Title
Cultural Identity, Archaeology, and the Amorites of the Early Second Millennium BCE: An Analytical Paradigmatic Approach

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Cultural Identity, Archaeology, and the Amorites of the Early Second Millennium BCE: An Analytical Paradigmatic Approach

By

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Abstract

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Ancient Near Eastern textual sources portray the Amorites as a group that arose in the span of a century at the beginning of the second millennium BCE from being obscure pastoral nomads on the periphery of Mesopotamian civilization to establishing a dynasty that ruled the region for four hundred years. Yet, according to a commonly-held scholarly view, they left no archaeologically discernible cultural imprint. This paradoxical understanding contributes to widely varied speculations about the nature of their group identity and has generated a lack of consensus that impedes the development of further insights about the group and, consequently, other aspects of Ancient Near Eastern history and cultures.

The interpretation of archaeological evidence for cultural identity is in itself a problematized issue. Consideration of the factors involved in the Amorite scenario indicates the need for an analytical approach to cultural identity that will provide a foundation from which the multiple evidentiary dimensions can be considered on common ground. Drawing upon interdisciplinary insights from such fields as social psychology, cognitive science, and sociology, in addition to anthropology, this project develops a relational approach to identity at four levels—personal, individual, group, and categorical. From that perspective, cultural identity is found to be a categorical identification with a matrix of interrelated features that is greater than the sum of its constituent elements. In combination with the theoretical lenses of materiality, social memory, and landscape theory from the social archaeology toolkit, the $\text{Self}^{\text{Other}}$ approach advanced in this thesis allows the various compositional aspects of cultural identity to be analyzed holistically. It provides a framework through which the textual, visual, and material evidence can be considered in light of the underlying identity processes at work. In application to the singularly complex Amorite paradox, the efficacy of the framework is validated by revealing—on an analytical basis grounded in established theory and methods—that there is more than sufficient evidence for viewing the Amorites as an ethnic group.

These results, which are derived from applying the paradigm to the data set of Amorite identity markers, provide a starting point for more contextualized studies of the evidence from specific sites and assemblages in both synchronic and diachronic cases. The paradigm is proposed as an analytical tool that will allow for a grounded commonality that can move the field closer toward consensus and to continued advancements in understanding the history of the Ancient Near East. Additionally, it has the potential to facilitate research into the cultural identity of other groups in different places and times.

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AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung*
Ä & L	*Ägypten und Levante*
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
ARM	Archives Royales de Mari
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BE	Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania Series
BiMes	Bibliotheca Mesopotamica
CAD	Gelb, Ignace J. *The Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1956-1992.
CANE	Sasson, Jack M. *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2006, 1995.
CDLI	Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative. http://cdli.ucla.edu
DCCLT	Digital Corpus of Cuneiform Lexical Texts. http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/dcclt/index.html
ERC	Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations
ETCSL	Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature. http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/
FM	Florilegium Marianum
GBAO 5	Schramm, Wolfgang. *Akkadische Logogramme*. Göttinger Beiträge zum Alten Orient. Göttingen: Universitäts Verlag Göttingen, 2010.
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
LAPO	Littératures Anciennes du Proche-Orient
Marriage	The Marriage of Martu
MHET	Mesopotamian History and Environment, Texts
MBA	Middle Bronze Age (Syria and the Levant)
NABU	*Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires*
OB	Old Babylonian Period (Mesopotamia)
OIS	Oriental Institute Seminars, Chicago
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
PBS	Publications of the Babylonian Section, University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia
RA	*Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale*
RlA	Ebeling, Erich, Bruno Meissner, Ernst Weidner, Wolfram von Soden, and Dietz Otto Edzard. *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1928-.
SANER	Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records
SEPOA	Société pour l'Étude du Proche-Orient Ancien
ZAA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie*

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This thesis is the result of the contributions of a number of people to whom I would like to express my sincere appreciation. My dissertation committee has supported the work directly and indirectly in many ways, without which it would not have come to fruition. Ben Porter has had an appreciable influence on the finished product through his proseminar and several discussions early in the process and his administrative oversight in the final stages. His theoretical approach to the archaeology of community, in particular, has been a valuable foundational guide to my exploration of various issues. From the first meeting with Aaron Brody, by which he introduced me to ASOR, through the thought-provoking seminar on the archaeology of the Levant and numerous meetings in which we explored various aspects of that topic as well as the Amorites, he has been a motivational and supportive element of my entire experience without which it could not have succeeded. It has been an honor to work with Niek Veldhuis, whose professional and scholarly guidance has been an asset to my work from start to finish; he has had a significant impact on my ability to explore assyriology and the Mesopotamian worldview that extends beyond what is reflected in this thesis and will continue to influence my future research. I consider it fortuitous that one of my early seminar experiences at Cal introduced me to Christine Hastorf and her approach to theory in archaeological research; the dynamic discussions that transpired in our meetings have had a notable influence on my intellectual creativity and have become one of my most valued and memorable experiences during this process.

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Chapter 1
Introduction

> *When the august god Anu, king of the Anunnaku deities, and the god Enlil, lord of heaven and earth, who determines the destinies of the land, allotted supreme power over all peoples to the god Marduk, the firstborn son of the god Ea, exalted him among the Igigu deities, named the city of Babylon with its august name and made it supreme within the regions of the world, and established for him within it eternal kingship whose foundations are as fixed as heaven and earth, at that time, the gods Anu and Enlil, for the enhancement of the well-being of the people, named me by my name: Hammurabi, the pious prince, who venerates the gods, to make justice prevail in the land, to abolish the wicked and the evil, to prevent the strong from oppressing the weak, to rise like the sun-god Shamash over all humankind, to illuminate the land. I am Hammurabi, the shepherd, selected by the god Enlil…* (From the Code of Hammurabi, Prologue).[1]

Hammurabi. It seems everyone has heard of him. When talking to people from virtually any walk of life, it is usually the mention of his name that allows them to connect with the Ancient Near East. His self-proclaimed importance lives on.

Hammurabi was an Amorite—prayers were lifted up "for the life of Hammurabi, king of the Amorites."[2] The august king ruled over these people who, in the space of a century, rose from the obscurity of being wandering nomads to ruling over the entire region for centuries. He was an important man of a consequential group of people.

Traditionally, researchers understand the Amorites to have been a culturally distinct, pastoral-nomadic, kinship-based tribal group that originated to the west of central Mesopotamia and emerged in the late third millennium BCE as a threat to the Ur III State. Following the collapse of that kingdom, several dynasties of ruling Amorites appeared at the beginning of the second millennium BCE.[3] The number of those in power increased over the next two centuries, first as independent rulers and then eventually coalescing into the First Babylonian Dynasty, ca. 1880.[4] The height of their cultural influence and political power was achieved by Hammurabi (reigned 1792-1750[5]), its most renowned king. This is the dramatic description of the group most

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[1] Martha Tobi Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*, 2nd ed. (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 76.

[2] There is debatable nuance to this phrase but it unquestionably associates him with Amorites in some fashion. BM 22454. See Appendix A for more information on this text and §2.6.1.1 for further discussion of how Amorites appear in them generally.

[3] All dates in this project are BCE unless otherwise indicated.

[4] Dominique Charpin, *Hammurabi of Babylon* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2012), 23; Anne Goddeeris, "The Emergence of Amorite Dynasties in Northern Babylonia during the Early Old Babylonian Period," in *Ethnicity in Ancient Mesopotamia*, ed. W. H. van Soldt, R. Kalvelagen, and D. Katz (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2005), 138.

[5] See the chronology in Appendix D-1; the general helps are included at the end for ease of reference (chronology of rulers, temporal chronology, definitions, and map).

often encountered in general historical overviews and is the touch-point conceptualization from which virtually all discussions of the Amorites proceed.[6]

Considering their profound and far-reaching significance, it is startling to encounter scholarly claims, made by specialists in the field, that there is no archaeological evidence of them. Giorgio Buccellati, for instance, writes in his seminal study on the group that there is only limited direct archaeological evidence for Amorites in Mesopotamia.[7] Alan Millard concludes that there is none—that only the texts attest to their presence.[8] Such statements evolve into broader, more definitive conclusions, such as that made by Anne Porter, who determines that Amorites did not have a bounded group identity sufficient to having its own archaeological signature.[9] Other scholars do recognize Amorites as a cultural (usually ethnic) group, based on the textual evidence. Among them, I. J. Gelb draws a close association between that kind of identity for them and their language, labeling them an ethnolinguistic group.[10] There are also some that acknowledge artifacts that are connected to them—even a complete assemblage. Minna Lönnqvist, for instance, has identified them as an ethnic group with an assemblage of 'type fossils.'[11] There is little general agreement on these matters (§2.6).

Porter's conclusion reveals a significant aspect of the issue—that it falls within the subject of cultural identity.[12] Not only is identity, in any configuration, a topic of great interest at present, but it is a field that has seen vigorous theoretical and applied advancements in recent years. Drawing upon insights from interactionalist approaches, practice theory, and a host of other developments, cultural identity research has become more holistic in approach and interdisciplinary in method.[13] Buccellati's views were penned early in the conversation (1966),[14]

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[6] See, for instance, Marc Van De Mieroop, *A History of the Ancient Near East, ca. 3000-323 BC*, Blackwell History of the Ancient World (New York: Wiley-Blackwell, 2015), 92-95, 111-112; Rients de Boer, *Amorites in the Old Babylonian Period* (PhD Dissertation, Leiden, 2014), 22 ff.; Piotr Michalowski, *The Correspondence of the Kings of Ur: An Epistolary History of an Ancient Mesopotamian Kingdom* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 85; Arne Wossink, *Challenging Climate Change: Competition and Cooperation among Pastoralists and Agriculturalists in Northern Mesopotamia (c. 3000-1600 BC)* (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2009), 129; Michael Roaf, *Cultural Atlas of Mesopotamia and the Ancient Near East* (New York: Facts on File, 2008), 108.

[7] His statements have influenced the field greatly, in this respect as well as many others. Giorgio Buccellati, *The Amorites of the Ur III Period* (Naples: Instituto Orientale di Napoli, 1966), 13.

[8] His observations leave the door open for further inquiry, however, when he writes, “If the Amorites brought material changes to the culture, they are not preserved, *or have not yet been recognized*…" Alan Millard, "Amorites and Israelites: Invisible Invaders - Modern Expectation and Ancient Reality," in *The Future of Biblical Archaeology: Reassessing Methodologies and Assumptions*, ed. James K. Hoffmeier and A. R. Millard (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2004), 151,152 emphasis added.

[9] Anne Porter, "Beyond Dimorphism: Ideologies and Materialities of Kinship as Time-Space Distanciation," in *Nomads, Tribes, and the State in the Ancient Near East*, ed. Jeffrey Szuchman, OIS 5 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 208; Anne Porter, *Mobile Pastoralism and the Formation of Near Eastern Civilizations: Weaving Together Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 319-320.

[10] See the discussion in §2.6.1.2. I. J. Gelb, "Prisoners of War in Early Mesopotamia," *JNES* 32, no. 1/2, (1973): 71.

[11] Minna Angelina Lönnqvist, *Between Nomadism and Sedentism: Amorites from the Perspective of Contextual Archaeology* (PhD Dissertation, University of Helsinki, 2000), 376.

[12] This is evident in her direct wording when she says, for instance, "If [as she implies] Mardu/Amurru ["Amorite"] should in fact be read as 'mobile pastoralist,' then the 'Amorrites' are hardly a monolithic group, but are constituted only by the point of reference of any of the texts that mention them." She sees them as "more or less nomad," with the label applying to individual families alone. Porter, *Mobile Pastoralism* (2012), 319-322.

[13] For surveys reflecting the depth of these developments since the 1990s, see Jo Angouri, "Studying Identity," in *Research Methods in Intercultural Communication: A Practical Guide*, ed. Zhu Hua, Guides to

but Millard's and Porter's assertions are relatively recent. Given the amount of progress in the field, the continued claims of a lack of Amorite archaeological identifiability seem even more baffling.

Marian Feldman's 2007 assessment of the matter draws out more of the underlying issues. She writes,

> Unfortunately, there is precious little archaeological evidence for Amorite nomadic pastoralists or for the ethnic transformation of political rule in the early second millennium. …The reason for this state of affairs undoubtedly involves the difficulties of identifying either pastoral nomads *or* ethnicity in the archaeological record. Pastoralist groups are archaeologically elusive because the brevity of their temporary occupations results in very limited physical remains. In the case of ethnicity, groups are known to mark their ethnic status with physical objects (e.g. items of dress), but these are difficult to identify archaeologically.[15]

Thus, identifying the Amorites archaeologically becomes both a problem of cultural identity (ethnicity, specifically, in Feldman's terms) and a matter of theory and methodology—of having the tools to discern the presence of cultural identification in material evidence, especially for nomads.

Along with developments in identity studies in recent years, archaeological approaches to cultural identity have developed greater interdisciplinary breadth and interpretive capacity. Ancient Near Eastern archaeological research has incorporated many of them.[16] Lambros Malafouris (with Colin Renfrew) provides an example of the magnitude of the refinements generated from these developments in the recent formulation of Material Engagement Theory. This cognitive archaeology approach brings thinking, acting, and things—as inseparably intertwined[17]—into understanding how people express who they are as well as what they are becoming,[18] thereby capturing the historical present and change over time. In the authors' words, this is an "explanatory path" for facilitating a holistic approach to archaeological knowledge as a "dialectic historical symbiosis of the objective, the subjective, and the material."[19] Malafouris applies it to scribal behaviors associated with Mycenaean Linear B tablets, which results in

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Research Methods in Language and Linguistics (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2016); James Côté, "Identity Studies: How Close Are We to Developing a Social Science of Identity?—An Appraisal of the Field," *Identity* 6, no. 1, (2006).

[14] He also published a similar statement in 1997: "No distinctive archaeological evidence can be convincingly associated with the Amorites…". His 1966 study is still a main resource on the Amorites. Giorgio Buccellati, "Amorites," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*, ed. Eric M. Meyers, vol. 1 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 107.

[15] Marian H. Feldman, "Frescoes, Exotica, and the Reinvention of the Northern Levantine Kingdoms during the Second Millennium B.C.E.," in *Representations of Political Power: Case Histories from Times of Change and Dissolving Order in the Ancient Near East*, ed. Marlies Heinz and Marian H. Feldman (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 209.

[16] See Stuart Tyson Smith, "Identity," in *The Oxford Handbook of Archaeological Theory*, ed. Andrew Gardner, Mark Lake, and Ulrike Sommer (2014), http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199567942.013.025; Timothy Insoll, *The Archaeology of Identities: A Reader* (London: Routledge, 2007).

[17] Colin Renfrew, "Foreword," in *How Things Shape the Mind: A Theory of Material Engagement*, ed. Lambros Malafouris (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2013), ix.

[18] Lambros Malafouris, *How Things Shape the Mind: A Theory of Material Engagement* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2013), 20.

[19] Ibid., 52.

seeing them as "a temporal sequence of relationally constituted embodied processes encompassing reciprocal and culturally orchestrated interactions among humans, situated tool use, and space"[20] that enjoins the person's identity in the process.[21] This assessment of scribal behaviors demonstrates that the approach is at least one example of an analytical framework with a holistic perspective that has the capacity to bring the interaction, over time, of people, things, culture, identity, and space within the analytical gaze. It represents the promise of recent advances in the theoretical sophistication of the field.

With such interpretive assets at the ready, it seems puzzling that we have not been able to arrive at some consensus, at the least, about Amorite identity and its discernibility in the archaeological evidence. This raises two questions: What are we looking for? and Where are we looking for it? Closer consideration of the basis for the views of the four scholars cited above is enlightening about both.

Buccellati suggests that evidence of Amorite identity would come from traces of incoming influence within the native Mesopotamian assemblage reflecting their aesthetic expression in various forms (art, iconography, dress) or visual depictions of them. The problem he finds is that any interpretation would be uncertain since there is no autochthonous evidence for them of this kind from before they entered that foreign cultural milieu and, consequently, there is no basis for certainty in any interpretations associating it with them by comparison, even if that evidence was to be isolated.[22] Millard is also looking for changes associated with their arrival, focusing on the subsequent record. He finds that there are none in either the architecture of temples and elite housing or the pottery.[23] As it turns out, Porter also looks for changes in the material record. Defining the people who fall under the label 'Amorite' as a subgroup of the mobile pastoralist segment of the population,[24] she says, "Once in power there is little [other than textual references] to distinguish Amorrites [sic] from Mesopotamians – no evident separation of one group from the other, no difference in material culture, no texts written in Amorrite."[25] She is, then, looking for changes reflecting socio-political developments in practice, including those related to language use or scribal activities, and material indicators. Lastly, Feldman's statement directs attention toward alterations spurred by ethnic changes in the socio-political structure as well as their nomadic lifeway, a manner of living that creates a particular set of methodological challenges for archaeological investigation.

These representative examples demonstrate a pattern. They indicate that researchers are looking for material changes that can be associated with a differentiated way of doing things and are correlated with the arrival of an outside group of people identified as Amorites. The cited categories of evidence are style and imagery, architecture and pottery, social differentiation and

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[20] Ibid., 78.
[21] Ibid., 217.
[22] Buccellati, *Amorites* (1966), 13-14.
[23] Millard (2004), 149-152.
[24] Porter, *Mobile Pastoralism* (2012), 319-320.
[25] This ('Amorrite') spelling of the group name reflects a line of research that uses this technique to disassociate discussion of Amorites in earlier periods from those mentioned in the Hebrew Bible (primarily; see Fleming and Van de Mieroop's review). Ibid., 252; Daniel E. Fleming, *Democracy's Ancient Ancestors Mari and Early Collective Governance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 76; Marc Van De Mieroop, "Review: Democracy's Ancient Ancestors: Mari and Early Collective Governance by Daniel Fleming; Letters to the King of Mari. A New Translation with Historical Introduction, Notes, and Commentary by Wolfgang Heimpel," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 48, no. 2, (2005): 327 n. 321.

texts in their own language. Thus, in answer to the questions raised above, what we are looking for is evidence of differentiation, and cultural features such as style, architecture, and pottery are where we are looking for it. The approach is a comparative method that is reasonable and proven in countless instances dealing with cultures around the world. Recognizing this seems to add to the puzzle—why are we unable to use that same strategy to arrive at an answer that will bring the field closer to a consensus on the evidence for, and consequently the nature of, Amorite identity?

Considering that question and the development of Amorite Studies reveals that the Amorite issue is only one manifestation of an acknowledged gap in the interpretive methods employed in the archaeological research of cultural identity—the need for an analytical approach to comparative evidence that is grounded in interdisciplinary theory incorporating archaeology and text. The complexity of the Amorite scenario provides a compelling case to guide the formulation of such an approach. The richness of the available data and background research adds to the promise of the efforts being productive.

1.1 The Problematic Amorites: A Paradox

Largely, perhaps, because of the drama in their story as well as the prominent role they play in Ancient Near Eastern history, in-depth and intricate debates concerning the Amorites have burgeoned over the last fifty years. The dialogue between scholars has ensued with opposing views on each aspect of the traditional characterization of them to the point that the matter has become a subfield of scholarship—Amorite Studies research is constantly grappling with the different aspects of the perplexing 'problem' of this fascinating people. Despite the contestations over the details, as Piotr Michalowski points out, the evidence for Amorite identity is indisputable.[26] Indeed, the prominent role they played as a group during the Old Babylonian Period has led Dominique Charpin and his colleagues to propose calling it the Amorite Period instead.[27]

It is in those contestations that the opportunity for this project arises. Michalowski outlines the debated points within the context of the Ur III period (2112-2004). The 'problem' is the same throughout their existence, including the first half of the second millennium. As he lists them, the factors that repeatedly receive acute attention in the scholarly literature are centered on:

- the extent of nomadism as their lifeway;
- their place of origin;
- the character of their integration in Mesopotamian culture;
- the nature of their movement into Mesopotamia;
- their role in the collapse of the Ur III state; and,
- the manner of their subsequent rise in status in the Old Babylonian period.

He summarizes the matter, writing:

[26] Michalowski (2011), 83-86.

[27] Charpin et al. argue that calling it the Old Babylonian period is, essentially, naming a historical period for the dominant written language; whereas, the prominent level of Amorite influence throughout the epoch warrants referring to it in those socio-political terms. Dominique Charpin, "Histoire Politique du Proche-Orient Amorrite (2002-1595)," in *Mesopotamien: Die Altbabylonische Zeit*, ed. Dominique Charpin, Dietz Otto Edzard, and Marten Stol, OBO 160/4 (Fribourg: Academic Press, 2004), 38.

> Most current discussion of the "Amorite problem" distorts the issue by creating a unitary semantic concept [of them] that combines notions of common origin, ethnic and linguistic identity, tribalism, and nomadism as a way of life.[28]

The conceptualization that combines those elements (origins tradition, ethnolinguistic identity, governance, and lifeway) is 'culture,' and the problem surfaces again as a matter of Amorite cultural identity.

The previous scholarship on these issues has produced a rich body of literature with sometimes very detailed studies on different aspects of Amorite identity from a variety of approaches but, as Michalowski makes clear, it has generated no conceptual agreement about who they were. Despite that fact, there is an avid, ongoing interest in resolving the Amorite Problem because of the influence, power, and pervasive long-term presence they hold in the Ancient Near Eastern historical drama that we see reflected in the textual evidence. In the face of that, as alluded to above, one frequently cited issue running through the literature that is not cited in Michalowski's list is that there appears to be no *material* evidence of their presence. We intuitively expect that such a group would leave a visible trace in the objects or physical features, in practice (including textual), and other characteristics that reflects the cultural characteristics of their group. Moreover, there is established theoretical support for such an expectation.[29] So, we are confronted with a paradox—given the nature of their presence portrayed in the written record, why is there apparently no discernible archaeological imprint of their group identity? The alleged lack of archaeological evidence exacerbates the text-based problems that Michalowski lists. It also exposes an opportunity for bringing a higher resolution methodology to bear—an approach to the archaeology of cultural identity that can focus on the multiple complex issues involved in the seeming contradictions in the Amorite evidence that has sufficient resolution to access the underlying characteristics of their reality. The goal of this project is to draw upon the recent advances in identity studies and social archaeology to derive an analytical approach to doing so.

1.2 The Archaeology of Cultural Identity: A Multi-Faceted, Multi-Disciplinary Problem

Much of the complexity involved in archaeological investigations of cultural identity stems from its intrinsic engagement with four problematic dimensions: identity, culture, cultural identity, and recognizing it in material evidence. Unresolved conceptual issues in the fundamental topics of culture and identity flow into the derivative issues of cultural identity and the archaeological approaches to it.

The concept of identity is complicated by questions such as how much of it is personal and psychological versus social and interactive, and whether it has universal characteristics or is completely contextual. Recognizing that this is a conception that inherently entails scholarship in multiple disciplines, James Côté identifies eight different "camps" in identity studies that are the result of fissures created by the different perspectives on these issues.[30] The problem is not that

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[28] Michalowski (2011), 85.

[29] See §3.4 below and the Materiality literature, esp. Malafouris (2013); and, Ian Hodder, *Entangled: An Archaeology of the Relationships between Humans and Things* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012).

[30] Note that he does not necessarily capture them all. James Côté, "Youth-Identity Studies: History, Controversies and Future Directions," in *Routledge Handbook of Youth and Young Adulthood*, ed. Andy Furlong (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), 369.

there are different approaches, but that they are "isolated from, and hostile to, each other in varying degrees."[31] Similar dilemmas pertain to the concept of culture. Johan Fornäs recently devoted an entire book, titled *Defending Culture*, to wresting it from the "conceptual maelstrom"[32] that has developed. Its meaning has become so problematic that approaches to defining it in the various publications range from avoiding any specification of what culture is altogether to constructing such dense definitions that operationalizing them is virtually impossible.[33] Beyond the definitional issues, there are multiple approaches to the concept[34] that both cross over and conflict, with researchers having "serious objections"[35] to the alternatives. Much of the debate surrounding different analyses results from this lack of common ground.

The concept of cultural identity inherits these difficulties and acquires its own. Perhaps the most critical is that, without a clear conceptualization of its two component aspects, it is often conflated with other identifications. The most commonly encountered equivalent is ethnic identity.[36] Beyond simply using the terms interchangeably for variety, they are treated as being the same—and they are, in fact, different (§3.2.5 and §3.3). Misrecognizing identity types compromises our interpretive capacity by misdirecting attention away from the true underlying processes, and the salient dynamics of identity work, in given scenarios.[37] Among other things, it can lead to confusing a distinctive, characteristic feature as being the basis for an identity rather than an aspect of it, and potentially skewing researchers' interpretations of the related behaviors.

The cumulative effect of these issues is a problematized attitude toward the archaeological investigation of cultural identity. Jeb Card poses the question,

> …if "ethnicity" is a contested, imposed, embraced, and malleable label for identities, the notion of homogenous groups with time and space parameters becomes problematic. If an object has elements in it that span across centuries and continents, how can it be easily labeled with a particular culture group identification?[38]

Card is acknowledging the potential outcome of the unresolved problematization as threatening a fundamental aspect of archaeological research—our ability to associate an object with a group.

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[31] Ibid.

[32] Johan Fornäs, *Defending Culture: Conceptual Foundations and Contemporary Debate* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 5.

[33] Ibid., 2.

[34] Fornäs deals mainly with four: ontological, anthropological, aesthetic, and hermeneutic. Ibid.

[35] Ibid., 7.

[36] Fornäs makes the same observation. Ibid., 28.

[37] The concept of identity work follows along the same lines as the perhaps more familiar idea of memory work that has been in circulation in recent anthropological research. It is the conscious and unconscious processes involved in the development and expression of identity by individuals and groups. See, for instance, Claire Kramsch, "Identity and Subjectivity: Different Timescales, Different Methodologies," in *Researching Identity and Interculturality*, ed. Fred Dervin and Karen Risager (New York: Routledge, 2015), 212 and elsewhere; Barbara J. Mills and William H. Walker, eds., *Memory Work: Archaeologies of Material Practices* (Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press, 2008).

[38] He raises this question in the process of advocating for a hybridity approach to the archaeology of identity—he moves beyond the barrier of the problem, where others may be halted by it. Jeb J. Card, "Introduction," in *The Archaeology of Hybrid Material Culture*, ed. Jeb J. Card (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2013), 4.

Similar reservations are acknowledged in the Ancient Near Eastern archaeological literature[39] and regarding Amorites specifically (§2.6.2.2).

Recognition of these issues has been met with calls for advancement in the theoretical toolkit of Near Eastern archaeology and has generated productive advances in response. As a result, there is presently a general shift in the field, particularly along three lines: giving greater consideration to identification processes, drawing on multi-disciplinary insights, and employing analytical approaches.[40]

However, there remains a need for a well-grounded framework through which the resulting advances can be cumulatively brought to bear on specific aspects of identity work. Card's further comments are one example highlighting the opportunity. He proposes hybridity as a way of bringing etic and emic elements together in consideration of identity-related material evidence and suggests an analytical approach for addressing it by determining the source and nature of the constituent elements. He also notes the inherent ambiguity in the hybridity approach, which produces equivocality in the interpretations. His specific example raises the question of how much meaning outside influence has on insiders' attitudes toward their objects.[41] Consideration of etic and emic directionality of influence is an important element in identity research, highlighting the need for a remedy for the problems of investigating it. In response, a suggested means of resolving some of that ambiguity would be to consider the distinct elements discretely, and the indications of their meaningfulness for each group, over time and space in different contexts (e.g., in interaction with different groups). To be reliable, this would require an approach that can organize the data with consistency, accommodating different cultures, different times, and different places. To be valid, the approach would need to be grounded in the insights of previously generated and tested (i.e., established) theory and method. Ad hoc approaches, in contrast, are certainly beneficial; they are, in fact, largely what constitutes the body of theoretical resources now available. Without some way to assemble those insights, however, our efforts are inhibited from moving forward because we are continually trying to reconcile them instead. Card recognizes this issue by asserting, "Investigators trying to understand a complex mélange of influences in the creation of material culture often have to invent or modify idiosyncratic approaches to their data."[42] Various researchers often deal with the matter by either calling for moving beyond certain approaches or by criticizing others. The problem is that the subsequent suggestions are isolated from each other, frequently being presented as either-or cases, even though the writers have a holistic approach in view. Bernard Knapp, for instance, asserts "identity cannot be 'possessed' by social groups or individuals" but

[39] Acknowledging the potential consequences of the threat, Sharon Steadman writes, "Archaeology would lose a tremendous tool for understanding the past if material culture were ever deemed a poor indicator of social or ethnic identity." Sharon R. Steadman, *Archaeology of Domestic Architecture and the Human use of Space* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2015), 106; A. Bernard Knapp, "Mediterranean Archaeology and Ethnicity," in *A Companion to Ethnicity in the Ancient Mediterranean*, ed. Jeremy McInerney (Chichester, UK: Wiley Blackwell, 2014), 36-38.

[40] Card (2013), and contributions in the volume; Hodder (2012), esp. Ch. 2; Diane Bolger and Louise C. Maguire, "Introduction: The Development of Pre-State Communities in the Ancient Near East," in *The Development of Pre-State Communities in the Ancient Near East*, ed. Diane Bolger and Louise C. Maguire (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2010), 1-4; Giorgio Buccellati, "The Semiotics of Ethnicity: The Case of Hurrian Urkesh," in *Festschrift für Gernot Wilhelm Anlässlich Seines 65 Geburtstages am 28 Januar 2010*, ed. Jeanette Fincke (Dresden: Islet, 2010); Insoll (2007).

[41] Card (2013), 4.

[42] Ibid., 5.

"rather, it is an unstable, often transitory relation of *difference*."[43] Consequently, he suggests an archaeological approach that focuses on difference. However, both are actually true—there is an element of belonging to social groups that members 'possess' and outsiders do not, and difference is an element of the relationality involved (Chapter 3), so a holistic approach would investigate both sameness and difference. This is not to say Knapp's (and other scholars') efforts are necessarily misdirected—quite to the contrary, in fact; as only one example among many, his comments simply reflect the human tendency to think in binary oppositions, and his research from that perspective adds beneficially to the knowledge base available for advancing further. Separating different factors for consideration or calling for an emphasis on one or the other is not a problem; it is, in fact, an analytical approach that yields valuable and necessary insights. However, they need to be brought back together into their synthesized reality. Clifford Geertz pointed out this need in 1973,[44] yet it remains largely absent from identity research practices, including archaeological considerations of various Ancient Near Eastern groups.[45]

The basis for a synthesized approach to the archaeological evidence of Amorite identity is accessible. What we refer to as identity and culture are universal phenomena[46] and, thus, by nature have inherent consistencies. Research into both, in multiple disciplines over many years, recognizes at least some of those consistencies and the bases for them. The connection between a group's identity and their 'stuff' is made intuitively by interactants and researchers alike, and it is substantiated by scholarship, particularly in the realm of materiality research (see n. 29 above). Ancient Near East research—and Amorite Studies specifically—have amassed and considered a rich corpus of textual and material data relevant to this acknowledged group identification. As a result, the opportunity is present for formulating a holistic framework that draws together the theoretical and interpretive advances already made in such a way that they can be deployed effectively in application to the matter of archaeological evidence and Amorite identity questions. The approach toward doing so that is taken in this project involves analytical consideration of that evidence in light of the research into identification processes from multiple disciplinary perspectives, making it part of the stream of responses to the calls for advancement in the theoretical toolkit of Ancient Near Eastern archaeology that is already in motion.

1.3 The Archaeology of Cultural Identity and the Amorites: Consequential Problems

The need for a synthesized approach to identity research extends well beyond the Amorites and the Ancient Near East. Identity, itself, is an issue presently garnering animated attention in the public arena as a result of decades of growing intensification caused by globalization and other social trends. It is the impetus behind much discussion, policy-making, and social action around the world. This is connected to the academic interest in the topic, which

[43] Knapp (2014), 38.

[44] He wrote, "In short, we need to look for systematic relationships among diverse phenomena, not for substantive identities among similar ones. And to do that with any effectiveness, we need to replace the 'stratigraphic' conception of the relations between the various aspects of human existence with a synthetic one; that is, one in which biological, psychological, sociological, and cultural factors can be treated as variables within unitary systems of analysis." Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 44.

[45] For a survey of the fragmentation within and between the various fields of identity studies, see Vivian L. Vignoles, "Introduction: Toward an Integrative View of Identity," in *Handbook of Identity Theory and Research*, ed. Seth J. Schwartz, Koen Luyckx, and Vivian L. Vignoles, vol. 1 (New York: Springer, 2011).

