In fact it is likely that a similar class of local elites existed prior to this time, probably in the vicinity of the Wadi Faynan. During the late eighth century, however, around the same time as Tiglath-pileser III's campaigns in the

Returning to the concept of hybridity discussed at length in Chapter Two, it was articulated in that chapter that visual hybridity (Feldman 2006)—and the related concepts of entanglement (Dietler 2010) and transculturation (Flood 2009)—have been used by scholars in an attempt to capture an important moment when individual agency meets with large-scale socio-political trends. Although the concept of hybridity has undergone significant and well-deserved critiques for its reliance on static and pure “parent cultures,”⁵⁵ it is useful as a means of capturing the Mesopotamian and Levantine stylistic influence in Edomite objects and architectural features.

As was discussed in Chapter Two, the power of elites is often cemented by their control of trade routes and access to luxury products (Schortman and Urban 1998). In an imperial-periphery political relationship, such as that between Edom and the Near Eastern empires, the selective adoption by elites of cultural elements or materials associated with the imperial core can be used to grow elites’ power and influence within their own polity while at the same time acting as a common language that allows them to enter a larger inter-polity conversation between their peers throughout the region. In this scenario, the power of the material or its visual elements actually depends on the type of reified culture essential to the concept of cultural hybridity. If “elite-ness” is not a thing, how can it be emulated? The local elites employing this strategy of power acquisition rely on a pure and powerful parent culture from which to selectively borrow cultural elements. This type of cultural adoption results in a dialectical relationship between elites and objects in which elites inscribe power onto specific objects while those objects simultaneously solidify and grow the power of the elites.

Within Edom itself, this hybridized material culture was distinct among local types and therefore would have transferred that distinctness to those elite individuals with whom the material was associated. It may be tempting to argue that the hybridized material was a source of elite power because it emulated a unique elite style—which was itself synonymous with immense power. This process in Edom, however, was more complicated. While one might assume that the elites who commissioned the hybridized material culture at Busayra had first-hand knowledge of its existence and use in Assyrian and other Levantine elite contexts,⁵⁶ the same cannot be said of the Edomite populace over whom the elites desired to increase their socio-political position. While the hybridized material culture may have held some power in its sheer exoticism, it is reasonable to assume that a parallel between imperial power and local power would have been lost on the Edomite populace without some sort of “translation” provided by the elites. Through this translation, the Edomite elites would have inscribed on the material culture its most powerful qualities, while the material simultaneously bestowed that power back on the elites—locking both objects and elites within a cyclical construction of power in which both were integral parts.

The hybridized material culture from Busayra would have functioned quite differently when viewed by other Levantine and Mesopotamian elites with whom the material may have come in contact. Edom was not the only Levantine polity that maintained a political relationship with the

Southern Levant, these elites adopted a new means of preserving and presenting their authority that was more effective and appropriate within the context of their specific historical circumstances.

⁵⁵ See Chapter Two.

⁵⁶ See Chapter Three for a discussion of Assyrian texts that document the delivery of tribute to Assyria by Edomite officials.

Near Eastern empires that required journeys to the imperial cores in order to make tribute payments. Therefore, it can safely be assumed that the Mesopotamian influences that were integrated into Edomite material culture would have also been recognizable to other Levantine elites, and did not require any sort of “translation” in order to communicate its status. In fact, it might be most useful to recall our discussion in Chapter Two of Feldman’s (2006) visual hybridity in the Late Bronze Age Eastern Mediterranean. Feldman’s work argued for the existence of a regionally shared language of visual symbols, and that those who engaged with these symbols did so with the aim of creating a sense of cultural sameness between elite members of different cultural groups while simultaneously excluding those considered to be beneath them (Feldman 2006: 71). In some ways (although using different terminology) Feldman’s 2014 study makes similar arguments about the mobility of artistic style throughout the Iron Age Levant by associating artistic styles with communities of shared practice that do not map neatly over geographic, cultural, or political boundaries (Feldman 2014: 36-41). It might then be argued that the Edomite elites were a part of one such community along with other Levantine elites in similar socio-political situations. The question then arises: is it necessary to argue that this hybridized material culture found in Edom reflects direct Assyrian influence at all?

Traditionally, scholars studying the material culture produced by and for the Edomite elite have focused on stylistic elements that they attributed to Assyrian influence (Bennett 1982; Bienkowski 2000; Crowell 2004). The above discussion of this material culture, however, indicates that although many of the stylistic features associated with this material are also seen in materials found in Assyria, these objects were largely produced within the Levant. Even the objects and architecture whose style does seem to have originated in northern Mesopotamia show that these aspects of Assyrian style were blended with local Levantine elements. This phenomenon is evident in objects and architecture, such as the Imitation Assyrian Fineware bowls, the monumental architecture at Busayra, and even the scarab seal referencing Sin. It seems therefore, that one need not look to the imperial core in order to understand the conversation about power and prestige in which these objects are taking part on behalf of Edom’s elite. Rather one can imagine that the conversation was more firmly rooted in the Levant. While this distinction may not change the way that scholars understand the objectives of Edom’s elite, it does change the way that the cultural influence of Assyria should be understood.

Conclusion: Edomite Elite Intention

It is likely not a coincidence that large-scale social, economic, and political changes in southern Jordan occurred around the same time that Tiglath-pileser III first traveled to the Southern Levant and brought Edom officially under the yoke of Assyrian rule. The settlement of the Jordanian plateau in addition to the construction of large villages—such as Ghrareh and Tawilan—and the administrative complex at Busayra during the late eighth century B.C.E. are linked to the regional changes in the political system of the Southern Levant. This is not to say, however, that the Neo-Assyrian Empire implemented these changes from the top down; rather, their political and economic involvement in the Southern Levant stimulated changes in local economic and political systems that were already in place.

Crowell (2004) emphasizes the challenges that face imperial rulers when they seek to incorporate peripheral territories whose social and political systems are characterized as “tribal” or “segmented.” These challenges are amplified when the territory has no supra-tribal political organization, which often results in the development of new forms of political leadership so that these societies may effectively engage and interact with imperial leadership (Crowell 2004: 267, referencing Barfield 2001: 34-35). Crowell further argues that if the territory did not pose a physical threat to the empire, the imperial rulers would often rely on the local elites to generate and manage production surpluses—which could be taxed (Crowell 2004: 267, referencing D’Altroy et al. 2000: 1-2; Jennings and Álvares 2001: 155).

Porter (2004) emphasizes the pressure that would have been placed on Edom’s elites by the tribute requirements of Assyria, which would have required that the elites adopt new strategies for extracting this tribute from their population base. As a means of expressing their power and status to both their imperial liaisons as well as their elite peers from other polities in the Southern Levant, Edom’s elite were able to draw on new forms of elite expression that existed beyond the scope of their polity’s local tradition (regardless of whether these expressions were borrowed from the imperial core or from other Levantine elites). As mentioned above, however, these new forms of expression were not necessarily comprehensible or compatible with local traditions. Therefore, it has been argued that the willingness of elites to project their power in a way that was communicable at both local and regional scales would have likely improved their chances of being accepted in both arenas (Porter 2004: 376).

The Edomite likely embraced this strategy. Judging from the material culture examined above it is quite clear that Edom’s elites used a specific strategy to grow their own power and influence within Edom. The character of the material remains further indicates that this strategy took local materials and ideas that were unique to southern Jordan and blended into them broader Levantine and, even on occasion, Assyrian symbols of power and authority. This is evident in the monumental building projects at Busayra and in the prestige objects found in Edom. Additionally, Edom’s elites reinforced their power through the divine authority of one god, Qos, whose association with the few known members of the Edomite “court” or upper-administration makes clear his status. Most importantly, however, the chapter illustrates that these political practices of power acquisition were not unique to Edomite elite, but were practiced by other elites in the Southern Levant. This places Edom’s elites within a larger, Levantine community of elites that were engaged in similar struggles to advance their own status above their constituents and among their peers and fellow vassal kingdoms.

By employing the tripartite approach and considering in isolation the perspective and motivations of the Edomite elite, the evidence presented in this chapter portrays an Edomite elite perspective that is different from, and occasionally at odds with, the role that previous scholars have attributed to these elites. Past interpretations of material associated with the Edomite elite either completely disregarded the role that the Edomite elite played in the determination of Edom’s relationships with the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Empires, or over-emphasized the role that direct Assyrian influence played in the power acquisition strategies employed by the Edomite elite.

More recent studies of Levantine prestige goods argue that many of the objects created by and for the Edomite elites have stylistic origins in the Levant, rather than in Assyria. These recent works center on the role of Levantine elites in the Levant and acknowledge the elite community that existed in the region. These interpretations of the buildings and objects associated with the Edomite elite indicate that these elites were not necessarily attempting to imitate Assyrian style in the construction of these materials, but instead they were borrowing from a body of Levantine prestige styles. Overall, this evidence argues that the while Assyrian demands on the Edomite elite were certainly driving factors in the decisions made by these elite, the strategies that they employed borrowed from local traditions and power structures rather than Assyria.

CHAPTER SIX – HOUSEHOLD ARCHAEOLOGY IN SOUTHWEST JORDAN

In the Southern Levant, as in many other places, houses are the most common type of structure excavated. As a result, household archaeology provides archaeologists with a tool to study a wider cross section of Levantine society (Routledge 2013: 207). Initially, archaeologists struggled to define exactly what a household is. Particularly important was determining the analytical relationship between households and families; scholars generally agree that the former refers to co-resident groups that carry out domestic functions and the latter refers to kinship groups (Bender 1967: 493). But some scholars argue that households should be further divided into groups that perform domestic functions (such as producing food or caring for children) and co-resident groups (which refers to people who live together in the same space) (Bender 1967). Ultimately, this distinction was worked into Wilk and Rathje's pivotal work on household archaeology, which defined a household as a unit of economic and social cooperation that often, though not always, resides within the same dwelling (Wilk and Rathje 1982: 620-621). This largely economic definition of households is particularly useful to archaeologists since the remains of the economic activities that take place within a household have the potential to be archaeologically visible. This definition is not clear, however, about how households relate to the structures in which they operate. For example, the definition does not consider the ways in which a house might be distinguished from a small workshop in the archaeological record. Despite its lack of specificity, the economic understanding of a household continues to dominate household archaeological work (Chesson 2012; Hardin 2012; Hegmon et al. 2000; Parker 2012; Twiss 2007).

The methods adapted from Wilk and Rathje's work can provide a means of understanding societal values by studying in detail the places where those values are learned and reproduced in their most fundamental state. Furthermore, because houses are not generally public spaces, the activities that take place inside them have the ability to inform scholars about household preference and identity at the most private and intimate level. As a result, archaeological evidence associated with household activities has the ability to inform archaeologists about household identity and, in the case of this project, to measure the impact of Assyrian and Babylonian imperialism by observing the degree to which individual households in Edom reflected Mesopotamian influence.

Within household archaeology, the layout of domestic space has been widely used as a means for scholars to understand household organization, the delineation of activity areas, social structures, the degree of economic engagement outside of the household, interactions between members of the same household, and public versus private aspects of social life. These studies, which focus on the way domestic space is organized and used, are often referred to as spatial analyses. Spatial analyses acknowledge that houses are generally built with a plan in mind and a consideration of who will live there and the ways that those individuals will need to use the space. Such analyses can then use the spatial data available from within a house to understand household organization, domestic economic activities, social structures, and public versus private aspects of social life.

One of the first scholars to employ a spatial analysis was Bourdieu in his ethnographic study of the Berber house (Bourdieu 2003). In his analysis, Bourdieu argues that although one might be tempted to understand the Berber house's elements from a functional standpoint, there is a

cluster of parallel oppositions that could not be explained by simple, functional requirements (Bourdieu 2003: 132). Bourdieu contends that the house is organized according to a set of symbolically charged dual oppositions, including fire and water, cooked and raw, high and low, shadow and light, day and night, male and female, and culture and nature. He understands the Berber house as a private and female space that functions as an inverse microcosm of the outside world, which should be understood as a public and specifically male space (Bourdieu 2003: 134-140).

Although the potential of spatial analyses certainly became clear through the work of Bourdieu and others,⁵⁷ some of these early examples of spatial analysis tend to be overly structural in nature. While one's society will exert a structuring force upon its "citizens," the neat regularity and simple predictability of studies such as Bourdieu's analysis of the Berber house obscures any individual examples that demonstrate a deviation from the norm. Julia Hendon (2007) emphasizes the meaning behind spatially organized daily activities, and although her work emphasizes practices organized on the basis of gender, the same can be said of spatially organized activities writ large. She argues that an archaeology of the household and social relations should be embodied, agent-centered, interested in understanding social identity and difference, and engaged with meaning as well as function (Hendon 2007: 272). This project contends that it is the agent-centered aspect of Hendon's thesis that enables us to acknowledge large, structuring social and political forces at play within a society, while at the same time allowing space for individual, decision-making agents who are capable of acting outside of those structuring forces. The spatial analysis presented in this chapter draws on the foundational work of Bourdieu (2003) and others and considers the rationale behind the placement of rooms, architectural features, and objects within houses on the southern Jordanian plateau.

This chapter presents a spatial analysis of Edomite domestic architecture as a means of understanding the activities of the Edomite populace at the household level. The chapter uses data and reports from four sites on the southern Jordanian plateau (See Figure 1.2)—Ghrareh (Hart 1989), Umm al-Biyara (Bienkowski 2011), Tawilan (Bennett and Bienkowski 1995), and Busayra (Bienkowski 2002)—in order to carry out the spatial analysis. Highlighted among these data are the materials and architecture recently excavated by the BCHP at Busayra. The chapter presents a spatial analysis of the domestic architecture from the four excavated sites on the southern Jordanian plateau in order to better understand the everyday activities of the Edomite populace.

The purpose of the spatial analysis presented in this chapter is to determine whether the influence of the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Empires reached Edomite individuals at the household level (their lived world). If Mesopotamian architects had designed the major settlements of Edom, one might expect to see architectural styles that reflect Mesopotamian designs. Or, if Mesopotamian elites were living in or trading directly with these Edomite settlements, one might then expect to see examples of Mesopotamian material culture within Edomite houses. Alternatively, if there was no direct engagement between officials of the Mesopotamian empires

⁵⁷ See Donley 1982; Lyons 1989; Marshall 1989; Moore 1982, 1986; Sutro and Downing 1988 for examples of this approach.

and the Edomite settlements, then one would expect to see architectural styles and material culture that reflects only traditional Levantine styles, without imperial influence.

Ultimately, the chapter makes two arguments concerning the political attachment of the Edomite populace based on the household evidence. The first argument is that the activities of the individuals living at Busayra are tightly integrated into an elite power structure based at Busayra. The second argument is that although the activities of the Edomite populace at Busayra and those of the Edomite populace at other settlements in southwest Jordan were certainly affected by the regional social, economic, and political changes brought about by the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Empires, they were not directly affected by those empires (at least until the reign of Nabonidus, who likely destroyed the settlement of Busayra around 550 B.C.E.).

Spatial Analysis of Domestic Architecture on the Southern Jordanian Plateau

Permanent domestic architecture appeared on the southern Jordanian plateau as part of a large-scale settlement shift that resulted in the establishment of permanent settlements along the western edge of the plateau in the late eighth and early seventh centuries B.C.E. The nature of this settlement shift was established by numerous archaeological surveys that were carried out throughout southern Jordan. Burton MacDonald carried out the best-known and most geographically comprehensive surveys of southern Jordan (MacDonald 1988, 1992; MacDonald et al. 2004). Between the years of 1979 and 2001 MacDonald and his teams surveyed large swaths of northern Edom including the Wadi el-Hasa, the southern Ghors and northeast ‘Arabah. They also conducted an intensive survey around Busayra. During these surveys, MacDonald recorded hundreds of sites spanning periods from the Lower/Middle Paleolithic to the Ottoman period. MacDonald observed specific periods where sedentary settlement peaked; particularly relevant to the current project is one such peak, which occurred during the late eighth and early seventh centuries B.C.E.

Umm al-Biyara

The settlement of Umm al-Biyara⁵⁸ is located within Jordan’s Petra Archaeological Park (**Figure 6.1**). The settlement is unique among the major excavated Iron Age settlements on the Jordanian plateau in that it is the only example of a so-called mountain stronghold. All of the excavated Iron Age architecture at Umm al-Biyara belongs to one large building complex. This complex (approximately 14 m x 50 m) consists of many long, rectangular rooms, which are oriented along a north-south axis. The buildings are constructed from dry-laid local sandstone, which according to the notes of the original excavators breaks easily along its natural striations, creating slab-like stones that vary in thickness. The surfaces associated with these rooms were either formed by the natural bedrock or were made from clay, plaster, or slate. In some cases the bedrock was first leveled by a sediment deposit before the surface was constructed. A number of other features were also excavated along with this building complex, and these features include *tabuns* (mudbrick ovens), pillars, plastered walls, and possibly roof slabs (Baxter 2011b: 44-45).

⁵⁸Umm al-Biyara was the first excavation directed by Bennett, and it took place over the course of 16 weeks during 1960, 1963, and 1965. Excavations at the site, which was originally believed to be the site of biblical Sela’ (Glueck 1935: 82), were centered in one main excavation area. This area was located in the north-central part of the plateau and covered about 700 square meters (Baxter 2011b: 11). The Iron Age ceramic evidence from Umm al-Biyara indicates that the settlement was occupied during the late eighth to early seventh centuries B.C.E.

There have been several theories put forth about the nature of occupation at Umm al-Biyara. Plausible among them is the suggestion that Umm al-Biyara was a place of defense for local semi-nomadic groups as well as for the inhabitants of nearby Tawilan. Additionally, there is the contention that the settlement was used primarily for the storage of agricultural products. This argument is supported by the presence of long, rectangular rooms as well as the prevalence of coarse ceramic storage-jar fragments.⁵⁹ Most likely, however, is the suggestion that Umm al-Biyara was primarily a domestic settlement, and that the excavated architecture constitutes a portion of a large, domestic complex (Baxter 2011: 54).

This suggestion is, in part, based on comparisons to settlements that are known to be seasonal settlements or camps. Compared to these settlements, the architecture at Umm al-Biyara is solid and well built. Additionally, the rain channels and numerous cisterns at Umm al-Biyara (literally translated as “the mother of cisterns” in Arabic) suggests that the settlement’s inhabitants prioritized the availability of fresh water. The small finds indicate that a number of domestic activities occurred at Umm al-Biyara. The objects were primarily related to textile and food production, and include grinding stones and querns, spindle whorls, and loom weights. Additionally, a complete ceramic repertoire fulfilling functions beyond storage, suggests that the settlement was engaged in domestic activities quite similar to those seen at other permanent settlements (Baxter 2011a: 48).

Prior to this dissertation, Baxter (2011a) is the only scholar who has attempted to understand the occupation of any Iron Age site on the Jordanian plateau by employing any of the methods associated with household archaeology. Baxter’s spatial analysis does a good job of using limited evidence to make important observations about social life at Umm al-Biyara without allowing her interpretations to become overly interpretive. As will become clear in my discussion of her analysis, she certainly argues that individuals and architecture are engaged in a relationship in which both exert structuring forces upon the other, yet those forces are not so strong as to prevent change or variability.

The long, corridor-like rooms found at Umm al-Biyara are not unique in southern Jordan; much of the domestic architecture on the Jordanian plateau takes this architectural shape. As at Tawilan and Busayra, the long, rectangular rooms are punctuated with smaller, square-shaped rooms. The rooms at Umm al-Biyara appear to be built off of a large central wall, which runs north-south through the excavated portion of the site. The rectangular, corridor-shaped rooms, especially those in the northern portion of the excavated area, run parallel to this large central wall and have almost the same dimensions, resulting in a grid-like patterning of rooms across the excavated area (Baxter 2011a: 49).

Due to the fact that the finds from Umm al-Biyara were recorded with little precision, it is difficult to attempt to reconstruct specific activity areas within the complex. Excavated objects were associated with a particular room or trench, but more specific details concerning their

⁵⁹ Whiting’s statistical analysis of ceramic forms on the southern Jordanian plateau indicated that the various jar forms excavated from Umm al-Biyara constituted the majority of the ceramic assemblage from that site (Whiting 2007: 114).

findspots were largely absent from the excavation records. Undoubtedly this would complicate any attempt to understand the use context of particular objects. Baxter was, however, able to determine a few instances of object clusters that can provide some information with regard to this topic. She notes that the most obvious example of clustering is found in Rooms 20-23, where the excavators unearthed a large number of loom weights and shells (**Figure 6.2**). Of the 62 loom weights that were unearthed at Umm al-Biyara, 57 of them were found in Rooms 20 and 22. The loom weights were found laid out in rows, likely left there to dry after their manufacture. However, in the ancient world, loom weights hung vertically between wooden loom posts while in use, and are often found clustered in straight lines as the only remains of a now-gone vertical loom (Daviau 2002: 191-192). As a result, it is possible that the clustering of loom weights at Umm al-Biyara represents a textile-production space rather than a loom weight-production space. Room 21, sits between these two rooms, and not a single loom weight was found in that room, suggesting that Rooms 20 and 22 functioned specifically as spaces in which loom weights were produced or used (Baxter 2011b: 51).

In addition to the loom weights, there was a large clustering of shells, which was also discovered in the eastern half of the complex—particularly in Rooms 18, 19, and 21. Of the 118 shells excavated at the site, 103 came from this area. Also numerous in Rooms 20, 21, 22, and 32 were storage jar fragments, leading the excavators to argue that this area of the complex was used predominantly for production and storage (Baxter 2011a: 51).

This clustering of certain objects illustrates the wider and more random spacing of other objects. Spindle whorls are one such artifact class whose distribution across the complex indicates that these objects were used by different households in domestic textile production. Of the 21 spindle whorls excavated, ten of these were found in the northern area of the complex, six in the eastern area, four in the southern area, and one in the western area. A second domestic activity that occurred through the complex was the grinding of grain for consumption. Seven querns and quern fragments were found at the settlement—four in the northern part of the complex and three in the eastern. Additionally, *tabuns*, lamps and other types of pottery (including but not limited to bowls, jars, and cups) also show similarly random and widespread patterns of distribution (Baxter 2011a: 51-53).

Beyond studying the distribution of artifacts across the excavated areas, Baxter also considered movement and access within and between the rooms in the building complex at Umm al-Biyara. Inherent in a spatial analysis is the understanding that architecture is not just constructed haphazardly or without discretion. Rather, buildings are constructed to serve a specific purpose and that purpose reflects social and cultural needs and practices. The architectural layout of a building controls the way that people move through the space, restricting access in some areas and allowing it in others. The control that a building exerts upon those who inhabit its space reinforces the cultural needs and practices of those individuals or groups who played a part in the original design and construction of the building. By exploring issues of movement and access at Umm al-Biyara, Baxter is able to speculate as to the social forces behind the construction choices made by those that built and inhabited the domestic complex at Umm al-Biyara.

Baxter generated a plan of the domestic complex at Umm al-Biyara that indicates routes of physical movement throughout the complex (**Figure 6.3**). Her analysis designates four distinct

areas within which movement is unrestricted. Baxter points out that movement through the site is generally linear, and that to access a room, individuals would have to move through several other rooms first. This design suggests that those inhabiting a specific area were likely members of a close, kin-based group. She also notes that the eastern side of the complex is less regular than the western side, and that it has fewer walls, allowing more open access and less privacy (Baxter 2011a: 49-51). The increased access found within the eastern area of the complex complements the clustering data described above. Both the spatial organization and the clustering of objects—such as loom weights, shells, and storage jars—suggests that this area of the complex was specifically used for production and storage. It is most likely that this was a common area, perhaps shared by members of several nuclear families that were all a part of the same kin-based household.

The complex also includes several small, square-shaped rooms (Rooms 38, 39, 40, and 11) that were walled in on all four sides (in other words there was no accessibility). These rooms had plastered walls, and although Baxter argues that they may have been used as high-security storage spaces, she is unclear as to the storage contents based on the random and low quantity of finds from these rooms (Baxter 2011a: 50-51). This project contends that Baxter is correct in assuming that these spaces were used for storage, but that their plastered walls suggest that they were used for grain storage. Because of the arid environment of the southern Jordanian plateau and the relatively short growing season, year-round storage of grain must have been a primary concern for the Iron Age inhabitants of this region. Additionally, the inhabitants would have required a place to store fodder for their animals during lean months. At the mountain stronghold sites, such as Umm al-Biyara, the storage of grain was likely an even more important issue than it was at sites around Busayra, which sits amongst the agricultural fields farther to the north.

In conclusion, Baxter's analyses suggest that the building complex was domestic in nature (**Figure 6.4**). The distribution of finds within the complex and her detailed spatial analysis suggest that the complex was occupied by an extended kin-group that engaged in a mixed domestic economy that included food production and preparation as well as textile production (Baxter 2011a: 54). The large clustering of loom weights might possibly indicate that the complex was involved in loom weight or textile production. There is not, however, enough evidence to indicate industrial level production. The northern, southern, and western areas of the complex were fairly self-contained, and each may have been inhabited by an individual family. This should be contrasted with the eastern portion of the complex, which was likely used for production and storage and was accessible to most members of the extended kin-group.

Ghrareh

The settlement of Ghrareh⁶⁰ is located south of Busayra, Tawilan, and Umm al-Biyara and as such is the southernmost Iron Age center on the Jordanian plateau. Domestic architecture was

⁶⁰ It was first discovered during Hart's survey project in 1984. The fortified site sits at the mouth of the Wadi Delaghah, which is one of the most accessible routes of travel between the Jordanian plateau and the Wadi Arabah. Hart excavated in five different areas of the settlement – Areas A-E and recorded both Iron Age and Nabataean architectural remains. With the exception of two robbed tombs that likely date to the Iron Age based on their location underneath Iron Age surfaces in Area D, the Iron Age occupation of Ghrareh can be dated to the seventh and sixth centuries based on parallels between the ceramic evidence from Ghrareh and that from Tawilan and Busayra (Hart 1989: 10).

identified in Area A, located at the center of the enclosure, and consists of what Hart interprets as a single courtyard house, which measures approximately 9 m x 11 m (**Figure 6.5**) with additional structures attached to the south. The house is constructed of large limestone blocks that are arranged into walls approximately one course wide, which are preserved to approximately 1 m in height. The building's constructors used the bedrock for the building's floor, which was evened-out through the strategic application of plaster in some areas. The building's plan is oriented around a central courtyard, which is divided by an east-west line of pillars. To both the west and south, the courtyard leads to several rooms, some of which were blocked off in a later phase. To the north is an open-aired porch, which is raised on overlaid stones (Hart 1989: 9).

Excavation of the central courtyard yielded numerous grinding stones and querns as well as a large plaster-lined storage pit, which suggests that food processing activities occurred within this space. Rooms 2 and 7 (see Figure 6.5), contained the largest amount of material evidence, which included many storage jars and other ceramic vessels, which might indicate that these rooms were used for storing food stuffs. Both of these rooms were blocked off from the courtyard in a later phase of occupation. Another room of interest is Room 21, which is just outside the house's main entrance. Excavation of the northern portion of this outside space revealed ash and a pit, which suggests that this area may have been used for cooking (Hart 1989: 10-11).

The excavated area to the south of the structure yielded additional rooms that abut the main structure and may be part of a second house. Whether there were other structures built against the east and west sides of the house is unknown because the area of excavation was not significantly expanded in those directions. The rooms to the south of the courtyard building are associated with a large, plaster-lined cistern, which is accessible from Rooms 11, 12, 15, and 18. Rooms 11 and 12 are associated with cooking due to the presence of an ashy deposit, charcoal, burnt wood, and areas of blackened bedrock (Hart 1989:11-12). Again, it is unclear whether these southern-most rooms should be understood as a part of the courtyard house or as a part of a separate structure.

The domestic architecture at Ghrareh has a different layout from that at Umm al-Biyara. Rather than the long rectilinear structures observed at Umm al-Biyara, the excavated structure at Ghrareh, which this project calls "Building A1," is a pillared building with a central courtyard. There is a second structure built to the south of the main structure, which may constitute a second domestic structure, or, as mentioned above, may be rooms built onto the south wall of Building A1 to protect and enclose a large cistern (see Figure 6.5).

The type of "clustering analysis" done by Baxter on the objects excavated from Umm al-Biyara is not possible at Ghrareh. Hart did not publish any of the excavated objects in his final report, and the only way that we know that any objects were excavated from the settlement is because he casually referenced a few of them in his descriptions of architectural features (Hart 1989: 10-13). Hart's publication does include a detailed ceramic typology, and he includes the contextual information for the vessels presented within the typology (most of them appear to have come from the domestic structures in Area A). As is almost always the case with typologies, only the most complete vessels are represented. Therefore, because the inclusion of vessels within the typology published by Hart says more about taphonomic processes at the site that affect

preservation than it does about the distribution of vessel types across the settlement, these vessels cannot be used for any type of quantitative analysis.

The objects that were casually referenced by Hart in his architectural descriptions may, however, inform the interpretation of the architecture from Area A. Within the large central courtyard (Room 1) Hart mentions “numerous querns and grinding stones” (Hart 1989: 10). Rooms 2 and 7, which are both longer, rectangular rooms off of the courtyard, “contained numerous storage jars and other pottery” (Hart 1989: 10). Lastly, Rooms 8 and 9, which open into the courtyard, had “little in the way of finds” (Hart 1989: 10-11). Although these observations are not statistically useful, they may still provide insight into the organization of space in Building A at Ghrareh since they reference an abundance of several object types within one room as compared to other rooms associated with the building.

Imagining the way that individuals moved through Building A at Ghrareh is certainly more straightforward than at Umm al-Biyara, largely due to the fact that only one complete building was excavated. The centrality of the pillared courtyard suggests that it was the most public room in the structure, and judging from the presence of grinding stones and querns found within the courtyard, it is likely that this space was used for food processing (although other domestic activities also likely took place in this room).

Rooms 2 and 7, whose doors were eventually blocked up, were likely used for storage—based on the presence of numerous storage jar fragments. This interpretation may be supported by the fact that similar blocked-up rooms were also found at Umm al-Biyara, although those did not contain the same high quantity of storage jar sherds. In fact, Rooms 4 and 5 at Ghrareh may have functioned more similarly to the blocked-up rooms at Umm al-Biyara. Both Rooms 4 and 5 are separated from the courtyard, and the surface of each is made of stone. These rooms may have been used to store grain, since their rock-lining would make it harder for rodents to gain access to the food.

Unfortunately, it is impossible to speculate as to the specific functions of Rooms 6, 8, 9, and 10 because no finds were mentioned in association with these rooms. It is possible that the unblocked rooms—8 and 9—may have served as places to keep animals at night. Finally, it should be argued that there was at least a partial upper story that covered the structure. This argument is put forth due to the presence of pillars within the courtyard, which would have supported another floor. The second story of the house may have been used for sleeping, especially if Rooms 8 and 9 were used by animals. Unfortunately, all of this is speculation at this point. Because of the low-resolution with which the site was excavated and the paucity of information available in the final report, it is not possible to understand the functions of specific rooms within Building A with heightened accuracy.

Overall, Building A at Ghrareh appears to be a domestic structure that housed one nuclear family. Because of the way that the rooms throughout the building encircle the courtyard, there would have been little privacy. This should be seen contrasted with the organization of rooms at Umm al-Biyara, where space became increasingly private as one traveled deeper into a structure. Additional sampling at Ghrareh would be necessary in order to determine whether the pillared-courtyard house plan was a typical one at the settlement.

Tawilan

Tawilan⁶¹ is a little more than 60 km south of Busayra and adjacent to the modern city of Wadi Musa. Bennett's excavations determined that Tawilan was an unfortified settlement, and no public architecture was found in any of the areas that were excavated by Bennett's team. Domestic architecture dating to the Iron II-III periods, however, was identified in each of the three main areas (Areas I-III) (**Figure 6.6**). These structures are described as rectangular buildings with long corridor-like rooms, and are all oriented on the same north-east-south-west axis. Most of the buildings' walls are made of dry-laid stone, but the buildings associated with the so-called Northern Complex in Area II were better built, possibly using mud plastering or a mudbrick superstructure as well as stone-paved floors. In Areas II and III stone pillars were found, similar to those at Ghrareh, which likely served as roof supports (although their general instability suggests that the buildings were only one story in height). There is some recorded evidence to suggest activity areas within the domestic structures. The most common type of evidence is the presence of *tabuns* within the structures, including a clustering of *tabuns* in the Area II Southern Complex, which likely indicates an area designated for cooking or baking (Bienkowski 1995b: 104).