[46] See §3.3.5.1 for an explanation of the deliberative tenor in which universalizing statements such as this are offered in this project.

has increased exponentially since the 1940s and continues to do so in the 2010s.[47] The fact that a movement called Identity Politics has arisen in the last few decades indicates the significant and broad level of interest. In addition to politics, recent changes in other arenas such as economics, philosophy, medicine, and technology are affecting perceptions of, and interest in, identity as a concept. These developments have made it a commanding topic of interest in our time. Rigorous research methods are needed to support the policy decisions and practices developing from these concerns.

Cultural identity research, specifically, is part of these broader interests. In addition to current ethnology,[48] researchers recognize the need for more grounded, synthetic, and analytical approaches to cultural identity questions extending to other people groups in different times and places. Zbigniew Kobylínski, for instance, addresses conflicting interpretations of the data in first millennium CE Poland that are similar to those that arise about the Amorites. In that case, some researchers attribute material culture changes to ethnic transformation while others question the existence of the preceding ethnicity, and accredit the adjustments to socio-economic reasons.[49] As a remedy, Kobylínski notes the need for understanding the processes involved in the development of a cohesive Slav identity that made them recognizable to outsiders as 'different.'[50] In another case, Stephanie Wynne-Jones emphasizes the need to "interrogate" the interpretive categories employed in identity research and consider the evidence more analytically in order to get beyond inadequacies in archaeological interpretations stemming from things such as inconsistent selectivity in the factors considered,[51] or, in other words, ad hoc approaches. Her particular focus is on the first millennium CE East African coast. Christopher Beekman and Alexander Christensen point out the need for middle-range theory of various social strategies for understanding the material expression of group identity.[52] Their research involves migration in pre-Columbian Mesoamerica. Concentrating attention on the underlying processes is a way to address that need and establish a bridge between the micro-processes and the broader social phenomena in identity work. Lynne Meskell calls for this kind of advancement and approaches the archaeology of identity by breaking down its different categories,[53] which involves more

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[47] James Côté documented an increase in the incidence rate of the term “identity” in academic publications as an indicator of this trend. Based on the number of hits on the search term returned by the research databases PsychINFO and Sociology Abstracts (separated by /), the numbers he cited for the social sciences through 2005 are: 1940s 78/1; 1950s 223/50; 1960s 775/2840; 1970s 2896/9098; 1980s 6901/15,080; 1990s 15,106/32,139; 2000s >12,000/18,587. To those we can now add the actual numbers for the 2000s (38,965/54,318) and the 2010s up through Sept 2015 (35,754/37,622). We can also add figures for the discipline of anthropology, specifically, generated on the same basis but from the Anthropology Plus research database: 1940s 6; 1950s 8; 1960s 76; 1970s 506; 1980s 1365; 1990s 5638; 2000s 12,258; 2010s up through Sept 2015 4781. See Côté, (2006): 3-4.

[48] Matthew Desmond, "Relational Ethnography," *Theory and Society* 43, no. 5, (2014).

[49] Zbigniew Kobylínski, "An Ethnic Change or a Socio-Economic One? The 5th and 6th Centuries AD in the Polish Lands," in *Archaeological Approaches to Cultural Identity*, ed. Stephen Shennan (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989).

[50] Ibid., 305.

[51] She finds selective attention to the involved factors to be partially responsible for insufficiencies in the research, because they are chosen according to the investigators' individual preferences. Stephanie Wynne-Jones, "It's What you Do with it that Counts: Performed Identities in the East African Coastal Landscape," *Journal of Social Archaeology* 7, no. 3, (2007): 326.

[52] Christopher S. Beekman and Alexander F. Christensen, "Power, Agency, and Identity: Migration and Aftermath in the Mezquital Area of North-Central Mexico," in *Rethinking Anthropological Perspectives on Migration*, ed. Graciela S. Cabana and Jeffery J. Clark (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2011), 147-148.

[53] Lynn Meskell, "Archaeologies of Identity," in *The Archaeology of Identities: A Reader*, ed. Timothy Insoll (London: Routledge, 2007).

analytical considerations of the constituent factors in those dimensions. Her broad research interests include anthropological theorizing along with the archaeology and cultural heritage of South Africa, the Ancient Near East, and other regions around the world. The similarity of these issues to those encountered with Amorites indicates that refining approaches in Amorite studies can benefit the wider academic community.

The Amorites also matter specifically because of their prominent position in the history of Mesopotamia and the modern Middle East. In addition to the benefits of historical studies in themselves,[54] Ancient Near East research inherently provides its own distinct, important contributions to present understandings in several topical areas. A particularly powerful one comes from its connections to religious studies. As the basis for three great modern religions (Judaism, Christianity, and Islam), the text of the Hebrew Bible was created within Ancient Near Eastern contexts and worldviews. As an integral and prominent component of the wider Mesopotamian world, the Amorites matter specifically, then, because to understand them more clearly brings greater clarity to each aspect of the cultures, politics, technological developments, abstract thinking, religion, and other topical matters around them. Insights garnered from investigations into specific features of their cultural makeup (e.g., nomadism, pastoralism, tribalism, and non-literate group interaction with literate groups) can shed light on analogous conditions in other groups, whether in the past or the present.

In summary, the Amorites are an important group in a historical setting from which we have relatively abundant archaeological and textual evidence, making their case a prime opportunity for refining our methodologies in interpreting both kinds of data. Gaining insight into their cultural identity and its expression in that evidence has the potential to add significantly to the knowledge that can be brought to bear in a variety of important historical matters and current issues.

1.4 Towards a Solution: Proposal, Methods, and Evidence

As a method for addressing specific contextual scenarios, this project presents an approach to archaeological investigations of Amorite cultural identity that is analytical and grounded in a synthesis of multi-disciplinary identity studies research and social archaeology. It offers a framework that is constructed to provide a consistent and reliable method for compiling data that will allow comparative consideration of the various factors involved in the cultural identification of specific groups, contemporaneously and/or across space and time. In its formulation, it does not target any specific group, including the Amorites. Rather, it is a tool that captures the general nature of cultural identity, as it is only in this generic way that such a paradigm can have the necessary conceptual and analytical rigor.

Identity is such an integral aspect of the human experience that it is a topic investigated widely, providing a very rich catalog of approaches that have been developed and tested from various perspectives. Insights from social and cultural anthropology, cognitive science, social psychology, sociology, organizational studies, and others, are incorporated in the paradigm developed in the following chapters.

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[54] Peter N. Stearns, "Why Study History," *American Historical Association*, (1998), http://www.historians.org/pubs/free/WhyStudyHistory.htm; Elena Claudia Constantin and Cosmin Constantin Baias, "Reasons for Studying the Ancient Cultures in Technical Universities," *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences* 197, (2015).

The framework is constructed through the methods of conceptual analysis. It is employed in a three-stage investigation of cultural identity: 1) deconstructing its constituent parts and how they work together in order to clarify the concept itself; 2) considering the theoretical resources, particularly in light of recent advances, to see how they might be brought to bear on the clarified target resulting from stage 1; and, then 3) using the insights gained to (re)consider the Amorite question. The first objective is to gain a clear understanding of what we are looking for and where to look for it; the second is to determine how to look for it effectively; and the third, to test the validity of the resulting analytical tool by its application to the Amorite scenario.

The conceptual analysis employed here is a connective one, where the focus is on elucidating the components of the ideation and the connections between them without presuming there is any one standard form of it to be identified.[55] Gaining this structural appreciation of the parts provides greater dimensionality to the signification of the concept in its integrated fullness. Giorgio Buccellati takes a similar approach in his recent *A Critique of Archaeological Reason* where he writes, "a structural understanding of a given whole goes beyond explaining the details of the component parts: it consistently helped me see, beneath the apparent fragmentation, an overarching unity as being itself a carrier of meaning."[56] In fact, his comments about structure in archaeology parallel the premise of the approach to cultural identity taken here, which can be clearly conveyed by simply substituting the one term for the other:

> …we ought to inquire as to the proper nature of [cultural identity] in and of itself, and do so not in an ad hoc fashion, inductively citing what [identity does], because this would only beg the question through a vicious circle. We should instead inquire, in a structural fashion, as to its uniqueness, thereby identifying traits that are not in common with other [identities]. We should define, critically, [cultural identity] as [cultural identity].[57]

This point of view is fundamental to the present project; it is from this perspective that the paradigm is formulated and proposed as an effective methodology for interpreting cultural identification archaeologically. As will be described below, Social Discourse Analysis, with its capacity to bring together *meaning* from the different lines of evidence (textual, visual, and material) provides an interpretive lens that can capture the data that is organized by this analytical conceptualization of the phenomenon we seek to understand.

The textual and archaeological evidence, and the interpretations of it in past research, can expose the nature of the Amorite Problem and how it reached its current status. As a long-lasting and significant element of the Ancient Near Eastern historical milieu, in a region and time from which there is much available textual and material evidence, that has been widely researched from various approaches in Near Eastern studies, the Amorite case provides a productive, guiding touchpoint for informing the development of an approach that has both the coherence and structure, as well as the flexibility, to accommodate the multiple complex factors involved in this area of research. In the substantial corpus of previous scholarship, many of the investigators involved have identified a number of distinctive characteristics for the group. These 'markers,'

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[55] Michael Beaney, "Analysis," in *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta (Stanford: The Metaphysics Research Lab, Center for the Study of Language and Information, 2014), §8 in particular, https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2018/entries/analysis/.

[56] Giorgio Buccellati, *A Critique of Archaeological Reason* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), xiv.

[57] Ibid., 14.

discerned from both the written and the material evidence, cover the full complement of cultural identity elements. Being a data set that is sufficiently limited in scope to fit within the reasonable bounds for this project, yet including the same kinds of data as more contextualized case-scenarios would involve, they are drawn upon as a preliminary test application of the resulting framework. Although the paradigm is intended to facilitate interpretations of more appropriately contextualized data sets in subsequent research, this preliminary application demonstrates the efficacy of the approach by bringing to light new insights into Amorite cultural identity.

1.5 Project Overview

This study begins in Chapter 2 by situating the Amorite Problem historically and academically in order to provide the background for considering it in terms of the identity issue that is at its core. Through a survey of the key developments and evidence involved, the lack of agreement in the field can be seen as the result of much valuable research from different approaches (assyriological, archaeological, and historical) that has need of a means for establishing a common ground that can facilitate a synthesis of the accumulated knowledge underlying the opposing interpretations in those studies. As the survey continues to include the archaeological evidence and the conclusions drawn from it, what becomes clear is that the issues involved in the questions about who the Amorites were—their identity—are largely the reason for the paradox over their apparent lack of an archaeological imprint. Without an agreed-upon understanding of what we are looking for, the results will most likely never approach consensus. The issue is, then, clarified as being a matter of cultural identity and its archaeological investigation.

In Chapter 3, through a relational perspective toward identity processes and a conceptual analysis of culture, cultural identity is explicated as a conceptual matrix, which makes it a common human phenomenon but also specific to each cultural group. Considering it in these terms presents the opportunity to develop an analytical framework, recognizing both its universality and specificity, that is conducive to archaeological analyses of the full complement of cultural features for a specific grouping. Bringing together the insights of identity studies and social archaeology, the organizing framework developed in this chapter can be utilized for comparative studies with other groups and/or the same group over space and time.

Chapter 4 begins by briefly outlining the theoretical foundations that inform the application of the paradigm developed in Chapter 3 to Amorite data. These include Social Discourse Analysis (SDA), identity markers, social forms, and Culture Contents. SDA is an established approach through which the textual, visual, and material markers that have been connected to Amorites can be considered through a contextual and social view of meaning-making in those media. The legitimacy of identity markers as a heuristic device is also substantiated as an academically-recognized, 'real' socio-cognitive phenomenon. On those bases, the relational conceptualization of cultural identity established in the $\text{Self}^{\text{Other}}$ paradigm in Chapter 3 informs an analytical consideration of the meaning-making in Amorite identity markers. This analysis is accomplished by drawing upon the structure of Culture Contents in the second part of the chapter. As will be developed, Culture Contents is a concept that builds upon the recognition of culture as a social form, meaning that it is one of the socio-cognitive structures common to all human groups. Culture Contents are a holistic combination of the constituent elements of cultural groups, such as language, crafted objects, and social institutions. Distinctive Amorite characteristics have been recognized in the research literature in each dimension of

those Contents—relationality with people, other living and material things, space/place, and time. A brief consideration of representative examples of Amorite markers in each of these categories provides a precursory application of the paradigm. The efficacy of the paradigm and the organizing framework are preliminarily substantiated by the outcome of the analysis, mainly by demonstrating, analytically and grounded in socio-cognitive identity processes, that Amorite cultural identity meets the criteria of an ethnicity. Discussion of how the Self^{Other} approach can be operationalized in more substantial applications, to analyze data sets that are more appropriately constrained, either temporally or contextually, is part of the Conclusion (Chapter 5).

Several new developments, concerning identity theory, the archaeological investigation of cultural identity, and the Amorites are achieved in this project. Drawing on current interdisciplinary insights, Self^{Other} advances a new way of considering identity and culture and, consequently, a new definition of cultural identity that places it within individuals' identity hierarchies. Identity is presented as a relational, socio-cognitive dynamic that is a matter of who a person or group considers themselves to be and (or versus) who others ascribe them as being. It manifests in four augmentative levels (personal, individual, group, and categorical). Additionally, culture is recognized as a conceptual matrix that consists of a group's ways of thinking and acting that comprises a particular configuration of cultural contents. Cultural identity is, then, a matter of belonging to a categorically distinctive conceptual matrix that includes those contents. On that basis, the archaeological investigation of cultural identity can be conducted rigorously through a dramaturgical perspective of Performance Points—the points of engagement in which group members are enacting their contextualized identification—, which is an analytical approach to the interpretation of identity expression in textual and material evidence.

By establishing the validity of social forms and identity markers as heuristic tools, these assets are brought into combination with the Self^{Other} approach to capitalize on their combined potential for bringing some resolution to the Amorite paradox. As a step toward that goal, application of the Culture Contents structure brings to light cohesive textual and archaeological evidence for the Amorites of the Old Babylonian period. The results provide theoretically grounded, analytical justification for the traditional view of their group identity. Those findings demonstrate that interdisciplinary insights support the foundational Amorite identity being that of a kinship-based ethnic group with a distinct language that followed a semi-nomadic pastoral lifeway which originated in the Middle Euphrates region and then spread in a radiating fashion in all directions including southern Mesopotamia. Further, the results show that this distinctive group identity is reflected in a comprehensive array of differentiating characteristics. For instance, Amorites stood apart from both Egyptians and other Mesopotamians in their appearance and the things with which they were associated, such as a certain type of sheep and a dagger. They were also differentiated ideologically from these other cultural groups by a particular family-based perspective that permeated their social institutions. All of these characteristics were encompassed by a worldview that set them apart in the collective self-consciousness of the Amorites themselves and in the minds of others with whom they interacted.

The Amorites are a group of great significance in the history of the Ancient Near East about which over a century of scholarship dedicated to questions about the nature of their identity seems to have developed into an impasse. There is a fissure in Amorite Studies that lies between researchers who, on one hand, consider them to be an ethnic group and/or connect them

to an assemblage of material culture. On the other hand, there are those who consider references to them to be ideological instead; they either find no discernible archaeological imprint for them or have determined that one could not exist for such an abstraction. With the advances in identity studies and social archaeology in recent years, this project argues that we have the capacity to bring some resolution to this quagmire and achieve a level of consensus that will allow the field to advance into more productive pursuits. The potential for contributing to the benefit of the wider community provides further reasoning for why we should. The $Self^{Other}$ relational paradigm, drawing upon insights from each of those advancing theoretical perspectives, is a recommended framework that can facilitate those efforts.

Chapter 2
The Amorite Problem in Context

2.1 Introduction

Chapter 1 introduced the Amorite paradox as one that involves multiple dimensions of their cultural identity and its archaeological imprint. Researchers have been persistently discussing each of the constituent aspects involved over a number of years; debates over many of the current issues have lasted more than a century. Amorite prominence in the Old Babylonian period historical drama warrants the continued efforts toward resolving the dilemma but, similar to the concepts of culture and identity, the discussion is mired in arguments and counter-arguments with only minimal consensus arising from the efforts. Benefitting from the very rich corpus of textual and archaeological evidence and years of accumulated research produced by that dialogue, this project proposes an analytical method for bringing some resolution to the matter.

With a focus on current perspectives concerning the potential material culture connections to Amorites, this chapter surveys the different lines of evidence and the interpretations of it that have brought the discussion to its present status. As is widely recognized, attaining the fullest possible understanding of their identity will involve consideration of both the textual and material culture indicators, in combination. Methodologies for doing it are advancing,[58] however. With the goal of capitalizing on those advancements, the purpose of this chapter is to introduce the kinds of evidence researchers are working with and to deconstruct the current situation by highlighting the representative interpretations and some of the developments that have contributed to it. By doing so, the nature of the current disagreements over this question is opened up to critical analysis, some of which is offered in the process.

Evidence for the Amorites arises from within the context created by the historical events leading up to the end of the third millennium BCE, making the socio-cultural setting of that period pivotal. Thus, consideration of the Amorite Paradox is first situated by outlining those historical factors. The dilemmas over their scenario arise from within the longrunning discussion of the Amorite Problem, so the developments in Amorite Studies and the nature of the Problem that contribute to the current situation are also surveyed. Through this comprehensive approach, the complex factors involved in the paradox will be brought into view and a foundation will be laid for the theoretical considerations discussed in Chapter 3.

2.2 The Historical Background

By the early second millennium BCE,[59] the Ancient Near East was well within the historical period, in that written records had been in use for more than 1000 years. The Mesopotamians had a history, written as well as oral, that contributed to their sense of who they

[58] Note Peter Akkerman's argument that, in contrast to what is otherwise the norm, archaeology and texts need to be used in conjunction, rather than the textual evidence being treated as primary. Peter M. M. G. Akkermans and Glenn M. Schwartz, *The Archaeology of Syria: From Complex Hunter-Gatherers to Early Urban Societies (c. 16,000-300 BC)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 288-291.

[59] Unless otherwise noted, the source for the general historical background in this section is the recent edition of Marc van de Mieroop's standard historical survey: Van De Mieroop, *History* (2015).

were. Following are some the highlights of that history, as the opening acts that set the scene for the Amorites to take the stage.

In the fourth millennium, the 'Uruk expansion' spread complex society throughout the region stretching between modern Iran to Turkey and Egypt.[60] Urbanization, hierarchical society, specialized labor, and the beginning of writing mark this period. Administrative record keeping and accounting measures were in place, as well as standardized weights and measures. As Marc Van de Mieroop points out, the three elements that define Mesopotamian civilization developed during this period: cuneiform writing, cylinder seals, and the decimal and sexagesimal number systems.[61]

Following the Uruk period, there was a return to village life and independent city-states. Narrative texts appear during this time in southern Mesopotamia, the only region where writing remained in active practice.[62] Throughout the third millennium, diplomatic, commercial, and competitive relations connected the city-states across the region. There were widespread cultural similarities and regional differences. Political centralization arose again with the Akkadian Empire in the 24th century under Sargon. Founded through military means and widely resisted by every major center,[63] it collapsed in 2193. The Ur III Empire arose ca. 2026, consolidating dominance over the region from Lake Urmina to the Persian Gulf,[64] as well as from the upper Tigris and lower Middle Euphrates to central Iran. It was a period of urbanization, provincial governors, large building projects, and long-distance trade and diplomacy along with almost constant military conflict. Only decades later, the empire collapsed in 2002, a development generally attributed, at least in part, to pressure from the Amorites. This economically, socially, and politically interconnected but conflictual world that was accustomed to organized rulership is the one that these semi-nomadic pastoralists came to dominate for the next four hundred years—the Old Babylonian (OB) era.

The OB period was one of strong and extensive city-states (or territorial states), with consistent political and social structures throughout the Ancient Near East for roughly 400 years (2000-1600 BCE). Scribal practices were widely shared, with southern Mesopotamia (Babylon) continuing to have primary influence.[65] The abundant textual material allows for investigations of some detailed insights into their religious, political, administrative, and personal life from various perspectives, including that of cultural identities.

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[60] The Uruk phenomenon, which occurred between ca. 3600 and 3200 BCE, is marked by the widespread expansion of several distinctive features from this urban, southern Mesopotamian city into northern Mesopotamia and what is now eastern and northern Iran, southeastern Turkey, and (potentially) Egypt. The identifiable characteristics include the introduction of proto-cuneiform, social and ideological changes, architecture, and pottery—a certain beveled-rim bowl is considered ubiquitous to the effected contexts. The suggested reasons for these developments are a complex mixture of trade, exchange, emulation, and military action. Akkermans and Schwartz (2003), Ch. 6; Guillermo Algaze, *Ancient Mesopotamia at the Dawn of Civilization: The Evolution of an Urban Landscape* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 68-73; Van De Mieroop, *History* (2015), 37-41.

[61] Van De Mieroop, *History* (2015), 37.

[62] Ibid., 15.

[63] Ibid., 74.

[64] See the map, Appendix D.4.

[65] N. Veldhuis describes it as a Community of Practice, which is a Level 3 group identity in its own right (see §3.2.4). Van De Mieroop, *History* (2015), 63-65, 90-92; Niek Veldhuis, *History of the Cuneiform Lexical Tradition*, Guides to the Mesopotamian Textual Record vol. 6 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2014), 224-225.

The Amorites become increasingly evident in the textual record subsequent to their first appearance in the mid-third millennium. In the Ur III period, they are active in all levels of society.[66] They are engaged in various occupations, including serving as military generals. They are also depicted as 'uncivilized' nomads, hostile to the empire and party to its downfall.[67] They would become the elites of the OB period, attaining such a degree of status, influence, and power that some researchers refer to these four centuries as the Amorite Period.[68] Yet to this day, the basic questions of who they were, where they came from, and how they came to power remain without definitive answers. The answers are so perplexing that the 'Amorite Problem' has been an ongoing topic of scholarly debate for nearly a century.[69]

2.3 Situatedness at the End of the Third Millennium

Although Mesopotamian civilization is not a monolithic whole, it is often presented as such in order to simplify its presentation and to serve general interests, with sub-variations in distinctive aspects, groups, or places noted as needed. The approach is sometimes criticized but still useful and not without warrant because there are some significant underlying consistencies.[70] The areas that are particularly relevant to the situatedness that is an elemental aspect to considerations of Amorite cultural identity are geography, technology, economy, and the political and social makeup of the region. The overall picture is one of a well-developed and structured civilization—a surprising state of affairs for an apparently atextual and semi-nomadic people to ascend to rule.

The Ancient Near East incorporates a variety of ecological and topographical environments that frame interactions between people groups.[71] These range from low desert to high mountains, steppe, riparian, and maritime areas. All of this variety supported a wide range

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[66] Buccellati, *Amorites* (1966), esp. 339-344.

[67] See TCL XV 9 and PBS XIII 9:7 in Buccellati. Ibid., 91, 235, 328, 330-332; Michalowski (2011), 117-118; Jerrold Cooper, "International Law in the Third Millennium," in *A History of Ancient Near Eastern Law*, ed. Raymond Westbrook, Handbook of Oriental Studies 72 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 244.

[68] Charpin, "Histoire Politique" (2004), 38.

[69] It began with the publications of Benno Landsberger and (esp.) Theodor Bauer in 1926 (see further fn. 123 below and §2.5.3). I. J. Gelb, "The Early History of the West Semitic Peoples," *JCS* 15, no. 1, (1961): 31.

[70] Although there were changes and developments in many aspects over the course of the years, this ongoing consistency is noted in several ways by different scholars, both generally and in specific cultural features. For example: the general worldview (Glassner); law (Westbrook); artistic representation, scribal arts, urbanism, institutions, and a unique *Weltanschauung* (Algaze). The continuity is also evident in material aspects, from individual artifact forms such as a certain biconical stone vase (McCaffrey) to practices expressed materially in types, including cylinder seals (Nissen) and cuneiform writing (Algaze, Cooper). Jean-Jacques Glassner, "The Use of Knowledge in Ancient Mesopotamia," in *CANE*, ed. Jack M. Sasson, vol. 3 (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2006), 1815, 1822; Raymond Westbrook, "Introduction: The Character of Ancient Near Eastern Law," in *A History of Ancient Near Eastern Law*, ed. Raymond Westbrook, Handbook of Oriental Studies (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 23; Guillermo Algaze, "The End of Prehistory and the Uruk Period," in *The Sumerian World*, ed. Harriet E. W. Crawford (London: Routledge, 2013), 68-69; Kathleen McCaffrey, "The Sumerian Sacred Marriage: Texts and Images," in *The Sumerian World*, ed. Harriet E. W. Crawford (London: Routledge, 2013), 235; Hans J. Nissen, "Ancient Western Asia Before the Age of Empires," in *CANE*, ed. Jack M. Sasson, vol. 2 (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2006), 800; Jerrold S. Cooper, "Babylonian Beginnings: The Origin of the Cuneiform Writing System in Comparative Perspective," in *The First Writing: Script Invention as History and Process*, ed. Stephen D. Houston (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 82, 94 n. 83.

[71] See T. J. Wilkinson, *Archaeological Landscapes of the Near East* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2003).

of subsistence strategies involving agriculture, foraging, herding, hunting, fishing, and trapping. Human mobility, consequently, ranged between degrees of sedentism and nomadism. Despite the vastness of the distances, by the end of the third millennium, contact between social groups had been wide-ranging for millennia.

Technological knowledge was well advanced at this time. Along with earlier tools and methods, bronze implements and weaponry were in use, pottery was fired and wheel-made, transportation included boats and mounted donkeys, while donkeys and oxen served as draft animals. As mentioned above, writing had been in use, to one degree or another, for more than a thousand years; archives were being kept by private families and public officials, and written evidence had become necessary in judicial proceedings.[72] Monumental architecture had developed including ziggurats, palaces, and temples. Advanced abstract knowledge was developed and transmitted in fields such as mathematics, where they used word problems and visual depictions (e.g., topographical plans) to work with constructs such as geometry, reciprocals, fractions, and the sexagesimal number system.[73]

The economy was diverse. There was extensive long-distance trade and exchange.[74] As both hired workers and entrepreneurs, people pursued a variety of livelihoods,[75] including professional occupations such as herdsmen, scribes, priests, foresters,[76] doctors, and military generals.[77] The positions were not limited to men, as women were also midwives, governesses, doctors, barbers, and singers.[78] There was a standard daily wage for hired labor.[79] People engaged in small/family business in trade, credit-lending, farming, and crafting, as well as in commercial trade endeavors.[80] Financing was available for these ventures through interest-bearing loans (at standard rates)[81] and investment capital.[82] Accounting measures were

[72] Antoine Jacquet, "Family Archives in Mesopotamia during the Old Babylonian Period," in *Archives and Archival Documents in Ancient Societies*, ed. Michele Faraguna, Legal Documents in Ancient Societies IV (Trieste: Edizioni Università di Trieste, 2013), 76.

[73] Eleanor Robson, *Mathematics in Ancient Iraq: A Social History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), Ch. 3.

[74] As Michalowski describes it, "The end of the third millennium was a time of complex long-distance relationships between sophisticated cultures that stretched from the Mediterranean to Margiana, Bactria, Baluchistan, Makran, and beyond." It was, he says, an "interconnected world" of "complex movements of people, ideas, representations, finished goods, and raw goods across these broad areas." Michalowski (2011), 98.

[75] Marten Stol, "Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft in Altbablyonischer Zeit," in *Mesopotamien: Die Altbabylonische Zeit*, ed. Dominique Charpin, Dietz Otto Edzard, and Marten Stol, OBO 160/4 (Fribourg: Academic Press, 2004), 736-737 (following Thureau-Dangin).

[76] Steven J. Garfinkle, *Entrepreneurs and Enterprise in Early Mesopotamia: A Study of Three Archives from the Third Dynasty of Ur (2112-2004 BCE)*, Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology (CUSAS) vol. 22 (Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 2012), esp. 70-76.

[77] Steven Garfinkle, "Family Firms in the Ur III Period," in *Tradition and Innovation in the Ancient Near East*, ed. Alphonso Archi and A. Bramanti (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2015), 522.

[78] Julia M. Asher-Greve, "Women and Agency: A Survey from Late Uruk to the End of Ur III," in *The Sumerian World*, ed. Harriet E. W. Crawford (London: Routledge, 2013), 372.

[79] Garfinkle (2012), 174.

[80] Garfinkle (2015), 523; Garfinkle (2012), 13 n. 39 (following van Driel), 35 n. 20, 55.

[81] Garfinkle (2015), esp. §5.4; Bertrand Lafont and Raymond Westbrook, "Neo-Sumerian Period (Ur III)," in *A History of Ancient Near Eastern Law*, ed. Raymond Westbrook, Handbook of Oriental Studies (Leiden: Brill, 2003), §7.2.3.

[82] A practice mostly associated in the literature with the Assyrian traders, Marten Stol also notes that palace silver was used in this way. Stol (2004), 701; see also the interesting discussion in Garfinkle (2012), §6.9 and §7.11.

employed, including such detailed elements as delivery receipts and disbursement ledgers;[83] ration lists and other bureaucratic, administrative records are, in fact, a large source of the currently available textual evidence used for historical reconstructions.[84] They had a system of taxation with established filing deadlines.[85] Silver and other commodities were used for exchange based on standardized measures.[86]

Centralized city-states dominated the political arena, ruled by kings who were connected hierarchically to other local rulers. Interactions between them were often moderated by written treaties[87] and other established diplomatic practices. Amanda Podany depicts the situation concisely:

> Already in this era, the twenty-third century BCE, kings sent ambassadors to foreign courts with gifts and letters, negotiated peace treaties, and cemented their alliances with marriages. Diplomatic contacts were, as far as we know, all within Syria and Mesopotamia, and allies shared a common culture.[88]

Organized militaries, hierarchically structured by ranks such as generals, captains, and soldiers,[89] were deployed in less amicable situations.

The social structure was also organized. Both of the two "great organizations,"[90] the temple and palace—or religious and secular authority, respectively—that dominated the urban centers and their peripheral communities had hierarchical offices, with both separate and combined spheres of administration.[91] Temples served an organized pantheon of deities, and the

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[83] The capitalization of accounts, discussed by Garfinkle, indicates a high level of sophistication in these practices. Garfinkle (2012), §6.4-9; Antoine Jacquet, "LUGAL-MEŠ et *malikum*: Nouvel Examen du *kispum* à Mari," in *Recueil d'Études à la Mémoire d'André Parrot*, ed. Jean-Marie Durand and Dominique Charpin, FM 6 (Paris: SEPOA, 2002), 52-55; see also, Robson (2008), Ch. 3.

[84] With regard to the Ur III state, Amanda Podany notes that they "created a stunningly elaborate bureaucratic system that produced mountains of administrative records." Amanda H. Podany, *Brotherhood of Kings: How International Relations Shaped the Ancient Near East* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 67.

[85] According to Jacquet, these were normally set by harvest or festival dates. Jacquet, "Family Archives in Mesopotamia during the Old Babylonian Period" (2013), 72.

[86] This standardization was introduced by Shulgi (2094-2047 BCE). Amorite daggers are attested as a standard measure of metal in the Ebla texts. Jacob Klein, "Shulgi of Ur: King of a Neo-Sumerian Empire," in *CANE*, ed. Jack M. Sasson, vol. 2 (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2006), 844; Alfonso Archi, ed. *Ebla and its Archives: Texts, History, and Society*, SANER 7 (Boston: De Gruyter, 2015), 63 (TM.75.G.2502 and others).

[87] Cooper (2003), 244 ff.

[88] Podany (2010), 14.

[89] Bertrand Lafont, "The Army of the Kings of Ur: The Textual Evidence," *CDLI Journal* 5, (2009), http://www.cdli.ucla.edu/pubs/cdlj/2009/cdlj2009_005.html.

[90] Elizabeth Stone refers to "the recognizable characteristics of the Mesopotamian city: the institutional complexity of palace and temple and the dense urban fabric based on courtyard houses." She also observes that the "temple and palace served as the two [organizational] anchors, usually on opposite sides of the city, with the body politic located between." The label draws upon Oppenheim's seminal study. Elizabeth C. Stone, "The Organisation of a Sumerian Town: The Physical Remains of Ancient Social Systems," in *The Sumerian World*, ed. Harriet E. W. Crawford (London: Routledge, 2013), 161 and 174; A. Leo Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization*, Revised by Erica Reiner ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), 95.