The domestic nature of the buildings is indicated by the nature of the small finds that were excavated from within the structures. While 45% of the total artifacts recovered from Tawilan (such as stone vessels, flint tools, stoppers, mortars, querns, grinding implements, and pestles) were connected to foodways activities, 22% of the artifacts (such as needles, pins, bone spatula, spindle whorls, and loomweights) were used in the production of textiles (Bienkowski 1995b: 104). Other types of artifacts from Tawilan also point to a domestic context. Artifacts linked to personal adornment (such as jewelry, cosmetic palettes, fibulae, seals, and pendants) make up 16% of the total assemblage, and 6% were tools such as knives, hammers, and scrapers (Bienkowski 1995b: 104). Approximately 3% of the objects were classified as cultic (including figurine fragments and incense altars), 3% were gaming pieces, 2% were furniture inlays, and finally, less than 2% of the total assemblage was made up of objects associated with military activities, such as arrow heads (Bienkowski 1995b: 104). The entire assemblage fits well into a domestic context, and overall supports the interpretation of Tawilan as an agrarian village.

The excavated domestic architecture at Tawilan is more complex than that at Umm al-Biyara or Ghrareh (or Busayra, see below). This may be due to the amount of domestic architecture that was exposed at Tawilan, which covers a larger area than at other sites. As mentioned above, domestic architecture is found in three main excavation areas, Areas I, II, and III. In each area, this architecture is oriented in the same, northeast-southwest direction. The excavated domestic architecture at Tawilan is spatially separated by a large, unexcavated portion of the settlement, which splits the northern excavation areas—Areas I and III—from the southern excavation area, Area II.

⁶¹ The site was excavated by Crystal M. Bennett from 1968-1979 and in 1982. Her decision to excavate the settlement was motivated by Glueck's assertion that Tawilan was the biblical site of Teman and that it was occupied from the thirteenth to the sixth centuries B.C.E. Bennett excavated three main areas at Tawilan, which were called Areas I, II, and III. She also excavated three smaller "test trenches" (Areas IV-VI) (Bienkowski 1995d: 16). Bennett found that Glueck's assumptions about Tawilan's occupation period were incorrect, and that the site (which turned out not to be biblical Teman (de Vaux 1969)) should be dated to the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.E.

While the overall architectural layout of the buildings at Tawilan differs from those seen at Umm al-Biyara and at Ghrareh, there are architectural elements that demonstrate a connection between the settlements. Most notably are the long, rectilinear building punctuated by small square-shaped rooms similar to those seen at Umm al-Biyara. The organization of these rooms, however, differs quite substantially from the layout at Umm al-Biyara. While the rooms at Umm al-Biyara are arranged off of one long central wall, the rooms at Tawilan do not follow such a regular plan.

The northern area at Tawilan is divided by a large wall (Wall LI) that runs northwest-southeast through Area III (see Figure 6.6). This massive wall is almost four times the thickness of the other walls in these areas. To the east of this wall, the regular positioning and uniform size of the rectangular structures is most striking and is reminiscent of the architectural layout seen at Umm al-Biyara (see Figure 6.1). In the southern part of Area I at Tawilan, there are seven rectangular rooms of roughly the same size that are aligned to the north-east off of a north-west-south-east wall (Wall XXIV). Several of these rooms are subdivided to create small square-shaped rooms similar to those seen at Umm al-Biyara. In the northern part of Area I the architecture is less regular. The only clearly defined rooms are in the north-west portion of Area I; although they are roughly the same size as the seven rectangular rooms in the southern part of the area, they are oriented in the opposite direction. To the west of Wall LI in Area III is another set of long, rectangular rooms and smaller square-shaped rooms similar to those observed at Umm al-Biyara. In one of these rooms sits three pillar bases, which are arranged linearly along the room's central axis.

Area II in the southern portion of the settlement contains the best-constructed building excavated at Tawilan (**Figure 6.7**). The individuals who built this structure, the so-called Area II Northern Complex, constructed two-course-wide exterior stone walls, some stone-paved surfaces, as well as some plaster-paving. This building resembles the courtyard house at Ghrareh more than it does to the linearly-organized structures seen at Umm al-Biyara and in Areas I and III at Tawilan. Like the structure at Ghrareh, the building in the Area II Northern Complex is centered around a small courtyard, as evident from two pillar bases, which would have provided some structural support, and a post-hole in the center of the room, which may have been the base for a structural apparatus that could have supported a cloth shade system.

The Area II Southern Complex, located south of Wall III, was not nearly as well constructed, and should be attributed to a slightly later occupation phase at Tawilan (Petocz 1995: 28).⁶² Although somewhat obscured on the plan by a square-shaped structure dating to the Mamluk period, the area between Walls III and VI was largely void of architecture, although the presence of two *tabuns* just south of Wall III might suggest that this was a designated external cooking space associated with the Area II Southern Complex. South of Wall VI, there is another small structure whose surface was also associated with a *tabun* (Petocz 1995: 31). Although the entirety of this structure was not excavated, thus far four rooms can clearly be attributed to the structure.

⁶² It should be noted here that the ceramic evidence from both the Area II Northern and Southern Complexes are identical. Therefore, it is not possible to determine how much time elapsed between the abandonment of the Area II Northern Complex and the commencement of construction on the Area II Southern Complex.

As was the case at Umm al-Biyara and Ghrareh, the pottery published in the Tawilan final report was selected and presented based on its value as a typological example. As a result only the most complete vessels and fragments with a fairly complete or identifiable vessel profile were published. Although these published examples do include information regarding their provenance, the subjective means by which they were collected and the exclusion of smaller or less complete vessels results in a ceramic assemblage that is not complete enough to study the clustering of particular ceramic types within the rooms at Tawilan.

Happily, the same is not true for the small finds excavated from Tawilan. Likely because these objects were less common than ceramic fragments at the site, they were viewed by the excavators as valuable enough that each was recorded and sent to various museums in Jordan, the United States, and throughout Europe (Bienkowski 1995e: 79; Appendix 1). For the most part, the Tawilan publication (Bennett and Bienkowski 1995) lists excavation-locus information for each of these 899 objects. As a result it is possible to carry out a spatial analysis of the find-spots associated with each of these objects in order to determine whether object clustering is observable within the structures at Tawilan.

The spatial analysis of object clusters from the Iron Age domestic structures at Tawilan is largely random, and for the most part objects are scattered throughout the three major excavation areas. That being said, there are a few object classes whose distribution suggests specific use areas associated with those objects. The most obvious pattern occurs in the distribution of figurine fragments (**Figure 6.8**). Of the 14 figurine fragments reported in Appendix 1, nine of these were excavated from Area III. Seven of the figurine fragments were excavated in close proximity to a long, rectangular room in the northwest quadrant of Area III that has three pillar bases oriented in a line running the length of the room. This row of pillar bases is unique among the buildings at Tawilan and may indicate a special function for this area, perhaps one related to household ritual.

Two additional patterns emerge from the data. The first comes from the distribution of pestles and grinding querns (**Figure 6.9**). Four of the six pestles found at the site, and three of the five grinding querns, were excavated from the northern half of Area I. The architecture of the area is slightly more open than in the southern half, and the area may have been used for communal food processing. The second pattern comes from the distribution of the spindle whorls, spatulas, and loom weights (**Figure 6.10**). The pattern here is revealed in the randomness of the objects' distribution. Because there was a relatively large number of these artifacts (spindle whorls: $n = 17$, spatulas: $n = 36$, and loom weights $n = 12$), the fact that each artifact class was so widely distributed suggests that, at Tawilan, textile production took place within every individual domestic structure. This is particularly interesting in light of the fact that, at Umm al-Biyara, loom weights were found clustered in one specific area (see above).

As a result of the large amount of exposed domestic architecture at Tawilan, there is much to consider when attempting to understand movement and access within the domestic structures at the site. Perhaps the most straightforward area of the settlement is the Area II Northern Complex. The similarity between this building and the pillared courtyard building in Area A at Ghrareh is evident in the way individuals inhabiting this structure would have been able to move throughout the rooms. The small rooms that surround the central courtyard in the Area II Northern Complex

are all accessible from the courtyard, although not always directly. In order to reach two of the corner rooms (Room B and the northwest corner room, which is unnamed) one must first walk through other rooms. This provides a small amount of privacy for the activities associated with those corner rooms. Like the structure at Ghrareh, the openness of the floor plan and the self-contained nature of the building suggest that this building would have been inhabited by a single nuclear family.

The building in the Area II Southern Complex is more difficult to understand, largely because its external walls have not all been exposed. Because the excavators have attributed this building to an occupation phase that likely post-dated the occupation of the Area II Northern Complex, the two buildings must be considered separately (Petocz 1995: 36). As a single building, the full expanse of which has not been excavated, there is little that can be said concerning either movement within the structure or about the relationship of the structure to surrounding buildings.

A more complete understanding of movement and access at Tawilan is possible in the northern portion—Areas I and III—of the settlement. Here, many structures have been excavated, and, as a result more large-scale trends may be observed. In this area, the similarity between the architectural layout of the structures and the architectural layout of the buildings at Umm al-Biyara must be emphasized. As at Umm al-Biyara, many of the long, rectangular rooms run parallel to each other and are flush against one another. There is access between rooms within the structures in Areas I and III, but unlike the structures in the Area II Northern Complex and at Ghrareh (which area more open and organized around a central courtyard), access in the structures in Areas I and III is linear (see Figure 6.5 and 6.6). In order to move through the structures in Areas I and III, one must travel through several rooms, ensuring a certain degree of privacy in the back rooms. This is the same type of movement Baxter (2011a) argues for in the structures at Umm al-Biyara. Therefore, it seems that Areas I and III at Tawilan were also inhabited by an extended family. The interconnectedness of the buildings would allow for a degree of physical closeness, which would facilitate the sharing of certain resources. The linear organization of the houses, however, would preserve some privacy for each individual nuclear family.

As argued by Bienkowski, the architectural layout and the nature of the objects excavated at Tawilan suggest that the settlement was an agricultural village with no known public or monumental architecture (Bienkowski 1995b: 103-104). The randomness seen in the distribution of objects across the domestic space at Tawilan suggests that each structure was largely independent. The potential ritual area in the northwest quadrant of Area III and the food processing area in the northern half of Area I might be exceptions to this. Additionally, an analysis of movement throughout the structures indicates two different types of domestic ordering. The absence of a clear stratigraphic relationship between Area II and Areas I and III prevents us from completely understanding the phasing relationship between these two areas. Bienkowski, however, argues that there is significant overlap between the periods of occupation in the northern area and in Area II (Bienkowski 1995b: 105). Therefore, it must be argued that domestic life at Tawilan was not monolithic, and that within the same cultural context there was more than one way a family living at Tawilan might chose to organize their domestic life.

Bennett's Excavations at Busayra

Chapter Five discussed the monumental remains that were discovered during Crystal Bennett's excavation at Busayra during the 1970s. These monumental remains included a large temple in Area A, a palace in Area C, and evidence of a monumental fortification system discovered in Areas B and H. This section examines the domestic structures that were excavated by Bennett's team (**Figure 6.11**). Adjacent to Busayra's Building A are two excavated areas that have been linked to domestic architecture. To the southwest of Building A is Bennett's Area B, where a series of regular, rectangular rooms were excavated. These rooms are associated with two separate structures that are understood to be domestic in nature. These structures have two occupation phases, the first of which saw the buildings' construction, and then a phase that is characterized by the destruction of both structures.

The excavated portion of the first structure, located in Squares B7 and B5, measures approximately 9.5 m x 5.5 m and is aligned north-east-south-west. The earliest occupation of the building is associated with a plaster floor in some areas and red earth/mudbrick deposits (likely used to level out the bedrock) in others. Built against the main walls of the B5/B7 structure are smaller stone walls, which have been interpreted as shelves or benches and might have either been used as work or storage spaces. This interpretation is supported by the fact that a quern and grinding stone were found *in situ* on top of one such shelf/bench (Bienkowski 2002: 131).

The second building, located in Squares B6 and B8, is oriented on the same axis as the B5/B7 building and measures 11.5 m x 4.25 m. This building is also constructed on bedrock that was leveled out when necessary with red earth, and the use of shelf/benches is also evident in the building's architectural remains. The dimensions of the B6/B8 building do not represent its complete extent, as it is evident that the building's two main walls continue beyond the excavation area. There also appears to be a third domestic space associated with these two domestic structures, and it is interpreted as an outside space (or courtyard) between the structures. Like the two buildings, the courtyard's floor is also made of leveled red earth (Bienkowski 2002: 133).

The second occupation phase of these buildings is characterized by some small changes. In the B5/B7 building a thick lime plaster floor was constructed, while in the courtyard a hard clay floor was laid and then cut by a pit. This pit is associated with a localized ash pit that may constitute the remains of a *tabun*, which would suggest that this courtyard was associated with cooking activities. In the B6/B8 building another *tabun* was discovered in one of the rooms associated with a clay surface. This again suggests that cooking activities were taking place. Both structures were likely destroyed by a fire. This interpretation comes from several loci containing a jumble of earth, ash, plaster, pottery, and stones (Bienkowski 2002: 133).

On the northeast side of Building A is Bennett's Area D, in which domestic architecture has also been identified. Area D is the smallest of the five main excavation areas associated with Bennett's excavations, consisting of only two small trenches—D2 and D3 (**Figure 6.12**). The two trenches are not contiguous and are separated by approximately 3 m of unexcavated earth, making it impossible to correlate their phasing. Within both D2 and D3 Bennett's team excavated a few small, rectangular rooms that appear to make up a structure (or perhaps structures) that is oriented along a north-west-south-east axis.

Because of the small size of these trenches and the unexcavated space between them, it is difficult to speculate how their associated architecture may have been connected, or what that larger structure (or structures) would have looked like. The rooms in both D2 and D3 contain evidence of continual rebuilding through multiple occupation phases. Most of the surfaces associated with these rooms are of plaster construction, and while most of the walls are constructed of stone, there are several impressive mudbrick walls associated with the structure in Trench D2.

Bennett argued that the architecture associated with Trenches D2 and D3 was domestic. This interpretation was based largely on the non-monumental nature of the architecture, its orientation along the same north-west-south-east axis, and the small rectangular rooms whose multiple phases reflect the continual rebuilding often seen in domestic structures. The final phases of the structure(s) in D2 and D3 consist of layers of collapsed stone rubble, ash, mudbrick, and plaster fragments above the buildings' surfaces, suggesting that the buildings in Area D were ultimately destroyed by a large fire. Despite the fact that it is not possible to correlate the phasing between Trenches D2 and D3, their general phasing follows a similar pattern: the construction of rectangular rooms that were over time sub-divided into smaller spaces and were finally destroyed by fire. Therefore, it is likely that the structure(s) in D2 and D3 were occupied contemporaneously (Bienkowski 2002: 221-222).

The Busayra Cultural Heritage Project

Unfortunately, it is the case with all of the above-discussed excavated domestic structures that they were excavated at a time when most archaeologists working in the Southern Levant had not yet adopted the rigorous sampling strategies used by their colleagues in other parts of the world. Although it is fortunate that faunal evidence was collected (although not in abundance, see Chapter Seven) from the sites excavated by Bennett, botanical evidence was not. Additionally, the plethora of ceramic evidence that has been published from these sites does not seem to have been systematically collected. Furthermore, the complete quantitative information for any of these data sets does not appear to exist, which makes it impossible to perform meaningful statistical analyses on the available data.

In order to address some of these issues, the Busayra Cultural Heritage Project (BCHP)—under the direction of the author and Dr. Benjamin Porter—renewed archaeological investigation at the site of Busayra between 2013 and 2015. One of the major aims of this renewed attention was to investigate the archaeological evidence associated with domestic architecture at Busayra, which would allow for meaningful statistical analyses. To that end, the BCHP carried out one season of excavation in Area DD during the summer of 2014. As mentioned in Chapter One, Area DD is an expansion of Bennett's Area D (see Figure 6.12) to the south and was selected for excavation because of its potential to yield additional domestic architecture. During this excavation the BCHP employed a high-resolution sampling strategy, which was designed to recover some of the smallest material evidence (botanical remains) and record with great precision the findspots for all of the excavated evidence. The careful excavation and documentation of Area DD by the BCHP makes it an ideal area for a household archaeological approach.

2014 Excavations in Area DD at Busayra

As discussed above, Bennett excavated two trenches in her Area D, Trenches D2 and D3, both of which she believed contained architecture associated with domestic structures (see Figure 6.12). When the BCHP began work at Busayra, all that remained of Trench D2 was a slight depression in the settlement's surface—likely the result of its location close to the spoil heaps produced by the excavation of Area A, the contents of which eroded into Trench D2. Trench D3, however, was found in good condition, especially considering that Bennett's team did not backfill their trenches after their excavations, and therefore, the architecture had been exposed and unprotected for over thirty years prior to the BCHP's arrival at the site.

The architecture associated with Bennett's Trench D3 appears to belong to a domestic structure that the BCHP designated as Building DD001. The BCHP aimed to further explore through excavation the domestic structures associated with Bennett's Area D, and therefore it designated a new excavation area called Area DD.

Excavation Methods

The BCHP opened four 5 m x 5 m excavation trenches in Area DD, adjacent to (and in some cases, overlapping with) Bennett's trenches. Because one of the primary goals of the BCHP's excavation in Area DD was to uncover artifacts related to foodways practices, which included botanical remains, the BCHP employed an intensive sampling strategy. All of the sediment excavated from Area DD at Busayra was sifted through screens composed of a 3 mm wire mesh. All artifacts visible to the naked eye were collected from the sifted material and sorted on site by material type. These artifacts were then brought back to the project's artifact processing lab in the town of Busayra.

In addition to the sifted sediment, the BCHP collected at least one flotation sample from each excavated locus. The size of the sample depended on the size of the specific locus being sampled. Whenever possible one 5 L sample was collected and floated from each square meter of the locus. Archaeological surfaces were collected and processed in their entirety, due to their thin shape and small volume. The BCHP used a modified Shiraf-type flotation machine (Williams 1973) to separate light and heavy fraction. The botanical, faunal, and ceramic material collected by the BCHP and analyzed for this dissertation is presented in Chapter Seven. The methods used to process and analyze these artifact types are also presented in that chapter.

Results of Excavations in Area DD

The BCHP's excavation in Area DD exposed the southeastern continuation of Building DD001 and identified a second structure to the northeast, called Building DD002 (**Figure 6.13**). The final occupation phase in both structures was identified and documented.

The architectural layout of Building DD001 is rectangular in nature, and measures approximately 15 m x 2 m.⁶³ The interior space of Building DD001 is subdivided by shorter walls, and thus far four of these subdivisions, or rooms, have been excavated. Although Bennett's team identified two occupation phases associated with Building DD001, the BCHP has thus far only excavated

⁶³ This measurement includes the portion of Building DD001 that was excavated by Bennett's team.

the later phase, including its associated plaster surface. Within the southernmost excavated room, two hearths were excavated, both of which were bounded by rings of stone and filled with ash (**Figure 6.14**). The presence of these hearths further confirms Bennett's designation of this building as a domestic space.

A second building was discovered to the northeast of Building DD001, Building DD002 (see Figure 6.13). At present not enough of Building DD002's architecture has been excavated to speculate as to the layout of the building. However, based on the orientation of the walls that have been excavated, Building DD002 is oriented along the same axis as Building DD001, which is quite common in domestic complexes in Iron Age southwest Jordan. The excavators were able to reach a plaster surface associated with the most recent occupation of Building DD002, which the author believes to be contemporaneous with the second occupation phase of Building DD001.

Remarkably, there were no objects or artifacts associated with Buildings DD001 and DD002 at Busayra, aside from faunal, ceramic, and botanical remains (see Chapter Seven for a full discussion of these artifact types).

Geophysical Survey of Busayra⁶⁴

In addition to the excavations in Area DD, the BCHP also conducted a geophysical survey of the entire settlement—using both ground penetrating radar and magnetometry—during a five-week season that took place in December 2014 and August 2015. This aspect of the project was carried out through a collaboration with the University of Arkansas's Center for Advanced Spatial Technology⁶⁵ and their Spatial Archaeometry Research Collaborations (SPARC) program. Katie Simon and Christine Markussen collected the geophysical data from the survey and performed the analysis of those data. The data generated from these methods of geophysical prospection have enabled the project's systematic mapping of subterranean architectural features at the settlement and indicated the presence of additional domestic architecture. This chapter uses the analyses of the architectural plans of domestic structures across the settlement of Busayra along with the results of the detailed sampling of two specific structures in Area DD to describe the spatial organization of domestic life at Busayra.

Geophysical concepts have been successfully utilized on a variety of archaeological sites, and this success is dependent upon the soil properties of the archaeological context and the contrasting properties of the archaeological remains to that soil (Bevan 1983; Kvamme 2001). Contrast between the archaeological remains and the surrounding soil is enhanced through anthropogenic processes. Different activities naturally create different geophysical characteristics in the soil that can ultimately be detected with geophysical instruments. Each method of geophysical exploration is unique in what it delineates as an anomaly. The BCHP used two geophysical methods of prospection at the settlement of Busayra: ground penetrating radar and magnetic gradiometry.

⁶⁴ The author would like to thank her collaborators at the University of Arkansas's Center for Advanced Spatial Technologies (CAST), Katie Simon and Christine Markussen.

⁶⁵ See CAST's website for additional information about their programs and projects (<https://cast.uark.edu/>).

Methods used in the Geophysical Survey

In preparation for the survey the BCHP sub-divided the settlement into four large survey areas: A (the area on the far side of the settlement near Bennett's Area D), B (the upper bench adjacent to Busayra's Building A temple, C (the northwest corner of the settlement), and D (the area to the southwest of Bennett's Area B) (**Figure 6.15**). Using a Real-time kinematic (RTK) GPS unit, the team then divided each of these four areas into large grids. Next, the team prepared each grid for the survey by laying down fiberglass surveyor tapes spaced 1 m apart, creating 1 m transects across each grid.

A GSSI SIR-3000 ground penetrating radar acquisition system, manufactured by Geophysical Survey Systems, Inc., was used in this survey. This instrument allows for field data to be collected, visualized, and stored for later download. A mid-frequency antenna of 400 MHz was employed, which allows prospecting depth to approximately two meters depending on soil conditions. A survey wheel was attached to the antenna to precisely control the rate of data acquisition along the length of each transect. Transect lengths varied between 10 m and 30 m, depending on the presence of impediments such as steep slopes and spoil piles from excavation. Transects were surveyed 50 cm apart in zigzag pattern and guided by the fiberglass surveyor tapes. The instrument was set to collect 512 samples perscan and 40 samples per meter (.025 m sampling density) with a 50 nanosecond (ns) time window. A total of 400 transects were surveyed across a 4,000 m area.

In the magnetic gradiometry survey of Busayra, a Bartington 601-2 Magnetic Gradiometer was used. This instrument is a single-axis magnetic field gradiometer system composed of two gradiometers mounted 1 m apart on a horizontal framer. Each gradiometer contains magnetometry sensors vertically spaced at 1 m apart. This instrument's configuration provides sensitivity of archaeological anomalies to an average depth of one meter. This instrument is designed for archaeological prospection and allows geophysical surveys to be completed rapidly relative to other geophysical methods. Both the GPR and magnetic gradiometry data from the Busayra survey were processed by geophysical specialists at the University of Arkansas's Center for Advanced Spatial Technologies (CAST).

Results of the Geophysical Survey

Using the images produced from the geophysical data, the team has been able to make several observations about the nature of Busayra's subterranean architecture. The most impressive data came from Survey Area B, which is located immediately to the northwest of the Area A temple (**Figure 6.16**). Based on the monumentality of the architecture evident in the magnetometry dataset and its elevated location adjacent to the exposed temple, it seems quite likely that this architecture was associated with the temple. As a result, these data will not be discussed in detail here; rather, this chapter turns instead to the architecture that is domestic in nature.

Survey Area A (**Figure 6.17**) is located on the geological bench on the far side of the settlement near Bennett's Area D and the BCHP's Area DD. As discussed above, Bennett's Area D is the smallest of the five main excavation areas associated with her excavation, which consists of only two small trenches. Within Area D, Bennett's team excavated a few small, rectangular rooms that have been interpreted as part of a domestic structure. The geophysical survey of this area shows a remarkable lack of anomalies. An exception to this is the large, black circular anomaly

in the northwest portion of the bench. This anomaly may be the result of a modern fire, or it may in fact indicate a large, circular feature underground. The absence of any rectilinear anomalies strongly suggests that there is no architecture in this area of the settlement. The GPR data (**Figure 6.18**) confirm that there is nothing that resembles architecture within this area. It is possible that there is architecture sitting more than two meters below the surface in Survey Area A, but this is unlikely based on the elevation of Buildings DD001 and DD002, which appears to be the only instances of architecture in this area.

In the northwest corner of the settlement is Survey Area C (**Figure 6.19**). Like Area A, the northern portion of this area appears void of anomalies, although there are more indications of topsoil disturbance in this area of the settlement (likely due to a modern goat path that cuts through this area). The southern portion of the area, however, contains a series of regularly spaced, negatively magnetic rectangular anomalies (symbolized by light grey to white). The interior spaces of these rectangular features are frequently characterized by highly magnetic (dark grey to black) areas. These subterranean negatively magnetic signatures are consistent with exposed limestone wall signatures and indicate buried limestone architecture. The dark interiors are consistent with cultural activity areas with increased magnetism due to the presence of concentrated organic and thermal materials such as charcoal and hearths. This architecture is adjacent to Bennett's Area B, in which she excavated two domestic structures (Bienkowski 2002: 137-138). The author proposes that the proximity of this architecture to Area B as well as the presence of what appear to be small, square rooms within long rectangular buildings indicate that the architecture in the southern portion of Survey Area C is likely also domestic in nature. Interestingly, the GPR data in this area adds little to this survey, but confirms the identification of a few, short, northeast-southwest walls (**Figure 6.20**).

It is possible that there is additional domestic architecture in Survey Area D (**Figure 6.21**), which is located between the domestic architecture excavated by Bennett in her Area B and the Area C palace. Although linear anomalies are evident throughout the area, the most dominant architectural feature is a large rectilinear structure in the center of the image. The architectural layout of this structure appears more grid-like than in other domestic structures at both Busayra and throughout the region. As in the other areas, the GPR data (**Figure 6.22**) does not provide additional evidence of anomalies beyond those evident in the magnetometry data. Based on the unusual architectural plan of this area and its proximity to the palace in Area, it is unlikely that this architecture is domestic. Strategic excavation in this area will be necessary in order to understand this structure.

Discussion of Domestic Architecture at Busayra

The domestic architecture excavated by Bennett's team at Busayra is more limited than at Tawilan and Umm al-Biyara, in large part to the fact that Bennett chose to focus primarily on Busayra's monumental architecture and only excavated domestic architecture in two circumscribed areas—Areas B and D. In both areas, there is not a complete understanding of domestic life at the settlement because so little of the domestic structures were excavated. As a result, little can be said about the layout of domestic architecture excavated by Bennett's team at Busayra. What can be said from her excavations and the BCHP's geophysical survey, however, is that the architecture follows the general layout of domestic structures seen in the architectural

remains at Umm al-Biyara and in Areas I and III at Tawilan. The rooms in Areas B and D at Busayra are oriented along the same north-west-south-east line, and generally take the shape of long, narrow rectangles. As at Umm al-Biyara and Areas I and III at Tawilan, there are also small, square-shaped rooms at Busayra that are associated with these structures.

As has been the case with all of the excavations thus far examined on the southern Jordanian plateau, ceramic evidence from Bennett's excavations at Busayra was collected and published based on its usefulness in the establishment of an Edomite ceramic typology (not in an attempt to better understand the activities associated with the vessel types). Unfortunately, it is not possible at this time to recontextualize the small finds from Bennett's Busayra excavation within their find-spots on site. This is due to the fact that although Bienkowski published the original registration number for each object, he did not include the original registration list, which may or may not have included the contextual information associated with each object.⁶⁶

Based on the similarities between the architectural remains at Busayra and those at Umm al-Biyara and Areas I and III at Tawilan, it should not be surprising that movement and access within domestic space at Busayra was quite similar to that at the other settlements. Again, we are hindered by the limited nature of Bennett's excavations within domestic space at Busayra, but based on comparisons to the architecture at Umm al-Biyara and Tawilan it is likely that individuals living in both Areas B and D at Busayra would have moved linearly through the rectangular domestic structures at Busayra. These rectangular structures were often subdivided, sometimes with only partial walls that would serve to separate spaces while still allowing movement through the spaces. Some of the small, square rooms appear to have been completely closed off. This project argues that these rooms were intended to be used as storage space, and that access to the rooms was likely achieved by entering from above, using some sort of rope or ladder.

A more complete picture of domestic architecture at Busayra is possible as a result of the data generated by the BCHP's excavation in Area DD and their geophysical survey. In Area DD, where excavators exposed the southeastern extension of Building DD001 and one room in a new Building DD002 (see Figure 6.13), there is even more evidence that the rectilinear building plan seen at Umm al-Biyara and in Areas I and III at Tawilan was used at Busayra. Buildings DD001 and DD002 run parallel to one another along a shared wall. Although only one room (and one storage bin) in Building DD002 has been excavated, a total of four rooms in DD001 have been excavated—two by Bennett's team and two by the BCHP. The three northernmost rooms were each sub-divided by a partial wall to separate the spaces while continuing to allow linear access through the buildings. The southernmost room in the building (the back room) may have been completely sealed off, although further excavation will be needed to confirm this. If it is indeed the case that this room was completely sealed off, the presence of two hearths in the room would certainly challenge the interpretation of this room as one associated with storage. Based on the hearths, we should assume that the room was assessable through some type of doorway or opening, and that it was used primarily for cooking.

⁶⁶ The author intends to locate a copy of this list at a later date. If this is possible, she will attempt to recontextualize the objects excavated from Busayra by Bennett and look for any clustering patterns such as those seen at Umm al-Biyara and Tawilan. This information will then be published as an addendum to this dissertation.

The picture of domestic architecture is further expanded by the geophysical data obtained by the BCHP's geophysical survey of Busayra. In the northwest corner of Busayra's acropolis (Survey Area C), the architecture evident in the magnetic gradiometry data (see Figure 6.19) is adjacent to domestic structures that were identified in Bennett's Area B (Bienkowski 2002: 137-138). The proximity of this architecture to the previously excavated domestic structures as well as the presence of what have been interpreted as small, square rooms within long, rectangular buildings indicate that the architecture in the southern portion of Survey Area C is also domestic in nature. This architecture runs along the same axis as the domestic architecture excavated by Bennett in her Area B and appears to be a part of the same domestic complex.

The additional architectural data generated by the BCHP supports the above arguments concerning movement and access within domestic space at Busayra, although further archaeological excavation will be required in order to substantiate them. The image produced from the magnetic gradiometry data suggests that movement through the domestic space in the expanded Area B Complex would have been similar to that at Umm al-Biyara and in Areas I and III at Tawilan, but the image is not clear enough to determine where the openings and points of access are within the Busayra complex. As a result we are unable at this point to determine which spaces may have been shared between individual domestic units and which were private domestic rooms.⁶⁷

The lack of objects or artifacts associated with Buildings DD001 and DD002 is also quite illustrative. This suggests that the plastered living surfaces in these buildings were kept remarkably clean. This degree of cleanliness is atypical for domestic structures, and the plethora of objects associated with the domestic structures at Umm al-Biyara, Tawilan, and Area B at Busayra underscores this point. This lack of artifacts will have to be seriously considered in the interpretation of these buildings.