[91] Joan Goodnick Westenholz, "In the Service of the Gods: The Ministering Clergy," in *The Sumerian World*, ed. Harriet E. W. Crawford (London: Routledge, 2013); Marc Van de Mieroop, "Democracy and the Rule of Law, the Assembly, and the First Law Code," in *The Sumerian World*, ed. Harriet E. W. Crawford (London: Routledge, 2013), 279-285; Johannes M. Renger, "Economy of Ancient Mesopotamia: A General Outline," in *The Babylonian World*, ed. Gwendolyn Leick (New York: Routledge, 2007), 190-191; Michael E. Smith, "The Archaeology of Ancient State Economies," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33, (2004): 85-86.

palace corporately served the ruler(s). Both had a significant measure of control over land and industry. The properties they owned were sources of income for the institution and employment for the people; many of the occupations mentioned above were performed in support of the temple and/or the palace.[92] Armies were connected to both institutions, in that the king often led the charge, carrying weapons wielded by the will of the gods to whom the victories were credited.[93]

This composite of subsistence practices, technology, economy, politics, and social structure was regulated by informal and formal social rules. There was a general sentiment toward order and justice[94] that underlay the accepted behavioral norms, such as provision for the disadvantaged (e.g., widows and orphans),[95] sexual propriety, and fair business dealings.[96] The value placed in wisdom, piety, discipline, and long life produced standards of comportment. In *Gender and Aging*, Rivkah Harris captures many of these principles in her discussion of the different life stages and their behavioral norms that "constrained Mesopotamians to behave in acceptable ways."[97] She points out that parents taught their children morality and piety because they considered them too young to know when they had "sinned."[98] She draws a parallel between parental instruction in proper behavior and the harlot teaching Enkidu how to be civilized in the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, in which he is taught "how to eat, drink beer, wash himself with water, and rub himself with oil."[99] Parents also taught their children to be respectful and obedient, and they expected affection, honor, and support in their old age in return.[100] Expanding this training beyond the home, schoolmasters punished disorderliness and the use of bad language by their students.[101] There was an appreciation of gentlemanly behavior that included being respectful and not greedy,[102] earning one's living,[103] and not marrying girls who were too young.[104] This

[92] Of interest with regard to Amorites, Julia Asher-Greve notes that the "so-called Martu-women," who worked in these institutions, were one of the lowest status groups. Asher-Greve (2013), 373; Westenholz (2013), 247-248; Van de Mieroop, "Democracy and the Rule of Law, the Assembly and the First Law Code" (2013), 279-280; Rita P. Wright, "Sumerian and Akkadian Industries: Crafting Textiles," in *The Sumerian World*, ed. Harriet E. W. Crawford (London: Routledge, 2013), 407 ff.

[93] Stephanie Dalley, "Ancient Mesopotamian Military Organization," in *CANE*, ed. Jack M. Sasson, vol. 1 (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2006), 414.

[94] Van de Mieroop, "Democracy and the Rule of Law, the Assembly, and the First Law Code" (2013), 283.

[95] See, for instance, Rivkah Harris, *Gender and Aging in Mesopotamia: The Gilgamesh Epic and Other Ancient Literature* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000), 108-110.

[96] The twentieth century laws of Ur-Nammu reflect many of these ideals. Some examples, as presented in Miguel Civil's edition, are the penalties for murder (§1), theft (§2), sexual misconduct (§6), perjury (§38), fraud (§39), and destruction of property (§41). In addition, there are general protections for personal injury (§19), fair pricing (§B1), restitution (§B4), fair wages (§Dıb) and interest rates at different scales of business dealings (§D9, D10). Some of these provisions are made specifically for widows, orphans, and slaves. There is, in addition, evidence of an interest in freedom (§3), respect (§30), and order (in social classes (§E6) and litigation procedures (§C7)). Miguel Civil, "The Law Collection of Ur-Namma," in *Cuneiform Royal Inscriptions and Related Texts in the Schøyen Collection*, ed. A. R. George and Miguel Civil, Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology (CUSAS) 17 (Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 2011).

[97] Harris (2000), 3.

[98] She cites *Shamash* 18:20 (from *CAD* M2 s.v. meṣḫerūtu): "in my youthfulness I am inexperienced, I do not know whether I have committed a sin." Ibid., 17.

[99] Ibid., 18.

[100] Ibid., 66, 71.

[101] Ibid., 19.

[102] Ibid., 24.

[103] Ibid., 21.

[104] Ibid., 22.

sense of order and respect extended into the public arena, prescribing behaviors such as where and how one sat at royal meals[105] and the code of manners in inter-governmental diplomacy.[106] Together, these portray a world with structured standards of civility against which the 'uncivilized' could be evaluated—such as the Amorites.

These norms are reflected in the legal system, where both civil and criminal matters were adjudicated. There were laws concerning marriage and divorce, inheritance, and adoption.[107] In addition to family law, contract,[108] criminal,[109] and international[110] laws were covered. Serious crimes, including homicide, injury, rape, perjury, theft, insult, and slander, "all carried a high degree of moral culpability."[111] They took premeditation into account,[112] and the system had established litigation procedures and rules of evidence.[113]

A crucial factor for present purposes is that, although it was not impermeable to foreigners, this advanced, structured, and cohesive social system that was in place at the end of the third millennium specifically excluded Amorites as a group.[114] The kingdoms that controlled the economy, military, diplomacy, institutions, and social relations of their citizens considered them to be uncivilized outsiders. In this period just before the OB, Amorites lived outside the imperial authority[115] and were, consequently, not protected by its system of justice.[116] More importantly, they were not seen as holding the same values. Viewed stereotypically as barbarians, they were considered to be: lacking in wisdom;[117] ignorant about how to eat, bathe, and dress properly;[118] and, not respectful of proper intergenerational and other social relations.[119] As J-J. Glassner states it, "Apparently, the world was subdivided into two entities, 'us and them,' as if we passed imperceptibly from the family circle to those of the neighborhood, collegiality, and friendship, and finally to cross the circles of hostility and monstrousness."[120]

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[105] Susan Pollock, "The Royal Cemetery of Ur: Ritual, Tradition, and the Creation of Subjects," in *Representations of Political Power: Case Histories from Times of Change and Dissolving Order in the Ancient Near East*, ed. Marlies Heinz and Marian H. Feldman (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 101-102.

[106] T. M. Sharlach, "Diplomacy and the Rituals of Politics at the Ur III Court," *JCS* 57, (2005): 18.

[107] Lafont and Westbrook (2003), §5 and §6.2.

[108] Ibid., 7.

[109] Ibid., §8.

[110] Cooper (2003).

[111] Westbrook (2003), 77.

[112] Ibid., §8.3.

[113] Lafont and Westbrook (2003), §3.

[114] Michalowski questions the degree to which the evidence reflects this attitude in the pre-OB period. However, although Amorites were also accepted within Mesopotamian society to some degree, it is generally accepted that the pejorative view was predominant in Ur III (see e.g., Schwartz). Glenn M. Schwartz, "An Amorite Global Village: Syrian-Mesopotamian Relations in the 2nd Millennium BC," in *Cultures in Contact: From Mesopotamia to the Mediterranean in the Second Millennium BC*, ed. Joan Aruz, S. Graff, and Yelena Rakic (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 3; Michalowski (2011), 84.

[115] Cooper (2003), 244.

[116] See Raymond Westbrook, "Introduction: The Character of Ancient Near Eastern Law," *History of Ancient Near Eastern Law*, Handbook of Oriental Studies (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 36-42.

[117] Harris (2000), 63.

[118] Ibid., 47-48; Lucio Milano, "Food and Identity in Mesopotamia: A New Look at the aluzinnu's Recipes," in *Food and Identity in the Ancient World*, ed. C. Grottanelli and Lucio Milano 9 (Padova: S.A.R.G.O.N. Editrice e Libreria, 2004), 247.

[119] Harris (2000), 71.

[120] Glassner (2006), 1821.

This scenario raises the puzzling question of how such a seemingly differentiated group as the Amorites could penetrate and arise over such a strong and cohesive cultural system without leaving any physical expression of their presence. Particularly since, as will be seen in Chapter 3, these structures are deeply enmeshed in identity processes and are quite resistant to change. Answering that question is a matter for Amorite Studies.

2.4 Amorite Studies

The traditional understanding of Amorites recounted in Chapter 1 developed over the course of the many years of research on the topic. Initially recognized through personal names as a distinct linguistic group in the late nineteenth century,[121] the label Amorite—as a group of people—was identified in the assyriological literature as early as 1905.[122] As new texts came to light over the next half-century, various scholars progressively explored different features of the group, such as their origins,[123] the nature of their language,[124] and the pastoral-nomadic characteristic of their lifeway.[125] Current interest in the group as a conceptual entity was largely generated by developments in the 1960s, and by the appearance of two seminal publications in 1966, in particular.[126] One, written by Kathleen Kenyon,[127] was focused on archaeology from the southern Levant,[128] while Giorgio Buccellati's monograph[129] draws on textual evidence from Mesopotamia.

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[121] Although other research preceded it, Fritz Hommel's work was an important contribution in this early stage (see Buccellati's comments and n. 144 below). Fritz Hommel, *Die Altisraelitische Überlieferung in Inschriftlicher Beleuchtung: Ein Einspruch gegen die Aufstellungen der Modernen Pentateuchkritik* (München: H. Lukaschik, 1897); Buccellati, *Amorites* (1966), 4-5.

[122] They were identified as a distinct linguistic group through the differentiation in their personal names. Citing CT II 50 (BM 92656), Hermann Ranke (one of Hommel's students) wrote, "From this passage we learn that the native Babylonians called these foreign cousins, who had become residents in their country, by the name of "*mârê Amurrum*," i.e., "children of the Westland." In anticipation of the discussion in Chapter 4, note that at that time there was already ongoing consideration of the Amorites (Aamu) in connection with Hyksos identity based on Egyptian textual and visual evidence (see e.g., Tomkins). Hermann Ranke, *Early Babylonian Personal Names from the Published Tablets of the So-Called Hammurabi Dynasty (B.C. 2000)*, BE 3 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1905), 33; Henry George Tomkins, "Notes on the Hyksos or Shepherd Kings of Egypt," *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 19, (1890): esp. 192; see also, Henry George Tomkins, "Remarks on Mr. Flinders Petrie's Collection of Ethnographic Types from the Monuments of Egypt," *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 18, (1889): 224-225.

[123] In 1926, Bauer published a comprehensive study in opposition to the already current theory of their western origins. Although his idea was immediately challenged, the work made a positive contribution to the field that lasted for decades (see Buccellati's comments) and is still referenced. Theodor Bauer, *Die Ostkanaanäer: Eine Philologisch-Historische Untersuchung über die Wanderschicht der Sogenannten "Amoriter" in Babylonien* (Leipzig: Verlag der Asia Major, 1926); Buccellati, *Amorites* (1966), 6-7.

[124] E.g., Ignace J. Gelb, "La Lingua degli Amoriti," *Accademia Nazionale dei Lince* VIII, (1958).

[125] E.g., Jean Robert Kupper, *Les Nomades en Mésopotamie au Temps des Rois de Mari* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1957).

[126] This observation is recognized by other researchers as well; see e.g., Lorenzo Verderame, "¿Un Pueblo Imaginario? La Creación de la Identidad Amorrea en los Estudios Asiriológicos," in *Diversidad de Formaciones Políticas en Mesopotamia y el Cercano Oriente: Organización Interna y Relaciones Interregionales en la Edad del Bronce, Barcelona, 2013*, ed. Cristina Di Bennardis, Eleonora Ravenna, and Ianir Milevski (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, Publicacions i Edicions, 2013), 43 n.44.

[127] Kathleen Mary Kenyon, *Amorites and Canaanites* (London: Oxford University Press, 1966).

[128] Amorites were a topic in Near Eastern archaeology early in the field. In 1906, E.W.G. Masterman published a paper on the excavations at Tel Gezer in which he associated Amorites with the sacred 'high place' at

Kenyon is renowned for two things: her implementation of the Wheeler-Kenyon method of stratigraphic excavation and promulgating the "Amorite Hypothesis."[130] Through the lens of the cultural-historical method that was standard practice at the time, she identified archeological evidence of an invading semi-nomadic, tribal population in Syria and Palestine, concurrent with the "penetration" of semi-nomads into the Egyptian delta and Mesopotamia. She associated them with the people the Mesopotamians called *Amurru*—the Amorites.[131] In her 1973 article in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, she asserts:

> …sharply differentiated from [the previous period]…there was a population quite uninterested in town life, bringing with them new pottery, new weapons and new burial practices, of types best explained as those of nomads. In Syria, there is a similar break, and there are many links to show that the newcomers in the two areas were connected. In Syria, there is documentary evidence to suggest that these nomadic intruders were the Amorites…[132]

Kenyon can be referred to as the seminal source for identification of an Amorite archaeological assemblage.[133] In it, she includes pottery, weapons, and burial practices[134] that she associates with nomadism and links to Amorites based on cuneiform texts. The excavation method has come to be standard practice, in modified form; her interpretation has been supplanted by a more critical approach to the textual evidence, along with more refined considerations of a much more extensive body of material data, which have challenged her identification of both with nomadic Amorite invaders.[135]

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that site. The idea is still entertained (see below, p. 52 n. 327). E. W. G. Masterman, "The Excavation of Ancient Gezer," *The Biblical World* 28, no. 3, (1906): 180.

[129] Buccellati, *Amorites* (1966).

[130.] The "Amorite Hypothesis" holds that the collapse of the Early Bronze Age culture in the Levant was caused by an invasion of Amorites. The theory has been supplanted by those attributing the transformation to other systemic causes (such as changes in climate, politics, or society) combined, to one degree or another, with the movement of people. For a succinct current overview, see Kay Prag, "The Southern Levant during the Intermediate Bronze Age," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of the Levant c. 8000-332 BCE*, ed. Margreet Steiner and Anne E. Killebrew (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 396-398.

[131.] Kenyon (1966), 8, 13-14, 22.

[132.] Discussion of this textual evidence was published separately, in a chapter of *The Cambridge Ancient History* that Kenyon and G. Posener co-authored with J. Bottéro. Kathleen Mary Kenyon, "Palestine in the Middle Bronze Age," in *History of the Middle East and the Aegean Region c. 1800-1380 B.C.*, ed. I.E.S. Edwards et al., vol. II, part 1, The Cambridge Ancient History (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1973), 77; G. Posener, J. Bottéro, and K. M. Kenyon, "Syria and Palestine c. 2160-1780 B.C.," in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, ed. C. J. Gadd, I. E. S. Edwards, and N. G. L. Hammond, vol. I, part 2, The Cambridge Ancient History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), esp. 559-566, 592-594.

[133] Kenyon did not actually make that claim in the archaeological publication, however; in it, she simply draws analogous connections to Amorites in other areas (see e.g., p. 46 and 59-60). She does note that her colleague M. Dunand makes an unequivocal association between Amorites and some architecture, however (p. 47). Her stated purpose for this monograph was to assemble the archaeological evidence of people groups in Palestine, which had not been previously attempted. Kenyon, *Amorites and Canaanites* (1966), Preface.

[134] Some specific examples include carinated bowls (of a type also identified by Albright), the triangular dagger with mid-rib, and shaft tombs. She notes parallel connections between such sites as Qatna, Byblos, Ugarit, Hazor, Megiddo, Jericho, and Tell Beit Mirsim. The association between these items and places and the Amorites are still current (see the discussion in §2.6.2.1 below). Ibid., 14-18, 53-63.

[135] See, e.g., William G. Dever, "New Vistas on the EB IV ('MB I') Horizon in Syria-Palestine," *BASOR*, no. 237, (1980): 38.

In the same year, Buccellati wrote *The Amorites of the Ur III Period*, which has become a classic that is still referred to today. Based on the textual sources, he concluded that the Amorite label stemmed from the tribal origins of a group in the Jebel Bishri region[136] that spoke a different language.[137] As parts of the same ethnic grouping, during Ur III some of these people were a sedentary component of the general Sumerian social fabric, while some were outsiders with whom the local rulers had diplomatic relations.[138] Throughout a process of gradual assimilation from Ur III into the OB, they remained connected, as a group, by a historical tradition of shared linguistics and origins.[139] Yet, he posits they were not the same people—the tribes were now different and had their own identity.[140] Buccellati claimed that there was minimal evidence of their customs in the cuneiform sources[141] and no clear material evidence of them[142] in these periods.

As Buccellati noted, by the time he wrote his monograph the 'Amorite question' had already become its own area of research.[143] Amorite Studies had progressed from a stage of infancy in the late 1800s, beset by minimal source availability and a tendency toward what seem now to be oversimplifications, to one of more nuanced interpretive capabilities and at least a two hundred percent increase in the number of available texts.[144] From the outset, there were controversies and fundamental issues about the Amorites that provoked the research questions, such as the nature of their language, their geographic origins, and the label by which they should be called. These issues are still debated topics in the current literature, as will be discussed in the following sections.

Since the publication of these two monographs, many studies have advanced our knowledge of the Amorites and their place in the wider Mesopotamian world. Amorite Studies has been the focus of investigation for researchers in each of the various regional areas that comprise its geographic expanse and in all of the disciplines involved in Near Eastern Studies. To varying degrees, area specialization separates research in the Levant from that in greater Mesopotamia (northern and southern Mesopotamia, the Diyala, and Elam/modern Iran). The divisions are natural, given the social, linguistic, and geographic boundaries that lead to concentrations in the different languages, socio-cultural or historical emphases, and intellectual pursuits—especially the separation between assyriological and archaeological research. Smaller-scale focuses, such as political and religious studies, or household and environmental archaeology, add further to the divisions (as well as the rich insights from the expertise) that are the cumulative product of all efforts to date. Despite their shared frustration about the

[136] Buccellati, *Amorites* (1966), 239-241, 352.
[137] Ibid., 361.
[138] Ibid., 324-346.
[139] Ibid., 360.
[140] Ibid., 361.
[141] It includes evidence for a tribal structure and, possibly, a rural, mobile, and non-agricultural lifeway. Ibid., 330, 332.
[142] Ibid., 13-14, 330.
[143] He notes that Hommel wrote "a detailed history of the beginnings of the problem," in *1897*. Ibid., 4 and n. 1; Hommel (1897), 88 ff.
[144] Buccellati surveys the literature, from its beginnings up to the date of his publication, by phases of interest and contributions toward progress in six aspects: 1. language (Pinches, Pognon, Sayce, Winckler, Hommel, and Ranke); 2. location (Schrader, and Clay); 3. political role (Clay, and Goetze); 4. religion (Breitschaft); 5. social structure (Edzard, and Kupper); and, 6. terminology (Landsberger, Bauer, Edzard, Kupper, Moscati, and Noth). Buccellati, *Amorites* (1966), 4-8.

problematic Amorites, each approach provides immensely valuable material that is continually developing.

2.5 The Amorite Problem

The Amorite Problem, which was noted in Chapter 1 as essentially being a question of their cultural identity, originated from apparent contradictions concerning them in the textual record. In his overview, Michalowski lists six debated dimensions, to which the archaeological question was added (above, §1.1). The goal of this project is not to solve the Amorite Problem but to contribute to resolving the paradox over the seemingly improbable impression that Amorites left no archaeological imprint. To address it requires consideration of the various factors involved and Michalowski's list is a good starting point. Though not included among those items directly, language is a factor running through each of the others, so the discussion is well served by adding it at the top.

To capture the fuller scope of the issues he has demarcated, those 'problems' can be framed as issues surrounding the nature of the Amorites themselves—their language, nomadic lifeway, and origins—and the nature of their interaction with other Mesopotamians. All of these are matters of identity or the expression of it in interaction, whether with other people or amongst themselves. This brief survey of the 'problems' sets the background, current status, and the implications from an identity studies perspective for each of these problematic areas.

2.5.1 Language

Current issues concerning Amorites and language center around whether or not Amorite and Akkadian were part of the same language and the nature of the referent(s) to which the Sumerian label MAR.TU and the Akkadian *amurru* (Amorite) apply. An underlying issue stems from the nature of our evidence for the Amorite language, which comes solely through onomastics.

Cuneiform Akkadian was deciphered ca. 1850[145] and the Amorites have been a topic of interest to assyriology—the field of specialized scholarship in cuneiform texts—since very early in the field. Questions about their identity arose from the beginning. Already in 1897, Fritz Hommel noted that T. Pinches had drawn attention to the "non-Babylonian or at least not really Babylonian"[146] name of Hammurabi. The relationship of Amorite to other Semitic languages has also been part of the ongoing discussion, and the efforts to determine the linguistic associations involves identities. When H. Winckler (1903) made the initial determination that the language is Western Semitic, he associated the names with the Hebrews and Canaanites.[147] They were also linked to nomadic Arabs and the Arabic language.[148] In terms of the language itself, by the 1950s

[145] Peter T. Daniels, "The Decipherment of Ancient Near Eastern Scripts," in *CANE*, ed. Jack M. Sasson, vol. 1 (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1995), 86-87.

[146] Hommel (1897), 88.

[147] Ibid., 88, 93; see also, Albert Tobias Clay, *Amurru, the Home of the Northern Semites: A Study Showing that the Religion and Culture of Israel are not of Babylonian Origin* (Philadelphia: Sunday School Times, 1909), 83 ff.

[148] This was based on linguistics and the nomadic lifeway. By 1919, at least, there were arguments against it (e.g., Clay). Hommel (1897), 33; Albert Tobias Clay, *The Empire of the Amorites*, Yale Oriental Series Researches vol. 6 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1919), 1, 83; see also, Giorgio Buccellati, "Gli Amorrei e "l'

there was a sufficient amount of data and advances in research for Gelb to write a grammar and lexicon of Amorite.[149] E. E. Knudsen, M. Streck, and others have continued along those lines.[150] At the pivotal point in 1966, Buccellati recognized the label 'Amorite' as pertaining to both the people and the language.[151]

As a result of those and subsequent developments, presently the common understanding of Amorites includes them having their own language, albeit this is not universally accepted. Critics of that view see the evidence as reflecting a dialect or a group of dialects, instead.[152] There is a middle-ground perspective as well. Robert Homsher and Melissa Cradic state it this way:

> A possible consensus may be that scholars' (etic) perception of an Amorite language is a continuum of mutually intelligible Semitic dialects that, in some instances (e.g., Yasmah-Addu of Mari), coincides with an ancient (emic) perception of language.[153]

In other words, there is some evidence of both. To a non-linguist, however, the arguments for Amorite being a continuum of dialects rather than a language are unconvincing.[154] One example of the points that leave reservations about that conclusion is where John Huehnergard supports that position by noting some of the language's features, including those that seem to mark it as being separate and those that do not. On the distinctive side, he points out that: the names are clearly not Akkadian; some of the people who bore them are called MAR.TU, which he glosses as 'westerner'; they have distinctive characteristics (e.g., the *ya-* rather than *wa-* prefix); and, researchers have identified boundaries around these features (which classify them as Northwest Semitic). As contra-indicators of being a separate language, he mentions that there are dialectical variations within the classification and that they extend across a very wide expanse of space and

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Addomesticamento" della Steppa," in *L'Eufrate e il Tempo: Le Civiltà del Medio Eufrate e della Gezira Siriana*, ed. Olivier Rouault and Maria Grazia Masetti-Rouault (Milano: Electa, 1993), 67.

[149] Only twenty out of the 400 pages of the manuscript were published (1958), as he applied his efforts toward compiling a computer-friendly presentation of the data. Ignace J. Gelb, *Computer-Aided Analysis of Amorite*, Assyriological Series vol. 21 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, 1980), vii; Gelb, "La Lingua" (1958); see also, Herbert Bardwell Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts: A Structural and Lexical Study* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1965), 4.

[150] Ebbe E. Knudsen, "Amorite Grammar: A Comparative Statement," in *Semitic Studies in Honor of Wolf Leslau on the Occasion of his Eighty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Alan S. Kaye (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1991); Michael P. Streck, *Das Amurritische Onomastikon der Altbabylonischen Zeit*, AOAT vol. 271/1 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2000); Ebbe E. Knudsen, "Amorite Vocabulary: A Comparative Statement," in *Assyria and Beyond: Studies Presented to Mogens Trolle Larsen*, ed. Jan Gerrit Dercksen (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2004).

[151] Buccellati, *Amorites* (1966), 12.

[152] They see it as being a matter that is unresolved, perhaps even unresolvable, at present. John Huehnergard and Na'ama Pat-El, "Languages of the Ancient Near East: An Annotated Bibliography," (2012): 6, http://www.academia.edu/2044053/Languages_of_the_Ancient_Near_East_An_Annotated_Bibliography; John Huehnergard, "Semitic Languages," in *CANE*, ed. Jack M. Sasson, vol. IV (New York: Simon & Schuster Macmillan, 1995), 2122; John Huehnergard, "Languages (Introduction)," in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, ed. David Noel Freedman, vol. 4 (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 159; Mary Ellen Buck, *The Amorite Dynasty of Ugarit: The Historical Origins of the Bronze Age Polity of Ugarit Based upon Linguistic, Literary, and Archaeological Evidence* (PhD Dissertation, The University of Chicago, 2018).

[153] Robert S. Homsher and Melissa S. Cradic, "The Amorite Problem: Resolving an Historical Dilemma," *Levant*, (2018): 4.

[154] For a similar view from a specialist's perspective, see de Boer (2014), 113.

time, so that it is, *a priori*, "unlikely that they constitute a single linguistic entity."[155] The reservations arise from the fact that these two latter points, about extension over time and space and having subclassifications, do not seem to make a strong argument against the evidence of a bounded language in that era when the processes of social change were much more conservative than the present and interaction was smaller in scale. Similarly, J.-M. Durand's more recent argument that the contemporary reference to Amorite as a language is just a reference to the vernacular version of the elite Eshnunnaean-Akkadian seems equally unconvincing. He writes about 'pidgin' expressions and a creolization of the Akkadian as being an accommodation of dialectal differences.[156] Although that may be the case, the same thing occurs through the intermingling of separate languages. These arguments do not appear to have sufficient strength to refute the studies that develop a lexicon and grammar (e.g., Gelb) that would be characteristics of a distinct language.

The matter of whether or not a people group has their own language is highly significant to identity research. It has implications at each level of relationality in which identities form and function (§3.2.3.1). In implicit recognition of that fact, Homsher and Cradic find the negative argument, against an Amorite language, to be part of the case for discarding the idea of an Amorite ethnicity,[157] while de Boer argues in the other direction on the same basis.[158] This project suggests that the matter should be considered analytically and holistically—that the language be considered along with the other noted Amorite identifiers, based on some consistent and grounded approach through which evaluation can be made comparatively and in concert to see how, or whether, the elements are integrated—and let those results inform the conclusions.

In terms of questions about what the Amorite label refers to, an important stage[159] in the development toward the current status of this topic was Theodor Bauer's 1926 monograph on the Amorites as "East Canaanites,"[160] which compromised the then-accepted association between Amorites and the MAR.TU. This was met with immediate challenges[161] and, subsequently, was refuted by two important studies, one by D.O. Edzard and the other by Buccellati, who noted the immense increase in the available textual evidence by that time (as mentioned previously).[162] That MAR.TU and *amurru* designate the same thing is now commonly accepted.[163] What is still debated is the nature of the referent. The issue is largely attributable to the multi-referential character of the writing and the lexicon that is common among Ancient Near Eastern languages. This factor adds enormously to the complications in Amorite Studies. Both MAR.TU and

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[155] Huehnergard, "Semitic Languages" (1995), 2122; Huehnergard, "Languages" (1992), 159.

[156] Jean-Marie Durand, "Réflexions sur un Fantôme Linguistique," in *Altorientalische Studien zu Ehren von Pascal Attinger: mu-ni u_4 ul-li_2-a-aš ĝa$_2$-ĝa$_2$-de$_3$*, ed. Catherine Mittermayer and Sabine Ecklin, OBO 256 (Fribourg: Academic Press, 2012), 189.

[157] Homsher and Cradic (2018): 4.

[158] De Boer (2014), 113.

[159] As in this instance, there are usually several important publications in the staged developments discussed throughout this section; those cited are only representative.

[160] Bauer (1926).

[161] E.g., Albright's review: W. F. Albright, "Rezension: Theo Bauer, Die Östkanaanäer," *AfO* 3, (1926): 126.

[162] Dietz Otto Edzard, *Die Zweite Zwischenzeit Babyloniens* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1957); Buccellati, *Amorites* (1966), 12 and throughout.

[163] See §2.6.1.1.1 below, along with Michalowski (2011), 107; Michael P. Streck, "Amorite," in *The Semitic Languages: An International Handbook*, ed. Stefan Weninger et al., Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft 36 (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2011).

amurru can refer to the cardinal direction west, a particular place, a language, a deity, a personal name, and a group of people. Since social reconstructions are made through consideration of the actions of people identified by their labels or identifying characteristics associated with them—in the research in many disciplines and eras—the effects of this ambiguity understandably permeate the literature on Amorites and have significant consequences for the interpretations derived from the textual evidence. Considering that each of those referents represents different dimensions of culture contents (§3.3), the effects are magnified when dealing with questions concerning cultural identity. Consequently, several issues surrounding this terminology are addressed in the discussion about Amorite identity in §2.6.1 below.

2.5.2 Nomadism

A nomadic population is attested in Mesopotamia since at least the seventh millennium BCE. It originated in the Zagros Mountains,[164] a territory with which the Amorites are also associated at times. Initially, researchers connected them to this mobile lifeway through inference from the Sumerian texts that depict the deity MAR.TU roaming about, living in a tent, and so forth (see the text of *The Marriage of Martu*, henceforth *Marriage*, in Appendix A-2). The connection also came from the attestations that portray individuals or groups identified as Amorite in association with herds and the steppe, or by other secondary connections, e.g., the linguistic association to other nomads in Arabia[165] (as mentioned above). Questions as to the degree of the accuracy of this inference have been raised since the 1960s.[166]

This is a matter of some significance in Amorite Studies in that, since relationality to space is an integral component of cultural identity (§3.3.3), it touches upon a number of other aspects of their culture, such as their authority structure (especially tribalism). It also influences interpretations of the nature of their interaction with others, both intra-group and inter-group. Importantly, it also has significance for the expectations researchers have about the kinds and the location of the relevant archaeological evidence. In recent years, significant advances have been made in research on nomadism in general and with regard to Amorites specifically, including the archaeological aspect.[167] Currently, the general perspective on Amorite nomadism recognizes

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[164] Glenn M. Schwartz, "Pastoral Nomadism in Ancient Western Asia," in *CANE*, ed. Jack M. Sasson, vol. I (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2006), 252.

[165] John Tracy Luke, *Pastoralism and Politics in the Mari Period: A Re-Examination of the Character and Political Significance of the Major West Semitic Tribal Groups on the Middle Euphrates, Circa 1828-1758 B.C.* (PhD, University of Michigan, 1965), 8 ff.; see also, Lönnqvist (2000), 55-59.

[166] Luke (1965), 8 ff.

[167] Along with the following, see also the series of publications by Rowton in the 1970s. Rients de Boer, "Early Old Babylonian Amorite Tribes and Gatherings and the Role Of Sumu-Abum," *ARAM* 26, no. 1-2, (2014); Michael P. Streck, "Weiße und Rote Termiten: Die Beziehungen Zwischen den Amurritischen Nomadenstämmen," in *Nomaden in Unserer Welt: Die Vorreiter der Globalisierung: Von Mobilität und Handel, Herrschaft und Widerstand*, ed. Jörg Gertel and Sandra Calkins, Global Studies 1 (Verlag, 2012); Michalowski (2011), 88 ff.; Lorenzo Verderame, "Mar-tu nel III Millennio: Fonti e Interpretazioni," in *Rivista degli Studi Orientali LXXXII*, ed. Fabrizio Serra (Roma: Sapienza, Università de Roma, Dipartimento di Studi Orientali, 2009), 231, 243 ff.; Minna A. Lönnqvist, "Were Nomadic Amorites on the Move? Migration, Invasion and Gradual Infiltration as Mechanisms for Cultural Transitions," in *Social and Cultural Transformation: The Archaeology of Transitional Periods and Dark Ages, Excavation Reports. Proceedings of the 4th International Congress of the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East, 29 March-3 April 2004, Freie Universität Berlin*, ed. Hartmut Kühne, Rainer Maria Czichon, and Florian Janoscha Kreppner, vol. 2 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008); Walther Sallaberger, "From Urban Culture to Nomadism: A History of Upper Mesopotamia in the Late Third Millennium," in *Sociétés Humaines et Changement Climatique à la fin du Troisième Millénaire: Une Crise a-t-elle eu Lieu en Haute Mésopotamie? Actes du Colloque*

fluidity in its expression and flexibility in its boundaries, in a symbiotic relationship with the sedentary portion of their own and outside group(s).[168] There are also those who challenge the connection in toto based on issues in interpreting the evidence, such as accounting for the ideological nature of some of the textual evidence and drawing upon OB evidence to characterize matters in Ur III.[169] Although these counter-positions provide stimulating questions for additional research, the coherency of the evidence—depicting Amorites with semi-nomadic characteristics, in locations conducive to that lifeway, and in association with consistent practices and objects (see Chapters 3-4)—supports the current nuanced understanding of Amorites having a semi-nomadic component of their population from at least the Ur III period and in the OB.

2.5.3 Origins

The question about origins was the first 'problem' raised about Amorites. After the early association with Arabia (see fn. 148 above), and with Dilmun,[170] the connection with a western homeland[171] entered into the general understanding with A.T. Clay's 1919 publication of *The Empire of the Amorites*.[172] In 1926, Bauer postulated an eastern place of origin instead,[173] which prompted swift responses,[174] as noted above (p. 28). Julius Lewy's 1929 contribution to the

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de Lyon, 5-8 Décembre 2005, ed. Catherine Kuzucuoglu and Catherine Marro, Varia Anatolica 19 (Istanbul: Institut Français d'Études Anatolienne Georges-Dumézil, 2007); Fleming (2004); Michael P. Streck, "Die Amurriter der Altbabylonischen Zeit im Spiegel des Onomastikons: Eine Ethno-Linguistische Evaluierung," in *2000 v. Chr.: Politische, Wirtschaftliche un Kulturelle Entwicklung im Zeichen einer Jahrtausendwende*, ed. Jan-Waalke Meyer and Walter Sommerfeld, vol. 3, Colloquien der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft (Saarbrücken: Saarbrücker Druckerei und Verlag, 2004); Michael P. Streck, "Zwischen Weide, Dorf und Stadt: Sozio-Ökonomische Strukturen des Amurritischen Nomadismus am Mittleren Euphrat," *Baghdader Mitteilungen (BaM)* 33, (2002); Anne Porter, *Mortality, Monuments and Mobility: Ancestor Traditions and the Transcendence of Space* (University of Chicago, 2000), 51, 421; Lönnqvist (2000); Roger Cribb, *Nomads in Archaeology*, New Studies in Archaeology (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991; repr., 2004).

[168] See, for instance, Arne Wossink, "Tribal Identities in Mesopotamia between 2500 and 1500 BC," in *Correlates of Complexity: Essays in Archaeology and Assyriology Dedicated to Diederik J. W. Meijer in Honour of his 65th Birthday*, ed. Bleda S. Düring et al., Uitgaven van het Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten te Leiden 116 (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2011), 261; Jean-Marie Durand, "Les Nomades dans la Documentation Mariote: Présentation de la Problématique," in *Le Monde de l'Itinérance en Méditerranée de l'Antiquité à l'Époque Moderne: Procédures de Contrôle et d'Identification : Tables Rondes, Madrid 2004-Istanbul 2005*, ed. Claude Moatti, Christophe Pébarthe, and Wolfgang Kaiser (Bordeaux: Ausonius, 2009).

[169] Michalowski (2011), 88 ff.; Verderame, "Mar-tu nel III Millennio" (2009), 231, 243 ff.

[170] Gunnar Lehmann based this on the fact that the deities Ea and Marduk, who were worshipped in the First Babylonian Dynasty, were associated with Dilmun; the proposed reconstruction of events is that they (the Amorites) entered Dilmun before the UR III period, subsequently traveled north and eventually entered Babylonia from the northeast. Ferdinand Friedrich Carl Lehmann-Haupt, *Zwei Hauptprobleme der Altorientalischen Chronologie und ihre Lösung* (Leipzig: E. Pfeiffer, 1898), 162; see also, Gianni Marchesi, *LUMMA in the Onomasticon and Literature of Ancient Mesopotamia* (Padova: Sargon, 2006), 17 with n. 64.

[171] This connection had been made in the 1890s. See Hommel's remarks: Hommel (1897), 88-94; Clay, *The Empire of the Amorites* (1919).

[172] He and Ranke had proffered the idea previously (see his 1909 remarks) but this publication brought it into the mainstream of thought. Some aspects of that work did not withstand review; see, e.g., Buccellati's reference. Clay, *The Empire of the Amorites* (1919); Clay, *Amurru* (1909), 96; Buccellati, *Amorites* (1966), 5-6.

[173] Landsberger had published the idea previously. Benno Landsberger, "Über die Völker Vorderasiens im Dritten Jahrtausend," *ZAA* 35, no. 3, (1924): 236.

[174] E.g., Dhorme. It was definitively set aside by Buccellati (see Gelb). P. Dhorme, "Les Amorrhéens (Suite)," *Revue Biblique* 39, no. 2, (1930): 101-102 (§V); Buccellati, *Amorites* (1966); Ignace J. Gelb, "Thoughts about Ibla: A Preliminary Evaluation, March 1977," *Syro-Mesopotamian Studies* 1, no. 1, (1977): 27.

ensuing dialogue was even titled with the phrase "The Amorite Question" ("Zur Amoriterfrage"); there, he reiterated the western connection and added more evidence in support of it.[175]

All of those locations continue to appear in the literature. Arabia and Dilmun are currently acknowledged as being locations where Amorites lived, but are no longer considered to be candidates for their place of origin.[176] Lorenzo Verderame locates their origins in the east in his recent publications.[177] Rients de Boer places them in two locations: within the Ur III "heartland," in southern Babylonia and the lower Diyala, as well as in KUR MAR.TU ("Amorite land" in Sumerian), which he identifies as a region beyond Jebel Hamrin in the upper Diyala.[178] Michalowski finds their habitation area on the periphery of the Ur III State in various directions, with KUR MAR.TU being a generalized reference to the highland areas they inhabited; he also makes a connection to the eastern location of it through texts from Drehem, which seem to indicate that it is near enough in vicinity for back-and-forth travel.[179]

The location that continues to have the widest general acceptance is in the west.[180] At the other end of the spectrum of interpretations, there are those who assert that identifying the Amorites with a homeland is not theoretically feasible. For instance, Porter considers the label, Amorite, to denote mobile pastoralists not for who they are but for what they do. Since "the term says nothing about their ethnicity, political affiliation, occupation, or even point of origin," she writes, but is instead a designation for something like "our mobile groups," they are not "a monolithic group" that could conceptually have a homeland.[181] Along similar lines, Verderame characterizes them as a rather indistinct element of the general population, somewhat similar to the concept of 'Turks' in Italy, "personas y bienes procedentes de otro universo sociocultural."[182] He asserts that Amorites are academic fiction.[183]

Despite these claims, the preponderance of the arguments and the weight of the evidence they have all produced warrant continued consideration of Syria and the middle Euphrates for the primary original (i.e., in the period before they entered the OB scene) location of the Amorites. Adequate treatment of the rich body of research materials available, which should involve analyzing the supporting evidence for both perspectives, cannot be included here. However, the western position is considered in §4.3.4 below.

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[175] Julius Lewy, "Zur Amoriterfrage," *ZAA* 38, no. 4, (1929): 243 and n. 242.

[176] See, for instance, Mario Liverani, *The Ancient Near East: History, Society and Economy* (London: Routledge, 2014), 177; Lönnqvist (2000), 49-50; Marchesi (2006), 17-18.

[177] Verderame, "¿Un Pueblo Imaginario" (2013), 47; Verderame, "Mar-tu nel III Millennio" (2009), 244-245.

[178] De Boer *Amorites in the Old Babylonian Period*, (2014), 161-168.

[179] Michalowski (2011), 93-105.

[180] See the discussion in §2.6.1.1.3 below and Liverani (2014), 177; Giorgio Buccellati, "The Origin of the Tribe and of 'Industrial' Agropastoralism in Syro-Mesopotamia," in *The Archaeology of Mobility: Old World and New World Nomadism*, ed. Hans Barnard and Willemina Wendrich (Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, University of California, 2008), 154; Lönnqvist (2008), 201-203; Charpin, "Histoire Politique" (2004), 58.

[181] See also the discussion in §2.6.2.2 below. Porter, *Mobile Pastoralism* (2012), 319-320.

[182] Verderame, "¿Un Pueblo Imaginario" (2013), 54.

[183] "Las presuntas trazas arqueológicas del pasaje de los amorreos han revelado una construcción académica más que una realidad histórica." Ibid., 44.

2.5.4 Interactions within Mesopotamian Culture

With the first recognition of the Amorites as a group of people, the nature of their interaction with the Babylonians was presented as a question needing to be addressed. In the publication where Hermann Ranke first identified them as a group, he did so in terms of relationality: "From this passage we learn that the native Babylonians called these foreign cousins, who had become residents in their country, by the name of '*mârê Amurrum*,' i.e., 'children of the Westland.'"[184] Leading up to that statement, he also said, "But we are in the fortunate position to know at least the name by which the Babylonians of that time called these foreign invaders."[185] Invading cousins—the paradox begins with an oxymoron.

Between Ranke's 1905 monograph and Georg Breitschaft's 1918 thesis, each aspect of the interaction questions raised in Michalowski's list already appears in the discussion, and it follows similar reasoning based on some of the evidence that is still often cited:

- **The nature of their movement into Mesopotamia.** After Ranke makes the statement about the 'invading cousins,' he goes on to argue for the invasion theory, which P. Jensen had presented in 1896.[186] He based it on evidence such as the large number of Amorite names at Sippar and by reasoning that for ten generations of Amorites to hold the throne of Babylon there must have been a significant number of them in the population, whether that came about by invasion or immigration. Breitschaft argues against the invasion theory,[187] saying the evidence is weak, that being only the fact of the Amorite wall[188] and the number of names at Sippar. Although the invasion theory has been more-or-less invalidated,[189] Homsher and Cradic present the argument against it based on the same reasons in their 2018 article.[190]
- **Their role in the collapse of the Ur III state.** This question, which is closely associated with the previous one, has received nuanced consideration since early on. Breitschaft made the claim that Amorites were not part of the collapse but that they took the opportunity presented by it to move into the region in greater numbers.[191] This is a rather sophisticated theory for that early stage of the research; Lönnqvist recently raised a similar idea by

[184] Ranke (1905), 33 (emphasis added).
[185] Ibid., 33.
[186] Ibid., 4.
[187] Georg Breitschaft, *Die Westsemitischen Gotternamen und Gottesnamenaquivalente in den Personennamen der Ersten Babylonischen Dynastie* (PhD Dissertation, Munich University, 1918), 13.
[188] This wall was constructed in the third millennium for the express purpose of keeping Amorites out of Babylonia. For a similar critical position on its significance, see Verderame, "Mar-tu nel III Millennio" (2009), 247.
[189] David Ilan's concise summary of the views current in 1995 with regard to the southern Levant make this explicit. He wrote: "a periodization that assumed more or less rapid cultural changes wrought by exogenous forces - most often in the form of immigrating populations, the Amorites…[is now seen as]… a complex combination of exogenous and endogenous factors, with different inputs asserting themselves to varying extents at different times and in different parts of the land." David Ilan, "The Dawn of Internationalism: The Middle Bronze Age," in *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land*, ed. Thomas Evan Levy (London; New York: Continuum, 1995), 247. See also, e.g., Charpin, "Histoire Politique" (2004), 57; Lönnqvist (2008); Pierre Amiet, "Nomades et Sédentaires dans l'Antiquité Orientale," *Revue Biblique*, (2010): 15; Liverani (2014), 24-25.
[190] Homsher and Cradic (2018): 4-5.
[191] Breitschaft (1918), 24.

drawing upon climatological and ethnoarchaeological studies.[192] Trends in the argument have taken it from being a struggle between pastoralists and the settled population that then developed into the invasion theory (e.g., Kenyon) and back again to Amorites being a disruptive force that contributed to the fall of that Empire[193] (e.g., Charpin[194]). The main reason for the interest in this issue is the question of how they came to rule in the OB.

- **The manner of their subsequent rise in status in the OB Ancient Near East.** Breitschaft's comments also address this aspect. He posits that the opportunity presented by the decline of the Ur III power also favored a political uprising by the Amorites in northwestern Babylonia, amidst the turmoil between Isin and Larsa at the time, with Babylon ultimately achieving pre-eminence under Sumu-abum and continuing to gain strength until it reached its pinnacle of Hammurabi's reign. He notes that at the same time, for the Amorites in the general population, there was a process of gradual absorption. This is also a common, current reconstruction.[195] It is also challenged, however. Goddeeris, for instance, has argued that the complicated political situation during the early OB period was not necessarily related to the Amorite identity of the OB kings.[196]

This survey of the early questions and ideas that match the problematic concerns on Michalowski's list makes it apparent that Ranke and Breitschaft, their colleagues, and the scores of researchers since then up to the present have been dealing with very similar issues, evidence, and theories. The "*mârê Amurrum*" text cited by Ranke (BM 92656) highlights the point; it is one that is drawn upon in this present project and numerous other current and past studies. It can also demonstrate the perpetual nature of several of the topics of discussion, in that Breitschaft theorized in 1918, based on that text, that Amorite might simply be a vernacular of the local form of Akkadian; in 2012, Durand made the same proposal.[197] What is particularly interesting in this early manifestation of the Amorite Problem discussion, though, is that—before Kenyon, with whom it is usually associated—both Ranke and Breitschaft refer to it as the Amorite Hypothesis.[198]

The above observations are not intended to say that we have not made any advancement in the last 100 years. In fact, there have been many important developments.[199] Understanding the character of the interaction between Amorites and others is a case in point. In the early stages, the discussion was mainly concerned with the fundamental issues such as whether

[192] The discussion along these lines is dynamic at the present time. See, e.g., Homsher and Cradic; Kennedy has an interesting hypothesis of a tsunami being partially responsible for it. Lönnqvist (2000), 189; Homsher and Cradic (2018): 6-9; Melissa A. Kennedy, "The End of the 3rd Millennium BC in the Levant: New Perspectives and Old Ideas," *Levant* 48, no. 1, (2016): 21.

[193] Aaron David Gidding, *Approaches to Production and Distribution in Anthropological Archaeology: Views from the Early Bronze Age of Jordan and Israel* (PhD Dissertation, University of California, San Diego, 2016), 45-46.

[194] Charpin, "Histoire Politique" (2004), 60.

[195] Liverani (2014), 173 ff.

[196] Goddeeris (2005).

[197] Durand (2012), 189.

[198] The terminology, along with the issues, is generally accredited to Kenyon's monograph. This is still the common way of referencing the whole Amorite Problem. See, among numerous others, various authors in Margreet Steiner and Anne E. Killebrew, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of the Levant c. 8000-332 BCE* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 397, 405, and 452.

[199] They are too numerous to mention; onomastics is one area, in particular, e.g., Streck, *AOAT 271/1* (2000).

relations between them and others were hostile or peaceful. Whereas, now we have the capacity to derive more intricate interpretations. For instance, Durand offers three of them in one publication alone when he: isolates a particular Amorite manifestation of the general regard for antiquity that stands out from the Babylonian worldview;[200] identifies the middle Euphrates as a medial sphere of interaction, separate from the east or west[201] dichotomy that generally prevails in the discussion; and, further, is able to refine our understanding of the already recognized distinctiveness of the Amorite assembly.[202] Respectively, these three represent insightful advances in: the expression of the Amorite worldview within the Babylonian landscape; contextual factors affecting the interaction between Amorites and the people of Babylonia and regions to the north and west; and, the nature of differentiated Amorite intra-group social structures.

What the ongoing similarities indicate is that we need a methodology that can bring some resolution, in the form of consensus, to these issues so that we can move on to even more productive efforts. Rather than dismissing the Amorites as a non-issue—a problem that should be relegated to the dustbin of Ancient Near Eastern research—as has recently been claimed,[203] we need to think of new ways that allow us to take advantage of all the rich data, and the new technological, theoretical, and empirical assets now available. Toward that end, the Amorite Problem is addressed through consideration of the evidence of their identity, specifically, in the next section.

2.6 The Amorite Identity Issue

As presented in Chapter 1, the Amorite Problem is one of identity—cultural identity to be specific. It is exacerbated by the paradox presented by the disconnect between the textual evidence for who they are and their (alleged) lack of a discernible archaeological imprint. Although the claim is often made that there is no archaeological evidence for Amorites, the fact that other researchers claim the opposite indicates that it is the interpretations of the evidence that create the Problem, not necessarily the evidence itself. Although additions to the corpus will certainly add to the interpretive resources available, there is a substantial amount of already accessible material of wide-ranging content. There is also a rich body of accumulated interpretations of that evidence to build upon. Those derived from the textual evidence vary widely, and the reasoning behind them ranges from straight-forward to intricate. Archaeological conclusions, on the other hand, tend to be an either-or proposition—some researchers see in the data a comprehensive Amorite assemblage, even a *koiné*, while others see nothing specifically associated with them or even find it theoretically impossible for it to exist. The textual and material corpora are integrally connected in this subject area, as each draws upon the conclusions of the other—Near Eastern archaeology is essentially historical archaeology, with textual and material evidence being constituent elements of the composite interpretations.[204] Since methods

[200] It is a connection between the word for "a long time" (*darkâtum)* and "the road," being a reference to their mobility. J.-M. Durand, "Peuplement et Sociétés à l'Époque Amorrite (I) Les Clans Bensim'alites," in *Nomades et Sédentaires dans le Proche-Orient Ancien: Compte Rendu de la XLVIe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Paris, 10-13 Juillet 2000*, ed. Christophe Nicolle, Amurru 3 (Paris: ERC, 2004), 123.

[201] Ibid., 112.

[202] See §4.3.2.2.1 (iii) on this authority structure. Ibid., 189-190.

[203] Homsher and Cradic (2018): 18.

[204] Near Eastern archaeology was a forerunner in this field. Historical Archaeology (especially the Interpretive Historical Archaeology in mind here) is an interdisciplinary and holistic approach to archaeological

and theory tie that evidence together, the Amorite Problem is tripartite. Before we can address it effectively, there is the need to articulate the reasons for it on all three fronts.

In this section, consideration is given to a representative survey of the current understandings about Amorite identity from both types of evidence. The previous two sections have situated the following discussion within the wider issues that are also in play. As becomes evident, the Amorites are a problem because the underlying issues are a muddle of copious details, complex theoretical issues, and widely variable interpretations. The question of their identity has reached a level of disagreement that hinders that research and, consequently, all of the areas that are affected by it.[205] This project proposes that having a grounded theoretical perspective and a method for applying it will allow movement forward toward reaching some level of consensus. To frame the current situation, the following consideration of the factors involved will disclose the 'what are we looking for?' material to inform the 'where do we look for it?' discussion of theory and method in Chapter 3. All three factors (evidence, theory, and method) will be brought back together in an analytical framework in Chapter 4.

2.6.1 Textual Evidence of Amorite Identity

The textual evidence for Amorites is critical—without it, we would have no knowledge of their existence as a distinctive entity. Problematic as it may be, it is because of the written evidence that there is a consensus among researchers of their existence in some form during the third and second millennia BCE. Michalowski's statement that it cannot be disputed reflects this. What is in question is the *kind* (or *kinds*) of social group they were. The most commonly held view is that they were an ethnic group. However, other opinions range from a linguistic group to a tribal one, a profession (e.g., soldiers), the rural component of the wider Mesopotamian population, or simply people who came from the west. Each of these views is a product of the ways researchers have interpreted the direct and indirect appearances of Amorites in the texts.

2.6.1.1 How Amorites Appear in Texts

Methodologically, scholars primarily identify Amorites in texts by the presence of a linguistic indicator, whether an onomastic or lexical element or a linguistic feature originally derived from that evidence. They are associated with certain things in the same way. Our current knowledge is the result of both stages: those identifications and associations, and the interpretations based on them.

2.6.1.1.1 By Labels

The two main terms understood as signifying Amorites are MAR.TU and *amurrum*. These labels appear in a variety of configurations: as anthroponyms in themselves, as elements

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investigations that draw upon textual evidence; the historical aspect incorporates textual analysis as a specific, constituent methodology. See Laurie A. Wilke, "Interpretive Historical Archaeologies," in *International Handbook of Historical Archaeology*, ed. Teresita Majewski and David R. M. Gaimster (New York: Springer, 2009), 335, 338; David R. M. Gaimster and Teresita Majewski, "Introduction," in *International Handbook of Historical Archaeology*, ed. Teresita Majewski and David R. M. Gaimster (New York: Springer, 2009), xviii; Charles E. Orser Jr., *Introduction*, Encyclopedia of Historical Archaeology (Florence, AZ: Routledge, 2002), xiv.

[205] The polarization is clearly seen in the widely divergent positions of two recent publications (by Homsher and Cradic, and by Aaron Burke) and has been noted by other researchers as well. See §2.6.2.

of personal names, the name of a deity, place names, and qualifiers for various immaterial and material things.

MAR.TU (or mar-dú) is the Sumerian equivalent to the Akkadian form, *amurrum*,[206] with 'Amorite' being the anglicized rendition. Although it is not universally accepted, there are many convincing reasons for this approach to the terminology being widely adopted.[207] The most convincing attestations are those that present a direct equation between MAR.TU and *amurrum*. ETCSL 3.1.13.2,[208] for instance, is a text most likely from the OB school curriculum. It is a letter supposedly from Shulgi, the famous Ur III ruler, to Ishbi-Erra, the first (Amorite) ruler of the Isin dynasty. Porter dates this text to the early OB and presents it as one out of a group of letters that depict the writers' historical understanding of the relationship between the Ur III state and the Amorites.[209] Line 19 of this bilingual tablet has a sentence written—side by side—that includes the phrase "kur mar-dú" in Sumerian followed by the Akkadian equivalent "*a-mur-ri-i*"; both are rendered "the land of the Martu" in translation.[210] In addition to the association with the land, such a text attests to an early OB understanding of MAR.TU = *amurrum* going back to at least the Ur III period.

Various official titles arise in direct connection with MAR.TU or *amurrum*. *Abu amurrim*, literally 'Amorite father,' designates an authoritative figure over their group. In a letter arguing about the return of some workers, a writer repeats three times, "Why did you not speak to the *abu amurrim*?"[211] Another related title is GAL MAR.TU, with GAL being the Sumerian term for 'big (great).'[212] Although most often glossed generically as 'overseer,' it frequently occurs in military contexts, so translators also render it as 'general.'[213] UGULA and *rabiānum* are also translated 'general' in connection with MAR.TU. Dialogue about nuances in the various meanings of the terms and the implications for Amorite identity arises in the literature often due to these similarities in the usage of different titles.[214]

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[206] These are the two primary languages used in the Old Babylonian period, with Sumerian being a traditional language from earlier times and Akkadian the *lingua franca* of OB Mesopotamia.

[207] For discussion, see (on the equivalence side): de Boer *Amorites in the Old Babylonian Period*, (2014), 20 with n. 24; Ivan Hruša, *Die Akkadische Synonymenliste 'malku = šarru' : Eine Textedition mit Übersetzung und Kommentar*, AOAT vol. 50 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2010), 6; Marchesi (2006), 11 with n. 30; Dominique Charpin, "Review: M. Streck, Das Amurritische Onomastikon er Altbabylonischen Zeit, Band I," *AfO* 51, no. 282-292, (2005/2006): 283; Streck, *AOAT 271/1* (2000), §1.8; Gelb, *Computer-Aided Analysis* (1980), 1; Buccellati, *Amorites* (1966), 332. In addition, the *CAD* recurrently reflects the equivalence, e.g., s.v. 'amurrû' a) and elsewhere. For opposing viewpoints, see for instance, Verderame, "¿Un Pueblo Imaginario" (2013); Michalowski (2011), 105 ff.

[208] See Appendix A for information on the primary texts: transliteration, translation, text type, attestation type, provenience, and date.

[209] Porter, *Mobile Pastoralism* (2012), 285 ff.

[210] J. A. Black et al., "3.1.13.2 Letter from Shulgi to Ishbi-Erra about the Purchase of Grain," ETCSL, accessed 09 December 2016, http://www-etcsl.orient.ox.ac.uk/

[211] U 7804.10.

[212] The Akkadian equivalent is *rabûm*.

[213] See, for instance, Heimpel's translation of ARM 6 64: e.1. Wolfgang Heimpel, *Letters to the King of Mari*, Mesopotamian Civilizations vol. 12 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 242-243.

[214] See, for instance, de Boer *Amorites in the Old Babylonian Period*, (2014), 161-162, along with the references cited in n. 575. Both terms are also translated with other glosses, e.g., 'overseer' for UGULA, in *DCCLT*, s.v. "UGULA"; in *GBAO* 5, it is translated as 'overseer, ruler' unless qualified by MAR.TU, in which case it is rendered 'general.'

LUGAL, the Sumerian term for 'king' (*šarru* in Akkadian[215]) is also qualified as Amorite. The attestations appear in direct references, e.g., A.2760, "the messengers of four Amorite kings" (4 lugal ⌜a⌝-[*m*]*u*-⌜ur⌝-*ri-i*),[216] as well as indirectly, such as when men with Amorite names are called a king, e.g., "Išbi-Erra the king" ([d]*Iš-bi-Ìr-ra* lugal-e).[217] Undoubtedly, the most renowned occurrence is in Hammurabi's title—accompanying a carved image in a fragment of a limestone stele from Sippar, a votive inscription reads "for the life of Hammurabi, king of the Amorites" (nam-[ti] *ḫa-am-mu-r*[*a-pi*] lugal-mar-[dú]).[218]

Another title that is important to mention is the DUB.SAR MAR.TU, or the Amorite scribe. These actors appear in various contexts. ARM 2 13, where one appears in a list of other leaders (a section leader and a lieutenant), is an illustrative example. Again, due to the vagaries of translation, individual researchers gloss it in different ways. In the original publication of the text, Charles F. Jean translates it as "scribe of the Amorites."[219] In a later translation, Durand renders it "scribe of the generals."[220]

2.6.1.1.2 By Names

In addition to the explicit labels, researchers recognize Amorites in texts by the presence of the MAR.TU and *amurrum* elements in onomastics.[221] In the earliest studies, their occurrence in a personal name is considered an indicator that the bearer is an Amorite,[222] a well-founded viewpoint (§4.3.2.1.2 (iv)) that, though problematized, continues to the present.[223] Thus, we consider individuals with names such as Amurrum and Awīl-Amurrim,[224] and their immediate relatives,[225] to be Amorite unless there is evidence otherwise. The hundreds of occurrences, in

[215] This is a well-supported equivalence: see *CAD*, s.v. "*šarru*"; it is also attested in the bilingual section of the OB lexical list "Old Babylonian Lu = ša," for which see Veldhuis (2014), 143 with n. 294; along with Miguel Civil, ed. *The Series lú = ša and Related Texts*, ed. Erica Reiner and M. Civil, Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon (Rome: Pontificium lnstitutum Biblicum, 1969), §2, pp. 25ff., and the reference to source S" on p. 32 with the bilingual representation appearing in lines 490 and 491 (p. 172).

[216] There is also a third millennium attestation from Ebla, TM 75.G.1769 :12 "*A-mu-ti* lugal *Mar-tum*[ki]", for which see Archi, 2015, 25.

[217] This appears in one of his year names (NBC 5671). There are several other exemplars; see Marcel Sigrist, *Isin Year Names* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1988), 16.

[218] BM 22454.

[219] ARM 2 13:29.

[220] This interpretation most likely stems from the perspective held by some scholars that all references to MAR.TU invoke that military function. Thus, Whiting translates the title "scribe of the Amorites" but as having responsibility for military records; Gadd is an early expression of this line of thinking. J.-M. Durand, *Les Documents Epistolaires du Palais de Mari 2*, LAPO 17 (Paris: Cerf, 1998), 31-32; Robert Whiting, "Amorite Tribes and Nations of Second-Millennium Westem Asia," in *CANE*, ed. Jack M. Sasson, vol. 2 (New York: Scribner, 1995), 1235; C. J. Gadd, *Babylonia, c. 2120-1800 B.C.*, Rev. ed., Cambridge Ancient History, Fasc. no 28 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), 34.

[221] Names are also a form of label but the research methodology (and the identification dynamics) differs so this body of evidence is considered separately from the previous section.

[222] Huffmon (1965), 15, and earlier sources cited therein; Buccellati, *Amorites* (1966), 12.

[223] E.g., Michael P. Streck, "Name, Namengebung: E. Amurritisch," *RlA* 9, (1998): 127.

[224] Due to the change in naming practices between the Ur III and OB periods, when the MAR.TU appellative largely fell out of use, this principle applies also if attested as part of the name in an earlier period. Gelb, *Computer-Aided Analysis* (1980), 1. De Boer takes a more conservative approach in not assuming that the element indicates Amorite identification. De Boer *Amorites in the Old Babylonian Period*, (2014), 53-54.

[225] De Boer *Amorites in the Old Babylonian Period*, (2014), 54.

thousands of texts,[226] have associated lexical and syntactical characteristics that differentiate them from names in Akkadian and other languages.[227] This is what led to the recognition that Amorite was in itself a distinct language.[228] Consequently, people with names exhibiting Amorite linguistic characteristics are generally (at least potentially) considered as being Amorites.[229]

Amorite onomastic research has been methodologically strong since its inception, with both structural (grammatical and lexical) as well as formal (morphological and phonological) aspects subjected to analysis.[230] The results of intricate studies in ongoing research have brought increasingly refined understandings over time.[231] The advanced treatments of this topic problematize the matter greatly. De Boer's recent publication includes names he characterizes by the full complement of developed criteria as "clearly Amorite" in contrast to others that are "other" (aka "linguistically uncertain," i.e., may or may not be Amorite), Akkadian, or Sumerian,[232] thus continuing but elaborating previous categorizations.[233]

2.6.1.1.3 By Associations

In addition to the MAR.TU and *amurrum* labels, researchers investigate Amorites through associated references. Tribal names are an example. There are quite a few labels known to represent these groups: Ahlamu, Amnanu, Bensimalites, Benyaminites, Hanu, Numha, Tidnu/Ditanu, Yahruru, Yamadu, and Yamutbal among others. Group members appear this way in texts such as ARM 3 50 where Kibrî-Dagan, the governor of the Terqa district, mentions the arrival of "a Uprapean, a Yahurean, and an Amnanean, these three men being part of the Benyaminites..."[234] All of the proper nouns in that statement refer to what can be considered Amorites.[235]

There are other things associated with MAR.TU or *amurrum* that clearly represent entities with that label that are not the people group. Two important cases are the deity and the place. The Akkadian (and Sumerian) use of determinatives[236] makes these specifications

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[226] Michalowski (2011), 87, 110, and sources cited therein.

[227] See, for instance, Knudsen, "Amorite Vocabulary" (2004).

[228] Contemporaneous evidence (text A.109) demonstrates that the people of the Ancient Near East also recognized it as such (see Streck). Nele Ziegler and Dominique Charpin, "Amurritisch Lernen," in *Festschrift für Hermann Hunger*, ed. Markus Köhback et al. (Wien: Selbstverlag des Instituts für Orientalistik, 2007), 59; Streck, *AOAT 271/1* (2000), 452-453.

[229] De Boer *Amorites in the Old Babylonian Period*, (2014), 53-54.

[230] See, for instance, the discussion in Huffmon (1965), 11-17.

[231] Buccellati, *Amorites* (1966), Ch. 3; Gelb, *Computer-Aided Analysis* (1980); John Huehnergard, "Northwest Semitic Vocabulary in Akkadian Texts," *JAOS* 107, (1987); Streck, "Name" (1998).

[232] De Boer *Amorites in the Old Babylonian Period*, (2014), 53.

[233] Previous studies typically break down the four categories as Amorite, West Semitic, Akkadian, and Sumerian. For detailed discussion of Amorite onomastic methodology (note esp. the de Boer and Huehnergard discussions on the problematic issues), see Ibid., §3.3.2; Streck, "Name" (1998); Huehnergard, "NWS Vocabulary" (1987); Gelb, *Computer-Aided Analysis* (1980), Introduction; Buccellati, *Amorites* (1966), 99 ff.; Huffmon (1965), 11-18.