One artifact excavated from Building DD001 does provide an interesting insight into the nature of the building. This artifact is the astragalus bone of a sheep or goat, referred to colloquially as a knucklebone. It was excavated from a sub-surface deposit in Building DD001. This bone was modified in antiquity when three, parallel holes were drilled medial-laterally through the bone (Lev-Tov 2015: 9). Astragalus bones have been found throughout the Eastern Mediterranean, and although they are often connected to ritual contexts, it is likely that they were also used as gaming pieces (Gilmour 1997: 173). Astragali have been documented in sub-surface deposits at the site of Tell Afis, in the Northern Levant. At Tell Afis, these bones were deposited at wall foundations and below the living surfaces of domestic contexts (Bologna 2008: 79-83). It is suspected that astragali symbolized the act of sacrifice, and that their presence beneath the surfaces of domestic structures at Tell Afis was tantamount to a prayer for the blessing and protection of a new house and the individuals that resided within. (Bologna 2008: 85-87). The similarity between the excavation contexts of the astragalus bone at Busayra and those from Tell Afis might suggest a similar association between domestic structures and ritual activities

⁶⁷ The BCHP intends to excavate a portion of this domestic architecture in the near future in order to produce more evidence with which domestic architecture at Busayra can be understood.

(perhaps animal sacrifice). This dissertation explores the relationship between the domestic structures in Area DD and ritual activity further below.

The domestic evidence from BCHIP has brought to light several relevant facts about the nature of domestic life at Busayra. The first comes from the geophysical data in Survey Area C, which indicates the presence of domestic architecture that appears to be connected to the domestic architecture excavated by Bennett in her Area B. The expansion of what the BCHIP is now calling the Area B Complex presents a great opportunity for the additional sampling of domestic structures at Busayra.

In addition to the discovery of the expansion of the Area B Complex, the BCHIP geophysical survey also uncovered several interesting facts relating to the domestic architecture (or the lack thereof) to the northeast of Building A in Survey Area A. It is quite notable that the geophysical survey of this entire geological bench suggests that this area of the settlement is void of architectural remains, aside from Buildings DD001 and DD002. As mentioned above, it is possible that architecture sits more than 2 m below the site's surface, which would make it undetectable by the geophysical instruments used in the geophysical survey, but this is unlikely because architecture that far below the surface would be inconsistent with the other architectural remains excavated or detected at Busayra, including Buildings DD001 and DD002. The absence of architectural evidence (excluding Buildings DD001 and DD002) from the entire area to the north and northeast of the monumental Building A suggests that this portion of the settlement may have been reserved for functions associated with Building A. The area is walled in, and is flanked to its south-southwest by Building A and the extended Building A Complex detected in Survey Area B. The location of Survey Area A adjacent to the monumental and public structures associated with Area A and its absence of architecture may indicate that this area was some type of courtyard or gathering space—perhaps associated with the ritual activities that likely occurred in Building A. The hypothesized existence of an entrance ramp or staircase leading from Bennett's Area D into the northeast, main courtyard in Building A (Bienkowski 2002: 72) would support this interpretation.

The evidence from the excavation of Area DD also supports the suggestion that this part of the settlement was reserved for some type of special function, likely related to Building A. The extreme cleanliness of Buildings DD001 and DD002 further supports this interpretation. The architectural layout and construction (in addition to the presence of two hearths in the back room of Building DD001) suggest that these buildings were domestic in nature, but the absence of common objects such as loom weights and grinding stones (which are associated with domestic life in the Southern Levant) suggests that the buildings in Area DD were either not average domestic dwellings or that they were evacuated over a long period of time. The discussion of Edomite foodways in Chapter Seven further tests this suggestion before an interpretation of these buildings' function is put forward.

Conclusion: The Use of Space in Edomite Domestic Architecture

After examining the Iron Age domestic architecture excavated on the southern Jordanian plateau, it appears that when the Iron Age inhabitants of southern Jordan, or Edomites, built domestic architecture they used one of two architectural plans—the so-called courtyard house or the row

house. The courtyard house is the less common of the two types, with only two known examples in Iron Age southern Jordan—one at the settlement of Ghrareh and the other at Tawilan in the Area II Northern Complex. Examples of the row houses on the other hand can be seen at Umm al-Biyara, Tawilan (in Areas I and III), and at Busayra (in Area B and Area D/DD). As three of the four excavated sites contain examples of either one type or the other, one might be tempted to argue that the architectural layout of domestic structures was determined on a site-by-site basis. The presence of both types at Tawilan, however, strongly indicates that either type was an option to those individuals living on the southern Jordanian plateau. One must consider the possibility that there is a chronological difference between the two types of domestic structures. Because there has been no indisputable stratigraphic connection between examples of the two dwelling types, it is possible that they are not contemporary. Unfortunately, the established ceramic chronology for the southern Jordanian plateau is not refined enough to distinguish between strata of the eighth, seventh, and sixth centuries B.C.E. Further absolute dates will need to be established before ruling out this possibility.

If one assumes, however, that the two architectural plans are chronologically contemporary, it is then necessary to consider that the occurrence of both types is linked to the structures' functions. The structure-types differ in several ways that might help to better illuminate their functions and the needs and intentions of those who built and inhabited these buildings in the past. The most noticeable difference between the plans may be in size. The courtyard houses, which are close to 10 m x 10 m, cover more square meters than do the row houses, which are often only 2 m wide. This may denote a difference in the status or economic position of the houses' inhabitants. Relatedly, our examination of space within the domestic structures suggests that the courtyard houses could have housed households that were self-contained and self-sufficient. Therefore, it makes sense that the households inhabiting the courtyard houses consisted of a singular nuclear family (approximately 4-8 people). This interpretation is further supported by the openness of the architectural plan, which allows relatively easy access to the individual rooms off of the houses' central courtyards.

Because the excavators of the two courtyard houses chose not to excavate much beyond the exterior walls of the houses, it is unclear how the structures would have related to adjacent architecture. Did these houses sit next to other structures that supported the economic activities associated with the households inhabiting the courtyard houses, or were they surrounded by other domestic structures that housed other households? We know that the row houses were generally built as parts of larger complexes, in which multiple nuclear families lived and shared certain resources. This too may suggest a difference in socio-economic status between the families that inhabited the courtyard houses versus those that inhabited the row houses since the courtyard houses appear to be economically self-sufficient and do not appear to have needed to share resources between households. Ehud Netzer argues that similarly planned courtyard houses excavated at Hazor, Samaria, and Megiddo were associated with administrative functions and that they were often the homes of political officials and functionaries (Netzer 1992: 201). Additional work will need to be done on both housing types in order to determine whether this is in fact the case.

The newly excavated domestic evidence from Area DD at Busayra suggests that the structures located in this area were tightly integrated into the city's religious and political structures. The

BCHP's geophysical survey determined that there was no other architecture beyond Buildings DD001 and DD002 located in the northeast section of the settlement, again suggesting that this portion of the settlement was linked to the Building A Complex. As a result of these findings, Buildings DD001 and DD002 may have been inhabited by individuals associated with the temple in Area A. The structures themselves were not extraordinary and share many similarities with the other so-called row houses excavated on the southern Jordanian plateau. Because of the ordinary nature of the buildings, it is not likely that a priest or high-level temple official would have lived there. Rather, one can assume that low-ranking officials inhabited Buildings DD001 and DD002, perhaps individuals associated with the aspects of the temple's maintenance or administration.

This chapter has used household archaeology to explore the perspective of the Edomite populace, the final of three perspectives explored through the tripartite approach advocated for in this dissertation. As discussed above, the domestic houses discovered in Edom utilize architectural plans that are common in the Southern Levant and do not exhibit Mesopotamian influence. This fact supports the argument that imperial influence in Edom did not reach so far into the daily lives of Edom's inhabitants to alter the architectural designs used in the region. The Levantine nature of the domestic architecture in Edom demonstrates that Edomite houses were built by and/or for households that were Edomite in nature. In Chapter Seven, this dissertation uses Edomite foodways practices to further inform the elucidation of a perspective of the Edomite populace.

CHAPTER SEVEN – FOOD AND IDENTITY IN EDM

The above spatial analysis of domestic structures in southern Jordan highlighted a wide array of daily activities associated with the lives of the Edomite populace. This chapter turns to one specific set of these activities—foodways. Foodways refers to the sum total of the materials and practices necessary for the production and consumption of food by a particular group. As mentioned in Chapter One, the production and consumption of the daily meal constitutes a *habitus* practice, as its production creates regularities within social groups while simultaneously altering those regularities as the result of the actions of the individuals involved in the process (Bourdieu 1977: 72-95). The preparation of food, therefore, presents a practice wherein a dialectal relationship between tradition and innovation may be observed. As a result, archaeologists have been increasingly turning to foodways as a means of understanding the social groups that they study (Dietler 2010, Smith 2003, Stahl 2002, Stein 2012).

Foodways have proven to be an effective way of studying social distinction between multiple cultural groups—including those existing within the framework of a colonial environment. Foodways practices present an excellent opportunity to study the way concepts of identity can be reconstructed following episodes of cultural contact within asymmetrical political relationships. Dietler (2007) argues that although foodways and cuisine are often considered to be the most conservative and persistent aspects of culture, there are many examples in which foreign foods become indigenized (citing tea in Britain, or the tomato in Italian cuisine as common examples) (Dietler 2007: 223-224). He argues that this process can be explained in large part by considering that culture contact does not occur by two reified cultural entities coming into contact with each other in a vacuum, but rather through the daily practice and lived experience of individuals who exist in multiple and often conflicting spheres of identity (Dietler 2007: 226-227). He further suggests that this process can occur on different scales. It can occur through feasting in which exotic food elements are ritually integrated into cuisine, or it can happen on the domestic scale through social relationships such as intermarriage (Dietler 2007: 227).

Because evidence associated with foodways is an effective tool for exploring individual, household, or community identity within a colonial environment, this project uses foodways evidence to explore community identity at the Edomite settlements when they fell under the political control of the first millennium Mesopotamian empires. The current project aims to build on earlier discussions of Edomite foodways practices (Whiting 2007, Tebes 2011b) by presenting both a synthesis of previously excavated botanical, faunal, and ceramic evidence from the southern Jordanian plateau alongside new data generated by the BHP's excavation of Area DD. Although these three artifact types by no means represent the sum total of artifact types that inform foodways practices, they provide a good starting point (especially for making broad comparisons across a number of sites).

The comparative analysis of foodways data presented in this chapter helps establish a general pattern of Edomite foodways that makes it possible to better understand the relationship between Edomite communities and the first millennium Mesopotamian empires by noting any deviations from traditional patterns. This chapter argues that at the settlements of Ghareh, Tawilan, and Umm al-Biyara the Edomite populace maintained a typical southern Levantine diet and utilized traditional Edomite ceramic vessels—which suggests that these settlements were tied to local

near-subsistence economies based on agro-pastoralism. This chapter also argues that while Busayra's inhabitants consumed the same plants and animals that were consumed at other sites in Edom, the quality and quantity of the foodways remains at Busayra suggest that the city's inhabitants existed well above subsistence level, and that the foodways data sets from Buildings DD001 and DD002 suggests that these domestic structures were closely tied to the temple economy that was associated with Building A. Finally, the chapter contends that while the foodways evidence shows strong local attachment, and even political attachment at Busayra, it does not suggest that the influence of the Mesopotamian empires penetrated domestic life at Edomite settlements.

Eating and Cooking in Multicultural Environments

Gil Stein (2012) and Stuart Tyson Smith (2003) build upon the ideas put forth by Dietler and others by using evidence related to foodways to explore culture contact in the ancient world. Both scholars employ a functional analysis of ceramic remains to investigate the nature of social relationships that occurred on the peripheries of two expanding cultural entities. Scholars conducting a functional analysis of ceramic remains group these remains in categories based on the vessels' intended use. Common groups include cooking vessels, serving vessels, and storage vessels. By looking at the way that ceramic vessels were used, scholars can think about the roles that different vessel types played in a group's foodways processes as well as the individuals who used those vessels.

Stein's study focuses on cultural interactions at a fourth millennium B.C.E. Uruk trading colony called Hacinebi in Anatolia, which, judging from the cultural assemblages, was occupied simultaneously by both native Anatolians and Mesopotamians who had moved to the area (Stein 2012: 48-51). Stein's study observes that in many of the houses containing Uruk serving and storage assemblages, indigenous Anatolian cooking pots were also used (Stein 2012: 57-59). Stein uses this evidence to suggest that the Uruk men who moved to the settlement resided with local women who retained their native cooking styles (Stein 2012: 60).

In order to support his argument, Stein uses several other lines of evidence to support this claim (in addition to the ceramic evidence mentioned above). For example, he references textual and iconographic material from third millennium Mesopotamia to suggest that cooking was a traditionally female task while butchering was a traditionally male task (Stein 2012: 53). He then compared this evidence to the faunal assemblages from various houses at the settlement and illustrated that the butchering techniques differed between Uruk houses and Anatolian ones, suggesting that it was the Uruk male who brought with him his native butchering techniques (Stein 2012: 54-55).

Smith (2003) makes a similar claim about cross-cultural interactions at Askut, an Egyptian fort on the Nubian-Egyptian border, where despite official Egyptian rhetoric alluding to an absolute physical and cultural boundary between Egypt and all "others," there was a significant degree of diversity found in the cultural assemblages at the fort (Smith 2003: 50-54). The fort was located in territory that had changed hands between the Nubian and Egyptian polities at various times during the fort's occupation; within some of the settlement's domestic structures, the relative percentages of Nubian serving and cooking vessels indicate that during the Second Intermediate

Period, when Askut was ruled by Nubia, the inhabitants of Askut preferred Nubian serving vessels. During the New Kingdom, however, when Askut was ruled by Egypt, there was a sharp drop in the use of Nubian serving vessels, but an increase in Nubian cooking vessels (Smith 2003: 52-53). Smith argues that serving vessels played an important role in traditional Nubian and Egyptian feasts. Therefore, when Askut fell under Egyptian hegemony, Egyptian serving vessels were used during public and symbolically charged feasts (Smith 2003: 58-60). Additionally, Smith posits that the Egyptian soldiers who were stationed at Askut frequently married Nubian women—who brought with them to the fort their traditional cooking vessels (Smith 2003: 57).

Smith's study, however, is not as analytically clear as Stein's. Though the relative proportions of Nubian and Egyptian ceramics stays relatively stable throughout time, the types of vessels associated with both groups shows a great deal of variability (Smith 2003: 50-54). Smith suggests that this is likely the result of the changing political environment (Smith 2003: 52), but this complicates the gendering of activities associated with food production and consumption in this instance. It is possible that the political role of the feasts could have influenced individual choice with respect to the acquisition of ceramic vessels. For example, while under Egyptian control, some Nubian men may have chosen to publicly emulate the Egyptian style of feasting by using Egyptian vessels in order to advance their social status.⁶⁸ For Smith's study to be more convincing, other lines of evidence should be included. An examination of other activities occurring within the household (such as craft production, ritual activity, or aspects of food preparation that do not involve ceramic evidence—including faunal or botanical analyses) could shed light upon the cultural interactions that occurred within the residence.

The studies conducted by Stein and Smith provide models for studying culture contact by using material evidence associated with foodways. Both studies produce compelling evidence that supports the argument that there were multicultural households at both Hacinebi and Askut. Most relevant for this dissertation, however, is that the functional ceramic analyses used by both scholars are effective at highlighting the fact that ceramic vessels from different cultural assemblages were preferred in different use contexts within households at their respective settlements. This type of analysis emphasizes the preferences of individuals within a household, demonstrating that households are complex social units whose members might have conflicting social and political priorities.

The studies conducted by Stein and Smith are also successful in using foodways to emphasize the differences between the private and social spheres of households. They also indicate that the choices made within the private sphere, i.e. the kitchen, can look markedly different from those choices made within the more public sphere, i.e. the dining area, where guests are entertained. As a result, these studies demonstrate the effectiveness of a foodways-based approach to studying the agency of households that existing in an environment characterized by culture contact. Furthermore, Smith's study addresses the added layers of complexity involved when the

⁶⁸ Dietler (2001) creates a model for understanding different types of feasts. His so-called diacritical feast describes the commensal politics of individuals of the same social rank and relies on matters of style and taste to carry symbolic weight (Dietler 2001: 85-88). Dietler emphasizes that because style and taste hold the symbolic force in this type of feast, it can be emulated by individuals of a lower social rank who wish increase their social standing (Dietler 2001: 86-87).

relationship between the two groups is politically asymmetrical, as is the case with Edom and the Near Eastern empires discussed within the current project.

In the past decade, two scholars working on material from Edom have considered the utility of exploring foodways as a cultural phenomenon, and both have approached foodways through an analysis of Edomite vessel types found throughout southwestern Jordan and the Negev (Tebes 2011b and Whiting 2007). Charlotte Whiting's (2007) work moves beyond the culture-historical paradigm often used in the Southern Levant to conflate ethnicity, geography, and material culture to employ an archaeology of practice. Her comparative analysis of Edomite vessels found in southwestern Jordan versus those found in southern Israel indicates that the people living in southern Israel selected specific types of Edomite-style pottery whose functions were linked to cooking and serving (Whiting 2007: 108). Whiting uses the data to complicate the scholarly idea of a seventh or sixth century "Edomite invasion" of the Negev, arguing that rather than suggesting the presence of Edomite population groups in the Negev, the presence of Edomite cooking and serving wares suggests the adoption of alternative cooking and serving practices by those living in the Negev (Whiting 2007: 133).

Although Whiting's methodological and theoretical contributions to the study of Edomite ceramic material culture should not be understated, an important aspect of her interpretation bears reconsideration. Whiting argues that the presence of Edomite vessels in southern Israel should not be understood as an indication of Edomite presence, arguing that if Edomites were living in the Negev there would be more parallels between the ceramic assemblages found in the Negev and those found in southern Jordan (Whiting 2007: 110). Although this may be a logical argument, recent foodways-centered research has argued that it is not uncommon for individual households to use ceramic assemblages that are made up of vessel types that are understood to be from different cultural or ethnic traditions. Furthermore, this research illustrates that vessels affecting the taste or cooking style of the food can be used to help identify the cultural affiliation or ethnic identity of the cook (Smith 2003; Stein 2012).

Juan Manuel Tebes's (2011b) work accepts the idea that foodways can be used as a signifier of ethnic identity. Additionally, he agrees that social practices around the production and consumption of food can be used to establish and strengthen social boundaries that may exist between individuals of different social strata, genders, or ethnic groups. Tebes builds upon Whiting's statistical analyses to discuss the culinary differences that could be affected by choosing Edomite cooking pots instead of others more common in Judah. According to Tebes, one major difference is that Edomite cooking pots are almost always open forms, while both open and closed forms are found among Judean cooking pots. Another difference is that the material used to produce Edomite cooking pots is made from Nubian sandstone (a type of sedimentary rock found in both southern Jordan and in the Negev) that has a high proportion of quartz particles. Tebes goes on to explain that these differences would have had a marked effect on the taste of the food, likely producing a dryer meal than would have been produced in a typical closed-form Judean cooking pot (Tebes 2011b: 88). The general tendency of cooking practices to be conservative in nature helps to explain why ethnically or culturally Edomite individuals living in the Negev would consider factors that account for taste and cooking style to be important enough to warrant the desire for a specialized type of cooking vessel that would be similar to those used in the region typically associated with the Edomite homeland.

Whiting's analyses indicate that Edomite serving vessels were also common in the Negev, and these vessels were often relatively flat, decorated bowls. The liberal use of painted decoration suggests a manipulation of the consumption experience, perhaps by drawing attention to the quality of the food being served. The use of decorated serving vessels is often linked to a type of conspicuous consumption that results from a desire to set the consumer of the product apart from the masses. The food served at a meal (especially one at which guests were present) and the vessels used to present the food can be an important indication of the status and wealth of the host. Furthermore, the choice of individuals living within the Judean state to use ceramic serving vessels culturally linked with Edom, was likely a powerful way of differentiating themselves from Judeans.

Among the high-quality Edomite serving vessels found at Busayra and in the Negev is the presence of so-called Imitation Assyrian Palace Ware. As discussed in Chapter Five, this pottery type (Oakeshott's Bowl K) almost always appears in discussions of Assyrian influence in southern Jordan. The presence of this type of pottery is generally taken together with Busayra's monumental architecture and the prestige objects discussed in Chapter Five (which have parallels at settlements in northern Mesopotamia) to argue for the presence of either Assyrian elites living in Edom or of Edomite elites attempting to emulate practices associated with the imperial core (Bennett 1982; Bienkowski 1992, 2000; Crowell 2004; Tebes 2011b), although, as already mentioned, scholars differ in their opinions as to the extent to which Assyrian influence penetrated Edom both politically and socially. Unfortunately, because total sherd counts were not recorded/published during Bennett's excavations at Busayra, it has been impossible to know the relative frequency of these vessels within the site's ceramic assemblage (see below for an analysis of Imitation Assyrian Palace Ware within the BCHP's ceramic assemblage).

The production choices apparent in this Imitation Assyrian Palace Ware are quite illuminating within the discussion of Assyrian stylistic influence in southern Jordan and the Negev. Although Bowl K clearly resembles the general shape and quality of Assyrian palace ware, the bowl was readapted to fit local tastes and preferences. For example, the polychrome painted decoration often found on examples of Bowl K is not found on actual examples of Assyrian Palace Ware (Tebes 2011b: 89). The presence of these bowls adds much to the discussion of imperial elite emulation throughout southwestern Jordan and the Negev as it has traditionally been assumed that the presence of the bowls speaks to a strong Assyrian influence. In the ceramic analysis presented near the end of this chapter, it becomes clear that, based on her excavations at Busayra in 2014, the author does not think that the presence of Bowl K at Busayra suggests direct Assyrian influence.

Edomite Plant Economies

Food products in the ancient world can be divided roughly into two groups: those made from plant products and those made from animal products. The procedures necessary to cultivate and process these two types of food products differ considerably and thus reflect separate but often complementary sectors within a local economy. As a result, the archaeological evidence for the processes that make up plant and animal economies are different. This section explores the evidence for Edomite plant economies in order to determine whether they follow traditional

Levantine models or whether they suggest a break in traditional patterns, which might point to outside influence.

Plant agriculture is not an economic activity within the territory traditionally associated with Edom. While the Mediterranean climate of the entire Southern Levant can be characterized by its dry, hot summers, which last from June until September, the southernmost arid regions of this territory experience the most extreme elements of these summers. In southwestern Jordan, rainfall occurs between December and March, with no precipitation falling between June and September (Ferguson and Hudson 1986).

The climate of the Wadi Arabah, directly west of the southern Jordanian plateau, is hyper-arid, and, as a result, water is one of the most important natural resources available in the wadi. The mean annual rainfall in the Wadi Arabah ranges only between 30 mm in the far south to 50 mm around the Dead Sea (Bruins 2006: 29-30). Additional water enters the wadi through streams that flow down smaller tributary wadis from the mountains to both the east and the west (**Figure 7.1**). Especially relevant are those springs flowing down from the southern Jordanian plateau. Some of these wadis, such as the Wadi al-Hasa, the Wadi Feifeh, and the Wadi Khuneisir, produce enough reliable water to be used for irrigation, which allows permanent agricultural activities to take place on the surrounding land (MacDonald 2006: 77).

Rainfall on the southern Jordanian plateau is dramatically higher than that of the Wadi Arabah. In a 36-year study (1937/1938-1973/1974), the average rainfall at a collection site in the city of Tafila (about 20 km north of Busayra) was 280.6 mm (MacDonald 2006: 75, adapted from Harlan 1981: 156, Table 1). Modern climatic conditions on the western border of the southern Jordanian plateau allow for the cultivation of a diversity of agricultural products including: cereals, tomatoes, melons, tobacco, grapes, olives, and pitted fruits (Bender 1974; Zohary 1962). Tree-ring evidence suggests that these dry conditions began sometime between 1300 B.C.E. and 1000 B.C.E., when much of the moisture associated with earlier periods dried up and the Dead Sea level dropped from the decrease in precipitation (Stiebing 1989: 186).

Although there are springs and wells around Busayra and the other settlements located in the northern regions of Edom, these are predominantly fed by rain. In most years there is enough precipitation to dry-farm, and agricultural terraces are common in the region, making reliable crop production possible under careful management during the winter. Due to the relatively low precipitation levels, however, only short-season, drought-resistant, cool-season crops could be grown, including barley, lentil, chickpea, and a small amount of wheat (Harlan 1988: 41).

As one travels further east beyond the cultivatable land on the western Jordanian plateau, the plateau's Mediterranean climate changes abruptly to a Saharan climate. As in the Wadi Arabah, the hyper-dry conditions in Jordan's eastern desert make agricultural cultivation virtually impossible. These climatic conditions continue eastward into the northwest Arabian Peninsula. In sum, the climatic conditions of Edom's territory made it difficult to sustain plant economies, which was possible only along a narrow strip of land along the western edge of the southern Jordanian plateau—the same area that saw the construction of permanent settlements during the late eighth to early seventh centuries B.C.E.

Botanical Remains Collected by the BCHP at Busayra

Even today botanical remains are collected from archaeological sites in the Southern Levant irregularly. Although most excavations in the Southern Levant currently collect sediment with the aim of uncovering botanical remains by means of flotation,⁶⁹ it is not uncommon for this collection to be unsystematic, often over-representing contexts that the excavators deem as important (especially those that could potentially produce carbonized remains fit for C14 testing, which might help refine the chronology of a site's occupation phases) and not sampling in other areas. Fortunately, more and more excavations are realizing the benefits of employing a systematic sampling strategy for botanical remains, especially if one is interested in the economic practices surrounding the production and distribution of food products.

Considering the slow rate at which archaeological projects in the Southern Levant are adopting systematic sampling strategies for the recovery of botanical remains from archaeological sediments, it is not surprising that botanical remains were not collected at any of Bennett's excavations in southern Jordan, or at Hart's excavation at Ghrareh. Therefore, the botanical remains collected by the BCHP are the first systematically sampled and analyzed botanical remains excavated from an Iron Age site on the southern Jordanian plateau.

Methods

As mentioned in Chapter Six, the BCHP collected sediment from each locus they excavated at Busayra. Whenever possible one 5 L sample was collected and floated from each square meter of the locus, and archaeological surfaces were in their entirety. The BCHP botanical evidence was separated from its surrounding sediment using a modified Shiraf-type flotation machine (Williams 1973). The flotation samples were shipped to the University of California, Los Angeles, where they were processed and analyzed at the Cotsen Institute of Archaeology by Dr. Alan Farahani and his research assistant, Cassandra Dadat (Farahani 2015).

In total 280 flotation samples were collected during the BCHP's 2014 excavation, and of these samples, 67 were analyzed, comprising 24% of the assemblage, which accounts for 349.25 L. From Area DD a total of 52 samples were analyzed.

Results

The identifiable domesticate seed remains from Area DD belong to five plant families: lentil (*Lens* spp.), pea (*Pisum* spp.), grape (*Vitis vinifera*), barley (*Hordeum* spp.), and wheat (*Triticum aestivum*) (Farahani 2015: 3). In general, the botanical remains from the BCHP's excavations can be characterized by a paucity of specimens across all contexts, and the seed density is low in both Areas AA and DD. On average, in Area DD, each liter of sediment contained only 0.24 seeds, with a standard deviation of 0.46 (Farahani 2015: 3).

⁶⁹ Sediment flotation is an effective method for extracting botanical remains from archaeological sediments. Although various types of flotation are utilized by archaeological projects across the globe, the most basic version of this methodology involves pouring archaeological sediment into a container of water and then manually breaking up this sediment to allow carbonized plant remains to float to the surface of the water. These remains are then skimmed off of the water's surface and allowed to dry before being analyzed (Pearsall 2010: 14-18).

The evidence suggests that this paucity is the result of depositional activities at the site rather than specimen preservation. This is not to say that post-depositional activities that would affect preservation were not at play at the site. In fact, the number of seed specimens that were fragmented to the point that they could not be identified constitutes 10% of the assemblage while identifiable seeds made up only 7%. Almost half of the samples from both fields contained no identifiable seeds, and about 20% contained no seeds or wood charcoal. In total 1,063 specimens were identified, although 81% (n=975) of these specimens were charcoal fragments (**Figure 7.2**) (Farahani 2015: 5).

Of the remaining 88 identifiable seed specimens, figs (*Ficus carica*) were by far the most abundant, comprising 59% of the assemblage and appearing in 30% of the samples. From Area DD, a total of 41 fig seeds were identified out of a total of 46 seed specimens from that area (**Figure 7.3**). The remaining five seeds included two lentil seeds, two grape seeds, and one pea. Particularly surprising was the complete absence of wheat and grain seeds in Area DD especially considering the general assumption that cereals would have constituted a major portion of the diet at Busayra.⁷⁰ Despite the absence of cereal seeds from contexts in Area DD, there are indications that cereals may have been processed in this area. In fact, 50% of the identified cereal *rachis* remains (effectively the central shaft or stalk to which the seeds are affixed after harvest) are found in Area DD.

Much is added to the interpretation of the botanical remains from Area DD by comparing them to the remains excavated from Area AA. The significant difference between the two contexts strengthens the argument that botanical patterning at the site is a result of ancient activity rather than post-deposition taphonomic processes. Two major differences between the botanical evidence from Areas AA and DD is both the distribution of charcoal remains as well as the presence and absence of specific taxa including domesticated wheat and barley remains as well as grape remains.

Aggregated high-density charcoal remains are found more frequently in Area AA than they are in Area DD. This means that the average weight per liter (essentially a proxy for the size of charcoal remains) was significantly higher in Area AA (Farahani 2015: 12-14). This is corroborated by the BCHP's interpretation of Area AA as a room whose function was associated with industrial-scale bread-making. The large number of charcoal specimens found in Area AA may have been the remnants of the wood fuel used to fire the large oven excavated in the area.

Despite the fact that a higher density of charcoal is found in Area AA samples, the sample that has the greatest concentration of charcoal excavated from anywhere on site is found in Area DD (Farahani 2015: 14). This sample came from DD55 Locus 3, which was taken from inside a broken ceramic storage vessel, which seems to have broken as the result of a burning destruction event. There was a significant amount of ash and charcoal in the sediment matrix around the vessel as well. Based on the amount of wood charcoal found in this vessel, it is most likely that during the destruction event that destroyed the room in DD55, a wooden roof beam fell across

⁷⁰ Although not included among the samples analyzed in Farahani's study, one complete barley seed from DD49 Locus 15 Sub-grid 18 (a sub-surface fill context) was used to obtain an Accelerator Mass Spectrometry (AMS) C14 date from Busayra. Three samples from this same context were analyzed in Farahani's study, but no other cereal remains were present.

the broken vessel, which then acted as a sort of fireplace, allowing the wood to burn in a contained location.

A second significant difference between the remains from Area AA and those from Area DD is the presence and absence of specific taxa, such as domesticated wheat (*Triticum aestivum*) and barley (*Hordeum* spp.) and grape seeds (*Vitis vinifera*) (**Figure 7.4**). Although cereal seeds were only found in Area AA, the only complete grape seeds were found in Area DD (although two grape-seed fragments were found in Area AA). This might suggest that the different areas served different functions during their occupation. Although the seed counts are low, there does seem to be more species diversity in Area DD, which included grapes, lentils, and pistachios (*Pistacia atlantica*). This increased species diversity would suggest that Area DD was an area of consumption, although a larger sample size would be desirable in order to substantiate this claim (Farahani 2015: 7-9).

Despite the low number of whole seeds recovered from the samples at Busayra, the presence of taxa such as wheat, barley, figs, grapes, and legumes (lentils and peas) conforms to the plant diet typical of the Iron Age Southern Levant (Farahani 2015: 14). The presence of *rachis* remains from wheat and barley in both Areas AA and DD, as well as a grape pedicel from Area DD (Farahani 2015: 7-9), indicate that at least some food processing was occurring on site and that the food was not arriving on site pre-processed and ready for consumption. Additionally, the presence of certain weeds elucidates agricultural practices and specific growing conditions that affected Busayra's botanical remains. For example, the presence of *Rumex* and sedges (of the Polygonaceae and Cyperaceae families, respectively) on site suggests that the growing environments of the crops that were imported to Busayra were marshy and wet (Farahani 2015: 11). Due to the dry and arid environment in which Busayra is situated, this marshy and wet environment was likely located in agricultural fields deep in the wadi bottoms that surround the settlement. Additionally, the presence of certain wild seeds indicative of steppic environments—especially saltbrush (*Atriplex* spp.) and goosefoot (*Chenopodium* spp.) and several seeds associated with disturbed soils and field edges—implies that at least some of the plant products that arrived on site at Busayra were unprocessed and thus accompanied by the weedy plants that grew among them (Farahani 2015: 11).