[234] Translated from the French in Durand, *Les Documents Epistolaires du Palais de Mari 2* (1998), 448.

[235] See, for instance, along with §2.6.1.2 below, Stol (2004), 645-647.

[236] "These are signs which precede or follow words or names in order to specify them as belonging to semantic groups." Dietz Otto Edzard, *Sumerian Grammar* (Boston: Brill, 2003), 9.

explicit.[237] Names of deities are indicated by the determinative DINGIR (or AN), which is abbreviated by a raised lower-case 'd' in transliteration. Thus, ^{d}MAR.TU or ^{d}*Amurrum* is a marked reference to some divine entity associated with that label. Generally, this is understood to designate a god or goddess.[238] Similarly, the post-positional determinative KI marks geographic names,[239] such that *Amurrum*^{ki} signifies a conceptualization of 'amurru' place in some capacity.

Association with these conceptual entities can indicate Amorite-ness. The evidence portrays the deity Amurru as being an actual divine figure; he appears in texts with all of the features one would expect for this kind of being in that era. For instance, adorants pray to him,[240] worship him,[241] and invoke his name in their personal seals;[242] priests serve him;[243] he has a consort;[244] he has a 'house'[245] and a 'storehouse';[246] and, he has a recognizable image amenable to representation in stone.[247] Under a polytheistic religious system, people engaging in practices associated with the god Amurru may have been Amorite; it is not a one-to-one correspondence, but a matter of probability.[248]

There are two primary ways of writing a reference to space associated with MAR.TU/*amurrum*: with the logogram KUR ('land') as a modifier (KUR MAR.TU) or with the post-positional determinative KI (*amurrî*^{ki}),[249] as mentioned above. Sometimes both occur at the

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[237] Use of the determinative is *prima facie* evidence of the associated designation. However, there are nuances in the use of them that may render the intended meaning less immediately ascertainable than this general rule implies; context makes the difference.

[238] The specific entity designated by the label is not necessarily the deity, however. ^{d}Martu may refer to a geographic area, for instance; Lewy explains this as due to the scribes not finding it necessary to characterize town names with the KI determinative, with the result that (if the place named included the divine determinative) the divine name could signify the place. However, including the DINGIR certainly signals some conceptualization of an association between the signified and the divine, whether for the individual scribe alone, the group, or in general terms (the subject needs further inquiry). Lewy summed up the matter by concluding that (for at least one of the associated places) ^{d}*Amurrum* was a center of worship of that god and "a locality inhabited by Amorites" in Julius Lewy, "Amurritica," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 32, (1961): 62. For his explanation about the transmutability in the term, see Ibid., 48. For further discussion of the different associations with the term see, for instance, Paul-Alain Beaulieu, "The God Amurru as Emblem of Ethnic and Cultural Identity," in *Ethnicity in Ancient Mesopotamia: Papers Read at the 48th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale Leiden, 1-4 July 2002*, ed. W. H. van Soldt, R. Kalvelagen, and D. Katz (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2005).

[239] Both signs have meaning as words in themselves, as well—AN and DINGIR: "god," KI: "place," "earth." See the entries in Wolfgang Schramm, *GBAO* 5; Edzard, *Sumerian Grammar* (2003).

[240] A.975.

[241] AO 15704.

[242] Dominique Charpin, *Archives Familiales et Propriéte Privée en Babylonie Ancienne: Étude des Documents de "Tell Sifr"* (Genève: Droz, 1980), 292-293.

[243] BM 96990:41.

[244] Douglas Frayne, *Old Babylonian Period (2003-1595 BC)*, Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia (RIME), vol. 4 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 359; and, Erich Ebeling, "Amurru," *RlA* 1: A-Bepašte, (1932): 102.

[245] BM 96956.

[246] A.7556.

[247] A.975.

[248] Foreign deities were sometimes adopted into a local family of gods and goddesses. This, and other similar practices, makes consideration of the particular context an operative factor in related interpretive analyses. As a relationship tied meaningfully to individual and group identities, reverence toward spiritual beings is neither arbitrary nor immutable.

[249] The occurrence in BM 92514 is translated as a city ("der Stadt Amurrû/î") in the early (and possibly only) editions: Moses Schorr, *Urkunden des Altbabylonischen Zivil- und Prozessrechts*, Vorderasiatische Bibliothek

same time (KUR MAR.TU.KI).[250] Interpretations of these different designations vary among researchers, who have rendered them as the 'land of the Amorites' 'the Amorites within our land,' a settlement, or a town quarter,[251] and a "country" or "placed named Martu(m)."[252] There are valid reasons for all of these glosses—translating ancient (dead) languages is a craft, as much art as it is science, with room for individualized interpretations within the bounds of accuracy. In application, the differences can be significant to our understanding of the meaning. One of the titles claimed by Hammurabi provides a case in point. He calls himself "king of Babylon, king of all the Amorite land [lugal-da-ga-an-kur-mar-dú], king of the land of Sumer and Akkad."[253] Other translators transcribe the phrase as: "king of all the land of Amurru," "king of the whole West(ern land)," and "king of all the Amorites (within our realm).[254] The range of different connotations can be interpretively significant for matters of identity—from an area under the purview of the deity, to a western geographic region, to a people group in this instance.

There are other things qualified as MAR.TU/amurrum in apposition, such as Amorite sheep[255] and Amorite silver.[256] Although finding a person in association with such objects invites the potential for considering him as being an Amorite, the character of their materiality makes the relational considerations different from those involved with the more conceptual connections, such as the land and a god. Exploration of these associations is part of the discussion in Chapters 3 and 4.

2.6.1.1.4 Summary

In the well-developed research into cuneiform texts and aspects related to Amorite questions specifically, several associations are considered potentially indicative of people or things belonging to that group. The primary basis is a connection to the Sumerian and Akkadian terms MAR.TU and *amurrum*. Various labels—personal names, tribal names, and official titles—the Amorite language, and associated things qualified by any of those are the general references. Variations in translation between different researchers add to the knowledge-base and

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(Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1913), 370-371 (UAZP 375 269); Josef Kohler and Arthur Ungnad, *Hammurabi's Gesetz*, vol. 3 (Leipzig: Eduard Pfeiffer, 1909), 197 (HG III 727); Bruno Meissner, *Beiträge zum Altbabylonischen Privatrecht* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1893), 41-42 (BAP 42).

[250] BM 38308, a Neo-Babylonian copy of an OB inscription. Kupper (1957), 109.

[251] Lewy, "Amurritica" (1961): 60 ff.

[252] Streck, *AOAT 271/1* (2000), 26.

[253] Ash 1924, 636 in Frayne (1990), 342-343.

[254] Lewy is citing Langdon and Borger, and suggesting his own translation here (respectively). Although his study is now somewhat dated, these kinds of creative differences are still commonplace. Lewy, "Amurritica" (1961).

[255] TS. B V 68. The inscription on this cone, excavated at Susa, includes precursor text of Tablet XIII in the lexical series ḪAR-ra = *ḫubullu* which, in its Neo-Babylonian version, includes the explicit entry "udu.mar.tu = im-me-ri a-mur-ri-i [Amorite sheep]," for which see Benno Landsberger, Anne Draffkorn Kilmer, and Edmund I. Gordon, *The Fauna of Ancient Mesopotamia: First Part, Tablet XIII*, Materialien zum Sumerischen Lexikon vol. VIII/1 (Rome: Sumptibus Pontificii Instituti Biblici, 1960), 8 (MSL 8/1 18). Another OB attestation (BM 81105) is cited in Seth Richardson, *The Collapse of a Complex State: A Reappraisal of the End of the First Dynasty of Babylon, 1683-1597 B.C.* (PhD Dissertation, Columbia University, 2002), 146. References to these animals are abundant in third millennium texts from Ebla; see, for example, Giovanni Pettinato, "Il Regno Mar-tu^{ki} nella Documentazione di Ebla," in *Immigration and Emigration within the Ancient Near East: Festschrift E. Lipiński*, ed. Karel van Lerberghe and A. Schoors, OLA 65 (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Oriëntalistiek, 1995).

[256] BM 113258.

can also complicate interpretations of the meaning of the texts that have significance for understanding Amorite identity.

2.6.1.2 Interpretations from the Textual Evidence

The predominant view among scholars, generated by the textual evidence, is that Amorite was an ethnic identity, in the anthropological sense of a long-term, kinship-based, cultural identity. This is the default perspective with which investigators interact. Gelb recounts that the term 'Amorite' came to be associated with this group from efforts in understanding the "*ethnic* designation of the masses of names that some scholars had called 'East Canaanite.'"[257] Seeing a strong correlation between language and ethnicity, he, along with others, refers to them as an ethnolinguistic group.[258]

Another line of thought considers ethnicity as their defining identification early in the OB period but changing to something else over time. De Boer, for instance, asserts that their spoken language differentiated them from other "distinctly ethnic" groups in the early OB period[259] but not after 1800, largely because by that time people were no longer referred to as "being 'Amorite.'"[260]

Some scholars focus more on the nature of that change over time. Seth Richardson envisions a shift from an ethnic to a geographic meaning in the label during the OB.[261] W. Heimpel claims the separate Akkadian and Amorite ethnic identities merged during that time.[262] In his study on the *abu amurrim*, Michael Rowton suggests something similar, except that he posits that the distinction reappears in the Edict of Ammi-saduqa (late in the OB), where Akkadians and Amorites appear separably as a tribal differentiation.[263]

Although the default ethnic perspective includes its traditional kinship basis, there are also those that see a different reason for it. Buccellati asserts that MAR.TU was an ethnic

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[257] Ignace J. Gelb, "The Language of Ebla in the Light of the Sources from Ebla, Mari, and Babylonia," in *Ebla 1975-1985: Dieci Anni di Studi Linguistici e Filologici : Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Napoli, 9-11 Ottobre 1985)*, ed. Luigi Cagni, Series Minor 27 (Napoli: Istituto Universitario Orientale, Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici, 1987), 62, emphasis added.

[258] He considers the locus of ethnic differentiation to lie at the boundary of language differentiation: "I identify 'ethnic' with 'ethno-linguistic' because of my firm conviction that ethnic differentiations are based primarily on language." Whiting and Liverani also connect the Amorite language with their ethnicity. From the onomastic evidence, Streck concludes that a geographic zone with fifty to ninety percent Amorite names indicates they were the predominant ethnic component in the area; the area in which this occurs correlates with the region traditionally considered to be their place of origin (around the northern Euphrates, Khabur, and Balikh rivers). Gelb, "Prisoners of War in Early Mesopotamia" (1973): 71; Whiting (1995), 1231; Liverani (2014), 159; Streck, "Die Amurriter" (2004), 335 with Abb. 334.

[259] De Boer, "Early Old Babylonian Amorite Tribes" (2014): 270; de Boer *Amorites in the Old Babylonian Period*, (2014), 94.

[260] For a similar view, see Michalowski. De Boer *Amorites in the Old Babylonian Period*, (2014), 41; Michalowski (2011), 109-110.

[261] Seth Richardson, "The World of Babylonian Countrysides," in *The Babylonian World*, ed. Gwendolyn Leick (New York: Routledge, 2007), 23.

[262] Heimpel (2003), 19-20.

[263] Ni 632, "Whosoever has given barley or silver to an Akkadian or an Amorite as an interest-bearing loan…" ([*ša š*]*e-am ù* KÙ.BABBAR^{am} [*a-na* ^{lú}*Ak-k*]*a-d*[*i*]*-i ù* ^{lú}*A-mu-ur-ri-i* [*a-na* ḪAR-ra *a-na* M]ÁŠ), according to Finkelstein's edition. M. B. Rowton, "The Abu Amurrim," *Iraq* 31, no. 1, (1969): 69; J. J. Finkelstein, "The Edict of Ammiṣaduqa: A New Text," *RA* 63, no. 1, (1969).

indicator in the Ur III period and later in the second millennium[264] but not during the OB. They were, he says, a tribal group that was replaced in the OB by new tribes that had the same geographic origin and language. He claims that because they were not the same tribes, they were not the same people; they had an identity of their own.[265] The impression is that he attributes an ethnic identity to them based on (or generated by) the tribal association rather than vice versa.

Another proposed alternative basis for the Amorite ethnic connection has to do with lifeways. Brit Jahn notes that the Northwest Semitic dialect evident in names, which differentiates them from Akkadians, seems to characterize an ethnic group but that to the Babylonians MAR.TU/*amurru* was a collective term for nomads.[266] Marten Stol presents a similar view, finding that a comparative consideration of texts dealing with Amorites in different contacts presents Amorites as the mobile or rural component of the population.[267]

Similarly, but as he emphasizes is decisively not the same, Verderame understands living in the rural areas outside the cities as another interpretation of Amorite-ness in the OB period,[268] with "politico-cultural" implications.[269] He argues that understanding the Amorites is not even an issue of ethnicity, that it does not matter what kind of subsistence activities they were involved in, where they lived, or whether they lived there all the time. In his view, the critical meaning of this group in the Mesopotamian imagination was their association with the boundaries between order and chaos.[270]

Other challenges to the default, ethnic perspective consider the appearances of Amorites in the texts to be an ideological construct rather than an identity, per se. In their recent article, Homsher and Cradic explore the Amorite Problem in light of the textual and archaeological evidence. Similar to Verderame's perspective, in their estimation the textual evidence is more likely ideological and thus "should not be expected to convey useful information about the ethnic or social identity of individuals or populations."[271] Instead, they conclude that what the written

[264] He posits that industrial pastoralists from the middle Euphrates region formed an "ethnically identifiable" kingdom in the region of Palmyra and Qatna following the collapse of the Khana kingdom in the mid-sixteenth century. They adopted the label *Amurru*, which was by that time defunct and "sufficiently generic and …tradition-bound," while also being spatially correlated with the same region, for the new Amorite kingdom to form around it. Giorgio Buccellati, "The Role of Socio-Political Factors in the Emergence of 'Public' and 'Private' Domains in Early Mesopotamia," in *Privatization in the Ancient Near East and Classical World*, ed. Michael Hudson and Baruch A. Levine (Cambridge, MA: Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, 1996), 144; Giorgio Buccellati, "From Khana to Laqê: The End of Syro-Mesopotamia," in *De la Babylonie à la Syrie, en Passant par Mari*, ed. Ö. Tunca (Liège: Université de Liège, 1990), 241 ff.

[265] Buccellati, *Amorites* (1966), 358-360.

[266] Brit Jahn, "The Migration and Sedentarization of the Amorites from the Point of View of the Settled Babylonian Population," in *Representations of Political Power: Case Histories from Times of Change and Dissolving Order in the Ancient Near East*, ed. Marlies Heinz and Marian H. Feldman (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 193 with n. 191; Stol (2004), 645.

[267] Stol (2004), 645.

[268] See, for instance, Verderame, "¿Un Pueblo Imaginario" (2013).

[269] Verderame, "Mar-tu nel III Millennio" (2009), 256.

[270] "No se trata, pues, de una cuestión de etnia; no importa si los mar-tu eran agricultores, pastores o si se dedicaban a otras actividades; tampoco si estas personas vivían cerca de la ciudad, en aquel panorama de pueblecitos de los cuales nada sabemos, o si venían estacionalmente de más lejos. En el imaginario urbano mesopotámico, estas personas procedían todas de la misma frontera, fuera de aquellas murallas que, en el sistema de la ciudad-estado sumeria, constituían el confín entre el orden y el desorden/caos." Verderame, "¿Un Pueblo Imaginario" (2013), 256.

[271] Homsher and Cradic (2018): 9.

data represents is simply shared naming practices and not ethnicity—"a geographically extensive social adoption of names [rather] than the distribution of an ethnic population."[272]

On the opposite end of the spectrum, Frans van Koppen emphasizes the multiplicity of potential meanings. He says the label may refer to a geographic direction, which would be the west. On the other hand, it could be used as an appellative for people that came from the west.[273] The term 'Amorite' could also denote a language, or it could refer to a political or military elite. In Ammi-saduqa's Edict (Ni 632) mentioned above, he views the term as most likely representing "the rural population that provided military service"[274] in contrast to the Akkadians which would have been the urban population. The combination of the labels, "Amorites and Akkadians," in that text, he asserts, may indicate the use of a traditional catch-phrase, drawing upon its earlier use by Hammurabi, and thus would not have had any bearing on the ethnic perspective at the time of the edict.[275] In terms of ethnic references to them, he says it appears in the labels of the sub-groups, such as the Amnanum and Yahrurum, instead.[276] In essence then, van Koppen is saying it can be any of the potential meanings proffered in the discussion so far.

These examples of some of the different interpretations made by scholars from the textual evidence indicate the extent to which the question concerning Amorite identity presents a challenge to research in the field. Michalowski summarizes the current state of the issue by acknowledging that we simply do not yet know how to define the Amorites. Taking an ideological slant on the written narrative, he says the search for power and identity by Mesopotamian rulers "was infused into a variety of identity labels and that there was a definite hierarchy of such terms in which the notion 'Amorite' played a significant but variable role in various times and various places. What these roles may have been we are only beginning to understand."[277]

2.6.1.3 Summary and Discussion

In summary, textual indicators of Amorites are interpreted differently by individual scholars. The default perspective taken by most is that they are ethnic references in the traditional anthropological sense of the term, with claims by some that the term's meaning changed into something else within the OB period. Some understand it as an ethnicity but with a different basis for the connection, such as language, tribal organization, or lifeway. Homsher and Cradic challenge the ethnic assumption based on the insufficiency in the texts for addressing questions of identity. Van Koppen considers all of the above to be possibilities. The reality is that, because of the conflicting interpretations, we just do not yet know the 'who' or 'what' of the Amorites.

The alternative conclusions being drawn from the texts about what kind of group(s) they were demonstrate that the arguments do not come from a common understanding of identity processes. They are calibrated against the ethnicity view. What the different conclusions reflect,

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[272] Ibid.

[273] Frans van Koppen, "Aspects of Society and Economy in the Later Old Babylonian Period," in *The Babylonian World*, ed. Gwendolyn Leick (New York: Routledge, 2007), 214-215.

[274] Ibid., 215.

[275] Ibid., 213-215.

[276] Ibid., 215.

[277] Michalowski (2011), 87.

however, is that we are looking not for ethnic identity in the evidence but for cultural identity—and the two are not the same. As will be developed in §4.3.6, ethnic identity is based on the idea of shared descent.[278] Cultural identity is, on the other hand, an identification that includes ethnic identities among others (§3.3.5); they form and function at different levels. The two are often conflated and doing so causes the conclusions to drift into ideas that are inconsistent with the reality of the lives of the people in the group. The problem is exacerbated by the counter-arguments that are also stemming from yet other conceptualizations of the identification in their discussion.

The view that the Amorites were an ethnic group early in the OB period but that it then changed into something else, e.g., de Boer and Michalowski (above, p. 41), is possible but unlikely. Ethnic identity forms and is maintained through cognitive, motivational, and structural processes that make it resistant to change over time,[279] even under new circumstances.[280] Rather, it tends to strengthen and solidify instead, as the meaningfulness of group membership increases and the ties among its members grow stronger.[281] Although they do change, from both internal and external pressures, the psychosocial reasons for which group identities form, such as the need to belong, motivate its preservation.[282] The organizational dynamics by which groups tend to grow in size and complexity also contribute to its persistent nature.[283] The perception of shared connections, such as common fate (i.e. the perception that the group moves together through shared experiences over time), that are part of these processes produce ties that are very difficult to break.[284] They do change over time, but with a highly entitative group identity[285] such as ethnicity, they are more likely to endure.

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[278] Kinship is the most encompassing conceptual framework, but genealogical ties also include so-called 'fictive' kinships and other forms of inclusion; biological kinship is the most prominent basis, but is not the only one. See Schermerhorn's (still current) definition. R. A. Schermerhorn, *Comparative Ethnic Relations: A Framework for Theory and Research* (New York: Random House, 1970), 12.

[279] E.g., commitment, the emotional elements that contribute to a person's sense of well-being, and the cognitive schema involved. Structural features include such things as religion and modes of communication. Motivational and structural processes at the group level keep it functioning according to its defining characteristics. Amy E. Randel and Anne Wu, "Collective and Relational Identities: The Moderating Effects of Number of Coworkers and Power Distance," *Identity* 11, no. 3, (2011): 250; Sheldon Stryker and Peter J. Burke, "The Past, Present, and Future of an Identity Theory," *Social Psychology Quarterly* 63, no. 4, (2000): 286; Ursula Hess, Stephanie Houde, and Agneta Fischer, "Do We Mimic What We See or What We Know?," in *Collective Emotions: Perspectives from Psychology, Philosophy, and Sociology*, ed. Christian von Scheve and Mikko Salmela, Series in Affective Science (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 9/24, accessed 20 September 2014, http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199659180.003.0007; Naomi Quinn, "An Anthropological Perspective on Marriage" (paper presented at the Romantic Unions Conference, Los Angeles, 13-15 September, 2006), 3, accessed 24 October 2015, http://www.soc.duke.edu/~efc/Unions/Docs/Quinn_EFC.doc; Nigel Rapport, "Gossip," in *Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology*, ed. Alan Barnard and Jonathan Spencer (London: Routledge, 2002), 404.

[280] Stryker and Burke (2000): 286.

[281] Norman P. Hummon and Patrick Doreian, "Some Dynamics of Social Balance Processes: Bringing Heider Back into Balance Theory," *Social Networks* 25, no. 1, (2003): 621; Quinn, 2006, 2.

[282] Emanuele Castano, Vincent Yzerbyt, and David Bourguignon, "We Are One and I Like It: The Impact of Ingroup Entitativity on Ingroup Identification," *European Journal of Social Psychology* 33, no. 6, (2003): 750.

[283] Donelson R. Forsyth, *Group Dynamics*, 6th ed. (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Cengage Learning, 2014), 314.

[284] Donald T. Campbell, "Common Fate, Similarity, and Other Indices of the Status of Aggregates of Persons as Social Entities," *Behavioral Science* 3, no. 1, (1958): 17-18; Castano, Yzerbyt, and Bourguignon (2003): 748-749.

Another alternative is the suggestion that the basis of their ethnic identity may have changed, e.g., to a geographic one. While groups can identify with space, and certain areas can be a part of the tradition that defines the group, since ethnicity is highly entitative and resistant to change, it is unlikely that it would devolve in this way. If it were to become the identifying characteristic for the group, it would be a weak identity, based on an external relationship rather than a personally identifying characteristic (§3.2.4). It would have little meaningfulness and, consequently, would not persist long. In his article, Richardson seems to be positioning his consideration of this kind of change from an etic perspective, however, concluding that it became the identification by which the Akkadians viewed them. He says: "The designations 'Amorite' and 'Akkadian', once perceived by scholars to be ethnic designations, likely acquired geographical meanings in this time, i.e., non-urban and urban peoples. Twentieth- and nineteenth-century rulers asserted chieftaincy of Amorites—but later OB rulers claimed kingship over Amorite *lands*."[286] In that case, it could be true—the Akkadians might *see* them as a category of people defined by their geographic location. There are a few complications in classifying this as an identity, however. Identity is ascribed by both the person or group and by others (§3.2); since geography is a weak identification (not drawn from personal characteristics) that is unlikely to persist long enough for it to become a basis of interaction with the governmental authorities, what would be being presented in that evidence is simply an etic categorization—an identification in the way of a label (a Level 4 categorical identification, see §3.2.5), but not an identity.[287] The proposed geographic identification would be valid only if the Amorites related with the land in this way at that time, which is not supported by the evidence (e.g., of the meaningfulness of their ancestral ties, §4.3.5). The evidence Richardson is using most likely reflects the etic categorization and not an identity.

Heimpel's suggestion that the Amorite ethnic identity merged with the Akkadian is possible. He references some complex details about names and references to Amorites or their tribes in comparison with references to Akkadians. To determine whether his conclusions have a level of validity that could contribute to consensus, however, awaits consideration of that naming evidence in light of concomitant evidence, both textual and archaeological, with clarified conceptualizations of ethnicity and acculturation or hybridity processes. That work will require an organizing framework (such as Self^{Other}), which is firmly grounded in identity theory, that can provide the necessary comparative consistency.

Rowton's suggestion that their ethnic identity merged with the Akkadian and later re-appeared in the form of a tribal identity is less likely. The basis for his interpretation is the occurrence of MAR.TU in the textual evidence; the fact that the referent virtually disappears (in that form) after the end of Ur III is often cited as indicating some form of change in Amorite identity. He interprets that development, in combination with the increased presence in West Semitic (or Amorite) names, as showing that the population became "bi-ethnic";[288] he posits that

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[285] Donalson R. Forsyth and Jeni Burnette, "Group Processes," in *Advanced Social Psychology: The State of the Science*, ed. Roy F. Baumeister and Eli J. Finkel (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 497.

[286] Richardson, "The World of Babylonian Countrysides" (2007), 23 (emphasis in the original).

[287] The matter is further complicated by questions of whether the later OB kings were still Amorite in the sense of their cultural (ethnic) identity and what the label KUR MAR.TU refers to in the texts Richardson is citing, both of which are issues that require separate analysis (beyond the scope of the discussion here).

[288] Although this was written some time ago, his groundbreaking studies on nomadism in the 1970s continue to be a common source of information in discussions about Amorites and other nomadic groups in the OB; so, his ideas have ongoing influence. Rowton (1969): 69.

an Amorite-Akkadian symbiosis effectively replaced the former Sumerian-Akkadian one.[289] Being similar to Heimpel's proposition, as a process of acculturation this is possible, but to be valid, it would need to be supported by evidence that the two groups considered themselves and each other to be part of another overarching identification, e.g., a state. Unless that was the case, they were in actuality still separate cultural identities.[290] He explains the subsequent reference to the two groups appearing separately in Ammisaduqa's Edict as indicating their ethnic identity had now become a tribal one. Since their earlier ethnicity was constituted by these tribes, the identification processes in play make this unlikely, whether or not there was the bi-ethnic interlude, because their tradition of the unifying identification would have been powerful. In the 'collectivist' cultural milieu of the OB Ancient Near East, the tradition of that Amorite ethnicity would have been very salient (or meaningfully operative) to them, and in its traditional (i.e., tribal) form[291]— at least as much as it was retained in their collective social memory. As the sociologist Barbara Misztal asserts, "Memory, because it 'functions in every act of perception, in every act of intellection, in every act of language'… it is the central medium through which identities are constituted…"[292] For a tribal ethnic group to become a group of tribes with the same label without that tradition being enjoined in the meaning of it is not likely, especially since, as will be demonstrated (§4.3.5), the Amorites had a particularly strong connection to tradition, and their tribal structure was a key element of it. Rowton's hypothesis about the switch to a tribal-primary cultural identity would need to be considered in light of the evidence for the other contemporary aspects of that identification if it is to have the necessary strength to contribute to reaching a consensus.

Buccellati's proposition that their ethnic identity developed out of an originally tribal one presents a problem in light of the underlying identification processes, in that the two are not related to each other in this way. Tribes are typically based on kinship ties, as is ethnicity. So, the two are related, but they are contrasting in nature rather than synonymous. A tribe is a socio-political organization of extended families (clans),[293] whereas ethnicity is perceived as the (very) extended family relationship.[294] The basis of the relationship differs between the two concepts, with the tribe being more of an ordering of relationships and ethnicity being the relationality in

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[289] The idea continues in the current literature; see, e.g., Liverani (2014), 181.

[290] Even if they were part of a State, they could still have been separate ethnic identities—it is a matter of difference in their Level 4 Cultural Identity and its basis (see §3.2.5).

[291] Dominic Abrams, "Social Identity and Intergroup Relations," in *APA Handbook of Personality and Social Psychology*, ed. Mario Mikulincer et al., vol. 2: Group Processes (Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association, 2015), 211.

[292] Barbara A. Misztal, *Theories Of Social Remembering* (Maidenhead, GBR: Open University Press, 2003), 1.

[293] In the *Oxford Concise Dictionary of Archaeology*, for instance, it is defined as "A group of indigenous persons, families, or clans believed to be descended from a common ancestor and forming a close-knit community *under a defined leader, chief, or ruling council. A larger group of bands unified by sodalities and governed by a council of representativesfrom the bands, kin groups, or sodalities within it*." Timothy Darvill, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Archaeology*, 6th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), s.v. "tribe," emphasis added.

[294] As will be discussed further in Chapter 4, a useful and long-established definition in culture studies is that of R.A. Schermerhorn (see Ashcroft et al.), which states that it is a subgroup of a society based on common ancestry, group consciousness, and some defining symbolic element(s). The *Oxford English Dictionary* also defines it this way primarily: "Status in respect of membership of a group regarded as ultimately of common descent, or having a common national or cultural tradition; ethnic character." Note, in addition, that Darville presents this as the first criterion: "The ascription, or claim, to belong to a particular cultural group on the basis of genetics, language, or other cultural manifestations." Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, *PostColonial Studies: The Key Concepts*, Third ed., Routledge Key Guides (London: Routledge, 2013), s.v. "ethnicity."

itself. This can be an important difference.[295] On the other hand, his observations make perfect sense when viewed in this light, as different levels of identification from the Self[Other] perspective, which will be explored further in Chapter 3. Jahn's and Stol's proposals (above) can be clarified in those terms as well. In both of those cases, a relational lens suggests it may be a matter of perspective—emic vs. etic in one case, and salient contextual characteristics in the other—rather than a difference in the kind of identification.

Verderame presents a different kind of issue. His evaluation of Amorites in the texts as being an ideological construct divorced from identity is an interesting contribution to the discussion. However, it is not likely to be how the Mesopotamians viewed them on a day-to-day basis in interaction, nor is it how the Amorites would have viewed themselves (§4.2.1), so although it may have intriguing applications for considering ideologies and interactions between the groups, it cannot speak to questions of identity. Homsher and Cradic's proposal in a similar vein, considering the textual evidence as largely ideological, has the same effect. In dialogue with their proposal that it is only shared naming practices appearing in the texts, one should note that bestowing names is a very meaningful practice and bears upon social identification at every level (see §2.6.2.2 and §4.3.2.1.2 (iv) for further discussion). It is unlikely that it could be operative without there being some association with the identity(s) of the so-named individuals.

The ethnolinguistic connection noted by Gelb, Whiting, Liverani, and Streck is the one that is most consistent with identification processes. Language is one of the main components of cultural identity, ethnic or otherwise (§3.3.5). That they note the consistent connection is very telling about Amorite identity—it is a cultural identification, as will be demonstrated in this project. Language is one of only two operative mechanisms by which people enact agency in their interactions (§3.2.3.1). It is the vehicle through which we express thoughts, ideas, and beliefs and to do so requires that each interactant understand the communication (§3.2.3.1). Consequently, it is a critical element of the "local cognitive culture" (or 'habitus') that contextualizes the identities that are recognized and accepted (§3.2.5.2.1). These scholars have identified the connection that demonstrates the level of significance Amorite identity entailed for them and others.

It is van Koppen's remarks, however, that highlight where the real Amorite Problem lies. In such a complex scenario, with multi-referential labels and complex intergroup and intragroup interactions occurring over wide expanses of time and space, 'Amorites' could be any of those things, or even more than one. Given the variations in context and perspective in which the attestations arise, this seems likely. But, they are not necessarily variations in the *kind* of identification involved; his observations are more likely to be related to the constituent elements (or Culture Contents, see §3.3.1 ff. and Appendix C) of their identity and situated perspective, i.e., the aspect that is salient in the context and from whose purpose and perspective the specific reference is made. "People that came from the west" reflects an etic view of a group of people associated with space—a categorical perspective, not based on any criteria besides otherness and place. This may be the operative characteristic in the occurrence of the statement(s), but it does not necessarily—in fact, is very unlikely to be—the referent individual or group's actual identity. As another example, by segregating the tribes from an overall (i.e., ethnic) identification, he does not recognize the group-level identifications of which it is comprised, as noted above with regard

[295] It is also possible for the ideology of tribal structure to be considered so 'natural' that the tribe *could* be the same as an ethnic relationship. That is not the general understanding, however.

to Buccellati's interpretation. Tribes are a socio-political intragroup[296] relationality (specifically, P2c.4 Governance; see Appendix C). Similarly, the bases of language, political or military status, and rural habitation that he mentions are references to elements in Culture Contents that are inadequate for establishing or even indicating (on their own) that theirs was a non-ethnic identity. None of the features he refers to are sufficient for designating a 'largest group of belonging' (§3.3) identification. In the specific situation, the ancient writers may indeed be referring to a military group of Amorites, for instance; however, this is more likely to be an efficient way of categorizing the group to which the writer was referring from an etic perspective. In contrast, from the emic perspective the soldiers would view it as a subset of their overall sense of who they were. These are two levels of identification, as will be made clearer in Chapter 3.