In general, the botanical remains from Busayra indicate that the settlement was a location of consumption and storage rather than processing. This interpretation is corroborated by the low number of *rachis* remains. This evidence, in concert with the results of the BCHIP's faunal analysis (see below), which reported a low number of cattle bones (or bones belonging to other beasts of burden), suggests that food products were produced and processed off site (or were strongly restricted to a specific location on site) and were then transported to the settlement (Farahani 2015: 14). This suggestion aligns with the general interpretation of Busayra as an Iron Age political capital surrounded by numerous settlements which could have—and likely did—generate the food products necessary to sustain Busayra's population.

Overall, one of the most illustrative elements of the botanical analysis from the BCHIP's excavations at Busayra is the extreme paucity of botanical remains—especially seeds on the floors. One explanation for the low density of remains in Areas AA and DD is that these areas were intentionally kept clean. This may make sense considering that the contexts sampled from

Area DD (although domestic in nature) abutted the large temple at Busayra (Building A), suggesting that the domestic structures in Area DD may have been associated with the ritual activities occurring there. The botanical remains from Area DD suggest that some concept of purity⁷¹ may have been associated with the domestic activities occurring in Buildings DD001 and DD002. This is also corroborated by the fact that few dung remains were found in the assemblage (Farahani 2015: 3, 14).

Edomite Animal Economies

In addition to the botanical remains discussed above, faunal remains can offer additional information about the diet and foodways of the Edomite populace. As with plant-based food products, the production and consumption of animal-based food products also made up an important sector of the Edomite economy. This section presents a comparative study of the animal remains from Umm al-Biyara, Tawilan, and Busayra in order to better understand the foodways practices and general diet of the individuals who inhabited each settlement. This section pays close attention to the species that were consumed at each site in order to better understand the socio-economic position of the settlements and the degree to which the inhabitants of each settlement were living at or above subsistence level. An important aspect of this investigation is to ascertain the degree to which the overall diet of the Edomite populace is similar to a general southern Levantine diet, as deviations from this diet may be important indications of political or cultural attachments.

Unlike botanical remains, faunal remains were collected by all three of Bennett's excavations. These remains, however, were not systematically collected at any of Bennett's sites, and the regularity of collection varied greatly between the three sites. In general, bone specimens were collected on an *ad hoc* basis, and they tended to favor large or complete/mostly-complete specimens. As a result, it is not possible to carry out a meaningful statistical analysis of these remains. A careful discussion of these remains, however, can provide a general picture of animal exploitation at Umm al-Biyara, Tawilan, and Busayra.

If faunal remains were collected by Hart's team at Ghrareh, they are not mentioned in his 1989 work, which details the findings; as a result the site will be omitted from this discussion. The BCHP, on the other hand, did systematically sample and analyze all faunal remains from their excavated contexts (see below), and these data sets will be used to complement the general picture of animal usage in Iron Age southern Jordan obtained through an analysis of the evidence from Bennett's excavations—in addition to providing a statistically relevant data set to which future data sets can be compared.

Animal Remains from Bennett's Excavations at Umm al-Biyara, Tawilan, and Busayra

The animal remains published in the Umm al-Biyara final report were analyzed by Juliet Clutton-Brock at the Natural History Museum, in London during the 1960s. The current location of the animal remains from Umm al-Biyara is unknown, and it is possible that the remains were discarded following Clutton-Brock's analysis (Bienkowski 2011: 109). Clutton-Brock's report

⁷¹ Douglas (1966) argued that, within ritual contexts, elements that could disrupt order are considered unclean and are intentionally avoided (Douglas 1966: 7-29, 95).

does not discuss sampling strategy, but it is reasonable to assume that like Tawilan and Busayra, faunal remains at Umm al-Biyara were not collected systematically, but rather on an *ad hoc* basis, which disproportionately included complete or mostly complete specimens.

With regard to the overall assemblage, Clutton-Brock notes that faunal evidence of sheep, goats, horses, cattle, birds, a lion, and a fish was found at the settlement, and that many of the bones display significant evidence of burning (Clutton-Brock 2011: 106). The likelihood that faunal evidence was collected only on rare occasions is supported by the low specimen count from Umm al-Biyara. While it is not unusual to have a small number of bones from horses (only three teeth reported from Umm al-Biyara), it is more surprising that the excavations only recovered 35 bones that belonged to cattle, and most surprising of all that only 126 bones belonging to sheep and/or goats were recovered (Clutton-Brock 2011: 106-108).

Several of the cattle and sheep/goat bones show butchering marks, which indicate that all three species were exploited for their meat (Clutton-Brock 2011: 106-108), in addition to any secondary products—such as milk, wool, or labor—for which they may have been used. No attempt was made to establish a general pattern of mortality among the sheep/goat populations at Umm al-Biyara, and, as a result, there is no information about the herd-culling practices among Umm al-Biyara's inhabitants.

The presence of bird and fish remains at the settlement, although small,⁷² does suggest that Umm al-Biyara's inhabitants maintained a mixed diet. Umm al-Biyara's relative isolation and inaccessibility speaks to the intentionality of these foodways choices. Considering that Umm al-Biyara sits atop a large mountain with no natural water source, the presence of fish bones at the settlement indicates that fish were a valuable source of food. These fish must have been desired enough that Umm al-Biyara's inhabitants would walk a fair distance to catch the fish where their water source was, and then carry them back up to the top of the Umm al-Biyara mountain to cook and eat.

During the first two seasons of excavation at Tawilan, in 1968 and 1969, faunal remains were not systematically collected. Rather, Bennett's team collected only the most complete and well-preserved specimens. During the 1982 season, Bennett's team included a faunal specialist, Ilse Köhler-Rollefson, who insisted that all visible faunal remains be collected and recorded (although sieves were not employed in the recovery process) (Köhler-Rollefson 1995: 97).

As is typical at Iron Age archaeological sites in the Southern Levant, 80% of the identified faunal remains were determined to have belonged to either *Ovis aries* (domestic sheep) or *Capra hircus* (domestic goat). The sample size of bones from Tawilan that show evidence of epiphyseal fusion, which can determine the age at which an animal was killed, was too small to generate far-reaching conclusions about the function of the animals at the settlement. It is clear, however, based on the survival rate of the sheep and goats at Tawilan, that the animals were used for both meat and secondary products—such as milk and/or wool (Köhler-Rollefson 1995: 99).

⁷² The small number of fish and bird bones is likely not representative of their presence at the site. Rather, it is most likely that the small and fragile nature of these bones resulted in their being overlooked during excavation.

About 15% of the total faunal assemblage from Tawilan was made up of cattle bones, making them the most common large mammal used at Tawilan. The remaining 5% of the assemblage includes a few examples of bones from horses, donkeys, pigs, gazelles, birds, and one camel bone. The almost complete reliance on sheep and goat pastoralism is typical of populations living in the more arid parts of the Southern Levant (Köhler-Rollefson 1995: 99-100).

During the first four seasons of excavation at Busayra (1971-1974), animal bones were collected and analyzed, although this was not done in any standardized manner, and the bones themselves were lost or discarded. The surviving records from the 1980 excavation season bear no mention of faunal remains that were collected during the season. Of the bones that were collected during the 1971-1974 seasons, only about half of them (n=2112) were in good enough condition to be identified (Bienkowski 2002: 471).

Of the identifiable specimens, more than 85% of them belonged to small ruminants—likely sheep and goats. The most commonly recovered long bones of these animals were the distal tibia and the distal humerus, followed by the articular ends of the scapula and proximal and distal femur fragments. These bones correspond with the most meat-rich portions of the animals' bodies. The kill rate indicated by the epiphyseal fusion state of the bones indicates that, of the bones collected, about one third of them belonged to sheep/goats that were killed before reaching three years of age (which is an appropriate time to kill off animals that are intended for meat consumption). The remainder of the bones likely belonged to sheep/goats that were used for dairy and wool production (Bienkowski 2002: 471).

About 10% of the animal bones excavated from Busayra belonged to cattle. There was a surprisingly high number of cattle under three years old, which suggests that cattle (probably mostly males) were being exploited for their meat in addition to their milk at the site. One Phalanx I bone, whose dimensions suggest that it belonged to a castrated male, was thick and heavily built with arthritic lesions. The nature of this bone suggests that the animal to which it belonged had endured long periods of extreme physical labor, such as that associated with draughting (Bienkowski 2002: 471-472).

The remaining bones from Bennett's excavation belong to a number of different animals, including: an equid, a camel, dogs/wolves, wild boars, chickens, reptiles, a gazelle, fish, and birds (**Table 7.1**).

Species	Common name	Total Count	Percentage
<i>Capra hircus</i> and <i>Ovis aries</i>	domestic goat and sheep	1813	85.84%
<i>Bos taurus</i>	Domestic cattle	220	10.42%
<i>Equus asinus</i>	Domestic ass	2	0.09%
<i>Equus caballus</i>	Domestic horse	1	0.05%
<i>Camelus dromedarius</i>	Camel	1	0.05%
<i>Canis</i> sp.	Dog or wolf	1	0.05%
<i>Sus scrofa</i>	Wild or domestic pig	4	0.19%
<i>Gallus gallus</i>	chicken	5	0.24%
<i>Gazella</i> sp.	Unidentified gazelle	2	0.09%
Reptilia	Unidentified reptile	15	0.71%
Pisces indet.	Unidentified fish	10	0.47%
Unidentified	--	38	1.80%
Total	--	2112	--

Table 7.1 – Number of Animals Bones Excavated by Bennett from Busayra (Bienkowski 2002: 471)

Overall, the evidence from Bennett’s excavation suggests that the inhabitants of Busayra relied predominantly on sheep/goats for their meat. This was supplemented with meat from cattle and to a lesser degree with meat from chickens, and very occasionally with meat from hunted/fished/trapped animals—such as gazelles, fish, birds, and wild boars. Both sheep/goats and cattle were used for their milk, and horses, camels, and cattle were likely used for manual labor such as draughting and transport (Bienkowski 2002: 472).

The faunal evidence collected by Bennett’s teams at Umm al-Biyara, Tawilan, and Busayra is helpful in reconstructing a general picture about the way that animals were used in the daily life of the Edomite populace. That being said, the lack of standardization in sampling strategies, the evidence that was lost prior to analysis, the small sample sizes, and the complete absence of contextual data prevent more detailed analyses. During the BCHP’s 2014 excavation season, the project addressed many of these issues by implementing a set of standards for the collection, cleaning, and analysis of faunal remains from Busayra.

Animal Remains Collected by the BCHP at Busayra

Methods

As discussed in Chapter Six, all of the sediment excavated from Area DD at Busayra was sifted through screens composed of a 3 mm wire mesh. All faunal remains visible to the naked eye were collected from the sifted material, and each bone specimen was counted and hand-brushed before being transported back to the University of California, Berkeley (where they were re-bagged and weighed). Following this processing, a 30% sample, totaling 1,324 bone and bone fragments, was sent to the BCHP’s zooarchaeologist, Justin Lev-Tov for analysis. From the 30% sample, the number of identified specimens (NISP) that were excavated from Area DD comprised 73%, or 966 specimens. The following discussion focuses exclusively on the bones from Area DD.

Results

In general, the analyzed specimens exhibited a similar amount of ware, likely from post-depositional site-formation processes in an arid environment. Additional general observations include the fact that many of the bones were burned and/or broken. 7% of the bones from Area DD appear to have been burned, and most of these bones show evidence of even burning across their surface. This observation suggests that burning did not occur while cooking (when the bone's meat would have protected a portion of the bone) but likely occurred after cooking (when the bone was perhaps thrown into a fire or systematically burned with other trash in a bin or midden) (Lev-Tov 2015: 1).

Additional taphonomic processes many of the specimens from Area DD. As mentioned, many of the specimens were very small and broken, and this was likely due to processes that caused the erosion of the specimens' cortical surfaces and the loss of bone. The most likely cause of this erosion was some combination of prolonged exposure to the hot climate and dry soils at Busayra and exposure to the digestive fluids of animals (likely dogs) that ate and then excreted the bones (Lev-Tov 2015: 6-7). A final factor that might have contributed to the small size of the Area DD specimens was the pre-depositional destruction caused by butchering. Three specimens from Area DD showed evidence of butcher marks, which indicates that destroying the bones in order to extract marrow was likely an aspect of culinary practice at Busayra (Lev-Tov 2015: 7).

From among the Area DD faunal sample, 16% of the bones could be positively identified as belonging to either sheep or goats. As was the case with the faunal evidence from Umm al-Biyara and Tawilan, it very difficult to distinguish between sheep and goats since the skeletal features of the two species are so similar. That being said, there were 17 specimens from Area DD that could be identified as either sheep or goat bones, with nine of the bones belonging to goats and eight belonging to sheep. The equivalent presence of sheep and goat bones likely suggests that the inhabitants of the settlement were practicing a mixed herding economy that included both sheep and goats (Lev-Tov 2015: 2). In addition to the bones that are positively identified as belonging to sheep/goats, there are an additional 645 bones (67%) that belonged to medium-sized mammals, almost all of which are assumed to have been either sheep or goats. When including the medium-sized mammal bones in the count, sheep/goat bones make up 83% of the Area DD faunal assemblage. This percentage is similar to the percentage of sheep/goat bones from the analysis of Bennett's faunal evidence from Busayra (see above).

The faunal evidence from Area DD points to a diet that is quite diverse. Among the remains there is evidence of one or more birds from the pheasant family (most likely partridges), several fish bones, a single bone from a gazelle, a partial dog bone, and a small number of cattle bones. It was not possible to identify whether the fish bones belonged to saltwater or freshwater species. The fish may have come from one of the local eastern tributaries that run toward the Wadi Arabah (Lev-Tov 2015: 2). Although Busayra is a considerable distance from both the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, it lays on one of the major intersections of the north-south trade route from Arabia and the east-west trade leading from the Jordanian plateau to Gaza, making the presence of saltwater fish quite possible. This evidence for a varied diet at Busayra is quite complementary to that from Umm al-Biyara and Tawilan, and suggests that the practice of hunting as a means of diversifying the diet was practiced throughout southern Jordan.

A striking difference between the faunal assemblages from all of Bennett's excavations and the assemblage from the BCHIP's excavation of Area DD at Busayra is found in the number of cattle bones present in the assemblages. At Umm al-Biyara, Tawilan, and Bennett's Busayra excavation cattle bones made up 20%, 15%, and 10% percent of their total respective assemblages. From the Area DD faunal evidence, cattle bones and the bones from unidentifiable large mammals (most of which likely belonged to cattle) only made up 3% of the total assemblage (29 specimens in total). This evidence suggests that the inhabitants of Buildings DD001 and DD002 were not consuming beef as a regular part of their diet. More perplexing, however, is that the evidence also suggests that there were very few large mammals at the settlement to serve as beasts of burden (Lev-Tov 2015: 3).

Since Buildings DD001 and DD002 are both domestic in nature, it might make sense that animals being used for manual labor or transport were kept together in another location elsewhere at the settlement. That being said, the faunal evidence from Bennett's excavation at Busayra indicates that the kill age for cattle at Busayra signifies the presence of beef products in the general diet of Busayra's inhabitants. Because, however, we do not have documentary evidence from any of Bennett's excavations that could tell us about the contexts in which cattle bones were found at the settlement, we cannot say whether the lack of cattle bones found in Buildings DD001 and DD002 is actually atypical among domestic structures in Iron Age southern Jordan. Lev-Tov (2015) argues that this atypical absence of cattle bones does not reflect the actual ancient situation and that insufficient sampling is the most likely explanation for this peculiarity. This question will require further excavation and analysis to answer.

In terms of ageable sheep/goat bones, there are a total of 77 from Area DD. Of these ageable bones, four of them came from either fetal or neonatal animals. An additional nine specimens came from animals that died during their first year of life, and two bones came from animals that were less than two years old at death. The minimum death age of the animals to which the remaining twelve bones belonged was determined by the presence of fused epiphyses. Ten of these bones came from animals that survived to least one year of age and another two came from animals that were at least three years old at death (Lev-Tov 2015).

The survival rate of the sheep/goats from Area DD indicates that 44% of these animals were killed before reaching one year old. This suggests that, at Busayra, the sheep/goats were used primarily for meat consumption. It is therefore likely that the sheep/goats that did survive the early kill-age at Busayra would have been used for breeding and secondary products such as wool or milk (Lev-Tov 2015: 3-4). The data for culling practices at Busayra is further informed by an analysis of sheep/goat first and second phalanges (toe bones). The epiphysis of sheep/goat phalanges fuses by the time an animal reaches one year of age, and the sheep/goat phalanges from Area DD indicate that 50% of those animals were killed within their first year.

Metric measurements of these sheep/goat phalanges show a slight bias toward smaller specimens (**Figure 7.5**), most of which belonged to juvenile animals. These types of metric measurements, however, have also been used to indicate the ratio of male to female individuals within an assemblage (Zeder 1991), although this cannot be reliably done on the Area DD assemblage due to its small sample size. The graph of sheep/goat phalange measurements does exhibit an

interesting trend that should be studied when more excavation data is available. This graph shows that the phalange size of mature individuals is flanked by those of immature individuals. This suggests that some of the mature specimens were actually female individuals. This is especially interesting in light of the fact that herd-culling practices typically focus on male individuals, since females are useful for bearing offspring as well as milk production (Lev-Tov 2015: 4).

The fact that the set of kill-data from Busayra indicates a young kill-age (and include female individuals) illustrates two important facts about the animal economy at Busayra. First, the data indicate a certain degree of wealth. The fact that so many individual animals were culled before reaching one year of age and that female individuals were killed for their meat rather than kept to insure the reproduction of the herd suggests that there was little anxiety about depleting Busayra's animal resources. Additionally, the sex and age profiles of the sheep/goats from Area DD may also suggest that they were part of a sacrificial rather than domestic economy (Kozuh 2014). This would suggest that many of the young sheep/goats brought to Busayra were purchased by the settlement's temple in order to be sacrificed as part of a religious ceremony, rather than to be consumed as one component of an average meal within a home. Although both of these arguments warrant further investigation, the second argument will require a larger sample size before it can be definitively argued.

The faunal remains from Area DD provide additional information about the diet of Busayra's inhabitants by exploring body-part distribution and differential meat supply. To this end, the sheep/goat bones (including those more generally identified as belonging to medium-sized mammals) were divided into three general body-part categories: the head, the axil (the ribs and spinal column), and the limbs (Table 7.2).

Body Part	Field AA		Field DD	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Head	20	9%	70	15%
Axial	4	2%	65	14%
Limbs	198	89%	317	70%
Total	222	--	452	--

Table 7.2 – Body Part Representation in Medium-Sized Mammals (Lev-Tov 2015)

Bones from the limbs of sheep/goats accounted for 70% of the assemblage from Area DD, whereas bones from either the head or the axil portions made up relatively equal proportions—14% and 15% respectively (Lev-Tov 2015: 5).

When these numbers are compared to the percentages of each body-part category in a standard bovine, in which head, axil, and limb bones made up 34%, 35%, and 31% of the animal's bones, respectively (Zeder 1991:96), it becomes clear that both the head and axil elements are underrepresented in the Area DD assemblage, while the limb elements are drastically overrepresented. Despite this, the body part distribution definitely suggests that the inhabitants of Area DD had access to the entire animal and not just to select cuts. The fact that the inhabitants of Area DD had access to the entire animal makes the meat consumption in Area DD stand out from typical patterns of meat consumption in ancient urban centers. Because urban centers

generally had high amounts of professional specialization—which often results in a class of butchers—consumers living in urban center could generally buy the portions of the animal that were most desirable, without having to purchase the entire animal (Lev-Tov 2015: 6).

In summation, the faunal remains from Area DD at Busayra present some interesting information about foodways at the settlement. First, the collection indicates that sheep and goats were the primary source of meat for the inhabitants of Area DD. It should be mentioned, however, that wild animal species were also identified, which indicates that those individuals living in Buildings DD001 and DD002 supplemented their sheep/goat meat consumption by hunting and fishing. This is particularly interesting when one considers the data from the BCHP's excavation of Area AA, in one of the back rooms of the temple in Area A. These data, which were collected, processed, and analyzed in the same manner as those from Area DD, show no such diversity. In fact, of the 358 specimens analyzed from Area AA, only seven belonged to an animal other than a sheep or a goat, two belonged to small mammals and five to large mammals.

The comparison of species diversity between Areas AA and DD likely reflects the difference between the two contexts from which the specimens came. Because Building A is a large, public building with a specifically ritual purpose, it makes sense that the faunal remains found within the building reflect a more specific economic function, such as a public ceremony. It is impossible at this point to know the precise function that sheep/goats played in the temple economy associated with Building A. That being said, there are two likely scenarios that could have contributed to the lack of species diversity in Building A. The first is that the faunal remains were associated with animals that were ritually slaughtered at the temple. The high kill-rate of sheep/goats younger than one year old⁷³ might support this interpretation, indicating that a sacrificial economy was driving the demand for young sheep and goats.

The second possibility is that the lack of diversity in Area AA was the result of a specialized economy in which individuals that lived or worked in Building A were provided meat directly from a butcher. This might be supported by the disproportionate amount of limb bones found in Area AA, which made up 90% of the Area AA faunal assemblage.⁷⁴ Furthermore, it should be noted that these two scenarios need not be mutually exclusive. It is also possible that animals were sacrificed by priests at the temple and then butchered elsewhere by a class of professional butchers, who then returned the meat to the temple for consumption. Further excavation inside Building A is necessary in order to test these scenarios.

The diversity of faunal remains from Area DD is in line with a domestic assemblage. The presence of gazelle, cow, fish, and bird bones suggests that the individuals living in Buildings DD001 and DD002 were actively engaged in their subsistence. This observation is further supported by the fact that the body-part distribution analysis of sheep/goats in Area DD indicates

⁷³ The data used to determine mortality patterning come only from Area DD. There were only two ageable bones discovered among the Area AA sample, one from a medium-sized mammal and the other from a goat that was less than three years old (Lev-Tov 2015: 3). In order to appropriately assess the mortality patterning of the animals associated with Area AA a larger sample size will be necessary. The possible association of the animals from Area DD with a sacrificial economy, however, suggests that the Area A temple, which sat adjacent to Area DD, would have likely been associated with that same sacrificial economy.

⁷⁴ A larger sample size is needed in order for this calculation to be statistically significant.

that its inhabitants had access to the entire animal when cooking. This suggests that the inhabitants of Area DD were not connected to the same specialized economy associated with Area AA. The age and sex profiles of the animals do suggest, however, that those living in Area DD had the same access to young animals, both male and female, as did those living or working in Area AA. It is not possible to know who managed the herds from which the meat at Busayra was sourced, and it is certainly possible that those individuals living in Buildings DD001 and DD002 managed their own herds and perhaps even provided animals for the temple. Regardless, the similarities between the mortality pattern of the animal bones from Areas AA and DD suggest that both areas were receiving their animals from herds that were meeting the same demand with regard to the age and sex of the animals that were killed. Therefore, it is possible to assume that the inhabitants of Area DD benefitted from their proximity to Building AA in that they too had the wealth and relative luxury that allowed them to cull herds in a manner that provided them with the best meat, without having to be overly worried about depleting their resources.

The species diversity evident in the faunal remains from Area DD is broadly similar to those from Tawilan, Umm al-Biyara, and Bennett's excavation at Busayra. All of these assemblages reflect a meat diet that is largely dominated by the consumption of sheep and goat, but that is supplemented by some beef consumption and wild animal meat. Therefore, this general species diversity seen within Area DD is consistent with general dietary practices in Iron Age southern Jordan, which indicates that any foreign or imperial influences in Edom did not have an effect on the animal economies of southern Jordan.

Edomite Ceramic Vessel Evidence

A third line of evidence used by scholars to examine foodways practices is the remains of ceramic vessels. Although not all ceramic vessels are used in the daily activities surrounding the production and consumption of food, many Edomite vessels were. Ceramic vessel evidence can supply insight into foodways practices in two important ways. First, the style of the vessels can provide evidence for artistic traditions associated with a particular region or culture group, and as a result, can provide information about a household's socio-economic status or ethnic identity. Secondly, the intended function of ceramic vessels can provide information about the actual mechanics of food preparation and consumption.

The following section presents a functional analysis of Edomite ceramic vessels, and takes into account stylistic aspects of the vessels when relevant. The analysis divides vessels into three categories: storage vessels, cooking vessels, and serving vessels. As seen in Tebes's (2011b) study discussed at the beginning of this chapter, cooking vessel types (those that would influence the actual taste of the food) tend to be more conservative than other vessel types and can speak to the cultural identity of the cook. Although storage and cooking practices can say a great deal about an individual's or a household's identity, the practices around serving and consuming a meal, especially in the presence of guests, creates an important locus where individual or household identities meet with broader social practices and traditions—as seen in the Stein (2012) and Smith (2003) studies discussed above. As with the botanical and faunal remains, the ceramic remains from Edom add to the picture of Edomite foodways. Both the functional and stylistic aspects of the ceramic vessel analysis will both establish deviations from traditional

regional patterns, thus indicating whether any of the Edomite settlements exhibit evidence of foreign or imperial influences.

Edomite Ceramics from Ghrareh and Bennett's Excavations at Umm al-Biyara, Tawilan, and Busayra

As discussed above, ceramic evidence from Bennett's and Hart's excavations on the southern Jordanian plateau was collected primarily for the creation of a ceramic typology rather than to obtain a statistically relevant understanding of the vessels' contexts and functions. The standard ceramic typology for so-called Edomite pottery was developed by Marion Oakeshott from the ceramic remains excavated by Crystal Bennett at Busayra (Oakeshott 1978, 1983). Although Oakeshott's typology provides an excellent catalog of ceramic forms found throughout southwestern Jordan and the Negev, providing a common language with which scholars can discuss Edomite ceramic forms, the typology is problematic in two major ways. First, because Busayra's archaeological stratigraphy is relatively flat, this typology has not been particularly useful as a tool for refining an Edomite chronology. Second, further research has shown that the pottery excavated from Busayra is somewhat atypical of pottery from other settlements in southwestern Jordan. Although the more common ceramic types from Busayra are quite common throughout southwestern Jordan, the presence of fine-wares and painted pottery is markedly higher at Busayra than from other settlements, such as Tawilan and Umm al-Biyara.

Although it may not come as a surprise that there was a higher quantity of decorated and finely-made ceramics at the Edomite capital, it is perhaps problematic that the painted pottery referred to as "Edomite" is rarely found in southwestern Jordan outside of Busayra. This is especially relevant when we start to consider the foodways of the Edomite populace, as it begs the question: if fine-ware and highly decorative pottery is uncommon outside of Busayra, is Busayra an appropriate place to study the foodways of the Edomite populace? This question is further complicated by the appearance of highly decorated Edomite pottery at sites in the Negev, mostly clustered around the Beersheba Valley, which leads from the Wadi Arabah to Gaza. This pottery shares many parallels with the Busayra ceramic assemblage, but not with assemblages from other settlements in southwest Jordan.

Until recently, the dominant scholarly consensus was that at some point during the late seventh or early sixth centuries, large numbers of Edomites migrated from the Jordanian plateau and forcibly conquered many of the Judean sites in the Negev. This theory was supported in large part by two *ostraca* found at the site of Arad, one that references the 'evil' done by Edom (Ostrakon 40; Aharoni 1970: 16-42), and another, dating to 598-597 B.C.E., that orders troops to move to Ramat-negeb 'lest Edom should come there' (Ostrakon 24; Aharoni 1970 16-28). Although this theory appears to make sense based on the large amount of Edomite pottery found at sites in the Negev, the earliest attestations of this pottery are actually found at Arad in Stratum X, Tel Beersheba Strata III-II, and Tel 'Ira Stratum VII (the latter two strata were destroyed in 701 B.C.E. by Sennacherib), which indicates that already by the late eighth century—contemporary with the settlement of Busayra—there were a number of Edomites residing west of the Wadi Arabah (Tebes 2011b: 70). For Tebes, this complicates the designation of this pottery as "Edomite," and he instead refers to the assemblage as Southern Transjordan-Negev Pottery (STNP). The distribution of Edomite pottery, or STNP, inherently complicates a practice all too common in the Iron Age Southern Levant in which scholars determine political and ethnic

territorial borders by drawing lines around cultural assemblages. If this practice were to be applied to STNP, Busayra might begin to look like the capital of a polity that ran east-west across the Wadi Arabah to Gaza, rather than one that ran north-south along the Jordanian plateau. Therefore, it seems that although certain aspects of food production and consumption at Busayra may be unique among the sites of the Jordanian plateau, they were much more common among the sites along the Beersheba valley, where this painted and decorated pottery was found in a variety of non-elite and domestic contexts. As a result, it is appropriate that the domestic contexts from Busayra may be used to remark on broader foodways practices among sites that clearly share a cultural connection to Busayra—both on the Jordanian plateau and in the Negev.

Ceramic Evidence Excavated by the BCHP at Busayra

Methods

The ceramic remains from Area DD at Busayra were extracted from their surrounding sediment by means of the above-mentioned archaeological sieves, through which all excavated sediment was shifted. The ceramic remains were transported from the site to the BCHP's processing lab in Busayra, where they were gently hand-washed and left to dry for a period of 24 hours. Once dry, the ceramic sherds were counted and separated into diagnostic and non-diagnostic sherds, where diagnostic sherds referred to sherds from which the sherd's original vessel type could be identified. The author then identified the vessel type and date of each diagnostic sherd, and selected representative sherds to be drawn. The ceramic remains were then shipped to UC Berkeley, where they were drawn and analyzed by the author, with help from her research assistants, Pauli Mazzarino and Rachel Regelein.

As a result of this aggressive sampling strategy, the ceramic data from the BCHP's excavation of Buildings DD001 and DD002 provides the best corpus of late Iron Age ceramics from southwest Jordan, from which statistical conclusions may be drawn. Unlike the excavations carried out under Bennett's direction in the 1960s and 1970s, each piece of pottery excavated from Busayra's Area DD was collected and counted, making it possible to provide accurate information regarding form frequency and distribution that was impossible using data from the earlier excavations. In total 21,589 sherds were excavated from Area DD during the 2014 season, 2,800 of which were diagnostic sherds from which vessel form could be determined.

In order to address vessel form-function, the forms were divided into four general categories: storage vessels, processing vessels, cooking vessels, and serving vessels. Storage vessels are understood as vessels that would store either dry or wet food products, and in this assemblage, they are referred to as jars and jugs, whose mostly closed forms would facilitate storage. Processing vessels are those with high vessel walls and relatively wide openings, which would allow stirring and mixing (here referred to as kraters), as well as strainers. Cooking vessels were designed to withstand high amounts of heat. Their openings were narrower than the openings on processing or serving vessels in order to prevent excess evaporation, but not so narrow as to cause the contents to boil over. The final vessel category is serving vessels, and this category includes the largest number of vessel types. These vessel forms are, in general, the most open in order to allow for ease of consumption. The serving category includes bowls, platters, and cups.

Results

Among the 2,800 diagnostic sherds recovered from Area DD, 608 belonged to storage vessels, making up 20% of the total assemblage. Sherds belonging to processing vessels account for just over 1% of the total assemblage with 41 sherds, and cooking vessels make up a little more than 3% of the total assemblage with 100 sherds. Serving vessels occur with the most frequency within the assemblage, in total 2,051 sherds, making up almost 69% of the total assemblage (**Figure 7.6**). Despite the limited corpus available to Whiting in her analysis (see above), the trends seen in the BCHIP pottery are generally complementary to her findings. Whiting's analysis indicates that from sites in southern Jordan, storage vessels make up about 29% of the total assemblage, while cooking vessels account for about 9%, and serving vessels (including kraters) constitute about 62% (Whiting 2007: Figure 31) (**Figure 7.7**).

As discussed above, in the pottery from Busayra and the Negev, personal taste is expressed through the use of painted or decorated serving vessels. The most common painted designs are bands painted near the rim of bowls (and some jars) or concentric circles painted on the inside of a platter. The painted decorations seen on the ceramics at Busayra are local patterns with parallels primarily in Edom and the Negev (Bienkowski, Oakeshott, and Berlin 2002: 350). This dissertation has already mentioned the unusually large number of painted or decorated vessels from Busayra, and this holds true among the data collected from DD001 and DD002—where the 232 painted sherds account for 1.07% of total sherds and 8.26% of diagnostic sherds in the assemblage. Because painted wares make up such a small percentage of the total excavated sherds from Busayra and are so rare outside of Busayra, it is fair to assume that painted decorations were a mark of distinction—something that would make the pottery more desirable and therefore more expensive.

In addition to sherds that exhibit painted decoration, there were 161 fine-ware sherds,⁷⁵ which account for 5.75% of the diagnostic sherds (**Figure 7.8**). Like the painted sherds, fine-ware sherds accounted for a small percentage of the total sherds excavated by the BCHIP. However, because fine-ware sherds were more difficult to produce (since they required finely-levigated clay and a craftsman who was skilled enough to shape the often-thin vessels), they were likely more expensive to purchase and could therefore have been used as symbols of wealth. Though both the painted wares and the fine-wares were made locally and reflect local ceramic styles, they support the interpretation of Busayra as Edom's political capital, where a larger segment of the settlement's population could afford such symbols of social distinction.

The final aspect of the ceramic data from Busayra that this project discusses is the presence of Imitation Assyrian Palace Ware at Busayra. As mentioned above, much has been inferred about the existence of Assyrian influence in Edom from the use of this pottery at Busayra. The data from Buildings DD001 and DD002, however, suggest that the importance may have been overstated by past scholars. During the BCHIP's 2014 excavation of Area DD, only 16 sherds of Imitation Assyrian Palace Ware were documented, making up only 0.6% of the diagnostic sherds

⁷⁵ While the designation of a particular sherd as "fine ware" can be somewhat arbitrary, the author used comparability to the other sherds excavated from Buildings DD001 and DD002 to make the assessment. Those sherds designated as fine ware have almost no visible mineral inclusions and are generally very thin and well burnished.

(Figure 7.9).⁷⁶ This small number of sherds does not warrant the scholarly attention and weight given to the presence of this vessel form at Busayra. Unfortunately, because similar quantitative studies of this form do not exist from other sites in southwest Jordan, it is not possible to say whether this low percentage is the result of the domestic context from which the sherds were excavated, the quality of preservation of the diagnostic sherds, or whether it is actually representative of the form's presence across the settlement. Whatever the case, at this time the data suggest that imitation Assyrian vessel forms were present in Buildings DD001 and DD002, but in very small quantities.

Conclusion: Edomite Political Attachment at Busayra

The botanical, faunal, and ceramic evidence from the Iron Age excavated sites on the southern Jordanian plateau paints a picture of Edomite foodways. The limited botanical data from Area DD at Busayra highlights the extreme paucity of botanical remains, especially seeds. One explanation for the low density of botanical remains here is that these areas were intentionally kept clean. This might be expected considering that the contexts sampled from Area DD, although domestic in nature, abutted the large temple at Busayra, suggesting that the domestic structures in Area DD may have been associated with the ritual activities occurring in Building A. The sparse botanical remains from Area DD suggest that some concept of purity (see Douglas 1966) may have been associated with the domestic activities occurring in Buildings DD001 and DD002 (Farahani 2015: 3, 14).

The recovered faunal remains from domestic contexts on the southern Jordanian plateau suggest a fairly typical Levantine diet. At all settlements, domesticated sheep and goats make up the majority of recovered bones. The second most represented animal across all sites were cattle—although at Busayra they constitute the lowest percentage relative to the other animals. As suggested above, this may be the result of Busayra's elite status as the regional capita—a role that perhaps resulted in an urban population base that did not itself directly engage in agricultural activities necessitating the access to/use of draught animals. Additionally, the faunal remains indicate that the Edomite diet was mixed, and that the domesticated animals that made up the majority of the population's diet were supplemented by wild animals, which were hunted or fished.

Although a meaningful quantitative analysis of the ceramic remains from Ghrareh, Umm al-Biyara, Tawilan, and Bennett's excavations at Busayra was not possible because of the ad-hoc collection strategies used in the original excavations (which favored pieces that were either decorated or useful in the creation and publication of a ceramic typology) a general discussion of Iron Age ceramic trends on the southern Jordanian plateau highlights several important aspects of Edomite foodways. Of particular relevance is the appearance in the Beersheba Valley of vessel forms similar to those found at sites on the southern Jordanian plateau. Many of these serving vessels are painted in styles that are also well known from sites in southern Jordan; interestingly, however, they are made of local materials. This suggests that the individuals

⁷⁶ Due to the tendency of vessels with a sharp carination to break along that carination, it is impossible to judge in all cases whether or not a vessel belonged to the Bowl K type. The low count recorded here represents a liberal estimate, which accounts for the possibility that a sherd may have been a part of an Imitation Assyrian Palace Ware rim.

creating a demand for these vessels lived in Beersheba Valley, but were demonstrating a cultural connection to the settlements on the southern Jordanian plateau.

The exceptions to this are cooking pot forms that demonstrate Edomite stylistic influence. These forms use a specific clay that is found in its greatest abundance in the mountains of southern Jordan, although it is also found in limited quantity in certain areas of the Negev. Whether the individuals living in the Negev that used this type of cooking pot imported the clay from southern Jordan or acquired it from sources in the Negev, there is still a clear link between these cooking pots and those produced on the southern Jordanian plateau. This suggests that the individuals using these cooking pots in the Negev shared a cultural connection to the groups living on the plateau. Although the vast majority of storage vessels throughout the Beersheba Valley are of a type typical in Judah (Whiting 2007: 122), it is evident that a segment of the Negev's population shared a cultural attachment to the groups inhabiting the plateau. This is especially apparent considering that the vessels that containing Edomite stylistic elements are those that would perhaps affect the quality or taste of the food, or those that would be used in the most public aspect of a meal. Though the cultural connection between the Negev and Edom is obvious in the use of their ceramics, such a connection between either group and the Assyrians is not.

The newly excavated botanical, faunal, and ceramic data from Buildings DD001 and DD002 add much to our understanding of the nature of these buildings. These data support the interpretation that these buildings were in fact domestic structures. The species diversity found within the botanical and faunal assemblages reflects a mixed-diet that fits well within the context of Iron Age Levantine domestic life. Additionally, the full range of ceramic vessel forms found within the buildings—such as those associated with storage, preparation, cooking, and serving—generally fits into Whiting's functional analysis of pottery from sites in southern Jordan, most of which are associated with domestic architecture.

Certain aspects of the data, however, indicate that the function of Buildings DD001 and DD002 was not exactly like that of other domestic structures in southwest Jordan. The cleanliness of these buildings, which was discussed in Chapter Six with regard to object clustering within the buildings, is also evident in the low specimen counts associated with the botanical and faunal remains from Busayra. The most likely explanation for this is found in the structures' proximity to the Building A temple. The age and sex profiles of the sheep/goats bones excavated in Area DD, which indicate that both male and female sheep/goats were being culled at a very early age and consumed, suggests that the inhabitants living in Buildings DD001 and DD002 were benefiting from the same economic prosperity and/or sacrificial economy associated with the faunal remains from Area AA.

The comparative analysis of foodways data from excavated sites on the southern Jordanian plateau has helped to establish a general pattern of Edomite foodways, which in turn allows researchers to observe deviations from that pattern. In this regard, Busayra clearly emerges as an outlier in that the foodways data explored in this chapter supports earlier research that suggests that Busayra was the elite center of Edom. Although the food consumed at the settlement was typical of a southern Levantine diet, the data explored in this chapter suggest that Busayra's inhabitants existed well above subsistence level. Furthermore, the foodways data from Buildings

DD001 and DD002 suggest that these domestic structures were closely tied to the economic prosperity that was associated with Building A, which allowed the inhabitants of Buildings DD001 and DD002 to live above subsistence level.

Overall, the foodways data from southern Jordan helps to understand the perspective of the Edomite populace. At the sites of Ghrareh, Tawilan, and Umm al-Biyara, the faunal and ceramic vessel evidence suggests that the settlements' inhabitants consumed a typical southern Levantine diet, which reflects a lifestyle that was at or just above subsistence level. The ceramic vessels, in particular, adhere to a local tradition that reflects very little outside influence. The situation at Busayra, however, was quite different. As discussed above, the botanical and faunal evidence from that settlement suggests that the inhabitants of Busayra existed well above subsistence level. Furthermore, the presence of Imitation Assyrian Palace Ware at a higher percentage for this region does suggest that there was some degree of foreign, or perhaps even imperial, influence among Busayra's inhabitants. However, the relative frequency with which sherds of this vessel type appear in the archaeological record indicates that its prevalence has been vastly overstated by scholars. As a result, the foodways evidence supports the conclusions drawn from the household data presented in Chapter Six and suggests that the influence of the first millennium Mesopotamian empires did not directly impact the lives of the Edomite populace.

CHAPTER EIGHT – CONCLUSION

By emphasizing the agency of non-elite individuals living within imperial peripheries, this study set out to challenge the dominant way that the relationship between an imperial core and its periphery is treated within scholarship. To accomplish this goal, this dissertation explored the nature of the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Empires' political policy toward Edom using a tripartite approach that took into account the perspective of the imperial rulers, the Edomite elite, and the Edomite populace. In doing so, this project highlighted the ways in which the inhabitants of Edom may have affected imperial policy through their daily subsistence, social, and economic activities, as well as through their attachment to both local and imperial hegemonic powers.

The tripartite approach employed in this project addresses many of the issues that arise from traditional understandings of Wallerstein's core-periphery model (see Chapter Two). Wallerstein was one of the scholars who laid the foundations upon which the field of postcolonial studies was built, and his work was successful at highlighting the structural inequality between colonizers and the colonized. In doing so, however, Wallerstein described imperial peripheries in opposition to imperial cores, which painted a picture of colonized people who were weak and powerless.

Scholars studying empires of the ancient world have modified Wallerstein's model, incorporating flexibility into the core-periphery relationship in order to address the fact that many ancient empires appeared to adopt different strategies of control in different regions. An important modification was Luttvak's (1976) discussion of hegemonic (indirect) imperial control. According to Luttvak's model, an empire that ruled by hegemonic control allowed local power structures on the periphery to remain intact while using the threat of force to extract resources from the periphery in the form of tribute or taxation.⁷⁷ These models and discussions are exceedingly useful for a comparative approach, but they portray a somewhat homogenous picture of core-periphery relationships that glosses over complexity, diversity, and change.

Scholars, such as Parker (2001) and Morrison (2001), address this homogeneity by conducting detail-driven research within specific imperial peripheries, which highlights strategies used by different empires in the past. This dissertation built on the work of these scholars by pushing the study of core-periphery relationships to consider that imperial peripheries might not always be reacting to imperial rule, but that they may in many cases be influencing such rule from the bottom up through their daily activities.

The tripartite approach explores the core-periphery relationship from a neutral point. It considers evidence produced by three different groups relevant to the core-periphery relationships between Edom and two first millennium Mesopotamian empires. From an analysis of this evidence, three distinct perspectives are made clear—one of the imperial rulers, a second of the Edomite elite, and a third of the Edomite populace. By highlighting these perspectives, the project asks the reader to adopt the point-of-view of each group separately and to consider the interests of each group (as understood through the evidence produced exclusively by that group) so as to not

⁷⁷ See Hassig (1985) for a discussion of the effective employment of this strategy of imperial control by the Aztec Empire.

accord preference to the material produced by one group over another. In this conclusion, the three perspectives are woven together to present a multifaceted view of the relationship between Edom and the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Empires.

The evidence presented and analyzed in this dissertation complicates and nuances the relationship between Edom and the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Empires. This evidence indicates that the official imperial policies of both Mesopotamian empires were not written in stone; rather, these policies were flexible and able to change with shifting social, political, and economic factors in the core and/or the periphery. The rulers of both empires made careful decisions about the degree to which they would engage with their peripheral holdings, and these decisions considered the political cooperation of elites in the conquered polities and the economic, social, political, and religious realities of everyday life in the periphery.

Although each imperial ruler carefully crafted his own administrative policy with respect to the periphery, the evidence presented in Chapters Three and Four contends that there were some general characteristics that were common to both the imperial policies of the Neo-Assyrian kings from those of the Neo-Babylonian kings. The rulers of both empires were interested in profiting from their peripheries and, as discussed in Chapter Two, the most economical way to extract the resources of an imperial periphery was to maintain hegemonic (indirect) control over the territory. Chapters Three and Four demonstrated that in the Southern Levant, indirect control appears to have been the preferred means of controlling imperial territory for both Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian rulers, since it was generally the first method attempted. This method of peripheral management requires a threat of force that must first be established through a demonstration of military might, such as the military campaigns carried out in the Southern Levant by Tiglath-pileser III in the late eighth century B.C.E. and by Nebuchadnezzar II in the early sixth century B.C.E.

After the initial show of force, the army may withdraw, leaving the local political and economic structures intact so that the imperial rulers may skim off the top of the periphery's economic prosperity without having to invest additional resources. This strategy worked to varying degrees for the Neo-Assyrian rulers, as appears to have been the case in Edom. Also implicit in this approach to peripheral management, is an imperial acknowledgement of the effectiveness of local economic structures. The mere fact that the imperial rulers would prefer to stand back and collect tribute without becoming directly involved in a polity's economic production suggests that the indigenous economic system was working well enough for the imperial ruler to see in it a potential revenue source that did not need to be altered in order to be profitable.

In many Neo-Assyrian territories, however, continued military opposition to the empire resulted in military retribution on the part of the empire, and in some cases, full incorporation of the polity into the empire as a province. Although it was far more expensive to administer an imperial province than it was to oversee a client kingdom, this allowed the empire total control over the political and economic affairs of the province. As argued in D'Altroy's (1992) study of the Inka Empire, it also provided a larger financial payout from the territory.

One of the biggest differences between the peripheral administration of the Neo-Assyrian rulers and those of the Neo-Babylonian Empire is seen in the way that they managed their provinces

once they were incorporated into the empire. Once a major urban center was destroyed by the Neo-Assyrian army, that center was then rebuilt in a manner determined by the new Assyrian administrators—as seen at the settlement of Megiddo. The Neo-Assyrian rulers were planning for the long-term sustainability of their empire, and this can be seen not only in the economic investment that they made in their peripheries, but also in their deportation and resettlement policies. The Neo-Assyrian rulers mixed deportees in both the core and in other conquered territories so that these deportees might contribute their skilled and unskilled labor to the betterment of the entire empire. As discussed in Chapter Four, the Neo-Babylonian rulers, however, settled most of the individuals deported from conquered territories within isolated communities in southern Mesopotamia, restricting their talents to the benefit of the imperial core.

With regards to Edom, the Neo-Assyrian rulers and the early Neo-Babylonian rulers elected to leave Edom as a politically autonomous client kingdom. This indicates that Edom was a relatively loyal client, and that the kingdom fulfilled the requirements of whatever treaties may have existed between the kingdom and the imperial rulers of both empires. This remained the case, that is, until the reign of Nabonidus, who campaigned through Edom and destroyed the kingdom's largest urban center and likely capital, Busayra.

This project emphasized that a class of Edomite elites with whom both empires could communicate was necessary for the realization of the imperial goals of both the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian rulers with regard to Edom. As discussed in Chapter Five, imperial rulers face specific challenges when incorporating territories characterized by segmented or tribal social systems, which often results in the development of new forms of political leadership so that these societies may effectively engage and interact with the imperial rulers.

In Edom, the elites maintained a fragile hold on their own political power. As a means of expressing their power and status to both their imperial liaisons as well as their peers, Edom's elite were able to draw on new forms of elite expression that existed beyond the scope of their polity's local traditions. The character of the material remains excavated primarily from Busayra, but also from Tawilan and Umm al-Biyara, further indicates that this strategy took local materials and products that were unique to southern Jordan and blended into them broader Levantine and even Assyrian symbols of power and authority, such as the imitation Assyrian Palace Ware discussed in Chapter Seven.

The available archaeological evidence from Iron Age southern Jordan demonstrates that Busayra is the only settlement in the region with the monumental architecture typically associated with elites of this period. Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter Five, that architecture exhibits a style and layout that is clearly derived from examples seen in northern Mesopotamia, and in neighboring kingdoms where Mesopotamian style was used to communicate power and prestige. This monumental architecture, in association with references in the Hebrew Bible, suggests that Busayra was the official capital of Edom.

The geographical limits of Busayra's institutional power, however, likely did not extend throughout the entirety of southern Jordan. In fact, there are other settlements further south, such as Tawilan and Ghareh, which may have served as smaller centers of local power, restricting Busayra's influence to the northern, most agriculturally viable part of the southern Jordanian

plateau. Circumscribed as the power of Busayra's elites may have been, it did place them within a larger class of Levantine elites who were trying to maintain and grow their own power while caught between the demands of an imperial overlord on one side and a potentially riotous populace on the other. The careful way in which the Edomite elites navigated their political position and negotiated with the imperial rulers on behalf of their kingdom would have played an essential role in determining the nature of Edom's relationship with the Mesopotamian empires.

Finally, this project highlighted the role of the Edomite populace—the individuals who had not yet been considered as historical agents in the determination of the nature of Edom's relationship with the Mesopotamian empires. The household data in Chapter Six and the foodways data in Chapter Seven suggest that the individuals that made up the Edomite populace were active participants in the regional economic, religious, political, and social systems. The evidence further suggests that Edomite individuals were successful in adapting to changing systems. Centuries prior to Neo-Assyria's first campaigns in the Southern Levant, the inhabitants of southern Jordan were involved with industrially-scaled copper production. Beginning at the end of the ninth century, however, there is a hundred-year break in the production of copper in Faynan (Ben-Yosef 2010: 984), and it is during that hiatus that individuals turned to both agricultural production on the Jordanian plateau and to the facilitation of trade in aromatics through the Beersheba Valley.

Traditionally, this shift in settlement patterns has been seen as the result of direct Neo-Assyrian intervention in Edom (Bartlett 1989; Bennett 1982; Bienkowski and van der Steen 2001; Hart 1989; Knauf 1992). This, however, need not be the case, and the evidence for local initiative is greater than that for imperial intervention. Smith and Levy (2008) argue that there is a close link between the ceramic vessels used by those living and/or working at the large copper production center of Khirbet en-Nahas during the ninth and tenth centuries B.C.E. and the Edomite vessels used by individuals living at Busayra and across the southern Jordanian plateau beginning in the eighth century B.C.E. Therefore, this shift in settlement indicates that when the regional demand for copper from Faynan began to decline, the individuals engaged in the copper production were able to adapt to the changing economy. Some of these individuals likely used their knowledge of regional trade routes and networks to help develop the final legs of the Arabian aromatic trade, and these individuals appear to have settled in cities throughout the Beersheba Valley. Others took advantage of the limited agricultural potential of the northern part of the southern Jordanian plateau as well as the security offered them by a class of elites that were themselves taking advantage of new political and social opportunities.

The social, political, and economic systems required to manage the large-scale production of copper did not simply disappear with the demand for Faynan's copper. Rather, these systems—and the individuals that were a part of them—demonstrated their adaptability to a changing economic and political environment. Of course, the expanding Neo-Assyrian Empire was a major player in this changing environment. The role the empire played in generating economic demands for certain products as well as providing a degree of political stability that could be advantageous to the Edomites (both the general populace and the elites) should not be understated. This is not to say, however, that the Neo-Assyrian Empire implemented these changes from the top down; rather, their political and economic involvement in the Southern Levant stimulated changes in local economic and political systems that were already in place.

The household archaeological and foodways data from Edom, analyzed in Chapters Six and Seven, contends that daily life in Edom was not driven by imperial influences. An analysis of the architectural layouts; small finds; and the faunal, botanical, and ceramic data from Edomite domestic structures indicates that daily life within Edomite households was quite typical of settlements throughout the Southern Levant, and it does not reflect imperial influence (with the exception of the small number of Assyrian Imitation Palace Ware vessels fragments, although even those were made over in a style unique to the kingdoms of Iron Age Jordan). Additionally, the newly excavated botanical, faunal, and ceramic data from Buildings DD001 and DD002 at Busayra add to our understanding of domestic economy within the settlement. The species diversity found within the botanical and faunal assemblages reflects a mixed-diet that fits well within the context of Iron Age Levantine domestic economies. Additionally, the full range of ceramic vessel forms found within the buildings is generally similar to the assemblages from other settlements in southern Jordan, most of which are associated with domestic architecture.

Certain aspects of the evidence examined from Buildings DD001 and DD002 does, however, strongly indicate that the domestic economy associated with these buildings was intimately tied to the local administration at Busayra. For example, the extreme cleanliness that is evident in the low specimen counts from the botanical and faunal remains from Busayra (as well as in an almost complete lack of small finds) suggests that Buildings DD001 and DD002 were kept intentionally clean because of their connection to the temple in Area A. Additionally, the age and sex profiles of the sheep/goats excavated in Area DD, which indicated that both male and female sheep/goats were being consumed and that they were being culled at a very early age, suggests that the inhabitants living in Buildings DD001 and DD002 were benefiting from the same economic prosperity and/or sacrificial economy associated with the faunal remains from the Building A temple at Busayra.

Although the communities living in houses throughout southwest Jordan do not appear to have adopted any aspects of Assyrian culture, it is fair to say that the Edomite populace living on the southern Jordanian plateau, although not directly affected by the Assyrian Empire, did benefit indirectly from the peace and stability allowed by Neo-Assyrian policies that encouraged the economic growth and development of the Arabian trade, sometimes referred to as the *pax Assyriaca* (see Chapter Three). The *pax Assyriaca* allowed the Edomite populace to pursue their own economic growth, which can be seen across the southern Jordanian plateau, far beyond the immediate reach of Busayra, and throughout the Beersheba Valley as well.

This period of prosperity in southern Jordan continued throughout most of the Neo-Babylonian period as well. This prosperity came to an end with Nabonidus's campaign through Edom during the late 550s B.C.E. More evidence is still needed to determine for certain that Nabonidus's campaign brought to an end the large-scale Edomite settlement at Busayra and perhaps other sites on the Jordanian plateau as well. This theory does appear likely, however, when one considers the two C14 dates from the BCHP's Area DD, which date the terminal occupation layer in that building to pre-550 B.C.E. If Nabonidus's campaign did in fact lead to the large-scale abandonment of the Jordanian plateau, then it would be safe to acknowledge that the provincial policy of the last Neo-Babylonian king had a profound and structuring effect on the

daily lives of the Edomite populace residing at Busayra and other sites on the southern Jordanian plateau.

Ultimately, the evidence explored in this dissertation highlights the effectiveness of a tripartite approach in understanding a core-periphery imperial relationship. In the case of Edom and the Mesopotamian empires, it is quite clear that neither the Neo-Assyrian nor the Neo-Babylonian imperial rulers were solely responsible for dictating the terms of the empires' relationships with Edom. Nor were the Edomites merely reacting to imperial decree. The relationship between Edom and both empires was complex and multi-faceted. In their initial decision to annex Edom as a tribute-bearing polity, the Neo-Assyrian rulers must have seen in that territory something of economic or political value. The Edomite elite, with whom the Assyrian rulers officially communicated, influenced imperial policy by remaining loyal client kings of Assyria and then later Babylonia, and in doing so, helped the kingdom escape (until the reign of Nabonidus) the military retribution seen in the polities neighboring Edom to the west, namely the Philistine city-states and Judah.

The Edomite elites, however, were only able to fulfill their obligations to the imperial rulers because the individuals making up the Edomite populace chose to participate in the economic activities that brought revenue to the small kingdom. Here the cyclical nature of the core-periphery relationship becomes clear, and it illuminates the inadequacies of a simple top-down approach for understanding core-periphery relationships. The settlement of the southern Jordanian plateau by some members of the Edomite populace as well as the migration by others to sites in the Beersheba Valley highlights the resilience of the Edomite populace to adapt to regional economic and political changes. Ultimately the economic success of the Edomite populace benefited the individuals themselves, but it also benefited the Edomite elites, who used the wealth to increase their own status in addition to making tribute payments to the imperial rulers—who in turn allowed Edom to maintain its political and economic autonomy, benefitting again the Edomite populace.

This project brought a new group of historical actors into the discussion of the core periphery relationship between Edom and the first millennium Mesopotamian empires. As is often the case in archaeological research, the results are not always exactly what the researcher initially anticipated. The foodways evidence from the newly excavated houses at Busayra indicates that the households that inhabited those structures occupied a higher status in Edom (in that they lived considerably above subsistence level). While the architectural layout of these houses was similar to other domestic structures in southern Jordan, the types of food consumed in the houses and the vessels on which that food was served were more in line with what someone might expect from an elite segment of Edomite society. While the individuals living in the houses were certainly not members of the ruling elite discussed in Chapter Five, their close ties to that elite society clearly affected their relative wealth. Additionally, the houses excavated in Area DD were physically adjacent to Busayra's temple, suggesting perhaps that those houses were actually connected to the temple in some way. Therefore, where the foodways patterns observed in Area DD representative of general foodways practices at Busayra? Because Bennett's excavations at that settlement did not employ a systematic collection of any material associated with foodways, the data collected by her team can be used only to point to the most general trends. More high-resolution sampling must be carried out at Busayra in order to address this question.

Furthermore, additional sampling must be carried out at other sites on the southern Jordanian plateau in order to determine whether the foodways practices taking place at Busayra were characteristic of foodways practices throughout Edom. One might expect that because Busayra was the regional capital the settlement's population as a whole was wealthier than the population at other settlements on the plateau (the faunal evidence presented in Chapter Seven supports this suggestion). The comparatively low percentage of cow bones found by both excavations at Busayra suggests that the city's inhabitants were not as reliant on draught animals as were the inhabitants of other settlements on the plateau. Again, however, this discussion is limited by the sampling strategies used at Ghrareh, Umm al-Biyara, and Tawilan. Hopefully, future excavations in southwest Jordan will produce evidence that could further contribute to this conversation.

The tripartite approach to understanding core-periphery relationships could certainly be used to explore other core-periphery relationships. When applying this approach, however, it is necessary to consider the number of different social groups discernible within a peripheral society. As mentioned in Chapter One, the nature of the sources available from Edom only allow for a distinction between elites and the populace. To reiterate, this division should not suggest that Edomite society was not far more complicated, but only that the available sources do not permit the creation of additional analytical categories at this time. If more written sources or other types of material were available, it might be possible to explore the perspective of more narrowly defined groups, such as women, a religious elite, or elite families living outside of Busayra. In such a case, the tripartite approach would be a quadripartite approach or a quintapartite approach. Regardless of the number of perspectives being explored, the important aspect of the approach is that equal analytical weight be accorded to the evidence produced by each group.

The overall conclusions reached in this dissertation concerning the relationship between Edom and the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Empires should be considered when exploring other Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian peripheries, especially those in the Southern Levant. These conclusions have highlighted the importance of considering the agency of a polity's general populace, and an approach similar to the one taken in this project could be applied to the other polities that make up the peripheries of the Mesopotamian empires.

This project did not, however, create a model designed to accommodate all core-periphery relationships. This project has suggested that such models are useful for comparative purposes and can serve as platforms on which to begin building nuanced understandings. However, when one is trying to understand the nature of one specific core-periphery relationship, models obscure nuance and complexity. Therefore, even when considering Edom's closest neighboring polities—the Arab tribes, Judah, and the Philistine city-states—the conclusions reached within the scope of this project cannot be simply extended to these polities. Rather, the different historical perspectives of the various groups living in these polities must be individually teased out, paying close attention to the unique social, political, economic, and religious circumstances unique to each polity.

The elucidation of the three perspectives explored in this project argues that political relationships are almost always more complicated than they appear in historical documents.

Furthermore, this project stressed that the frequent omission of average individuals from written sources should not invalidate the historical role played by these individuals. As is the case with Edom and the first millennium B.C.E. Mesopotamian empires, there are ways to understand those underrepresented historical perspectives if the time is taken to look beyond traditional sources and interpretations.