Whereas these interpretations from the textual evidence have been shown as primarily demonstrating problems related to the identity concept (and hinting at the need for an organizing framework), the conclusions drawn from the archaeological evidence demonstrate the need for a method for capturing the data itself in such a way that it is informed by that concept.

2.6.2 Archaeological Perspectives

As will be demonstrated through the concept of materiality in Chapter 3, there are valid reasons for the assumption that Amorite group identification will have physical manifestations recoverable through archaeology. Many researchers in Amorite Studies do not deal specifically with the issue of whether or not there is the potential for a discrete Amorite assemblage yet legitimately include archeological evidence as an important and integral component to their discussion of the different topics. Charpin, for instance, weaves archaeological perspectives into his textually based narrative reconstruction of the "Amorite Period," speaking of the two working together in complementary fashion.[297] Michalowski also draws upon archaeological arguments in his discussion of the Amorite Problem.[298] When stated explicitly, however, the views on the extant archaeological evidence for them as a cultural entity tend to range between polar positions—those scholars who consider the evidence sufficient to support the identification of a distinct Amorite assemblage and those who deny that there is any Amorite material culture at all.

The survey that follows highlights developments in some of those stated positions made over the years since the proposal of a possible Amorite assemblage was initially presented.[299] Viewpoints from both sides of the divide are encountered in the various geo-historical and research specializations that comprise the broadly-encompassing field of Near Eastern Studies: archaeology of the Levant, Syro-Mesopotamian archaeology, assyriology, egyptology, history, and art history. Each study, on both sides of the question, has strengths and weaknesses, and/or meets with challenges made by other researchers. However, all of them isolate evidence regarding material associations, either for or against them, that have been cumulatively incorporated in subsequent studies, strengthened over time in some dimensions, and are current

[296] In potential cases where the tribal boundary extends to the outer limits of the ethnic group, the two would coincide but one would not replace the other.

[297] Charpin, "Histoire Politique" (2004), 44.

[298] Michalowski (2011), 85 ff.

[299] Some representative examples of the various material associations that are discussed in the process are illustrated in Appendix B.

in the research. Through this overview, the need for a method through which both positions can be articulated, and potentially reconciled, becomes evident.

2.6.2.1 An Amorite Assemblage

The earliest explicit recognition of an assemblage of material culture identified as Amorite can be attributed to William F. Albright. In his 1933 publication of the Bronze Age pottery from the Tel Beit Mirsim excavations, Albright interprets correlations in the pottery from the 'Amorite' stratum at different sites as "presumably illustrat[ing] a culture which was diffused over all northern Mesopotamia."[300] He goes on to say that "it is, then, from northern Mesopotamia that we must probably derive the influences" for this material. He had associated this region with Amorites in previous publications,[301] a population he defined as the dominant Semitic group in that region[302] that was known as the *amurru* in the cuneiform evidence.[303] Thus, his claim about the assemblage was based on observation of stratigraphically and stylistically comparative ceramics in the southern Levant and Syria (Tel Beit Mirsim, Qatna, Tell Billah, Qadesh, and others) interpreted in light of Mesopotamian texts. Albright's interpretations were formulated within a climate of culture-historical empiricism[304] that focused on culture-specific reconstructions. As a result, the usefulness of those interpretations, and the observations on which they are based, in current reconstructions must be carefully considered. More importantly, the data from his excavations remains useful, and the elements he associated with them (e.g., certain carinated bowls[305] and shaft tombs[306]) remain among those currently considered to be part of the Amorite material culture by other scholars.

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[300] This labeling of the stratum as 'Amorite' is a temporal, more than cultural, classification consistent with the culture-historical method common at that stage in the field of archaeological research. W. F. Albright, "The Excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim, IA: The Bronze Age Pottery of the Fourth Campaign," *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 13, (1933): 68.

[301] See, for instance, Albright, "Rezension: Theo Bauer, Die Östkanaanäer" (1926): 126.

[302] Ibid.; see also, W. F. Albright, "Remarks on the Chronology of Early Bronze IV-Middle Bronze IIA in Phoenicia and Syria-Palestine," *BASOR*, no. 184, (1966): 34.

[303] In the linguistics-focused review of Bauer in which he makes this claim, he cites the *Genealogy of the Hammurabi Dynasty* from Weidner's publication. Albright, "Rezension: Theo Bauer, Die Östkanaanäer" (1926): 126; Ernst F. Weidner, *Die Kœnige von Assyrien: Neue Chronologische Dokumente aus Assur*, vol. 2, Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft vol. 26 (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1921).

[304] William G. Dever, "What Remains of the House that Albright Built," *Biblical Archaeologist* 56, no. 1, (1993): 29-30.

[305] Figure B.1-a in the Appendix. Kaplan included them in his evidence for Amorites bringing Mesopotamian stylistic elements into Canaan (B.1-b); Matthiae cites the carinated vessels, such as these bowls, as "the most general and the most constant distinctive indicators" of the new Amorite phase at Ebla (B.1-c). J. Kaplan, "Mesopotamian Elements in the Middle Bronze II Culture of Palestine," *JNES* 30, no. 4, (1971): 299; Paolo Matthiae, *Ebla: An Empire Rediscovered* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1980), 54.

[306] As early as 1923, Albright spoke of this characteristic burial type: "The Canaanite [/Amorite] character of the oldest remains is fully established by the shape of the tombs, a perpendicular shaft giving access to a rude cave cut into the sides of the shaft at the bottom, as well as by the pottery and bronzes found." He refered to H. Vincent's description of them, drawn from a tomb at Bethany, for which see Figure B.2-a. A typical exemplar would be excavated at Tell Beit Mirsim decades later (B.2-b). Lisa Cooper draws upon the type for discussing Amorites in the recent literature (B.2-c). There are sub-types in this category that have also been acknowledged in the discussion for many years (e.g., Dever's 1971 article). W. F. Albright, "New Identifications of Ancient Towns," *BASOR*, no. 9, (1923): 9; William G. Dever, "The Peoples of Palestine in the Middle Bronze I Period," *Harvard Theological Review* 64, (1971): 209.

In a 1971[307] article in the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Jacob Kaplan extended the geographic range of the assemblage by making connections between new material culture elements of MB IIA Palestine with parallels in Mesopotamia. There he documents pottery forms (e.g., jars and goblets) and architectural elements (e.g., bent-axis temples[308]) along with counterparts in the Diyala region, Ur, Nippur, and Telloh asserting that these were imported by the Amorites when they "irrupted" throughout the Ancient Near East following the fall of Ur III.[309] In this study, he bases his connection with the Amorites on texts from Mari and other sites associated with Amorites in the assyriological work of Gelb[310] and Buccellati,[311] whose contributions were introduced above (§2.6.1). Less well known than Albright, perhaps, Kaplan was a prominent archaeologist whose interpretations were framed in earlier stages of the discipline and should be considered critically. The data from his fieldwork and published reports continue to be productively incorporated into Amorite and other studies.[312]

In 1980, Paolo Matthiae, the excavator of Tell Mardikh/Ebla, tied ethnic Amorites to a clear cultural change reflected in the archaeological record, ca. 2000 BCE, at that important site.[313] He noted changes in the material culture, such as pottery and glyptics, as well as art. He described innovations in the monumental and domestic architecture that "are the work of a culture with a remarkably uniform style of its own…[that] betray[s] such a deep-rooted heritage of experience and tradition that it becomes a very pressing question how this culture originated and was formed."[314] Drawing in part upon textual evidence from Mari, Aleppo, Carchemish, Qatna, and Hazor, he associated this culture with the Amorites, based on the archaeological evidence and the historical context, saying it was probably them who "played a leading part in the reconstruction and were the creators [of] the Old Syrian culture"[315] that followed the destruction preceding the changes. This clearly delineated occupation phase with a widely representative corpus of material is, short of having textual evidence *in situ*, an ideal archaeological context. The elements include, among other things: a distinctive artistic style

[307] Kenyon's *Amorites and Canaanites* was published in the interim (see §2.4).

[308] See Figure B.3-a in the appendix for a diagram of the temple at Nahariya that was a focus of Kaplan's study; also included are some of the parallel structures identified at other sites associated with Amorites: (B.3-b) Kenyon associated Amorites with Jericho (in her 1993 article cited below); (B.3-c) textual evidence attests the Amorite presence at Eshnunna (see §4.3.2.2.1.iii); (B.3-d) the bent-axis temple structure is associated with the 'Asiatic' presence at Tell el-Dab'a (see § 4.3.2.1.1 and elsewhere in Chapter 4 for further discussion on the association between Amorites and Asiatics in the Nile delta.) Kathleen Mary Kenyon, "Jericho," in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. Ephraim Stern, vol. 2 (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993), 679.

The related *Langraum* temples are also associated with Amorites in a complex progression in change over time (from *Breitraum* and bent-axis to *Langraum*) and space (different sites at different stages/times). See, for instance, the discussion in Paolo Matthiae, "North-western Syria in the Old Syrian Period: Stratigraphy and Architecture," in *Archéologie et Histoire de la Syrie 1: La Syrie de l'Époque Néolithique à l'Âge du Fer*, ed. Winfried Orthmann, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013), 299-302; and, Manfred Bietak, "Two Ancient Near Eastern Temples with Bent Axis in the Eastern Nile Delta," *Ä & L* 13, (2003).

[309] Kaplan (1971): 306.

[310] I. J. Gelb, "Early History" (1961): 47.

[311] Buccellati, *Amorites* (1966), 360-362 in particular.

[312] See e.g., Katharina Streit, "The Near East before Borders," *Near Eastern Archaeology* 79, no. 4, (2016).

[313] In addition to its significance in ancient history, Ebla is the type-site for the regional chronology during the OB. See Akkermans and Schwartz (2003), 291.

[314] Matthiae, *Ebla: An Empire Rediscovered* (1980), 134.

[315] Ibid., 212-213.

expressed in "the whole of the figurative culture," including glyptics[316] and bronze weaponry[317] (e.g., fenestrated, "duckbill," axes[318]); a unitary complex of temples, palace, and burials reflecting an ideology of ancestor worship;[319] and, certain pottery types, including Levantine Painted Ware.[320] Matthiae's comments recognize the potential for discerning an Amorite

[316] Edith Porada provides a description of the Old Syrian style in glyptics; Lönnqvist discusses it in relation to what she identifies as the "Amorite Animal Style," on which see the further discussion below. Paolo Matthiae, "Ebla: Recent Excavation Results and the Continuity of Syrian Art," in *Cultures in Contact: From Mesopotamia to the Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B.C.*, ed. Joan Aruz, Sarah B. Graff, and Yelena Rakic (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013), 100 ff.; Edith Porada, "Syrian Seals from the late Fourth to the late Second Millennium," in *Ebla to Damascus: Art and Archaeology of Ancient Syria*, ed. Harvey Weiss (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service, 1985), 93 ff.; Lönnqvist (2000), 327-328.

[317] Paolo Matthiae and Pinnock Frances, *Studies on the Archaeology of Ebla 1980-2010* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz-Verlag, 2013), 96.

[318] The exemplar in Figure B.4-a is from Tell el-Dab'a, in the Egyptian delta. Bietak, an egyptologist, notes the association between these weapons at Ebla, in the tomb of the Lord of the Goats, and their (potential) depiction in the mural from Beni Hasan (Egypt). Matthiae makes the point that the association with Asiatics (a foreign, Semitic cultural group attested in Egypt) has been 'traditional' for one hundred years (B.4-b, see Petrie who makes that association in discussing the depicted exemplar from Qadesh); for the connection between Asiatics and Amorites, see §4.3.2.1 below. The axe from Mari (B.4-c) was in the destruction layer from Hammurabi's conquest of that city (in 1760 BCE; see Porada). In addition to the objects excavated at the site, the duckbill axe is depicted on a statue of a king at Ebla (B.4-d). Manfred Bietak, "Egypt and Canaan during the Middle Bronze Age," *BASOR* 281, no. 1, (1991): 49; Matthiae and Frances (2013), 123; W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Tools and Weapons* (London, 1917), 9; Edith Porada, "The Cylinder Seal from Tell el-Dab'a," *American Journal of Archaeology* 88, no. 4, (1984): 485.

[319] Matthiae and Frances (2013), 242.

[320] Ibid., 142. One of the Levantine Painted Ware jugs included in the Old Syrian assemblage that Matthiae associates with the Amorites at Ebla is depicted in B.5-a; Albright referenced the characteristics of these vessels in his association with the Amorites mentioned above (B.5-b); this ware is included in Cooper's considerations (see p. 53 below)—as Levantine Painted Ware in her dissertation but as part of the type labeled Euphrates Plain Ware in her more recent publications (see, for instance, the vessel depicted in Figure 22:f of her 2014 article as discussed by Mazzoni; the 'plain' designation is based on manufacturing technique in comparison to Euphrates Fine Ware) (B.5-c); Saretta draws upon this type in discussing the Asiatics (which, she argues, included Amorites) in the Nile Delta (B.5-d); Matthiae notes that the jugs at Ebla (B.5-a) are "identical" in type to the "Dolphin Jug" from Lisht that Saretta incorporates in her argument (B.5-e); that jug incorporates several styles (Levantine Painted Ware, Tell el-Yehudiyeh Ware, and Minoan influence). Lisa [Elisabeth North] Cooper, *The Middle Bronze Age of the Euphrates Valley, Syria: Chronology, Regional Interaction and Cultural Exchange* (PhD Dissertation, University of Toronto, 1997); Lisa Cooper, "The Northern Levant (Syria) during the Early Bronze Age," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of the Levant c. 8000-332 BCE*, ed. Margreet Steiner and Anne E. Killebrew (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 288 with Fig. 220:f; Stefania Mazzoni, "The Ancient Bronze Age Pottery Tradition in Northwestern Central Syria," in *Céramique de l'Âge du Bronze en Syrie: La Syrie du Sud et la Vallée de l'Oronte*, ed. Michel Al-Maqdissi, Valérie Matoïan, and Christophe Nicolle (Beyrouth: Institut Français d'Archéologie du Proche-Orient, 2002), 79 with Pl. XLV:142; (B.5-d) Phyllis Saretta, *Asiatics in Middle Kingdom Egypt: Perceptions and Reality* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), 154-159 with Fig. 4.21a; (B.5-e) Paolo Matthiae, "A.11 Jugs of the North-Syrian/Cilician and Levantine Painted Wares from the Middle Bronze II Royal Tombs at Ebla (1989)," in *Studies on the Archaeology of Ebla 1980-2010*, ed. Frances Pinnock (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz-Verlag, 2013), 149-150 with n. 139.

There is a complex interrelationship between this ware-type and others that have similar characteristics (Habur Ware, Khirbet Kerak Ware, and Amuq/Syro-Cilician Ware); it is often refered to as band-combed ware with wavy lines. Recent refinements in the differentation between the types have increased the indicativeness of Levantine Painted Ware as an Amorite marker; see, for instance, Ibid.; Manfred Bietak, "From Where Came the Hyksos and Where Did They Go?," in *The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth-Seventeenth Dynasties): Current Research, Future Prospects*, ed. Marcel Marée, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 192 (Leuven: Peeters, 2010); Tine Bagh, "Painted Pottery at the Beginning of the Middle Bronze Age: Levantine Painted Ware," in *The Middle Bronze Age in the Levant: Proceedings of an International Conference on MB IIA Ceramic Material, Vienna, 24th-26th of January 2001*, ed. Manfred Bietak (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2002);

assemblage that can be associated with the group through stratified, regional material and correlated textual evidence.[321] His work at Ebla has received criticism, e.g., with regard to typologies and chronology,[322] but has withstood the scrutiny. Glenn Schwartz's recent comments offer current validation of his interpretations associating the material culture with the Amorite occupation. Schwartz draws upon them to develop his consideration of western Syria (especially Ebla) as the "linchpin," between Mesopotamia and the southern Levant, for evidence of the EB – MB transition,[323] which is critical in considerations of Amorite identity.

Minna Lönnqvist's dissertation, published in 2000 under the title *Between Nomadism and Sedentism: Amorites from the Perspective of Contextual Archaeology*,[324] is a study aimed at determining the place of Amorite origins in the late third and early second millennia. To do so, she examines textual and archaeological evidence in an effort to distinguish their presence in the record from other groups. She identifies architectural styles, cult practices, burial types, pottery forms, and decorative features as being distinctly Amorite, incorporating each of the artifact types discussed thus far (carinated and Levantine Painted Ware pottery, shaft tombs, *Breitraum* temples, and duckbill axes). She asserts that the Amorites were an ethnic group with a distinct core assemblage, including metal objects that can be classified as "type fossils,"[325] one of which is the duckbill axe. She also includes several additional elements in the Amorite repertoire, such as settlement features (e.g. curvilinear site plans and earthen ramparts), architecture (rectangular courtyard houses, the *bit hilani* palace, which she presents as an Amorite innovation,[326] and four-chamber city gates), open cult places with standing stones (*masseboth*),[327] foundation deposits containing caches of valuables, and the Amorite Animal Style of art.[328] She makes the

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Lorenzo Nigro, "The Middle Bronze Age Pottery Horizon of Northern Inner Syria on the Basis of the Stratified Assemblages of Tell Mardikh and Hama," in *Céramique de l'Âge du Bronze en Syrie: La Syrie du Sud et la Vallée de l'Oronte*, ed. Michel Al-Maqdissi, Valérie Matoïan, and Christophe Nicolle (Beyrouth: Institut Français d'Archéologie du Proche-Orient, 2002); Cooper (1997); David Ilan, "Middle Bronze Age Painted Pottery from Tel Dan," *Levant* XXVIII, (1996); Jonathan N. Tubb, "The MBIIA Period in Palestine: Its Relationship with Syria and Its Origin," *Levant* 15, no. 1, (1983).

[321] This view is reflected in more recent publications by the Ebla excavation team as well. For instance, see Paolo Matthiae, "Archaeomagnetism at Ebla (Tell Mardikh, Syria): New Data on Geomagnetic Field Intensity Variations in the Near East during the Bronze Age," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 42, no. B8, (2014): 297 and the publications cited therein.

[322] William G. Dever, "The Chronology of Syria-Palestine in the Second Millennium B.C.E.: A Review of Current Issues," *BASOR*, no. 288, (1992).

[323] Glenn M. Schwartz, "Western Syria and the Third- to Second-Millennium B.C. Transition," in *The Late Third Millennium in the Ancient Near East: Chronology, C14, and Climate Change*, ed. Felix Höflmayer, OIS 11 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2017), 88-93.

[324] Lönnqvist (2000).

[325] Ibid., 376.

[326] The association between this palace style, with its distinctive porticoed entrance, had been made previously by other scholars as well. The images in Appendix B.6 are from M. E. Buck's recent dissertation where she also connects this palace style to Amorites. See the discussion in those two sources as well as that of Francis Pinnock. Ibid., 227-231; Buck (2018), 147-157; Frances Pinnock, "EB IVB-MB I in Northern Syria: Crisis and Change of a Mature Urban Civilisation," in *The Levant In Transition: Proceedings of a Conference Held at The British Museum On 20-21 April 2004*, ed. Peter Parr (Leeds, UK: Maney, 2009), 72-75, 77-79.

[327] Lönnqvist cites the occurrence of these cultic areas at various sites, including Gezer (see the image, B.7-a), where other Amorite types are also attested such as the duckbill axe and the four-chamber gate, and Byblos (B.7-b). Lönnqvist (2000), 247-250, 456-458, 480-481.

[328] In dialogue with the problems in this dimension of the evidence noted by others, such as Buccellati (see §2.6.2.2 below), she finds that "we can securely identify some typical decorative features executed on objects which bear a clear relation to the Amorite-occupied strata in the historical records"; the label Lönnqvist uses recognizes the

connection between the people and these features based on the cuneiform evidence, focusing on sources from Syria. As a means of assessing the matter of their homeland, Lönnqvist purposed to develop "a comprehensive synthesis of the Amorite material culture."[329] To date, her efforts are the only attempt that has been made to do so. Although her interpretations, especially about the ethnic associations, are met with some reservation,[330] the data is a valuable asset for further research and has contributed to several significant studies.[331] The question of ethnicity as the cultural identification could be strengthened through consideration of the evidence through a grounded comparative framework that can take into account the full range of data and how it comports with those criteria (see §3.3 and §4.3.6).

Since 2001, Lisa Cooper has attributed both continuity and change evident in the material record to the presence of ethnic Amorites during the Early Bronze Age and the consolidation of their power during the Middle Bronze Age (MBA).[332] She has published two studies that directly address seeming contradictions between (Amorite) archaeological and textual evidence, generally, in which she analyzes regional evidence specifically—one addressing pottery and political boundaries[333] and another dealing with burials and ethnicity.[334] In her various publications, Cooper mentions several elements of an Amorite assemblage, such as burials, pottery, and architecture. She makes the connection to Amorites drawing largely on textual evidence from the Euphrates valley.[335] However, as she points out, her hypotheses are supported directly by the material evidence, resulting in a greater interpretive resolution in the results than would have been discernible if the textual evidence had been in the primary role.[336] Her work is considered "robust" and has been incorporated in other interpretations of the complexity in the

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relation of the style she identifies as Amorite to the broader nomadic "Animal Style." The features include such things as the costumes depicted, the types of animals that appear and their manner of presentation (in patterns evoking a paradise-like impression, banded borders that divide scenes into registers, and a particular preference for symmetry). The style is represented in different media (such as glyptics, carved bone and metal objects) and is executed with certain techniques (repoussé, granulation, etc.). See some of the examples Lönnqvist cites in Appendix B.8, along with Figures 4.13 and 4.14 in Chaper 4. Ibid., 321 and Chs. 9-13.

[329] Ibid., 20.

[330] See e.g., de Boer *Amorites in the Old Babylonian Period*, (2014), 21 n. 13; Daniele Morandi Bonacossi and Marco Iamoni, "The Early History of the Western Palmyra Desert Region: The Change in the Settlement Patterns and the Adaptation of Subsistence Strategies to Encroaching Aridity : A First Assessment of the Desert-Kite and Tumulus Cultural Horizons," *Syria*, no. 89, (2012): 49, 53.

[331] See, e.g., Kennedy (2016): 21; Morandi Bonacossi and Iamoni (2012): 49, 53.

[332] Lisa Cooper, "Continuity and Change in the Middle Euphrates Region of Syria," in *Looking North: The Socioeconomic Dynamics of Northern Mesopotamian and Anatolian Regions during the Late Third and Early Second Millennium BC*, ed. Nicola Laneri, Peter Pfälzner, and Stefano Valentini (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2012), 87; Lisa Cooper, *Early Urbanism on the Syrian Euphrates* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 288-289.

[333] In this study, she draws upon Euphrates Plain Ware (mentioned above, n. 320). Lisa [E. N.] Cooper, "Archaeological Perspectives on the Political History of the Euphrates Valley During the Early Second Millennium B.C.," in *Recherches Canadiennes sur la Syrie Antique: Annual Symposium of the Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies, 2000*, ed. Michel Fortin (Toronto: Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies, 2001).

[334] Cooper deals with shaft tombs and other burial types in this discussion. Lisa Cooper, "Early Bronze Age Burial Types and Social-Cultural Identity within the Northern Euphrates Valley," in *Euphrates River Valley Settlement: The Carchemish Sector in the Third Millennium BC*, ed. E. J. Peltenburg (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2007).

[335] Cooper, *Early Urbanism on the Syrian Euphrates* (2006), 275 n. 274.

[336] For example, in her 2001 study, she found that pottery is a weak political signifier and, as a result, the regional (Amorite) pottery distribution reflected a greater cultural identity under (or within) which the political dynamics played out—it was a matter of intragroup rather than intergroup interaction. Cooper (2001).

region.[337] In these studies, material culture identified as Amorite is used to elicit refined and insightful understandings about regional social interaction. The fact that it could do so provides a certain level of confirmation for the coherence of the assemblage she draws upon.

Christine Kepinski, the director of excavations at several projects from the middle Euphrates to northern Mesopotamia and eastward to the Diyala region, refers to Amorites in an ethnocultural sense. She asserts that material culture elements can be associated directly with them—a certain type of burial mound as well as "a very specific group of arms, daggers, socketed spearheads and fenestrated axes,"[338] including the duckbill axe. The connection to Amorites is based on: the differentiation of these elements, that are "foreign to the Mesopotamian world";[339] the presence in the region of the newly arrived, nomadic Amorites established by previous researchers; and, correlation with the burials in other areas (especially the Persian Gulf) that have also been associated with Amorites through local material and textual evidence.[340] In this research, the 'package' of differentiated Amorite material culture is recognized consistently across regional limits, providing further indication of some coherency.

Currently, in the midst of all of the arguments against recognizing an Amorite assemblage (see §2.6.3), these and other scholars[341] maintain the connection. In her 2013 contribution, for instance, Kepinski mentions an assemblage of bronze weapons connected to nomads, including (if not specific to) Amorites which " constitueraient…un des critères révélateurs de leur présence."[342] Matthiae and other members of the Ebla excavation team do as well.[343] Lönnqvist has continued to develop and strengthen her findings in subsequent publications.[344]

Additionally, Aaron Burke has recently published three articles in which he posits the development of a material and cultural Amorite *koiné* that developed from late third millennium precursors and was in full evidence in the MB II (1700-1600).[345] Beginning with the publication

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[337] Edgar Peltenburg, "Conflict and Exclusivity in Early Bronze Age Societies of the Middle Euphrates Valley," *JNES* 72, no. 2, (2013): 234-235.

[338] See §4.3.2.2 (i) for discussion of the daggers. Christine Kepinski, "The Burial Mounds of the Middle Euphrates (2100-1800 B.C.): The Subtle Dialectic between Tribal and State Practices," in *Death and Burial in Arabia and Beyond: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Lloyd R. Weeks (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2010), 169; see also, Christine Kepinski, "Material Culture of a Babylonian Commercial Outpost on the Iraqi Middle Euphrates: The Case of Haradum during the Middle Bronze Age," *Akkadica* 126, (2005): 124, 127.

[339] Kepinski, "Burial Mounds" (2010), 168.

[340] She references Buccellati, Hojlund, Durand, Liverani, Whiting, Charpin, Edzard, Stol, Zarins, and Glassner. Ibid.

[341] See, for instance, Liverani (2014), 24-25, 159, 186.

[342] Christine Kepinski, "De Yalkhi à Harrâdum: Aux Marges des Royaumes Mésopotamiens et des Territoires Nomades," in *Mélanges en Hommage à Paolo Fiorina*, ed. A. Invernizzi (Alessandria: Edizioni dell 'Orso, 2013), 159.

[343] See, for instance, Matthiae, "Archaeomagnetism" (2014): 297 and the publications cited therein.

[344] E.g., Minna (Lönnqvist) Silver, "Climate Change, the Mardu Wall, and the Fall of Ur," in *Fortune and Misfortune in the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the 60th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale at Warsaw 21-25 July 2014*, ed. Olga Drewnowska and Malgorzata Sandowicz (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2017); Minna Lönnqvist, "Equid Burials in Archaeological Contexts in the Amorite, Hurrian and Hyksos Cultural Intercourse," *ARAM* 26, no. 1-2, (2014); Minna Lönnqvist, "The Earliest State Formation of the Amorites: Archaeological Perspectives from Jebel Bishri," *ARAM* 26, no. 1-2, (2014).

[345] On the date-range, see his "Introduction." Aaron A. Burke, "Amorites, Climate Change, and the Negotiation of Identity at the End of the Third Millennium B.C.," in *The Late Third Millennium in the Ancient Near East: Chronology, C14, and Climate Change*, ed. Felix Höflmayer, OIS 11 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the

of a paper read at the 2013 conference "Amorites and Hurrians," he argues that there is a clear association between the textual and material evidence—"individual categories of material culture [that] can be regarded…as Amorite 'ideal types'…"[346] Included in the assemblage are: fortification systems with earthen ramparts;[347] elite courtyard houses;[348] *migdôl* (tower-fortress) temples[349] and religious iconography;[350] and, burial types, including intramural burials, infant jar

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University of Chicago, 2017); Aaron A. Burke, "Entanglement, the Amorite *Koiné*, and Amorite Cultures in the Levant," *ARAM* 26/2, (2014); Aaron A. Burke, "Introduction to the Levant during the Middle Bronze Age," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of the Levant c. 8000-332 BCE*, ed. Margreet Steiner and Anne E. Killebrew (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

[346] Burke, "Entanglement, the Amorite *Koiné*" (2014): 5.

[347] He connected the practice in the Levant during the early MBA to the contemporary evidence for Amorites being in the region within the Execration Texts. Lönnqvist also identified these defensive structures, writing "Through spatial distribution I have been able to discern that in the Middle Bronze Age the curvilinear settlement form with earthen ramparts and walls with gates of a peculiar three-pier [four-chamber] plan reflect special military considerations at the Amorite centres." As both Burke and Lönnqvist acknowledge, the connection had been made earlier by Barbara Gregori in 1986 and Kaplan in 1971. See the images in Appendix B-9. Aaron A. Burke, *"Walled up to Heaven": The Evolution of Middle Bronze Age Fortification Strategies in the Levant*, Studies in the Archaeology and History of the Levant vol. 4 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2008), 160; Burke, "Introduction" (2014), 405-406; Lönnqvist (2000), 374; Barbara Gregori, "'Three-Entrance' City-Gates of the Middle Bronze Age in Syria and Palestine," *Levant* 18, no. 1, (1986): 95.

[348] Kaplan, who Burke cites, includes these houses as part of the Mesopotamian elements he posits the Amorites brought with them into the region. Albright had excavated one at Tell Beit Mirsim; Kaplan, following him, cites the Isin-Larsa period parallels at Ur and Nippur (see the images in Appendix B.10). In her association of them with the Amorites, Lönnqvist considers them in terms of the progression of dwelling-types for nomadic groups, noting that these Mesopotamian courtyard houses are present in the Amorite strata at Ebla (Fig. B.10-c), Larsa, and Eshnunna. Burke, "Introduction" (2014), 410; Kaplan (1971): 295-296; Lönnqvist (2000), 224, 226, 371, 375 and §9.3.1.

[349] Burke, "Introduction" (2014), 409. The term is also commonly transliterated as *migdāl* (Hebrew); according to Na'aman, the Akkadian parallel is *bīt dūri*, as in reference to the temple of this type at Alalakh (the Ishtar Temple). These structures, which appear in the southern Levant in the later MB IIB-C, are identified by Matthiae as an expression of the earlier, homogeneous Old Syrian style of temple construction; the association with Amorites is found in that discussion and with other researchers, e.g., Mazar. Fig. B.11-a depicts the example from Megiddo, where Kenyon claimed differentiation between Amorite tribes was evident; B.11-b captures the schematic reconstructions of the exemplar from Shechem, the site that Dever describes as "illustrat[ing] most dramatically the phenomenon of walled cities of this period." It had ramparts, a four-chamber gate, and standing stones as well as the *migdal* temple. In B.11-c, Dever demonstrates the similarities in plan of that temple at Shechem with those in Ebla and Hazor, which are both associated with the Amorites during this period. Nadav Na'aman, "The Ishtar Temple at Alalakh," *JNES* 39, no. 3, (1980): 214; Paolo Matthiae, "New Discoveries at Ebla: The Excavation of the Western Palace and the Royal Necropolis of the Amorite Period," *The Biblical Archaeologist* 47, no. 1, (1984): 20; Paolo Matthiae, "Unité et Développement du Temple dans la Syrie du Bronze Moyen," in *Le Temple et le Culte*, ed. E. Van Donzel et al., Compte Rendu de la Vingtième Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archeologisch Instituut de Istambul, 1975); Benjamin Mazar, "The Middle Bronze Age in Palestine," *Israel Exploration Journal* 18, no. 2, (1968): 92; William G. Dever, "Archaeological Sources for the History of Palestine: The Middle Bronze Age: The Zenith of the Urban Canaanite Era," *The Biblical Archaeologist* 50, no. 3, (1987): 156.