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APPENDIX 1 – FIGURES

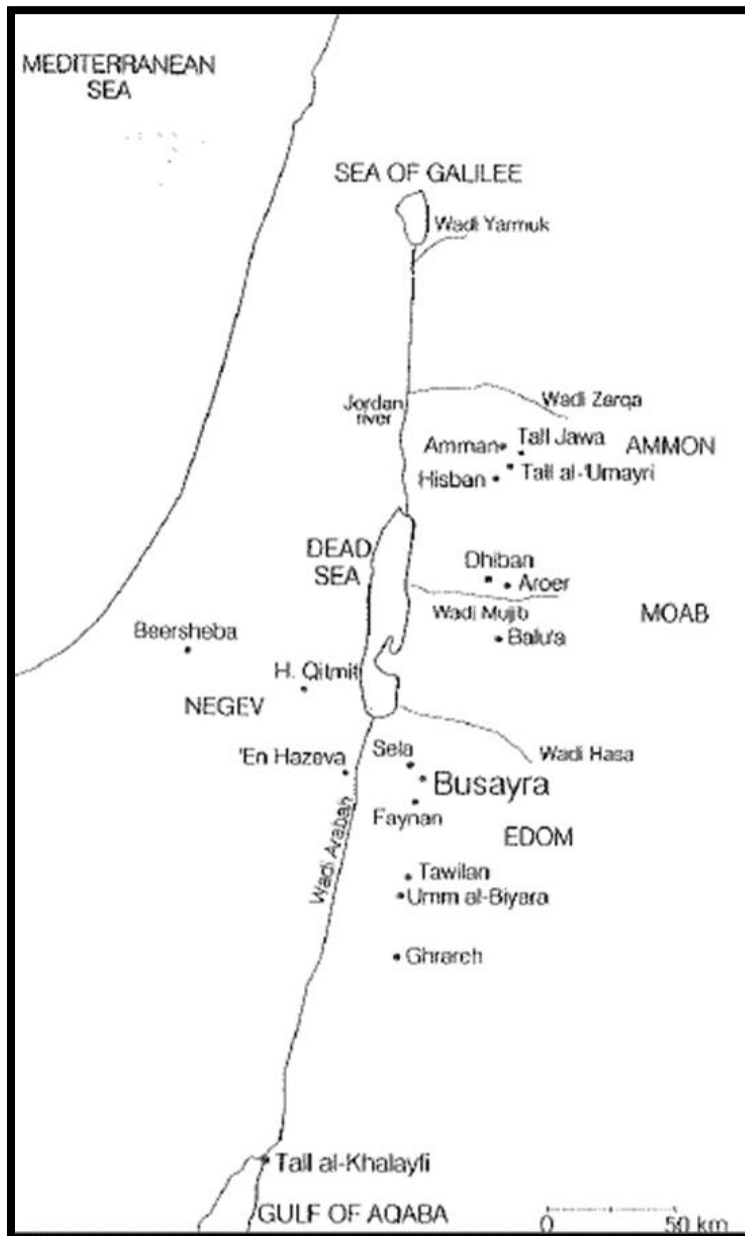


Figure 1.1 – Map of Southern Jordan and Israel
(Bienkowski 2002: 37)

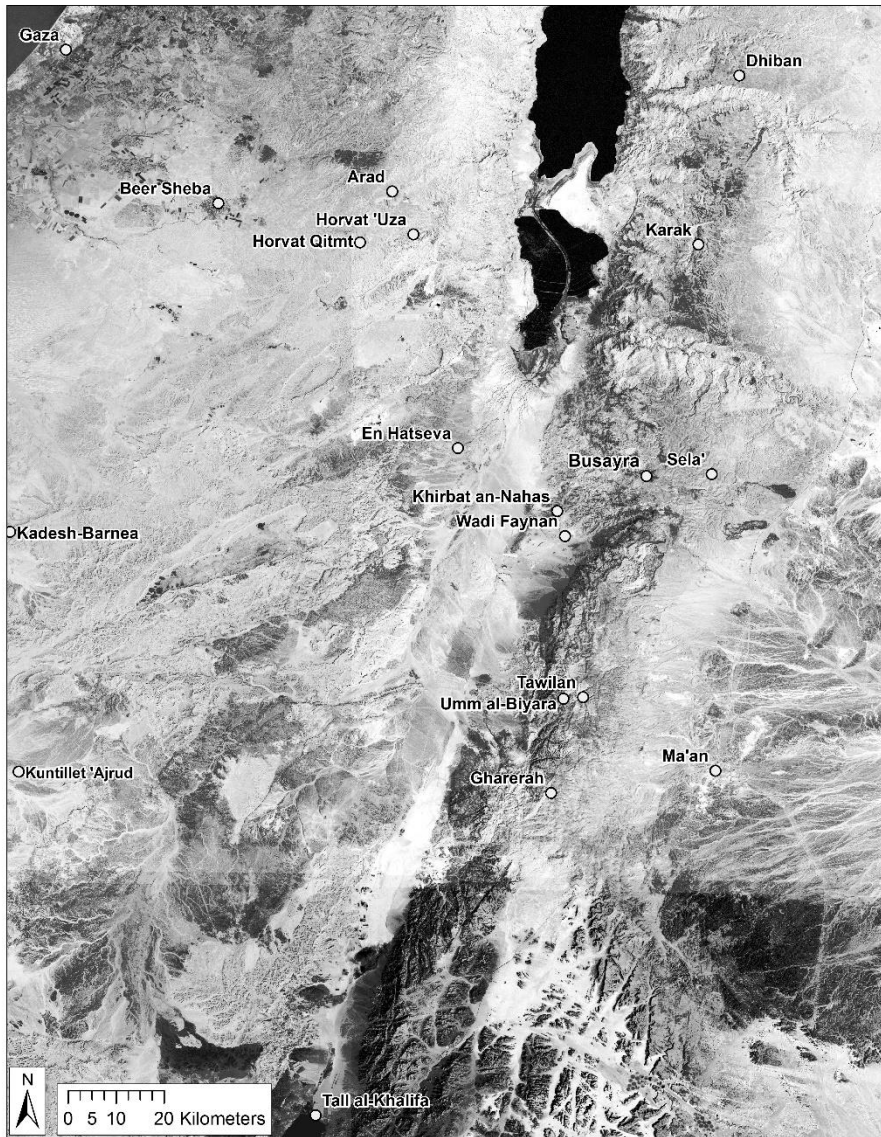


Figure 1.2 – Map of Southern Jordan and the Negev
(Image created by A. Wilson)

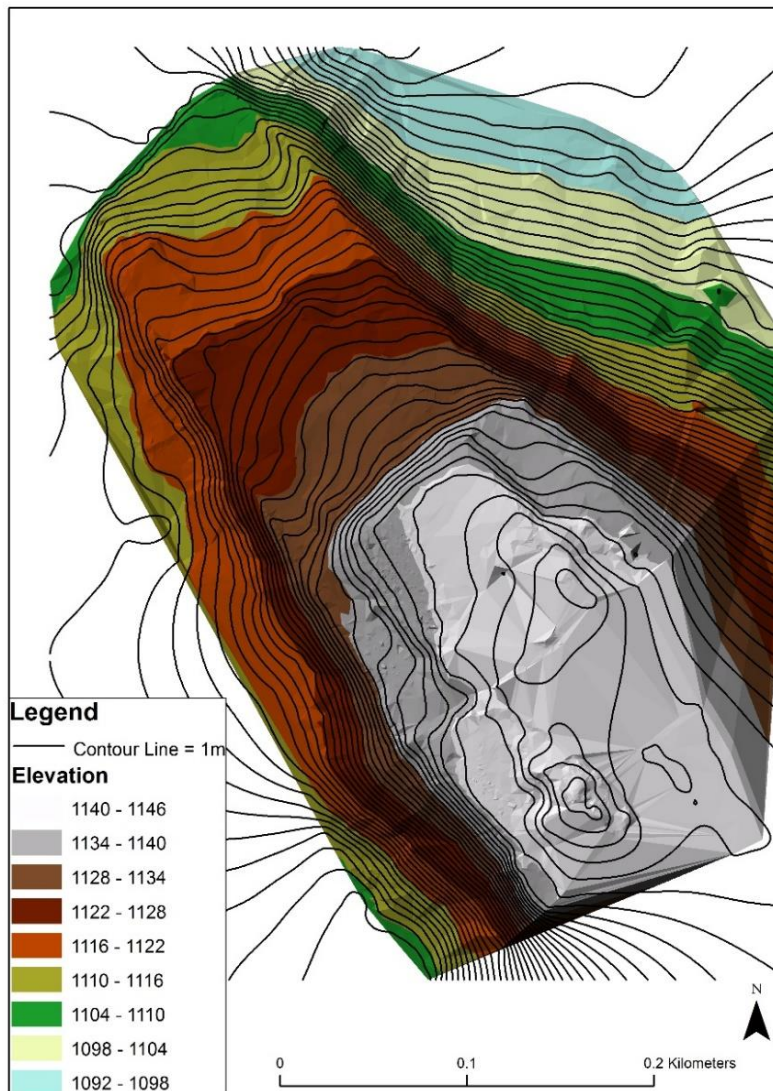


Figure 1.3 – Topographical Map of Busayra
(Image created by S. Brown)

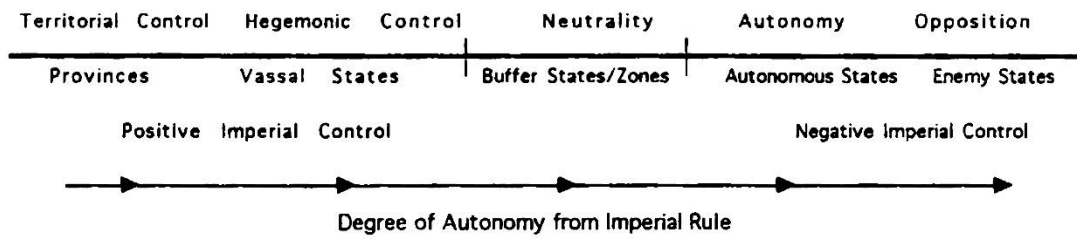


Figure 2.1 – Parker's expanded version of D'Altroy's territorial-hegemonic continuum (Parker 2001: 254)

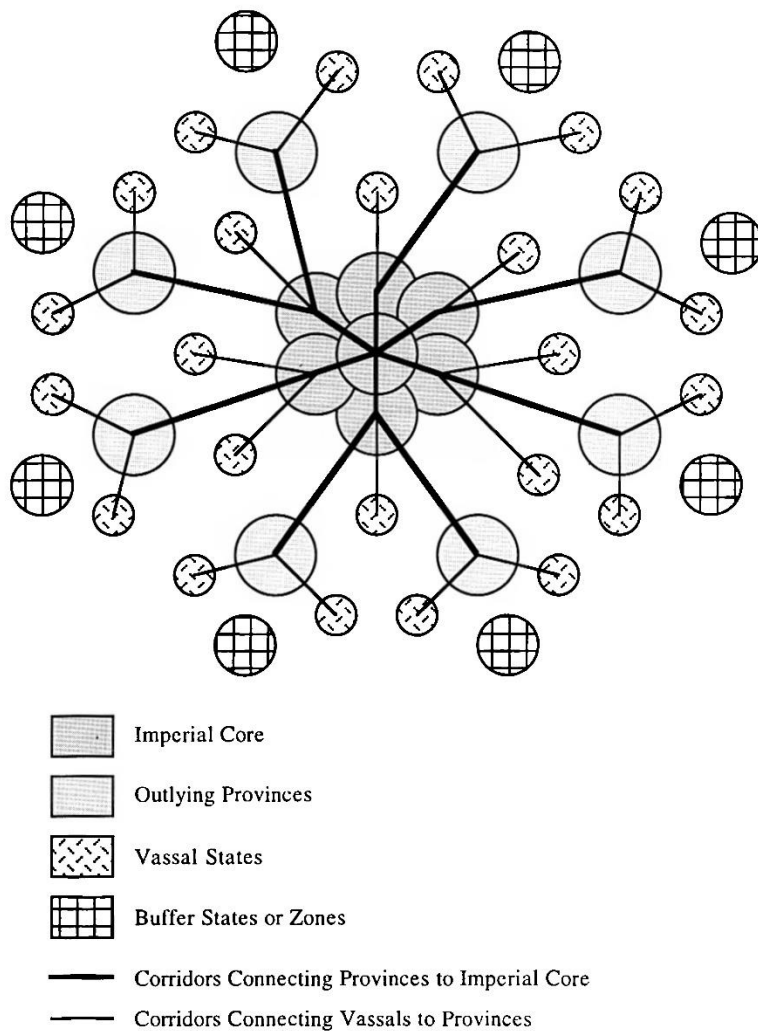


Figure 2.2 – Parker's model of Neo-Assyrian Provincial Administration (Parker 2001: 257)



Figure 3.1 – Image of the Transportation of Lumber from the Phoenician Coast to Assyria (Louvre, Slab 19889)



Figure 4.1 – The Sela Relief of Nabonidus
(Corbett 2012)



Figure 5.1 – Excavated Areas at Busayra
(Image created by S. Brown, courtesy of APAAME; image: APAAME_20141019_RHB-0257)

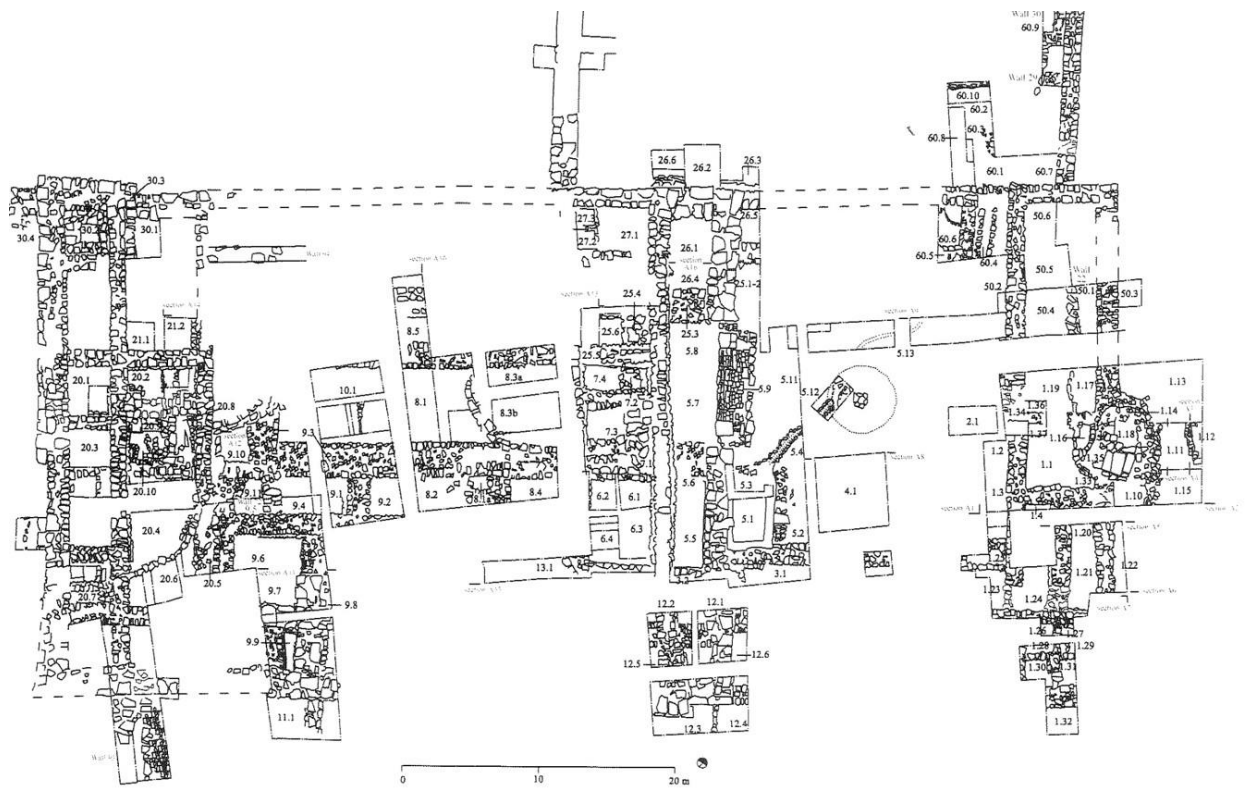


Figure 5.2 – The Area A Building at Busayra
(Bienkowski 2002: Fig. 4.1)



Figure 5.3 – Reconstruction of the Iron Age grain kitchen excavated in Area A's monumental building
(Image created by C. Morse)

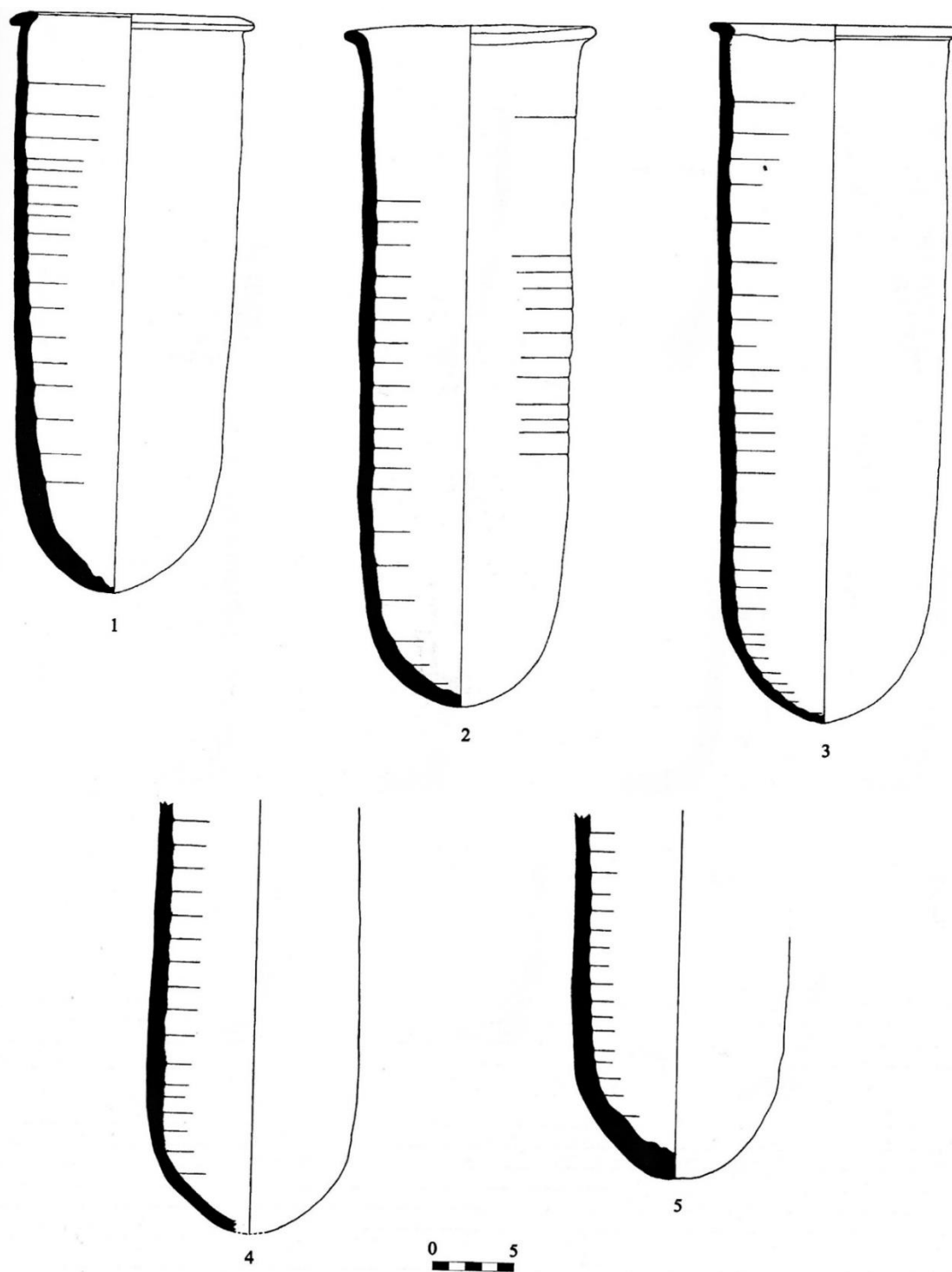


Figure 5.4 – Oakeshott's Jar E
(Bienkowski, Oakeshott, and Berlin 2002: Fig. 9.47)

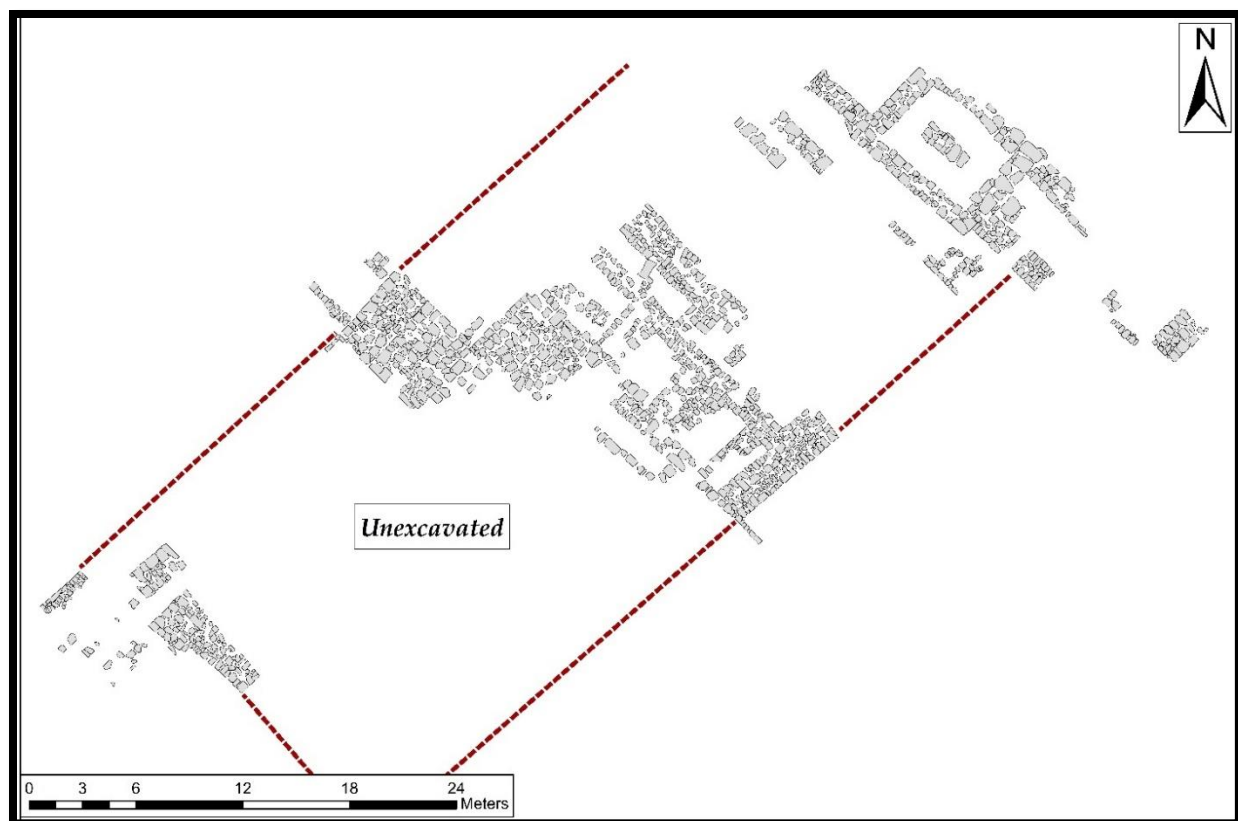


Figure 5.5 – The Area C Palace at Busayra
(Image created by A. Wilson)

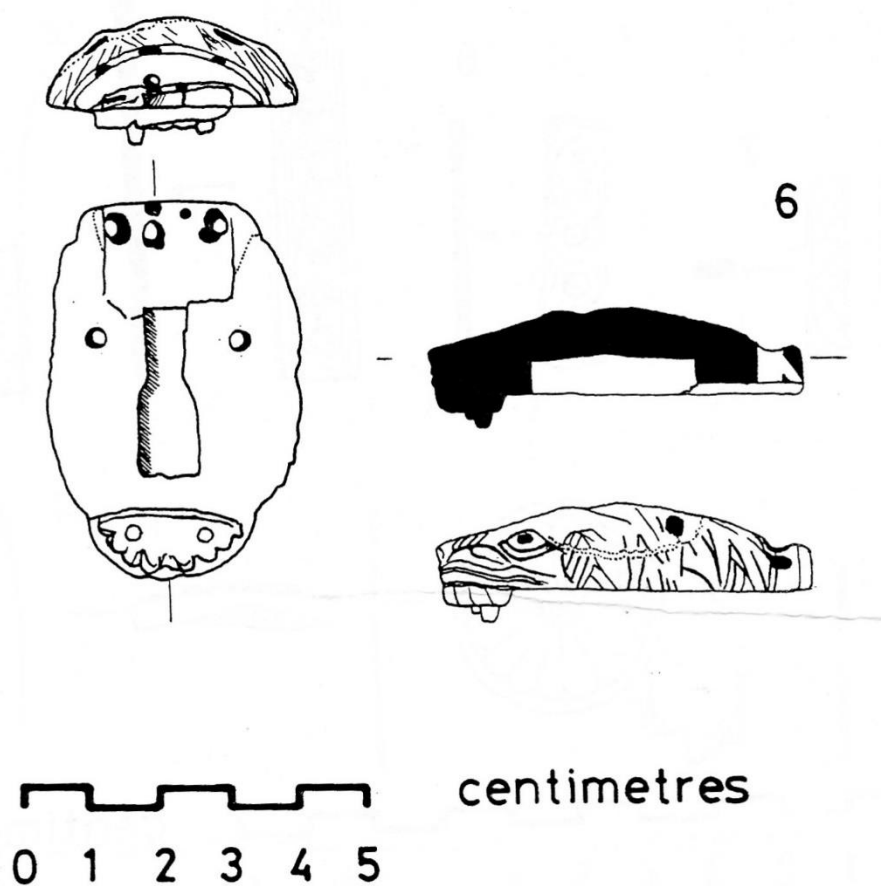


Figure 5.6 – Carved Ivory Lion Head from Tawilan
(Bennett and Bienkowski 1995: Fig. 9.13:6)

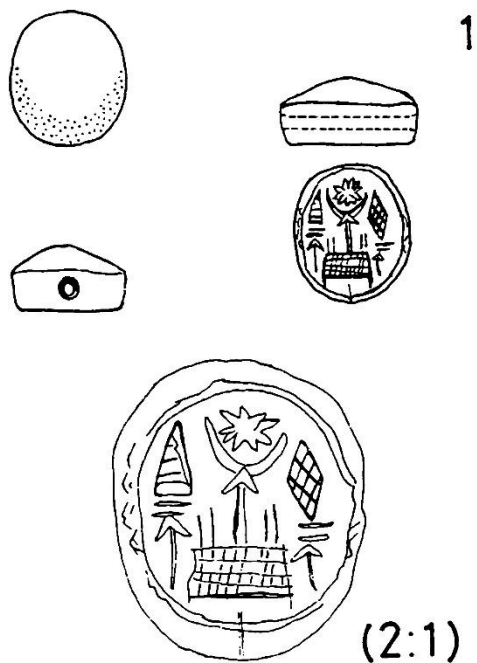


Figure 5.7 – Stone Scaraboid seal from Tawilan
(Bennett and Bienkowski 1995: 79, Fig. 9.1:1)

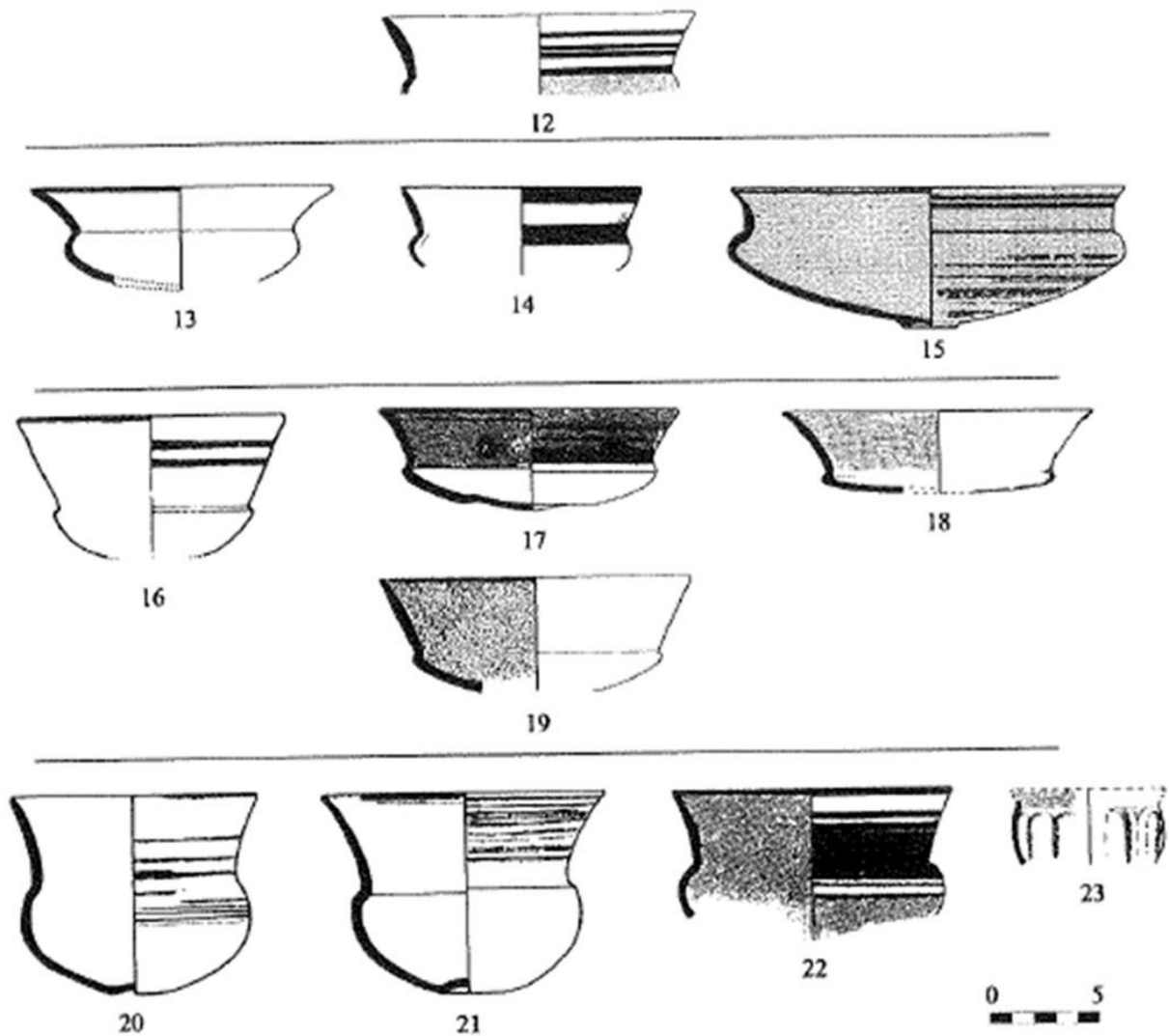


Figure 5.8 – Oakeshott's Bowl K
(Bienkowski, Oakeshott, and Berlin 2002: Fig. 9.26)

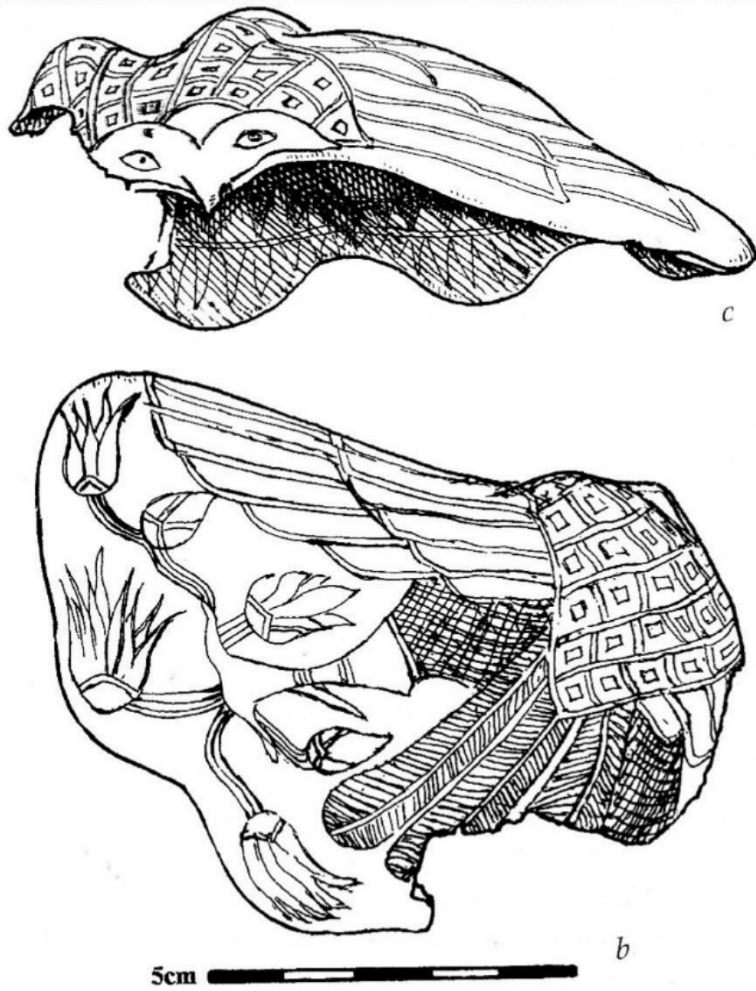


Figure 5.9 – Carved Tridacna Shell from Busayra
(Reese, McNamara, and Sease 2002: Fig. 12.33)

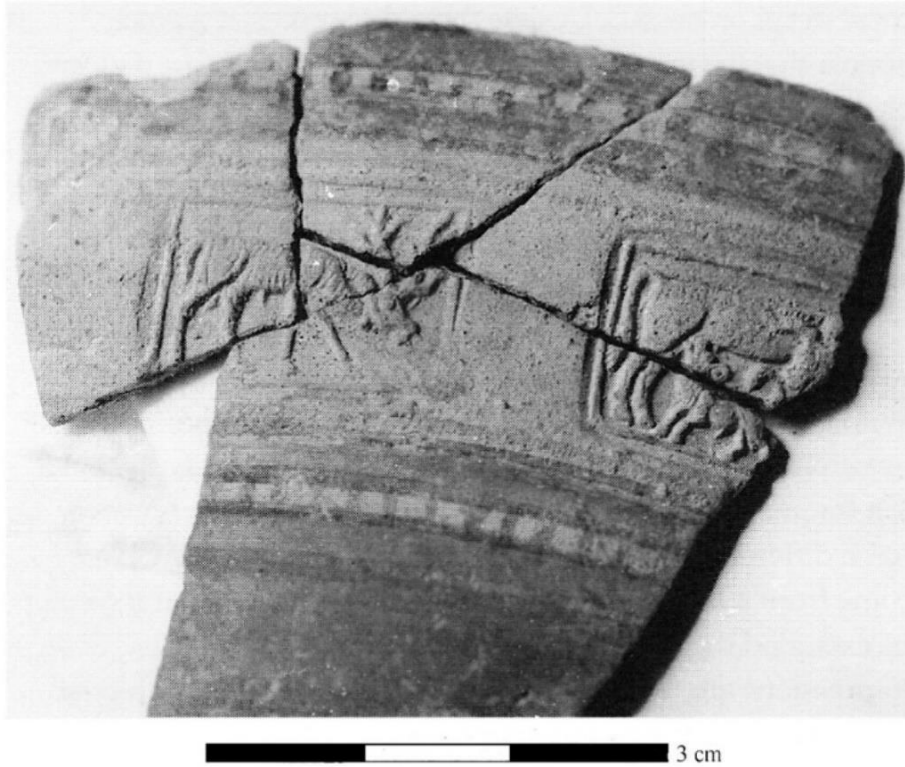


Figure 5.10 – Impressed Sherd from Busayra 1
(Sedman 2002: Pl. 10.1)



Figure 5.11 – Impressed Sherd from Busayra 2
(Sedman 2002: Pl. 10.2)

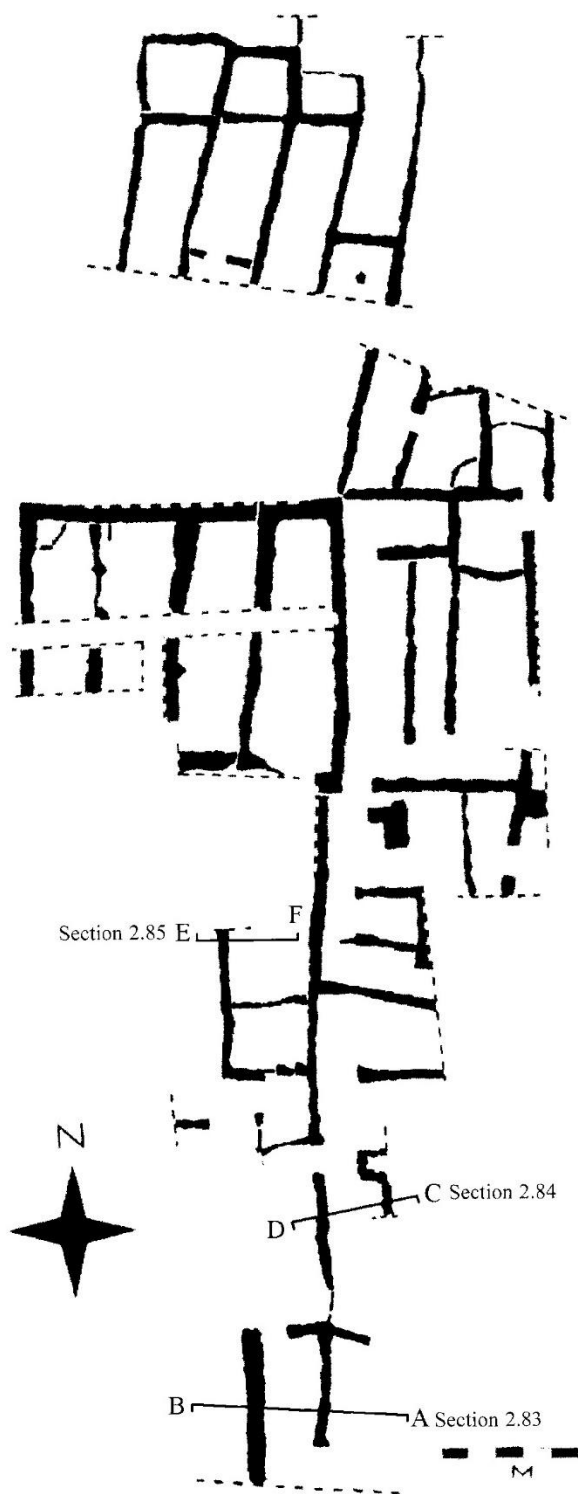


Figure 6.1 – Domestic Structures at Umm al-Biyara
(Baxter 2011b: 46)

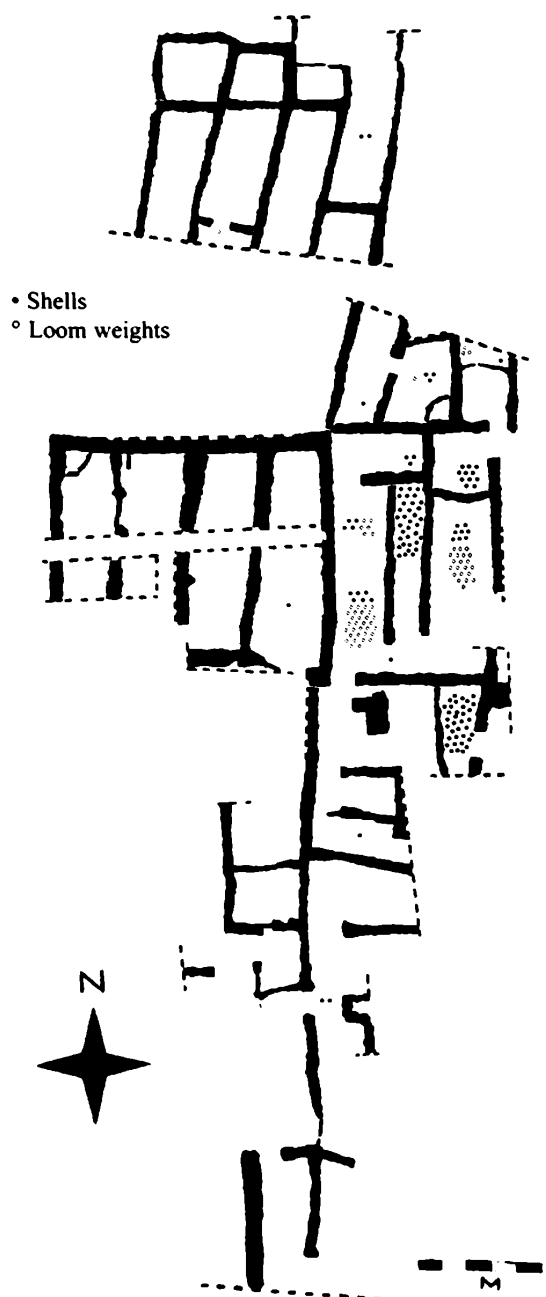


Figure 6.2 – Distribution of Loom Weights and Shells in the Domestic Structures at Umm al-Biyara
(Baxter 2011b: 51)

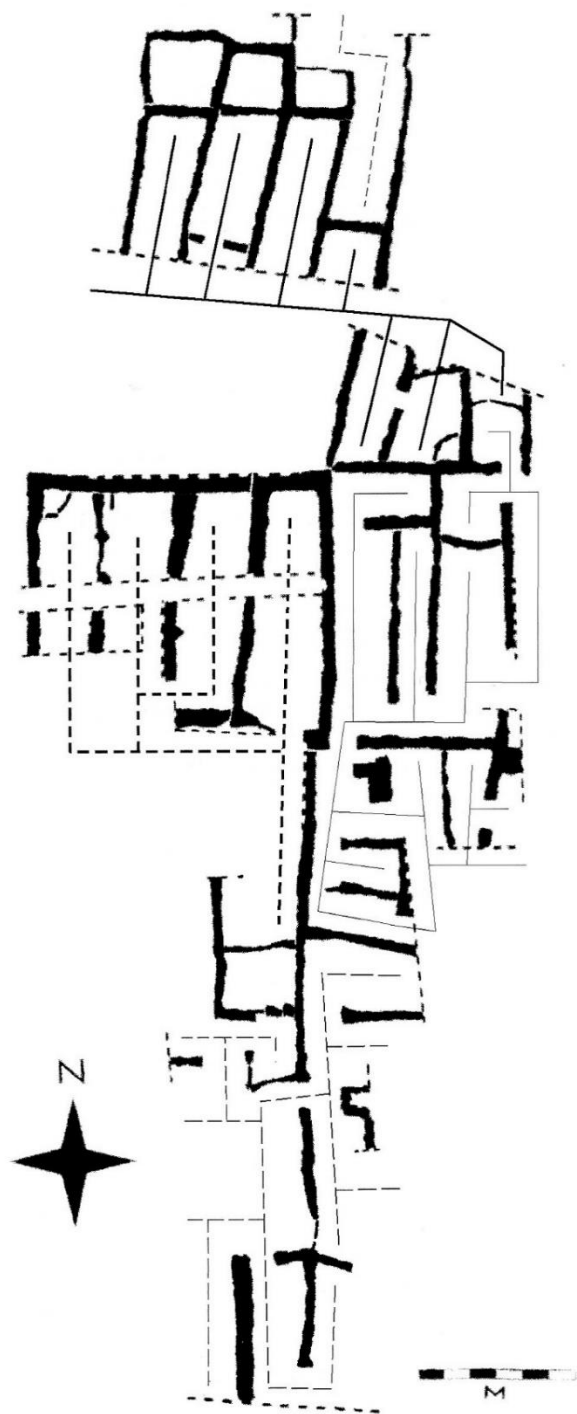


Figure 6.3 – Routes of Movement through the Domestic Structures at Umm al-Biyara (Baxter 2011b: 50)

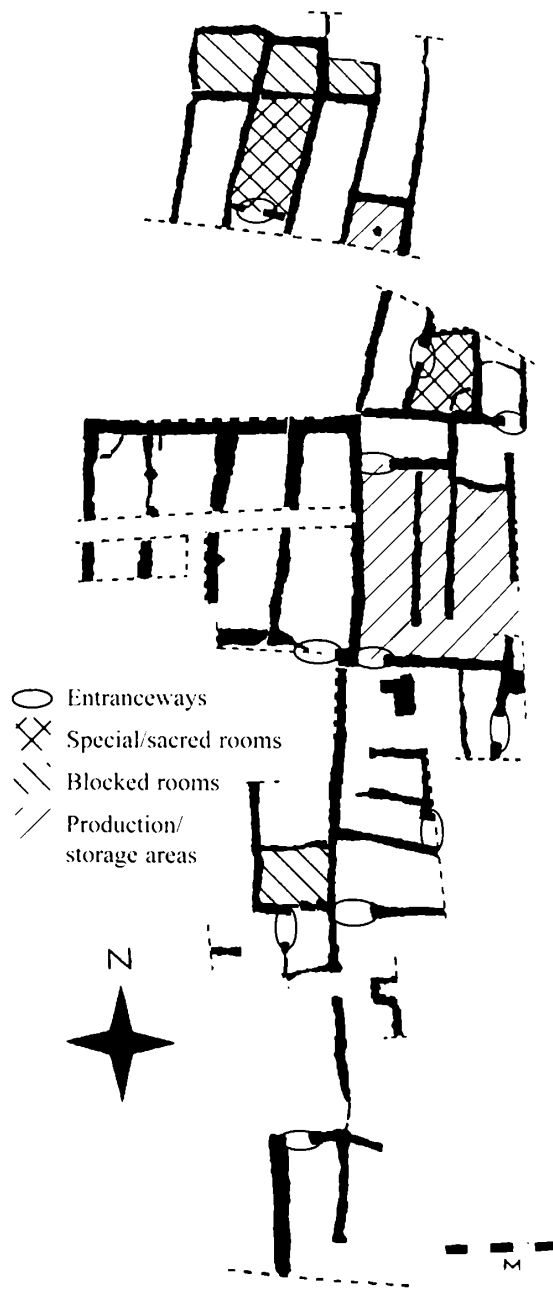


Figure 6.4 – Possible Uses of Space within the Domestic Structures at Umm al-Biyara (Baxter 2011b: 54)

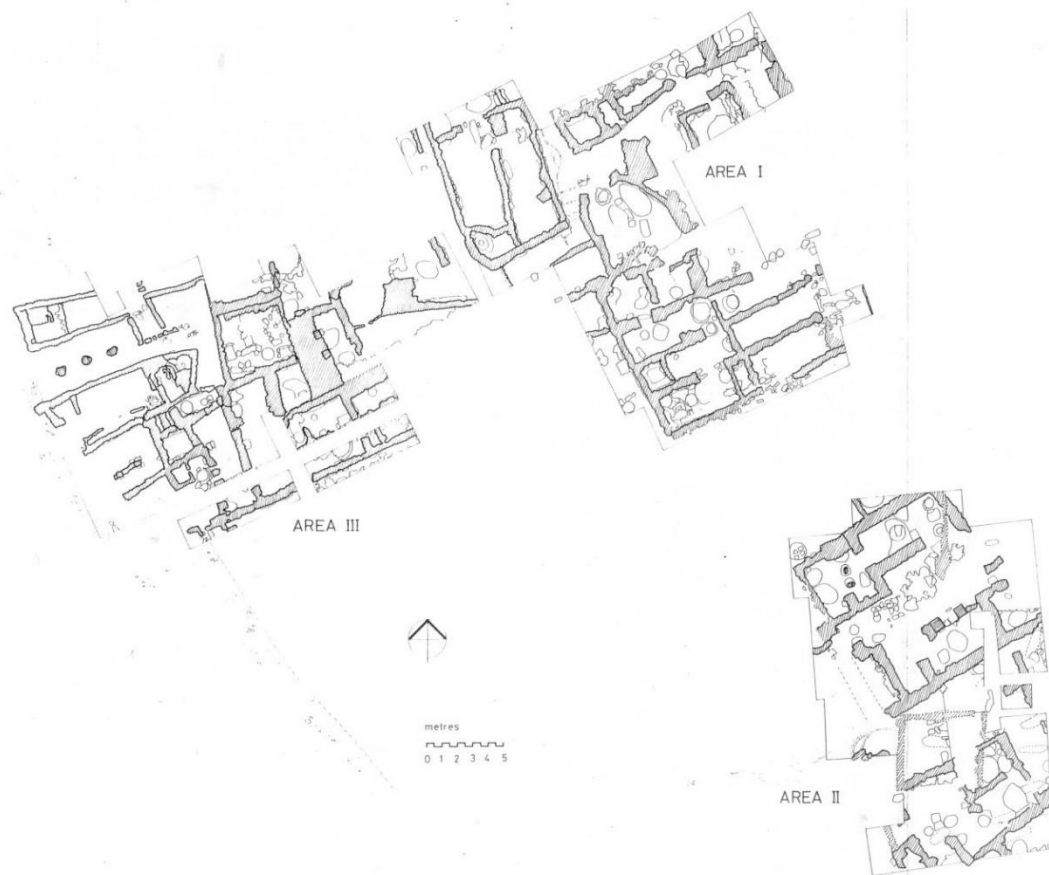


Figure 6.6 – Areas I, II, and III at Tawilan
(Image Created by Rachel Regelein from Bennett and Bienkowski 1995: Fig 12.1)

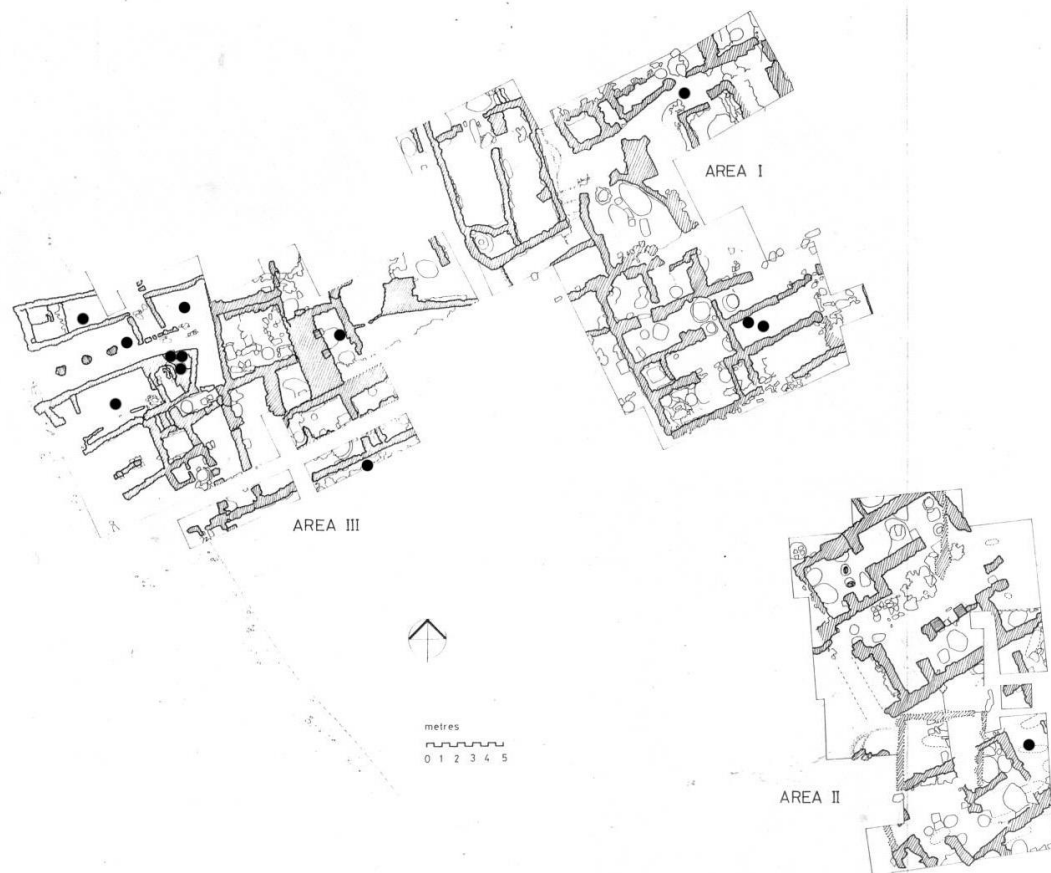


Figure 6.8 – Distribution of Figurines at Tawilan
(Image Created by Rachel Regelein from Bennett and Bienkowski 1995: Fig 12.1)

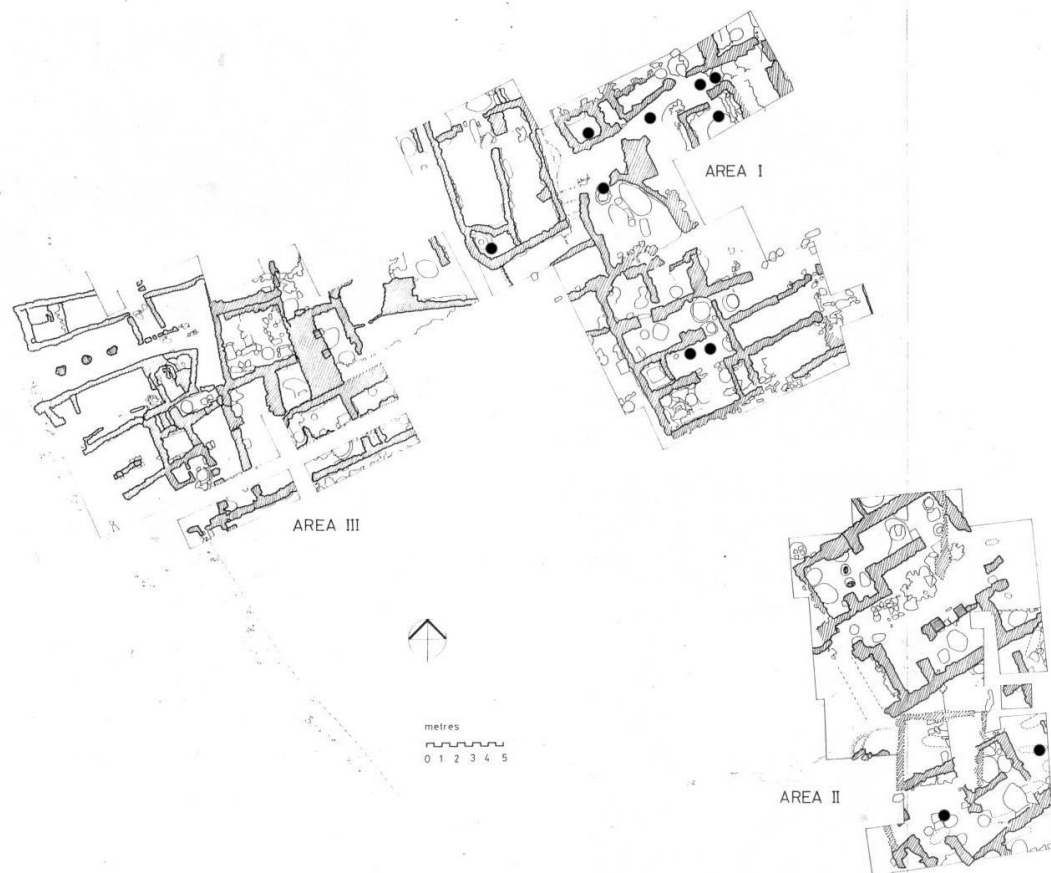


Figure 6.9 – Distribution of Pestles and Grinding Querns at Tawilan
(Image Created by Rachel Regelein from Bennett and Bienkowski 1995: Fig 12.1)

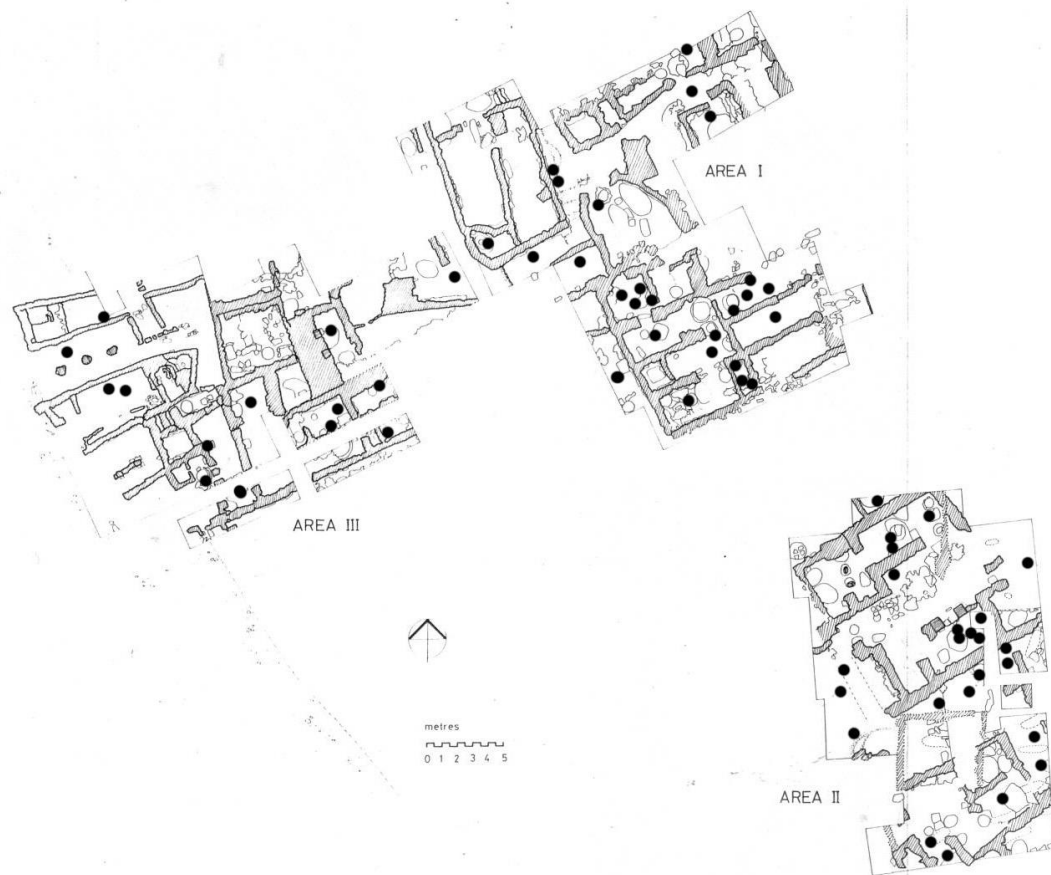


Figure 6.10 – Distribution of Spindle Whorls, Spatulas, and Loomweights at Tawilan
(Image Created by Rachel Regelein from Bennett and Bienkowski 1995: Fig 12.1)

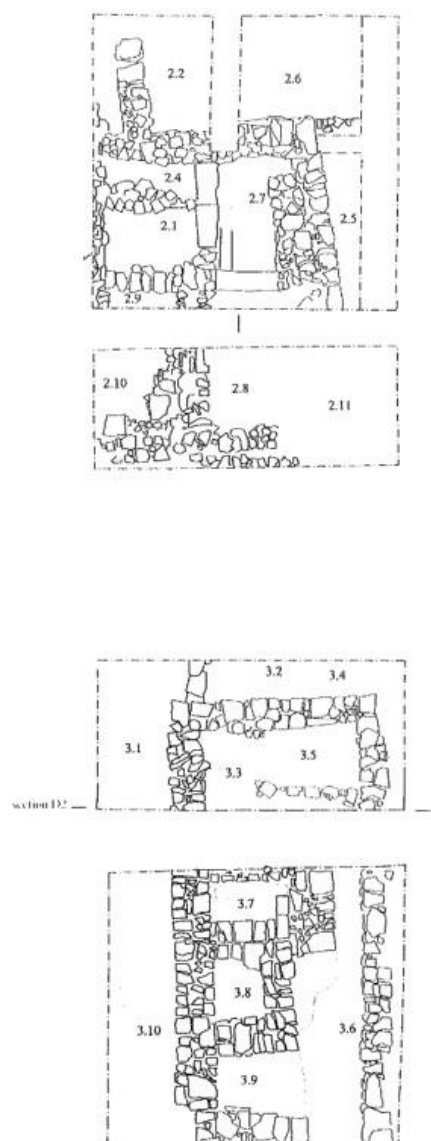


Figure 6.12 – Area D at Busayra
(Bienkowski 2002: Fig. 7.2)

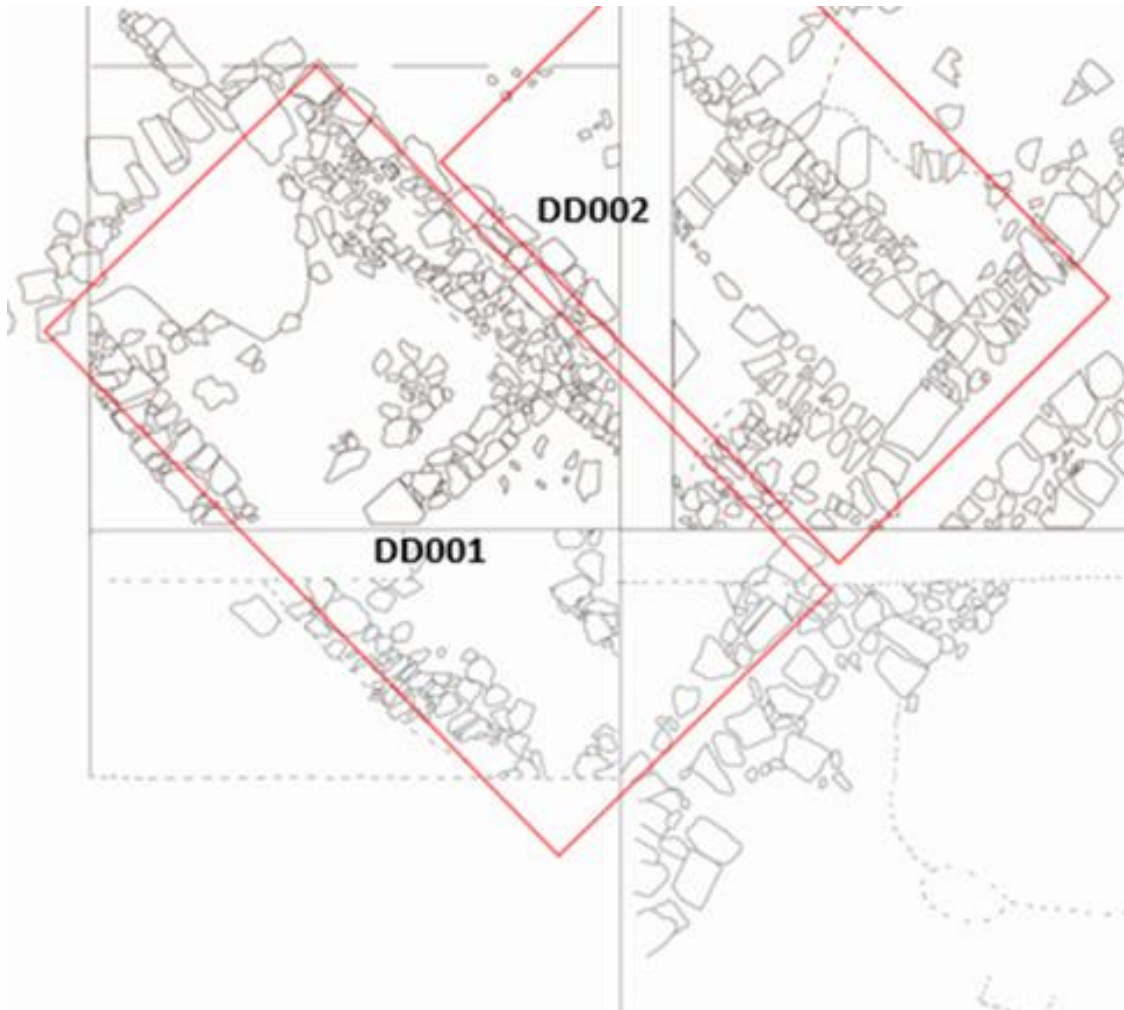


Figure 6.13 – Buildings DD001 and DD002
(Image created by Rachel Regelein)



Figure 6.14 – Hearth in Building DD001
(Photo by E. Nelson)

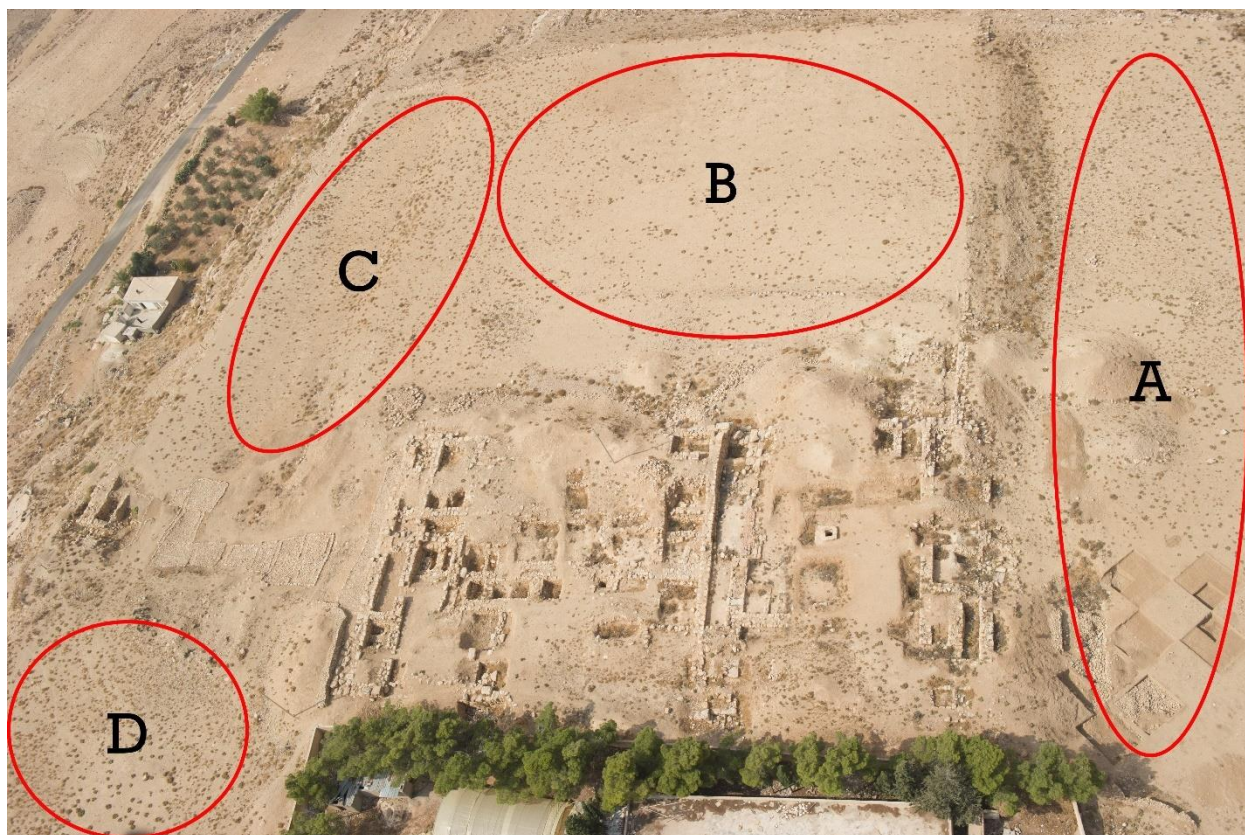


Figure 6.15 – Busayra looking east denoting Geophysical Survey Areas A-D
(Image created by Stephanie Brown, Courtesy of APAAME)