[350] Burke, "Introduction" (2014), 410. Burke does not specify the imagery he includes but cites Lönnqvist who identifies several elements in the depictions of the deity Amurru, the Amorite eponymous deity. The most emblematic of these features is the curved staff (see Kupper and Colbow), which is considered to represent a connection to the pastoral aspect of the Amorite lifeway. See the images in B.12. Burke, "Amorites, Climate Change" (2017), 265; Burke, "Introduction" (2014), 410; Lönnqvist (2000), 238-239; Jean Robert Kupper, *L'Iconographie du Dieu Amurru dans la Glyptique de la Ire Dynastie Babylonienne* (Bruxelles: Palais des Académies, 1961), 14; Gudrun Colbow, *Amurru*, ed. Christoph Uehlinger, Electronic Pre-Publication ed., *Iconography of Deities and Demons* (Zurich: University of Zurich, 2008), 2/6, accessed 01/05/2011, http://www.religionswissenschaft.uzh.ch/idd/.

burials, shaft graves and "warrior burials."[351] The cultural elements of the *koiné* (or *oikumene*) include speaking Amorite, worshipping gods of related pantheons, and having a tradition of common ancestry. He connects the material evidence with Amorites based on onomastics, cross-referencing that with the kings, tribes, and historical figures in the Execration Texts and the Mari letters.[352] In the article where he presents the connection, Burke is largely taking the cumulative results of previous studies and bringing material culture identified as Amorite together with "discrete cultural processes" into the *koiné* concept.[353] It is not a detailed or in-depth analysis of the evidence from which that conclusion is directly derived. He specifically disassociates Amorite identity from ethnicity, presenting it rather as a strategic association that was negotiated through elective practices and language: "The maintenance or adoption of the ascription as 'Amorite' represents a conscious choice to associate oneself, one's city, or one's kingdom with a perceived legacy for the advantages it was seen to provide."[354] He separates the textually-attested practices (*oikumene*) from the archaeologically-attested materials (*koiné*).

Identity processes disallow some of the partitioning of the influences or motivations involved in Burke's propositions, e.g., separating ethnicity from social identity,[355] asserting that cultural customs (*oikumene*) were the basis of their interaction rather than the identification(s) in which they were grounded—somewhat as though it was the practices that made the people rather than the other way around—such that people in different regions could act Amorite without being Amorite, except socially.[356] A grounded comparison of the contextualized evidence could strengthen, or refute, that claim. However, what weakens the strength of his proposal most immediately is the initial assumption that there is a corpus of materials that are recognized as "Amorite 'ideal types.'" The claim is not problematic to those who are inclined in that direction; for those who are not, it is a fatal flaw in the argument. This does not necessarily negate the value of his contribution to the discussion. However, it prevents the field from moving beyond the current impasse, as demonstrated clearly in Homsher and Cradic's response to Burke's claims, which is considered in the following section. Without a common ground on which to meet, the dialogue ceases at these sticking points of disagreement.

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[351] Burke, "Introduction" (2014), 407. These distinctive burial configurations (single adult male inhumations with a particular set of weapon types) are now recognized as not (necessarily) being the inhumations of active men-at-arms, but rather the representation of a social (status) distinction (see e.g., Kletter and Ilan); the early nomenclature continues to be a useful shorthand reference to them, so it remains in use. These tombs are associated with Amorites by various scholars, e.g., Eliezer Oren (who also connects them with the Asiatics in the Nile delta), Hrouda, Lönnqvist, and Kepinski. They include various artifact types associated with the Amorites as well, such as the triangular dagger and duckbill axe. See the images in B.13. Raz Kletter and Yosi Levi, "Middle Bronze Age Burials in the Southern Levant: Spartan Warriors or Ordinary People?," *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 35, no. 1, (2016); David Ilan, "Mortuary Practices at Tel Dan in the Middle Bronze Age: A Reflection of Canaanite Society and Ideology," in *The Archaeology of Death in the Ancient Near East*, ed. Stuart Campbell and Anthony Green (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1995), 134; Eliezer D. Oren, "A Middle Bronze Age I Warrior Tomb at Beth-Shan," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 87, no. 2, (1971): 113; Barthel Hrouda, "Die Altbabylonischen Tumuli von Baġuz bei Mâri," in *De la Babylonie à la Syrie, en Passant par Mari*, ed. Ö. Tunca (Liège: Université de Liège, 1990), 107-113; Lönnqvist (2000), 305; Kepinski, "De Yalkhi à Harrâdum: Aux Marges des Royaumes Mésopotamiens et des Territoires Nomades" (2013), 159-160.

[352] Burke, "Introduction" (2014), 404; Burke, "Amorites, Climate Change" (2017), 398-399.

[353] Burke, "Entanglement, the Amorite *Koiné*" (2014): 3.

[354] Ibid., 12.

[355] Ibid., 3.

[356] Burke, "Amorites, Climate Change" (2017), 262-265.

In summary, material culture evidence is recognized as being an integral factor in considerations of Amorite socio-cultural history. A line of scholarship extending over the last eighty-five years seems to[357] have recognized a progressively more coherent corpus of material[358] from sites in different regions that demonstrates consistencies among the artifact types (e.g., duckbill axes, triangular riveted daggers), decoration, techniques, style, materials, burial types, grave goods, and architecture. It is these consistencies that lead to interpretations of them representing an assemblage, or even a *koiné*. Yet, the consensus among the researchers who hold to these interpretations does not extend across the field. As Burke notes, there is a "persistence of outright rejections of any archaeological interpretations that would associate the Amorites with a distinct cultural legacy."[359] The reasoning for that resistance is considered in the next section.

2.6.2.2 No Amorite Material Culture

The interpretations that conclude there is no association between Amorites and a distinctive material culture fall into two general perspectives. One is based on the nature of the evidence; the other one questions the theoretical feasibility of such an association. The first one takes the textual attestations and anticipates finding an Amorite assemblage but to no avail; the other takes the claims for an Amorite material culture to argue that there is no evidence for it. As specifying these different bases already intimates, consideration of the underlying issues suggests there is a potential for the problematic aspects of both to be ameliorated by applying a method that will allow for viewing the evidence through a grounded framework through which the different perspectives can be considered in correlation.

Among those for whom the nature of the evidence is a problem, Buccellati's 1966 monograph has undoubtedly been influential.[360] In it, he takes a skeptical stance on the prospects of recognizing Amorites materially, asserting that the archaeological evidence for them is only "limited and indirect."[361] He cites the absence of any known depiction of Amorites in Sumerian art. He also asserts that methodological problems[362] make it difficult to discern changes in the

[357] The connections await definitive, or at least direct, validation through a holistic, analytical evaluation.

[358] This is not to say that the various scholars all recognize the same corpus, however. Rather, there tend to be similarities within the grouped elements but differences as well. For instance, Nichols and Weber include such things as the carinated bowls in their discussion of the Amorite-related changes in pottery between the EB and MB but also cite Syro-Cilician ware rather than Levantine Painted ware. The two kinds of pottery are related, however (as noted above, n. 320). John J. Nichols and Jill A. Weber, "Amorites, Onagers, and Social Reorganization in Middle Bronze Age Syria," in *After Collapse: The Regeneration of Complex Societies*, ed. John J. Nichols and Glenn M. Schwartz (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2006), 52.

[359] Burke, "Entanglement, the Amorite *Koiné*" (2014): 5.

[360] A great number of the studies that deal with Amorites in any capacity, but especially with the Amorite Problem, draw upon this publication in some fashion. As Michalowski points out, it continues to be the standard reference on Amorite research that touches upon the Ur III (which is virtually all of it). Michalowski (2011), 87.

[361] For what that evidence is, he references C. J. Gadd who notes a change in art attributable to the incoming Amorites. Gadd specifies changes in the depiction of dress and a preference for harder stone (e.g., in the Stele of Ur-Nammu), movement toward a more decorative style, and changes in the glyptics. A survey of Buccellati's more recent publications found no statements updating this assertion. Buccellati, *Amorites* (1966), 13; Gadd (1965), 35-38.

[362] In citing Machteld Mellink, the problems to which Buccellati is referring are most likely related to the difficulties associated with archaeological investigations of nomadic people groups. Machteld J. Mellink, "Postscript on Nomadic Art," in *Dark Ages and Nomads c. 1000 B.C.*, ed. Machteld J. Mellink (Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut, 1964).

material evidence from Mesopotamia that might be attributable to Amorite arrival, in art or fashion (contra C. J. Gadd), because there is no earlier evidence for their style with which to compare it. He contends that even if such a connection could be shown, causation would be difficult to establish.[363] He does point out that the homeland of the Amorites, Jebel Bishri, had not been excavated at that time and that recognizing nomads archaeologically is problematic in general.[364] Thus, drawing on both textual and material data, he finds the idea of Amorite material culture problematic based on issues related to the absence or inadequacy of the material evidence, along with methodological difficulties in isolating it, and subsequently determining which of the groups to whom it should be attributed.

Several causes of Buccelati's early reservations have been remedied by developments since the mid-1960s when he made those statements. The archaeology of nomads has advanced significantly through direct consideration of the methodologies (e.g., Roger Cribb's *Nomads in Archaeology*) as well as related research in land use,[365] nomadism as a lifeway,[366] and archaeo-historical studies,[367] to name just a few. Some of these focus or touch upon Amorites directly,[368] including further contributions by Buccellati.[369] Knowledge of Amorites and associated material culture evidence for both the Ur III and early OB has increased dramatically.[370] The comparative evidence from other contexts of direct interaction now available would be useful in considering matters of causation in subsequent culture change (e.g., at Ebla). Finally, the Amorite 'homeland', Jebel Bishri, has since been surveyed and studied.[371]

In addition to these factors, some of Buccellati's skepticism toward Amorites and archaeology may be due to his earlier conceptualizations of ethnicity. Although he does not

[363] Buccellati, *Amorites* (1966), 13-14.

[364] Ibid., 237.

[365] E.g., Steven A Rosen, "Desertification and Pastoralism: A Historical Review of Pastoral Nomadism in the Negev Region," in *Land Use, Land Cover and Soil Sciences-Volume V: Dry Lands and Desertification*, Encyclopedia of Life Support Systems (EOLSS) (Oxford: Developed under the Auspices of the UNESCO, EOLSS Publishers, 2009), accessed 24 Jan 2006, http://www.eolss.net.

[366] E.g., William Honeychurch, "Alternative Complexities: The Archaeology of Pastoral Nomadic States," *Journal of Archaeological Research*, (2014), 50 pages, http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10814-014-9073-9; Nils Anfinset, *Metal, Nomads and Culture Contact: The Middle East and North Africa*, Approaches to Anthropological Archaeology (London: Equinox, 2010).

[367] E.g., Daniel T. Potts, *Nomadism in Iran: From Antiquity to the Modern Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

[368] E.g., Porter, *Mobile Pastoralism* (2012); Wossink, *Challenging Climate Change* (2009).

[369] E.g., Buccellati, "The Origin of the Tribe" (2008).

[370] For instance, in addition to the research discussed above (§2.6.2.1), the Tishrin and Tabqa dams salvage excavations on the Euphrates have generated new evidence: Bertille Lyonnet, "Le Nomadisme et l'Archéologie: Problèmes d'Identification - le Cas de la Partie Occidentale de la Djéziré aux 3ème et Début du 2ème Millénaire avant Notre Ère," in *Nomades et Sédentaires dans le Proche-Orient Ancien*, ed. Christophe Nicolle (Paris: ERC, 2004).

[371] E.g., Minna Lönnqvist, Sanna Aro-Valjus, and Kenneth Lönnqvist, Jebel Bishri in Focus: Remote Sensing, Archaeological Surveying, Mapping and GIS Studies of Jebel Bishri in Central Syria by the Finnish project SYGIS, BAR International Series vol. 2230 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2011); Minna Lönnqvist, Jebel Bishri in Context: Introduction to the Archaeological Studies and the Neighbourhood of Jebel Bishri in Central Syria: Proceedings of a Nordic Research Training Seminar in Syria, May 2004, BAR International Series vol. 1817 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2008); Katsuhiko Ohnuma et al., "Archaeological Research in the Bishri Region: Report of the Second Working Season," Al-Rafidan: Journal of Western Asiatic Studies 29, (2008).

define it in his 1966 publication, he does so in 1990[372] as a large, long-term, labeled group with characteristics that co-occur in a patterned way.[373] Amorites would not fit those criteria in the OB period because, as he describes them in the earlier publication, they were not a labeled group (since the MAR.TU appellative had fallen into disuse), and they did not become an ethnicity until the sixteenth century BCE. In 1990, he identifies them (in the OB) as being the rural population in contrast to the urban Akkadians and Eblaites.[374] His more recent publications on the topic of ethnicity, in reference to the Hurrians whom he does recognize as that kind of group, reflect a change in his definition of the phenomenon that makes it strikingly compatible with the relational perspective on that concept that is introduced in this project; his investigation of the Hurrians in light of it has parallels with the Amorites.[375] Ethnicity is not required as the basis for the group identity; the basis is part of what comes to light in the process of the investigation. Consequently, although Buccellati's 1966 work seems to be an example of research that is contra-indicative of an Amorite assemblage, his later publications on the methodologies involved point in a more affirmatory direction. His interpretation of them being the rural population is problematic in that it is an inadequate, or weak, basis for an actual identity; as suggested for the similar approaches discussed above, this more likely reflects an etic perspective toward them (as a categorical identification) rather than an actual identity.[376]

Likewise, Madeleine Fitzgerald expresses reservations about the archaeological evidence for Amorite identity, which she considers to be ethnic in the early OB. In a 2005 article, she writes that the first two Larsa rulers "identified themselves as Amorite," but the last two did not, going on to say that this "is the only ethnic distinction made by the rulers of Larsa for which we have any *concrete* evidence."[377] In a later article on the subject of temple building, she notes that the Ishtar-Kititum Temple at Ishchali was newly constructed in an Amorite context during the OB and should thus provide an opportunity to see the material expression of their identification. Instead, following Thorkild Jacobsen, she finds that it continued the earlier tradition.[378] She notes that there was, however, some innovation in temple layout under Shamshi-Adad, and a new spiral column attributable to either him or Hammurabi. Ultimately, she concludes that

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[372] The history of research in the intervening period makes it likely that the later statements were also applicable to his earlier comments. His 1993 discussion along these lines supports this inference further; there he writes that during the height of the OB they were Amorites but only in the sense of a common origin. Buccellati, "Gli Amorrei e "l' Addomesticamento" della Steppa" (1993), 67-68.

[373] Giorgio Buccellati, "'River Bank,' 'High Country,' and 'Pasture Land': The Growth of Nomadism on the Middle Euphrates and the Khabur," in *Tall al-Ḥamīdīya 2, Symposion, Recent Excavations in the Upper Khabur Region 1986*, ed. Seyyare Eichler, Markus Wäfler, and David Warburton, OBO, Series Archeologica 6 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), 89-90.

[374] Ibid., 103.

[375] For instance, he sees ethnicity as an "interrelationship of a complex set of signs"—similar to the Culture Contents of Self^{Other} (listing the same elements, in fact)—and considering it to be discernible as a cluster of traits grounded in relational self-awareness, along with other correspondences. Giorgio Buccellati, "When Were the Hurrians Hurrian? The Persistence of Ethnicity in Urkesh," in *Cultures in Contact: From Mesopotamia to the Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B.C.*, ed. Joan Aruz, Sarah B. Graff, and Yelena Rakic (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013), 84.

[376] See §3.2.5 for discussion of the difference.

[377] Madeleine A. Fitzgerald, "The Ethnic and Political Identity of the Kudur-Mabuk Dynasty," in *Ethnicity in Ancient Mesopotamia*, ed. W. H. van Soldt, R. Kalvelagen, and D. Katz (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2005), 101, emphasis added.

[378] Madeleine Fitzgerald, "Temple Building in the Old Babylonian Period," in *From the Foundations to the Crenellations: Essays on Temple Building in the Ancient Near East and Hebrew Bible*, ed. Richard S. Ellis, Mark J. Boda, and Jamie R. Novotny, AOAT 366 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2010), 47.

"although men who identified themselves as Amorites dominated political power, there is little evidence to suggest that Amorite ethnic identity affected the architecture of temples or the ritual or literature related to building and restoring them."[379] These statements indicate she sees that: there is textual evidence of Amorite ethnicity; there is an expectation that it will be expressed materially; and, that expression will differ from other groups; however, although there may be some discernible indicators (the columns), the evidence is lacking where it is expected to be seen most clearly (the new temple). In dialogue with her points, whether or not the style of this temple reflects the expression of Amorite identification depends on how much and in what ways the earlier practices continued. Materiality theory indicates that in a context such as the Kititum temple construction, if the Amorites are a social group some indication of their identity will be reflected in the techniques and/or characteristics of that building. The matter invites further consideration and likely would benefit from a holistic comparative analysis of the points of continuity and change in relation to other cultural elements where the significance of each could be considered in light of the characteristics of their overall identification and the contextualized factors.[380]

Jonathan Tubb finds a separation between the southern Levant and Syria in the material record. He recognizes an assemblage in Canaan/Palestine but does not attribute it to Amorites. Rather, he posits a "Canaanite continuum" of people and traditions that extended from the EB II through the LB,[381] of which the Amorites were only a part. During that extended period, he claims, there were "small-scale and peaceful infiltrations" of peoples from other regions that enriched but did not destroy or replace the local customs.[382] Although he argues against the theories that they invaded the southern Levant,[383] he allows that the Amorite presence there as suggested by the linguistic evidence may have been long-term, stating that "there is no reason to suppose that [an Amorite population] had not always been there [in MBIIA Palestine]."[384] Since material expressions of identity are more discernible when displayed in isolated contexts or at points of significant socio-cultural change (because both scenarios highlight the boundaries), the conditions as reconstructed by Tubb would make recognition of any of the groups difficult. On the other hand, he does recognize a material culture 'package' within the mix. He attributes one of the burial types (stone-built tombs) and some of the high status objects associated with them (triangular riveted daggers, copper torques, swollen and flat-headed toggle-pins, watch-spring

[379] Ibid., 48.

[380] The semiotic approach suggested by Buccellati is one such potentially productive line of investigation. Note that the construction of the Ishtar-Kititum temple was highly ritualized, with a purifying substructure built for the temple to be placed upon (see Hill). This and other features of this multi-unit structure present an intriguingly complex case for considerations of identity work. Buccellati, "When Were the Hurrians Hurrian?" (2013); H. D. Hill and Thorkild Jacobsen, "The Kitîtum Complex at Ishchali," in *Old Babylonian Public Buildings in the Diyala Region*, ed. H. D. Hill, Thorkild Jacobsen, and Pinhas Delougaz, Oriental Institute Publications 98 (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1990), 61-67.

[381] Jonathan N. Tubb, "Canaan as a Cultural Construct," in One Hundred Years of American Archaeology in the Middle East: Proceedings of the American Schools of Oriental Research Centennial Celebration, Washington DC, April 2000, ed. Douglas R. Clark and Victor Harold Matthews (Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research, 2003), 140; and, Jonathan N. Tubb, Canaanites, Peoples of the Past vol. 2 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 59.

[382] Tubb, *Canaanites* (1998), 59.

[383] Tubb, "Canaan as a Cultural Construct" (2003), 140.

[384] Tubb, "The MBIIA Period in Palestine" (1983): 59.

spirals, and a particular style of decorated belt plates)—all of which are considered by some researcher(s) to be associated with the Amorites—to Indo-Europeans.[385]

According to a recent editorial, Tubb holds the opinion that the Amorites were the indigenous population of Syria and that they expanded eastward into Mesopotamia in the late third and early second millennia. Based on the Ebla excavations, that culture included "palaces, temples, fortification systems and a dazzling array of artefacts…[of]…an urbane and sophisticated people."[386] He is emphatic on this point, writing "The Amorites did not receive their culture from Mesopotamia—they took it there!"[387]

To summarize his claims, Tubb recognizes an assemblage in the southern Levant consisting of the same distinctive artifacts associated by other scholars with the Amorites, but he attributes it to another immigrant group based on material correlates in that place of origin (eastern Europe). He notes that the textual evidence indicates the Amorites were present in the region and probably had been for a long time. The combination of these two factors (being a group and having a long-term presence) can be expected to make an archaeological imprint discernible. However, he also notes that they were an ephemeral element of the general population during a period of stability; both of which would make that imprint less discernible. In Syria, on the other hand, he assesses the Amorites of the period as being an urban culture that influenced Mesopotamia greatly as they traveled eastward. There are recognizable assemblages in both regions, with one being Indo-European and the other Amorite. With Tubb, it is not a question of whether or not there is an assemblage, but of where it manifests and with whom it is associated. These two divergent interpretations might be brought into correspondence through a comparative framework that can accommodate the different associations from a consistent basis, by considering the composite evidence of the Indo-European practices and materials alongside that of the southern Levant and Syria. This would allow the evidence of ideologies, practices, and the material expression he cites to be considered together from all three places, potentially confirming where continuities lie, or negating them, or revealing new lines of connection.

These representative studies demonstrate that the findings claiming there is no Amorite material culture due to the nature of the evidence are complex questions of who and where. The researchers who reach the same results but for theoretical reasons, on the other hand, tend toward outright rejection of the idea of an Amorite assemblage. For instance, in her 1983 monograph, one of Patty Gerstenblith's stated objectives was to study changes in the material record through consideration of the interactions in the different cultural components (e.g., subsistence, social, symbolic) "to attempt to understand these changes and the mechanisms by which they were effected."[388] However, while acknowledging the presence of Amorites, Canaanites, and Hyksos on the basis of contemporary linguistics or onomastics, she takes the position that the labels for

[385] Although this connection is not encountered in the current literature often, Tubb's argument is part of a line of researchers (e.g., Paul Lapp, Claude Schaeffer) tracing these material indicators to various regions in what is now Europe. Tubb interacts with their ideas in this article. Jonathan N. Tubb, "Aliens in the Levant," in *The Levant in Transition: Proceedings of a Conference Held at the British Museum on 20-21 April 2004*, ed. Peter Parr (Leeds, UK: Maney, 2009).

[386] Jonathan N. Tubb, "Editorial: Syria's Cultural Heritage," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 145, no. 3, (2013): 179.

[387] Ibid., 180.

[388] The pottery typology in this monograph continues to make it a fairly standard reference work. Patty Gerstenblith, *The Levant at the Beginning of the Middle Bronze Age* (Philadelphia: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1983), 1.

such groups, e.g., ethnicity, are "invalid" for application to archaeological assemblages. She asserts, "the term 'ethnic group' is 'an irrelevant theoretical construct' for archaeological purposes and 'for most archaeological situations, markers of ethnic identity are probably not recognizable.'"[389] She also says, "in this particular case, even the textual evidence is so confused that it is impossible to write of such groups as 'Amorites' and 'Canaanites' with any clear definition which would be acceptable to all philologists studying the Mesopotamian texts."[390] This statement is consistent with the discussion in §2.6.1.2 and reflects the importance of working toward developing ways of achieving more agreement in those text-based interpretations. Ultimately, she attributes the changes in the archaeological record to the expansion of interregional trade and communication which then produced changes in the different cultural components.[391]

Gerstenblith, then, recognizes an Amorite presence, perhaps in terms of ethnicity, and is interested in theoretical reconstructions of social and symbolic processes. Yet, she finds identifying an Amorite assemblage unlikely to happen because, as an ethnic group, it would be theoretically insupportable and interpretations of the textual evidence are too problematic. As with Buccellati, the points upon which Gerstenblith's reservations rest have also benefited from further developments in the intervening years. Archaeological investigations of identity, including ethnicity, are increasingly receiving interdisciplinary attention[392] and advances in materiality studies have increased the 'probability' of recognizing it in the record. An opportunity for addressing each of her specific reservations lies in an approach to the evidence that allows insights from those advancements to bring both texts and artifacts together into a framework within which each can be considered in light of the other. The results should inform the social and symbolic considerations in which she expressed interest.

Another theoretical position is taken by Porter in her 2012 study, where she concludes there is "no difference in material culture"[393] that distinguishes Amorites from other Mesopotamians. In her 2007 article in which she touches on the origin of the Amorites, she asserts that when the Amorites emerged they did so as part of the widespread cultural *koiné* that was present across northern Mesopotamia (from the Mediterranean Sea to the Zagros Mountains) both before and after the Akkadian period. She says there was a concomitant "base assemblage of ceramics that covers the sweep from the [Mediterranean] coast to the Zagros [Mountains],

[389] The statement is partially quoting Carol Kramer (Hamlin). Ibid., 124.

[390] Ibid.

[391] Ibid., 125.

[392] E.g., Adam Moore, "Ethno-Territoriality and Ethnic Conflict," *Geographical Review* 106, no. 1, (2016); Aaron J. Brody, "Living in Households, Constructing Identities: Ethnicity, Boundaries, and Empire in Iron II Tell en-Nasbeh," in *Household Studies in Complex Societies: (Micro) Archaeological and Textual Approaches*, ed. Miriam Müller, OIS 10 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2015); Brian A. Brown, "Culture on Display: Representations of Ethnicity in the Art of the Late Assyrian State," in *Critical Approaches to Ancient Near Eastern Art*, ed. Brian A. Brown and Marian H. Feldman, vol. 515-542 (Boston: Walter de Gruyter Inc., 2014); Jeremy McInerney, *A Companion to Ethnicity in the Ancient Mediterranean*, Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World (Chichester, UK: Wiley Blackwell, 2014).

[393] Her discussion of them in this chapter is based on literary analysis, so she does not make reference to archaeological studies for this statement. Of note, she does attribute the contribution of some cultural characteristics to them, however, such as organizational authority structures (e.g., elders) and a kinship-based social system. Porter, *Mobile Pastoralism* (2012), 252, 243.

overlaid by regional complexes of material..."[394] Her statements imply that she sees Amorites present but within a widespread culture from which they are undifferentiated in the archaeological record. Also, that any differentiation would not be possible since in her view the term 'Amorite' designates a collective group of mobile pastoralists that changes in definition depending on the textual reference to them,[395] and could incorporate members of other groups from disparate places.[396] The identity processes in play in kinship relations obviate the problem of incorporating outsiders (§4.3.2.2.1.i). However, the bigger issue is that in her terms, Amorites would not be a group with a bounded identity sufficient for exhibiting a distinguishable material culture. Her conclusions seem doubtful in light of the evidence enjoined in the research by others who reach different interpretations, for both an archaeological 'package' and their group-ness. The validity of both is in need of analytical consideration before agreement can be reached.

The impasse in the field over Amorite identity is made evident in the forceful position presented by Homsher and Cradic in the recent article that was mentioned previously (§2.6.1). Their stated purpose in writing it is to challenge some of the issues involved in the Amorite Problem, which they consider to be a holdover from old paradigms; they argue that it should be relegated to "the history of scholarship, where it belongs,"[397] a claim which they then attempt to support. First on the list of the "problematic assumptions" they tackle is the idea that there might be an assemblage of material culture that can be associated with the textually attested Amorites.[398] With a primary focus on the southern Levant, the gist of their argument is that: 1) the character of the Amorite Problem is such that it requires a direct connection between a) textual evidence of a coherent people group and their cultural practices, to b) archaeological evidence for rapid changes in new material culture that can be linked to a foreign origin; 2) Amorites are virtually invisible in the archaeological record; 3) the evidence in that record exhibits endogenous continuity and development; and thus, 4) claims that Amorites are responsible for the EB – MB socio-cultural transformations in that region are unsupportable. As mentioned previously, they conclude that the Amorite presence in the textual evidence reflects shared naming practices[399] extending geographically across the region, from Egypt to the northern Levant and Mesopotamia.

In developing their position on the archaeological aspects, they discuss artifact characteristics, sometimes in detail, yet a close look reveals that their objections have more to do with theoretical issues involved in the archaeology of identity. Having noted those difficulties in associating material culture with identities,[400] they shift the focus and address the issue as a socio-cultural one instead. They select three dimensions—burial practices, urbanism, and

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[394] Anne Porter, "You Say Potato, I Say...: Typology, Chronology, and the Origins of the Amorites," in *Sociétés Humaines et Changement Climatique à la Fin du Troisième Millénaire: Une Crise a-t-elle eu Lieu en Haute Mésopotamie?*, ed. Catherine Kuzucuoglu and Catherine Marro (Istanbul: Institut Français d'Études Anatolienne Georges-Dumézil, 2007), 90 and 107.

[395] The label, she says, has nothing to do with “ethnicity, political affiliation, occupation, or even point of origin.” Porter, *Mobile Pastoralism* (2012), 319-320.

[396] She asserts that the practice of both social kinship and geographic kinship is what makes Amorites so hard to define. Porter, "Beyond Dimorphism " (2009), 208.

[397] Homsher and Cradic (2018): 2,19.

[398] Ibid., 2.

[399] They draw upon Huehnergard's view that, linguistically, Amorite was a composite of dialects and languages. Ibid., 4.

[400] Ibid., 10.

technological innovation—to focus on that have an impact on the material record, including categories of the material culture previously associated with Amorites by other researchers.[401]

Regarding mortuary practices in general, they note the acknowledged complexity involved and then assert that burials do not "provide reliable evidence for evaluating the ethnicity of the deceased."[402] They then proceed by addressing some aspects they consider to be weaknesses in the evidence in three specific Amorite-associated burial types, but in terms of socio-cultural transformations rather than ethnicity. Their main points are that warrior burials are found to vary considerably in the architecture (from simple pits to shaft tombs); they also appear in the mid-third millennium and continue, with some temporal and regional fluctuations in the numbers and types of weapons included, through the end of the MB. They then conclude that this reflects a local, continuous practice that does not reflect any population movement, ethnic distinction, or Amorite identity in either the burials or the grave goods included in them.[403] They argue further that intramural burial practices fail to support an association with Amorite identity as well, since: they began to appear in earlier periods; other forms (extra-mural and cemetery) co-occur with them in the MB; and, intramural practices are widespread throughout the Ancient Near East, including areas not associated with Amorites such as Cyprus.[404] In their view, infant jar burials cannot be associated with Amorites for similar reasons. Thus, in addition to the theoretical issues involved in interpreting identity from burials, the authors exclude these burial practices from an Amorite-identity related repertoire based on the lack of correlation between their physical characteristics and the requirements of the Amorite Problem, finding that they fall short by: reflecting local (not new) practices; appearing in multiple forms, which undermines the association with a coherent social group; and, because they cannot be linked to a discrete time or external place of origin.

Through the dimensions of urbanism and technological innovation, the authors conclude that social adaptation rather than Amorite arrival is reflected in the data. Through the urbanism lens, they find the period characterized by mixed settlement patterns and a predominantly local material culture. Although there is some evidence of influence from the north (i.e., Syria), it was characterized by transformation rather than replacement. The changes, they argue, reflect social adaptation in some fashion rather than cultural change.[405] They find that the effects of that social adaptation process carry over into technological changes. In two types of material culture that exhibit innovation during the period, ceramics and metallurgy,[406] they find that it was attributable to a combination of new people bringing new ideas into an internally driven increase in specialization within the context of urbanization. It was a more open technological system in which outside specialists entered into the specialized workshops—"not contingent on the influx of a particular *ethnic* group of people, but on a particular *social* group (specialist craftsmen) and context of production (workshops)."[407] They allow that Amorites may have been a part of the

[401] The article develops largely in dialogue with ideas presented in Burke's recent publications—the Amorite *koiné*, in particular—, which were discussed in §2.6.1 above.

[402] "As has long been recognized, burials are complex ritualized practices that may not accurately reflect the social, or economic, status of an individual: nor do burials provide reliable evidence for evaluating the ethnicity of the deceased." Homsher and Cradic (2018): 11.

[403] Ibid., 11-13.

[404] Ibid., 12.

[405] Ibid., 10, 12, 15-16.

[406] Note that they also deal with earthen ramparts: Ibid., 16-17, emphasis in the original.