Figure 6.16 – Magnetometry data from Survey Area B at Busayra
(Image created by Katie Simon, Courtesy of APAAME)



Figure 6.17 – Magnetometry data from Survey Area A at Busayra
(Image created by Katie Simon, Courtesy of APAAME)

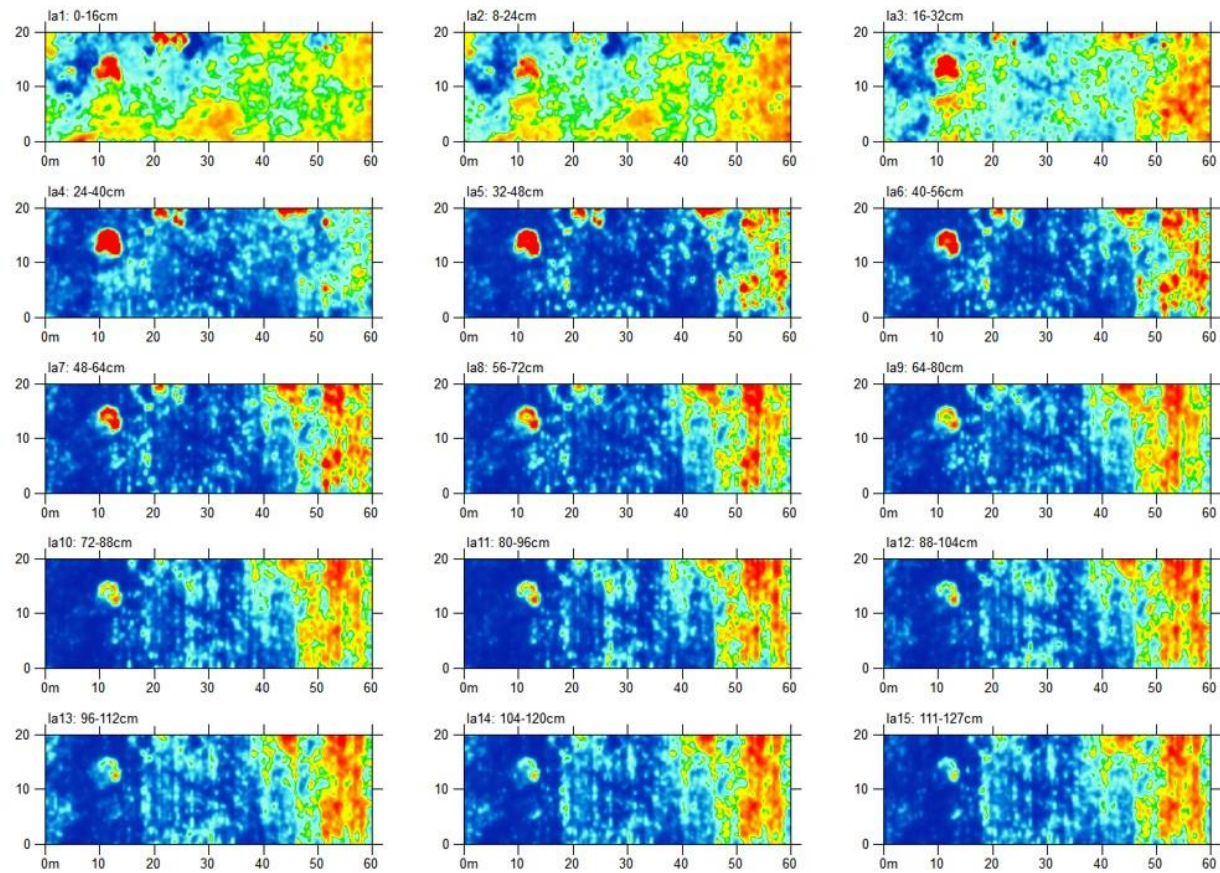


Figure 6.18 – GPR data from Survey Area A at Busayra
(Image created by Katie Simon)



Figure 6.19 – Magnetometry data from Survey Area C at Busayra
(Image created by Katie Simon, Courtesy of APAAME)

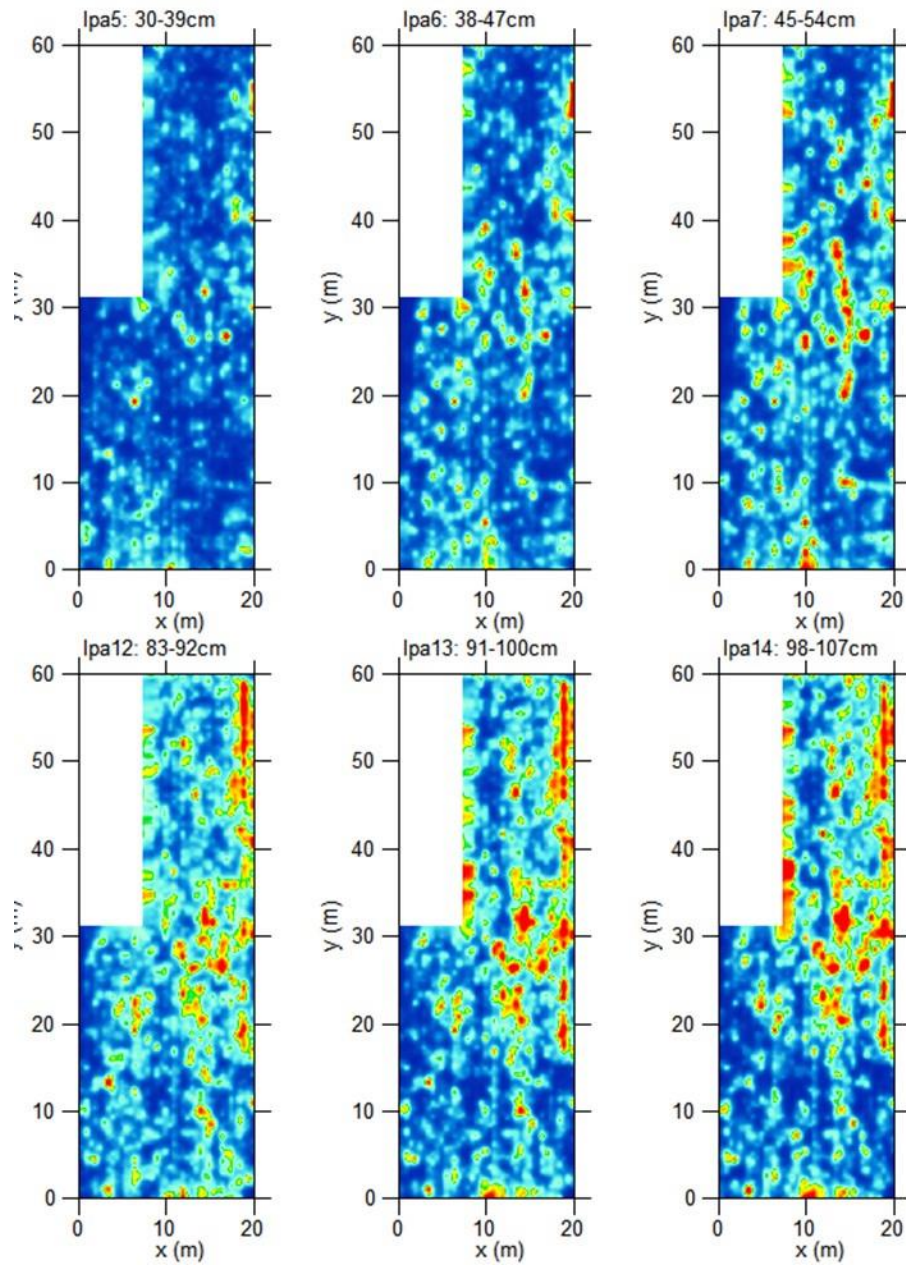


Figure 6.20 – GPR data from Survey Area C at Busayra
(Image created by Katie Simon)



Figure 6.21 – Magnetometry data from Survey Area D at Busayra
(Image created by Katie Simon, Courtesy of APAAME)

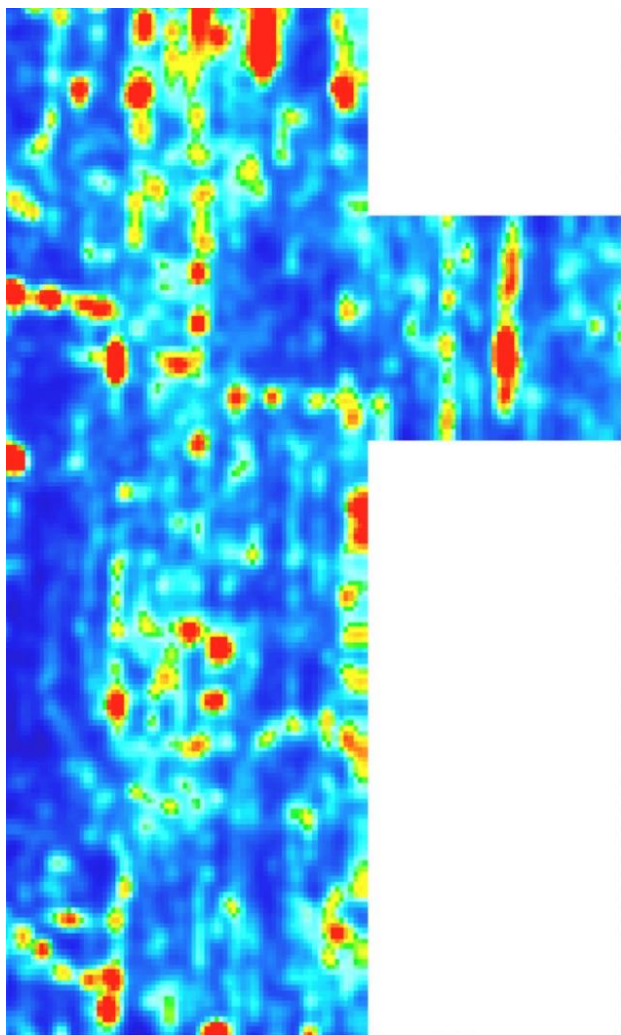


Figure 6.22 – GPR data from Survey Area D at Busayra
(Image created by Katie Simon)

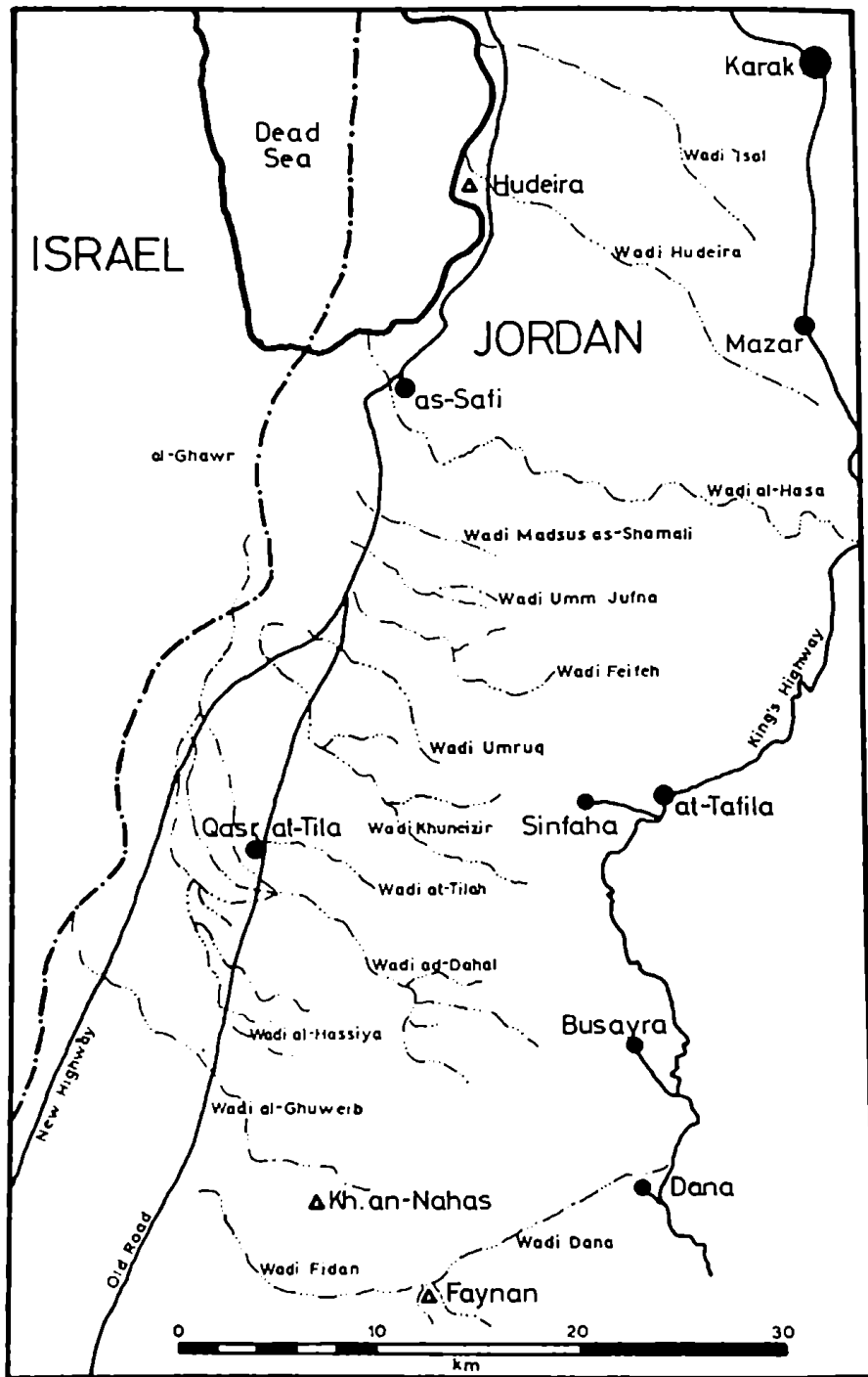


Figure 7.1 – Map of Southwest Jordan Showing the Wadis that Connect the Southern Jordanian Plateau and the Wadi Arabah
(MacDonald 2006: 76)

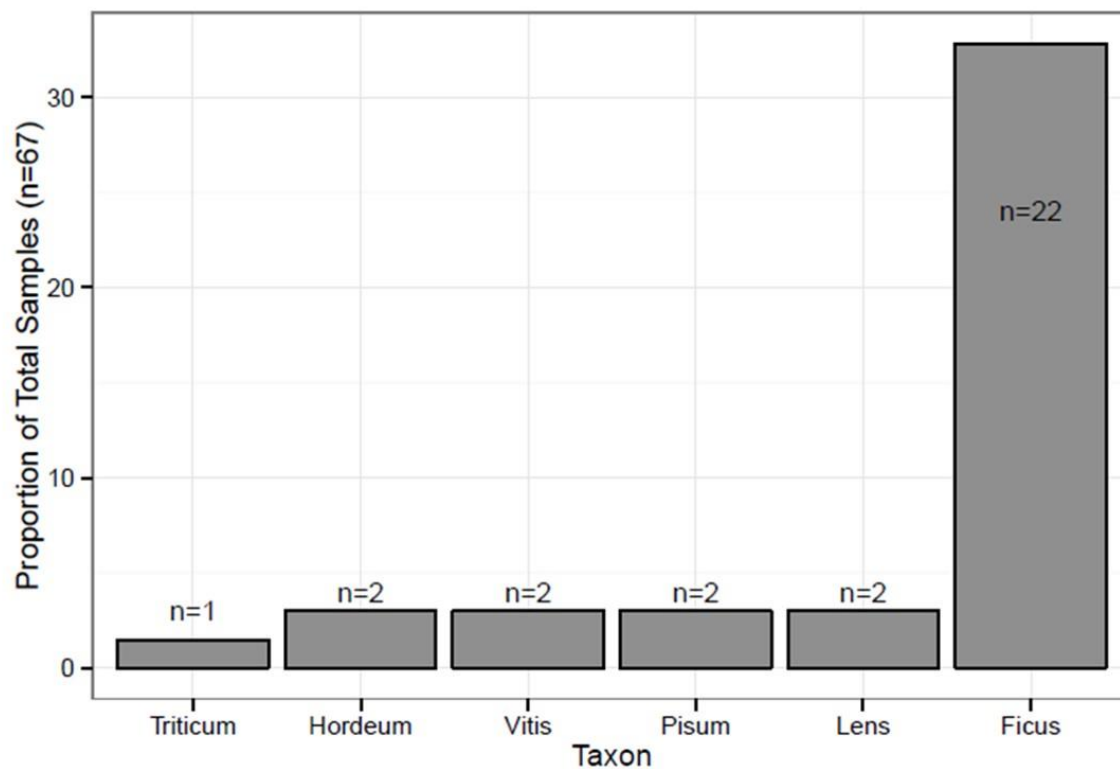


Figure 7.2 – Total Counts and Relative Percentages of Botanical Taxa Analyzed from the BCHIP's 2014 Excavation Season at Busayra (Farahani 2015: 5)

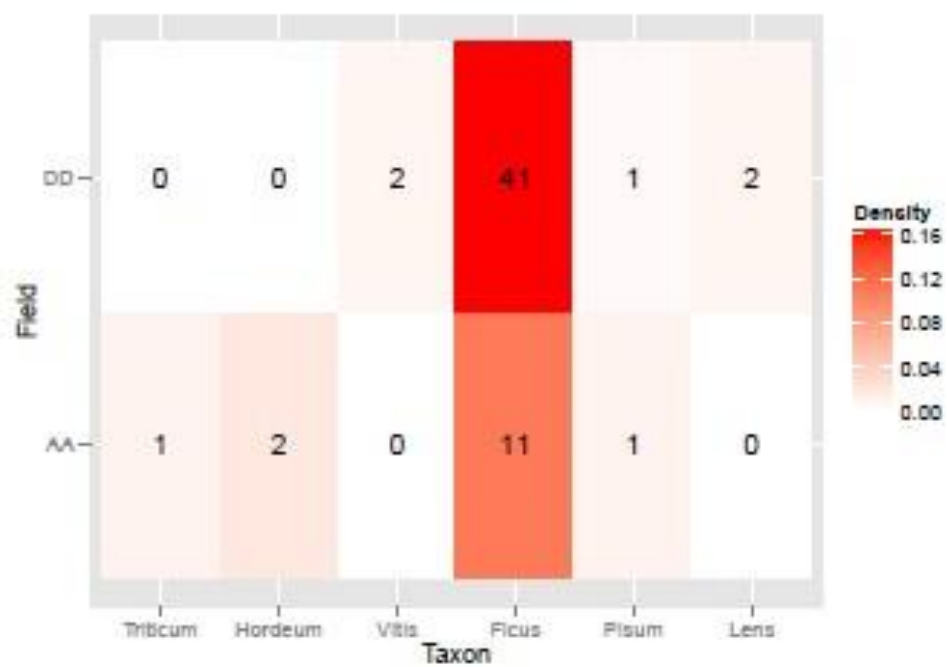


Figure 7.3 – Relative Density of Botanical Taxa by Excavation Area from the BCHIP’s 2014 Excavation Season at Busayra (Farahani 2015: 7)



Figure 7.4 – Distribution of Botanical Taxa from Area DD at Busayra (Farahani 2015: 8)

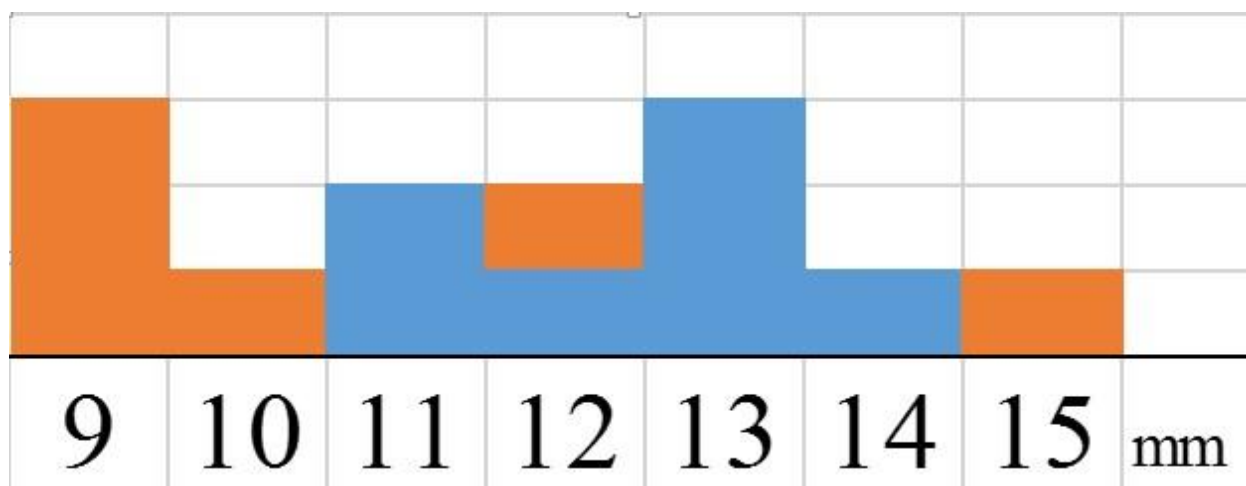


Figure 7.5 – Distribution of Phalanges 1 and 2 Breadth Proximal Measurements for Field DD. Orange represents unfused (juvenile) specimens; Blue represents fused (mature) specimens. (Lev-Tov 2015)

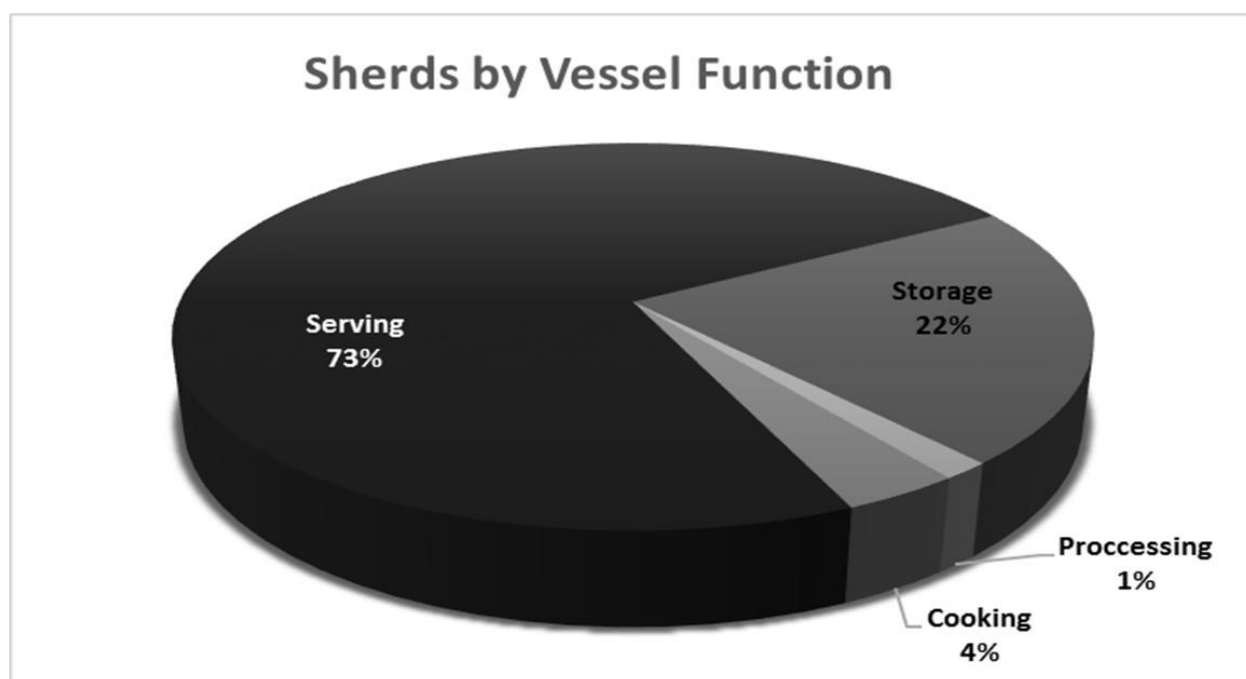


Figure 7.6 – Vessel Categories as a Percentage of the Total Assemblage from Area DD at Busayra
(Image created by Rachel Regelein)

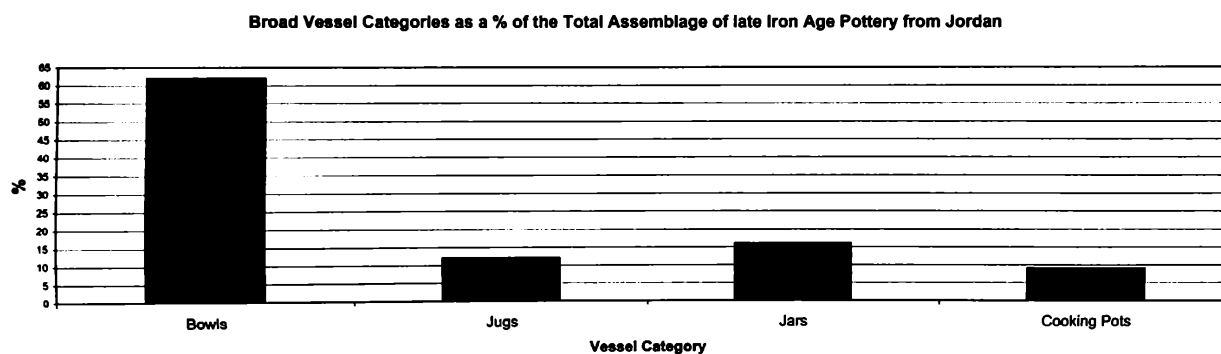


Figure 7.7 – Vessel Categories as a Percentage of the Total Assemblage of Late Iron Age Pottery Found in Southern Jordan
(Whiting 2007: Fig. 31)

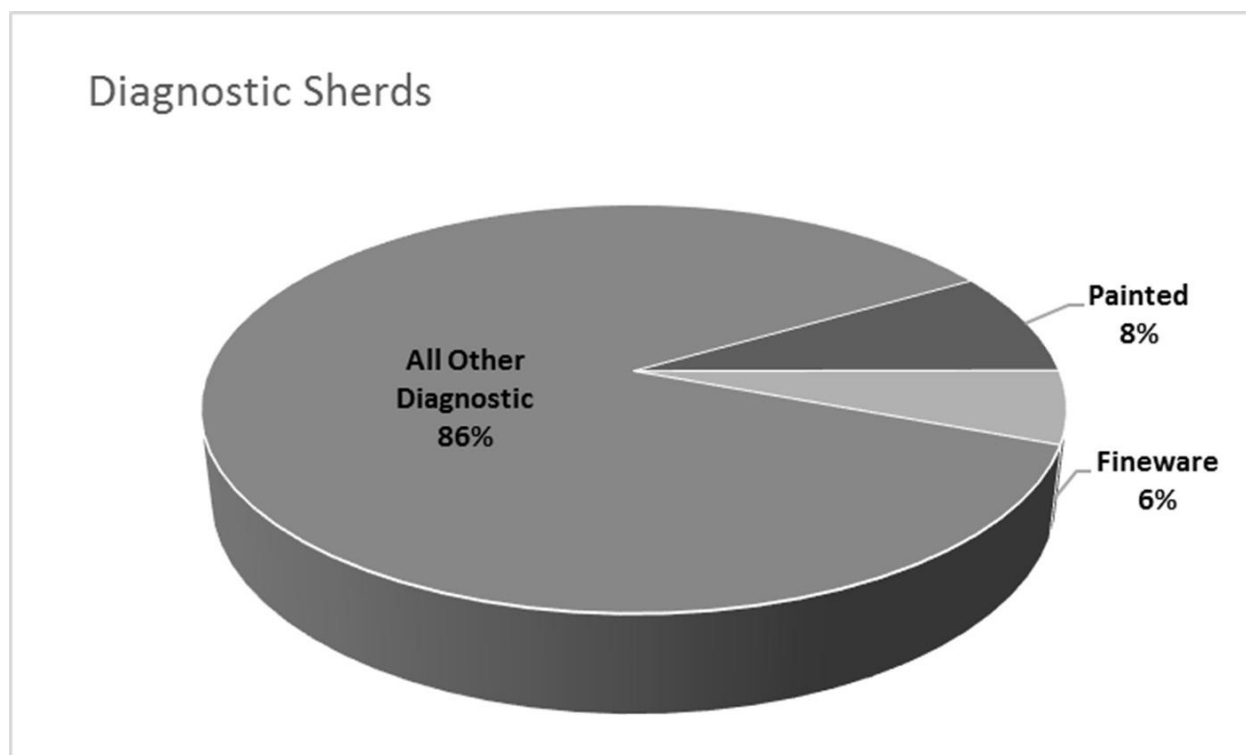


Figure 7.8 – Percentage of Painted and Fine-ware Sherds from Area DD at Busayra
(Image created by Rachel Regelein)

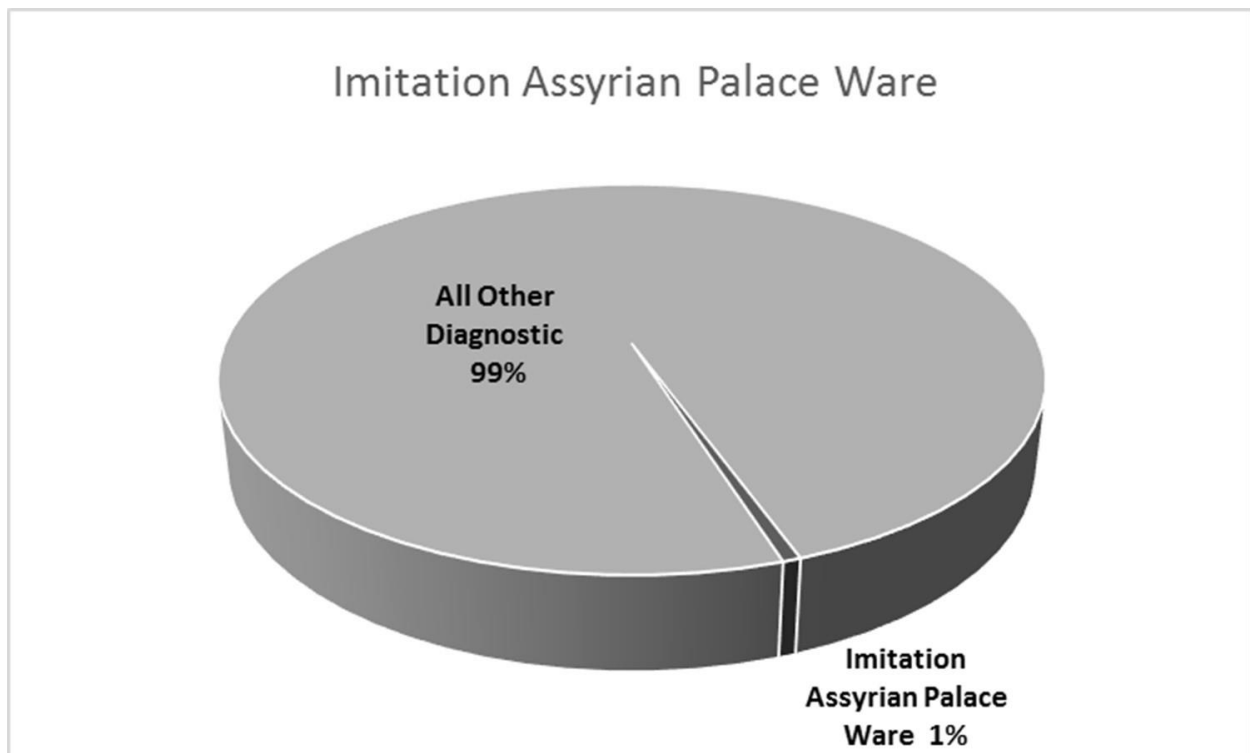


Figure 7.9 – Percentage of Imitation Assyrian Palace Ware from Area DD at Busayra
(Image created by Rachel Regelein)