[407] Ibid., 17.

process, but not the single cause.[408] As a result, they conclude that the evidence does not support the requirements of the Amorite Problem, in that the region is characterized in the MB by: mixed settlement patterns, which undermines the association with a coherent social group; the discernible outside influence not being superimposed, i.e. not a matter of replacement but transformation from within, so it fails to meet the criterion of rapid externally-sourced changes; and, by the innovations deriving from internal developments and the arrival of specialists, not an ethnic group, "Amorite or otherwise."[409] Ultimately, they note that urbanization in itself would have been a sufficient explanation for all of the developments in evidence.[410]

Homsher and Cradic's discussion raises some interesting points and contributes a strong statement in opposition to the idea of an Amorite material culture. Their argument is significantly undermined, however, by the 'straw man' against which they position it—they frame the Problem as the Hypothesis.[411] That is to say, they argue against the most extreme past claims about Amorite influence in the southern Levant—an invasion evident by rapid changes of foreign origin that replace the local cultural expressions—and they do so from an intractable approach to the alternatives—completely indigenous continuity and development with internal innovation—leaving mediating perspectives insufficiently considered. One area in which consensus has been achieved is that the invasion theory is not supported either historically or archaeologically; the Amorite Hypothesis has, in that regard, become part of past scholarship that no longer requires discussion[412] as they hoped. However, with or without the invasion premise, it is well-recognized that external influence does not cause local practices to cease, or be replaced, nor does it preclude local innovation. Additionally, the specialists in the workshops may be a "social group" of craftsmen, but they may also be part of a "particular ethnic group"—it is not necessarily an either-or situation. By making their own assumptions, which are not without debate—such as that Amorites are virtually invisible in the archaeological record and that burials do not provide evidence of ethnicity—premises of their argument, their claim that Amorites are not responsible for the EB – MB socio-cultural transformations in the southern Levant is not supported. Further, their alternative interpretation, that the textual record reflects shared naming practices from Egypt to southern Mesopotamia instead, is inconsistent with the meaningfulness of names in all levels of identification, from the individual to the community. Names reflect relationality, between parent and child, their extended family, belief system, and wider cultural practices including language and tradition (§4.3.2.1.2.iv). Although naming practices might be shared inter-regionally, they will have some association with the identities involved—the connection cannot reasonably be severed. Also, their proposal that the "Amorite ideology" presented in the textual evidence might be "social, political, religious, or economic" is problematic since politics, religion, and the economy are subsets of cultural matrices—an Amorite economic ideology, for instance, necessitates some Amorite construct with which to associate its formation and/or functioning in order for it to be identifiable as such. That what might be presented in the evidence is a "social" ideology, however, is consistent with the evidence—it is some form of social relationality between the Amorite concept and those who

[408] Ibid., 18.
[409] Ibid., 13.
[410] Ibid., 18.
[411] See above, p. 24 with n. 130.
[412] Burke's default position on this issue, when presenting his *koiné* perspective, exemplifies the degree to which this consensus exists. Burke, "Entanglement, the Amorite *Koiné*" (2014): 4.

interact with it, the presence of which Homsher and Cradic acknowledge.[413] The question is, what kind of concept is it? The evidence Homsher and Cradic draw upon, e.g., mortuary practices and metallurgy, when considered in a holistic comparative paradigm might, in fact, support their argument, revealing that they are associated with a non-Amorite cultural identification. However, without a more comprehensive consideration of the evidence, their argument is unconvincing. Without more clarity on the nature of their "social" make-up, the Amorites are left as an indiscernible, amorphous mass within the wider population, as Homsher and Cradic seem to conclude, that is not consistent with the findings in other research. Thus, we arrive, again, at the point where the dialogue is halted by the lack of a common basis for comparing the different bodies of evidence drawn upon in the arguments.

2.6.2.3 Summary

In summary, archaeologists have been making an association between Amorites and material culture from at least 1933 up to the present. In combination with textual evidence, either in a primary or secondary role, the connections have been drawn to artifactual elements or assemblages based on: stratigraphic correlations; comparative stratigraphic changes; differentiation from the material culture of other groups; and, through tracing them in contexts of both continuity and change. The geographic range has grown with the availability of more evidence, and the interpretations have become more nuanced as the body of research has increased. Further insights continue to come to light. With the proliferation in Amorite Studies research in recent years,[414] even bolder assertions have recently entered the conversation, such as Burke's proposed Amorite *koiné*. The challenge to these positions has also become more forceful.

Those researchers who do not recognize the assemblage identified by others do so based on reservations about the nature of the expected evidence or rejection of the idea due to the theoretical difficulties. Since 1966, Buccellati's *Amorites of the Ur III Period* has been influential in creating these reservations. He considered the lack of availability of comparative evidence to be a barrier, along with the difficulties in discerning the dynamics within it should it be obtained. To those reservations, other researchers add the problems presented by the seemingly insurmountable difficulties with identifying Amorites in the texts and when the expected evidence for them is not apparent, especially in contexts where it should be clear. When recognized, the evidence is also attributed to other groups.

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[413] "To be clear, the question is not, whether or not Amorites existed in the Near East at this time; we acknowledge their presence (particularly in Syria and Mesopotamia), albeit they are hard to define." Homsher and Cradic (2018): 2.

[414] Research in this field has grown tremendously since 2000. At least one dedicated conference has been held, at Oxford in 2013. Several articles are published each year. Several other dissertations on Amorites, specifically, are in process or have been written in the last few years alone; e.g., Buck (2018); de Boer *Amorites in the Old Babylonian Period*, (2014); Torbjørn Preus Schou, *Mobile Pastoralist Groups and the Palmyrene in the Late Early to Middle Bronze Age (c. 2400-1700 BCE): An Archaeological Synthesis Based on a Multidisciplinary Approach Focusing on Satellite Imagery Studies, Environmental Data, and Textual Sources* (PhD Dissertation, University of Bergen, 2014); Firas Hammoush, *L'expression du Respect dans les Lettres de Mari au Début du IIe Millénaire: Le Pouvoir Caché dans les Mots Amorrites* (Panthéon-Sorbonne Université, 2011); Adam Miglio, *Solidarity and Political Authority during the Reign Of Zimrī-Līm (C. 1775-1762 B.C.)* (PhD Dissertation, University of Chicago, 2010).

Stronger than the reservations due to the nature of the evidence, objections to the idea of an Amorite assemblage are raised for reasons such as: when the concept of a coherent, labeled group (such as an ethnic group) is found to be invalid for archaeological considerations; or, due to the challenge of isolating one group from another within an interactional context, especially when the boundaries are unclear; and, when the evidence does not correspond with the expectations.

2.6.3 Discussion

The Amorite identity issue arises from the combination of complex interpretive issues based on both the textual and archaeological evidence. The positions for and against the idea of Amorite-related material culture stem from sophisticated consideration of the complex issues involved. Both are firmly entrenched after decades of research efforts. The polarization evident in the Burke and Homsher and Cradic positions highlights the unacknowledged but increasingly evident impasse on these issues that currently exists in Amorite Studies. Essentially, the only point of agreement is that there is some attestation of an Amorite concept in the texts. Efforts to determine what that is have resulted in conclusions ranging from an ethnic group with a full range of cultural characteristics and associated artifacts to an ideological construct for which no physical manifestation would be possible. This divergence has motivated productive research over the last half-century but has not successfully resolved the basic question of who the Amorites were. The survey in this section of the reasoning behind the interpretations suggests that clarification of identity processes and a method for compiling the data in a manner that is consistent with them will be helpful. This would be advantageous to the individual research efforts and would also provide a common ground for bringing separate considerations together in a consistent and compatible framework. In this way, the needed synthesis of both lines of evidence, theoretical considerations, and researcher insights can be accomplished.

2.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, the current state of the Amorite Problem has been considered through the historical and academic developments leading up to the current impasse. The Amorites have been situated in their historical setting of an expansive region with a deep history that was highly interactive. Just before the OB period in which they attain prominence, they appear as individuals in all levels of society but as a group are mostly recognizable in their peripheral position as pastoral nomads outside the Mesopotamian cultural mainstream. Their intriguing rise from the periphery to the throne over a strong and cohesive socio-political system in the space of a century (the Isin-Larsa period) has motivated intense research efforts since the time they were first recognized in the cuneiform record.

Amorite Studies began with questions about their ethnicity that were generated by the nature of their attestations in the texts. Both assyriological and archaeological studies understood them to be an ethnic group, virtually unquestioned, for the next several decades. Approaching the 1960s, the discussion began to change. The 1966 publication of two books in particular, Kenyon's *Amorites and Canaanites* and Buccellati's *Amorites of the Ur III Period*, and the responses to them set the trajectory of the field[415] that has continued to the present. Researchers

[415] Buccellati has also noted a watershed character in the 1960s developments. Buccellati, "Gli Amorrei" (1993), 67.

have engaged with the evidence for Amorite identity, debating about who they were, the manner of their influence, as well as how much socio-cultural change and what characteristics of it are attributable to them, since that time.

The Amorite Problem is the current configuration of the questions concerning who they were. Only one of these has been resolved since the watershed of the 1960s[416]—there is common agreement that the Amorites did not invade either Mesopotamia or the southern Levant militarily at the beginning of the second millennium BCE. Beyond that, questions still remain about their language, their nomadic lifeway, the location of their homeland, and the nature of their integration into Mesopotamian society (to further refine the non-invasion perspective). The problem of the apparent lack of an archaeological imprint for them (the Amorite Paradox), especially in light of their historical prominence, is one that is additional to and also underlies the others. The issues surrounding these questions have built up to the degree where, although there is agreement that the Mesopotamians recognized an Amorite concept in some fashion, a polarization has developed about the rest—their existence as an ethnic group with their own language and assemblage of artifacts is the view held by some researchers, while their presence in any kind of entitative form, and thus even the possibility of them having any material culture, is questioned by others.

It has been shown that the Amorite Problem is an identity issue. In the interest of arriving at a method of resolving it, both lines of evidence for the Amorites have been outlined. The textual data consists largely of linguistic indicators: labels for the group or in titles of group members; names; associations such as with the deity, space, and things; or, reflections of Amorites engaged in activities such as herding. The archaeological evidence consists of pottery, metal objects, mortuary practices, and architecture that have been associated stratigraphically in different sites and across the region, and connected to Amorites through the textual evidence and consistent correspondences in the material culture.

Recognizing that the crux of the issue is the interpretations of that evidence, the varying conclusions derived from both corpora have been surveyed. Those drawn from the texts range from an ethnicity in the anthropological sense of a long-term kinship-based cultural identification, to an ethnicity on different grounds (e.g., tribal affiliation or lifeway) or of a more transitory nature (changing within the OB period), to an ideological construct. There are those who consider that it may be any or all of these and at least one who acknowledges the bottom line—that we just do not yet know. This is the case because there is no interpretive consensus. The conclusions from the archaeological evidence were found to fall on one side or the other of a stark division. One line of scholarship recognizes an assemblage that has, to some extent, grown in cohesiveness over time. Among the others, who do not see any material culture associated with Amorites, there is a split between those who disallow it based on the evidence and those who are opposed to it on theoretical grounds. The cited problems in the evidence are that it is inadequate, or does not appear where it is expected, or that it is attributable to other groups. The theoretical issues lie in the problems surrounding the archaeological evidence of ethnicity, or discerning indicators of one group from those of others in a mixed interactive context. Essentially, it is a matter of the methodology in archaeological investigations of identity.

[416] De Boer notes the general lack of advancement in the last fifty years as well. De Boer *Amorites in the Old Babylonian Period*, (2014), 31.

The division among the findings has been prolonged, lasting more than fifty years, without resolution. Considering the current understandings of the evidence and the positions on all sides has suggested two particular needs for moving the field forward: 1) a well-supported understanding of identity processes that can serve as a common ground between the two entrenched positions; and, 2) a framework for compiling the data consistently, for analyses informed by that understanding that can accommodate the need for synthesis.

At present, the field is at an impasse, as demonstrated by two recent publications from the opposite sides of the question in particular. The $Self^{Other}$ conceptualization of identity as a relational phenomenon presented in the next chapter is developed from current multi-disciplinary theory and empirical research that can contribute to the needed common ground. When combined with social archaeology theory, including materiality and social memory perspectives, the resulting framework has the potential to contribute to the analytical interpretations incorporating both lines of evidence that are needed to move the field forward toward agreement and more productive pursuits.

Chapter 3
Cultural Identity in an Archaeological Research Perspective

3.1 Introduction

As developed in Chapter 2, the Amorite Paradox is a matter of their Cultural Identity (the Amorite Problem) and the resulting debate over whether there is, or even could be, any material culture associated with them. The nature of the evidence and the interpretations derived from it by researchers over the last fifty years indicate that, to advance the field toward some degree of consensus, there is a need for methods that can bridge the polarized divide that now exists over that issue.

To develop the well-articulated understanding of identity processes that is needed to address the complex questions raised by the paradox, a definitional understanding of cultural identity will be of minimal use. Rather, it requires an analytical approach that can accommodate a consistent and grounded consideration of its constituent features so that it can be used for different contextual cases, by different researchers, from different angles on the research questions. Operationalizing the resulting conceptualization will require a framework for organizing the data, in a correspondent manner, to evaluate the comparative evidence for groups in those different contexts. This chapter develops the $\text{Self}^{\text{Other}}$ relational paradigm as such an approach—one that lays a common ground to bridge the interpretive gap that is contributing to the impasse over Amorite identity and the paradox about their archaeological imprint.

The paradigm is grounded in interdisciplinary research that incorporates a relational approach to identity, coupled with a conceptual analysis of culture, to consider who the Amorites were from their own (self) perspective and from that of the others in their sphere of interaction. Through the resulting lens, the claim can be made that culture is a conceptual matrix and that cultural identity is a categorical identification with that matrix. On that basis, various assets of social archaeology can be enjoined in the framework to formulate an interpretive approach to archaeological evidence that accommodates both the simplicity and the complexity of the interrelated dynamics involved in cultural identity. The established theoretical approaches of materiality, social memory, and landscape theory capture the connection between the identification and the material record for an analytical interpretation of the archaeological evidence. In this chapter, each of these elements is explored to lay the groundwork for considering Amorite evidence from that perspective, which will follow in Chapter 4.

3.2 Identity

There is good reason for the current vigorous interest and research in identity—it is because it is an essential element of our lives. Based in neuronal activity at the very foundation of how we think, identity is an inherently human attribute, and it is a relational one.[417] Recent studies reveal that human consciousness itself originates in “a neuron-based process that

[417] Identity being a relational phenomenon is not a new idea, having been recognized in various disciplines for at least several decades. For instance, Steve Hinchliffe (cultural geography) cites a 1995 publication to say "Our identities, we're reminded, are relational, and not simply the product of our inner make-up." Steve Hinchliffe, "Nature/Culture," in *Cultural Geography: A Critical Dictionary of Key Concepts*, ed. David Sibley, David Atkinson, and Peter Jackson (London: I.B. Tauris, 2005), 195.

distinguishes the self from others" reflecting "the need of human beings to interact with their fellows, understand their intentions and thus enhance their possibilities of survival."[418] The fundamental concept of the integrality of self and other in identity formation is well-recognized, especially since Frederik Barth's seminal work on ethnic groups as a form of social organization, where he concludes that the "critical feature" of identity is "self-ascription and ascription by others."[419] This maxim has become generally accepted in identity research.[420] In simplified terms, then, identity is who/what you say you are and (or versus) who/what others say you are.

The selected label for the paradigm developed in this project, $Self^{Other}$,[421] emphasizes the integrated nature of identity construction on that basis. Previous conceptions of self and other in identity studies take it as a dichotomy between two contrasting things (as implied by the label "self:other"), or two oppositional things (as in references to "self/other"), or two additive things (such as "self and other"). $Self^{Other}$ builds on those ideas to approach identity as a phenomenon that is generated by self and other acting upon each other—self 'raised to the power of' other(s).[422] This augmentation occurs within four levels from the perspective of—that is to say in relation to—the individual: 1) $Self^{Self}$; 2) $Self^{Individual\text{-}Other(s)}$; 3) $Self^{Group\text{-}Other(s)}$; and, 4) $Self^{Categorical\text{-}Other(s)}$ (Figure 3.1).

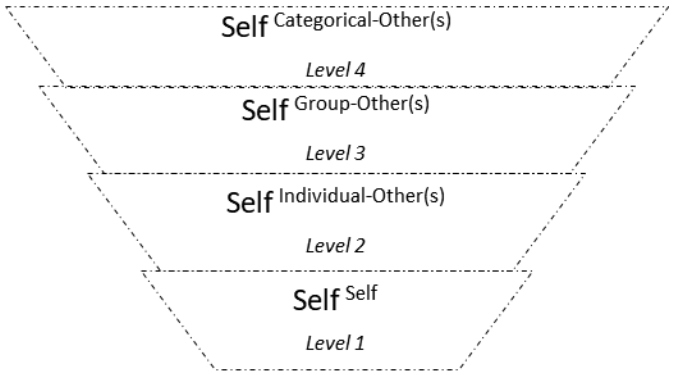

Figure 3.1: $Self^{Other}$

[418] Mauro Maldonato, *Predictive Brain: Consciousness, Decision and Embodied Action* (Brighton, GBR: Sussex Academic Press, 2014), 4, emphasis added.

[419] Fredrik Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1969), 13.

[420] Siân Jones, "Ethnicity: Theoretical Approaches, Methodological Implications," in *Handbook of Archaeological Theories*, ed. R. Alexander Bentley, Herbert D. G. Maschner, and Christopher Chippindale (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2008), 327.

[421] Although I am reluctant to introduce yet more new terms into the dialogue, the inconsistency with which the standard labels are used makes it necessary—particularly in this paradigm, which focuses on articulating the specific delineations within identity.

[422] Kristen Renn's "intersectionality" approach is similar. Kristen A. Renn, "Creating and Re-Creating Race: The Emergence of Racial Identity as a Critical Element in Psychological, Sociological, and Ecological Perspectives on Human Development," in *New Perspectives on Racial Identity Development: Integrating Emerging Frameworks*, ed. Charmaine Wijeyesinghe and Bailey W. Jackson (New York: New York University Press, 2012), 23-24 (emphasis added).

3.2.1 Identity as Self^{Other}

The four levels of Identity[423] are nested in their formation, functioning, and expression. Consequently, consideration of any involves consideration of them all. In this section, the discussion of each is limited to that which demonstrates that: a) Cultural Identity is categorical rather than a group or collective identity, and b) the processes and characteristics in the other levels pass through the hierarchy into expression as part of cultural identification.

3.2.2 Self^{Self} as Personal Identity (Level 1)

Personal Identity is who/what individuals consider themselves to be as discrete beings. It is a synthesis of the internal relational dimension of Self ('who/what I am based on myself') and the external ('who/what I am based on Other). Produced by the mind, both dimensions are subjective. Both are also relational because at this level Self is an Other—an object of knowability and a source of information—as well as a consciousness that thinks about itself. External Other(s) are also involved, but in a limited capacity as sources of data.[424] Personal Identity is a social identity constituted through self-awareness, awareness of Other(s), and reciprocity between the two—not individually, but conjointly.[425] As the very core of Identity at the most internalized level, it drives the formation and expression of Self at other levels of interaction.

Advances in neuroanthropology provide the basis for this relational understanding of Personal Identity, which is also already recognized theoretically in the archaeological literature. Antonio Damasio describes this conjointly constitutive reciprocity as a process of mental mapping through which individuals establish their sense of Self,[426] which then carries forward into the other levels of identification. Vivian Vignoles captures the dynamics succinctly, writing "identities are inescapably *both* personal *and* social not only in their content, but also in the processes by which they form, persist, and change over time."[427] In other words, despite there being different dimensions of identity, all Identity is social—it is a matter of both Self and Other(s) at any point and any level.

Self at Level 1 is the "sensual and experiential" person, as Bernard Knapp phrases it, that archaeologists recognize theoretically and seek to discern in the material record. Recognizing

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[423] To distinguish specialized use of the common terminology involved in this subject matter, labels for terms that have their definition developed in this project are marked by capitalization. Thus, references to Identity invoke this nested, augmentative conceptualization of identity, Self refers to the discrete first person individual, and Other to the interactant of any kind and at any level (these specifications will become clearer as the ideas are developed in this chapter). See "Definitions" in Appendix D-3.

[424] Jennifer Johnson-Hanks et al., *Understanding Family Change and Variation: Toward a Theory of Conjunctural Action*, Understanding Population Trends and Processes vol. 5 (Dordrecht: Springer, 2011), 14-15.

[425] Antonio R. Damasio, *The Feeling of What Happens: Body and Emotion in the Making of Consciousness* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1999), 222 ff.

[426] This is also recognizable as the autobiographic or Sentient Self (see Craig). Mental mapping is the process by which sensory pathways 'map' the input we perceive from the external world and our individual internal structures onto our brains and construct certain ways of thinking. Antonio Damasio and Hanna Damasio, "Minding the Body," *Daedalus* 135, no. 3, (2006); A. D. Craig, "The Sentient Self," *Brain Structure and Function* 214, no. 5-6, (2010): 569.

[427] Vignoles (2011), 4-5.

that "experiencing *oneself* as a living individual…is part of human nature,"[428] he says, further, that "archaeologists need to move beyond agency in their attempts to analyze social practices, and above all keep in mind the 'sensual and experiential person.'"[429] Knapp is referring to the relational and experiential aspects of Personal Identity.

Neuranthropological research has established the link between the Person and culture—the level that is of particular interest to this project. Greg Downey and Daniel Lende expose this critical connection when they highlight the contributions achievable through the "mutual engagement"[430] of anthropology and neuroscience in neuroanthropology. They make the point that we are defined conjointly by both ourselves—our bodies and our brains—as well as culture.[431] A neuroanthropological approach thus facilitates analytical interpretations of individual behaviors related to Cultural Identity through its empirical and theoretical understanding of the processes involved. It provides an established foundation that is grounded in the cognitive processes common to all people. It also demonstrates that cognition is as relevant to Cultural Identity as it is to any other.

3.2.3 Self$^{\text{Individual-Other(s)}}$ as Individual Identity (Level 2)

Individual Identity is the level of Identity formation and enactment in which Self relates with Other(s) as an Individual. It is the sphere in which Personal Identity is initially deployed; it is where the individual agency evident in Cultural Identity is activated.

A key feature at this level is the closeness in relationality involved. It is these face-to-face associations that are formed and acted out in primary relationships, in the sphere of everyday interactions, that have the most impact on Identity.[432] These relationships are particularly close and meaningful, and emotion can be a powerful force. It is in this level that we most directly see the 'sensual and experiential person' in action within a cultural group. Although these relationships are intimate, several factors in Individual Identity processes have significant implications for the broader social structure.

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[428] A. Bernard Knapp, "Beyond Agency: Identity and Individuals in Archaeology," in *Agency and Identity in the Ancient Near East: New Paths Forward*, ed. Sharon R. Steadman and Jennifer C. Ross (London: Equinox, 2010), 193, emphasis added.

[429] Ibid., 197.

[430] Greg Downey and Daniel H. Lende, "Neuroanthropology and the Encultured Brain," in *Encultured Brain: An Introduction to Neuroanthropology*, ed. Daniel H. Lende and Greg Downey (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2012), 24.

[431] Ibid., 25.

[432] David F. Bjorklund, Kayla Causey, and Virginia Periss, "The Evolution and Development of Human Social Cognition," in *Mind the Gap: Tracing the Origins of Human Universals*, ed. Peter M. Kappeler and Joan B. Silk (Berlin: Springer, 2010), 352, and sources cited therein.

3.2.3.1. Processes[433]

The formation processes involved in Personal Identity have implications for a number of cultural dimensions, including: a society's moral codes; the strength of family ties; the significance of social structures that promote stability and continuity; the manner in which personal characteristics such as values and beliefs are integrated into the larger group; how agency functions and is incorporated in cultural transmission; and, how relationship affects interaction. It develops through socio-cognitive processes that include attachments to close-relational others. The relationships operative at this level are primarily personalized ties based on common bonds.[434] Outside of familial connections, they are most often formed from perceived similarities, such as preferences, attitudes, values, personal traits, and similarities in Personal Identities, that draw individuals to each other.[435] As Self is a cognitive point of reference in all levels of identification,[436] Level 2 relationality includes the relationship with Self. When a person acts by saying and doing things, she is representing herself, so this is the level at which Self's *habitus*, or "way of being in the world,"[437] is primarily formed. A social psychology label for these formations is Cognitive-Affecting Mediating Units (CAUs). They are comprised of the goals, values, beliefs, ways of interpreting the world, expectations, and self-regulatory mechanisms that play a central role in how social interaction is internalized and affects behavior. Each Individual has a particular configuration of them, some aspects of which are shared by others while some are unique.[438]

Although expression and other functional aspects are often considered, the cultural implications of these formation processes alone are significant. The innate motivation to achieve and maintain a status of well-being (homeostasis),[439] encourages the continuity in relationships

[433] This discussion and the research behind it are structured by Urie Bronfenbrenner's PPCT Model of Human Development. It is a tool that facilitates exploration of identity processes and has been used productively in other identity studies. It offers the advantage of allowing analysis of identity processes over time (an important dimension of Cultural Identity) and corresponds well with the elements of Self^{Other}. It is based on four properties: Person, Process, Context, and Time. Although the more robust consideration of each level of identification involves all four properties, only the aspects most relevant to Cultural (categorical) Identity are drawn upon in this discussion. see also, Urie Bronfenbrenner and Pamela A. Morris, "The Bioecological Model of Human Development," in *Handbook of Child Psychology*, ed. William Damon and Richard M. Lerner, vol. 1 (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2006); Renn (2012), 20.

[434] Marilynn B. Brewer and Wendi Gardner, "Who is this 'We'? Levels of Collective Identity and Self Representations," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 71, no. 1, (1996): 83.

[435] Ibid., 84, 86.

[436] Self^{Self} identity remains stable yet flexible as it continues through the mental mapping process (see Damasio and Damasio); at all levels, Self continues to evaluate Other(s) and herself in order to contextualize her understanding of herself as unique yet also a part of the larger reality around her. Raymond Tallis, "Identity and the Mind," in *Identity*, ed. Giselle Walker and E. S. Leedham-Green, The Darwin College Lectures 21 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 205; Damasio and Damasio (2006): 22.

[437] Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 72; Daniel Miller, "Materiality: An Introduction," in *Materiality*, ed. Daniel Miller (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2005), 6.

[438] Rodolfo Mendoza-Denton and Özlem Ayduk, "Personality and Social Interaction: Interpenetrating Processes," in *The Oxford Handbook of Personality and Social Psychology*, ed. Kay Deaux and Mark Snyder, Oxford Library of Psychology (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 6-7/25, accessed 22 October 2015, http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195398991.013.0018.

[439] Benjamin Campbell, "Embodiment and Male Vitality in Subsistence Societies," in *Encultured Brain: An Introduction to Neuroanthropology*, ed. Daniel H. Lende and Greg Downey (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2012), 238.

that lead to increased cognitive schematization (the formation of generalized mental structures), and increased schematization leads to behaviors that become more oriented toward concern for Other(s).[440] The results would include cooperative and even altruistic[441] behaviors. Thus, Individual Identity processes have implications for the foundation of the moral codes in a society.[442] This fact indicates the significance of those codes to individual members, how much they contribute to the desire for continuity in personal relationships and, consequently, the social structures that support them.[443] Further, CAUs form from the unique constellation of experiential relationships the individual has with the world, so they are contextualized and strongly linked to culture and cultural transmission.[444] Also, since individuals are drawn together by the similarities mentioned above as well as by physical appearance,[445] externally observable features such as age, gender, and physical characteristics become engaged at this level, and all of the similarities contribute to patterned groupings in the broader context.[446]

Individual Identity does also influence the cultural environment by the ways it functions. The effects result from the agency and relationship that activate in the role-playing that characterizes interaction at this level,[447] as they are the two operative dimensions of identification when interactants engage with one another.[448] Continuity and reciprocity are the two key characteristics of the kinds of relationships that have an impact on identity development.[449] Continuity fosters deepening relationality, with its accompanying stability. Reciprocity allows agency, stemming from each individuals' unique CAUs, to flow bi-

[440] In contrast to information about Self, which forms as a generalized structure (or schema), information about Other(s) only becomes schematized with interaction over time (see Kuiper and Rogers); increased schematization enhances the stability of the connection. Thus, prolonged interaction over time is a self-reinforcing relational dynamic. Shelley Brickson, "The Impact of Identity Orientation on Individual and Organizational Outcomes in Demographically Diverse Settings," *Academy of Management Review* 25, no. 1, (2000): 85; N. A. Kuiper and T. B. Rogers, "Encoding of Personal Information: Self–Other Differences," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 37, no. 4, (1979): 499, 512.

[441] Brickson (2000); Brewer and Gardner (1996).

[442] See, for instance, Abrams (2015), 218-220; Roger Bartra, *Anthropology of the Brain: Consciousness, Culture, and Free Will*, trans. Gusti Gould (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 177-181; Marilynn B. Brewer, "Intergroup Relations," in *Advanced Social Psychology: The State of the Science*, ed. Roy F. Baumeister and Eli J. Finkel (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 540.

[443] Bronfenbrenner and Morris (2006), 820-822.

[444] Mendoza-Denton and Ayduk, in The Oxford Handbook of Personality and Social Psychology, (2012): 6-7/25.

[445] Brickson (2000): 82, 93.

[446] See n. 460 below and other literature on Social Network Analysis, e.g., John Scott and Peter J. Carrington, eds., *The SAGE Handbook of Social Network Analysis* (London: SAGE, 2011).

[447] "Role-identity" is sometimes used to refer to it (e.g., Owens); it has also been applied, analogously, to the social house concept in archaeological studies (Picardo) in which these close familial relationships constitute a collective 'household' identity. Timothy J. Owens, Dawn T. Robinson, and Lynn Smith-Lovin, "Three Faces of Identity," *Annual Review of Sociology* 36, no. 1, (2010): 479; Nicholas Picardo, "Hybrid Households: Institutional Affiliations and Household Identity in the Town of Wah-sut (South Abydos)," in *Household Studies in Complex Societies: (Micro) Archaeological and Textual Approaches*, ed. Miriam Müller, OIS 10 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2015), 246, following Susan Gillespie.

[448] In the Interpersonal Circumplex Model of interpersonal behavior formulated by Leonard Horowitz et al., these dimensions are referred to as agency and communion. See Marc A. Fournier, D. S. Moskowitz, and David C. Zuroff, "Integrating Dispositions, Signatures, and the Interpersonal Domain," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 94, no. 3, (2008); Marc A. Fournier, D. S. Moskowitz, and David C. Zuroff, "The Interpersonal Signature," *Journal of Research in Personality* 43, no. 2, (2009).

[449] Bronfenbrenner and Morris (2006), 797-798.

directionally. Agency extends from both conscious and non-conscious behaviors, reactions, actions, and words motivated toward well-being, along with those that are conditioned by the individual's unique assemblage of previous experiences (CAUs),[450] and what Anthony Giddens calls the "tacit stocks of knowledge"[451] acquired through enculturation. These originate in Level 1, Level 2, and Level 3 identification processes, respectively. Each level of identification and their composite elements (e.g., knowledge, behaviors) are, consequently, enjoined in these interactions in primary relationships.

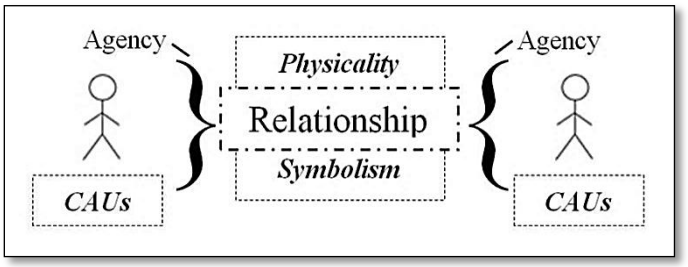

Figure 3.2: Identity in Interaction

Physicality and symbolic communication are links between agency and relationship (Figure 3.2). The effectual features of physicality in the relationality between Self and Other(s) are those such as age, gender, physical features affecting appearance, abilities and disabilities, and skills.[452] Beliefs, desires, and motivations—the inner formulation carried into the relationship through Self[Self]—are enacted through physicality. Spoken language, in particular, takes place primarily between individuals, making it very important to Individual Identity expression. It is a primary means by which individuals communicate about the non-visual features of Self. All of the means of communication by which individuals learn from each other in the socialization process[453] are either verbal or physical language. Understanding the expression of thoughts, ideas, and beliefs requires shared intention,[454] so there is an innate motivation for interactants to be 'on the same page.' It is in these "reciprocal," "complementary," and "generative," exchanges in the socialization process that much cultural transmission occurs[455] and includes elements of all levels of the cultural environment. These are the factors underlying the close association between ethnicity and language noted by Gelb and others (§2.6.1.2).

Level 2 relationships play out in roles, such as friend, lover, father, daughter. The interactions are essentially role-playing where individuals are present not as "whole persons" but

[450] Ibid., 812-814, 822.

[451] Anthony Giddens, Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure, and Contradiction in Social Analysis (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 5.

[452] Bronfenbrenner and Morris (2006), 814.

[453] Mary Gauvain and Ross D. Parke, "Socialization," in *Handbook of Cultural Developmental Science*, ed. Marc H. Bornstein (New York: Psychology Press, 2010), 240-241.

[454] This is based on the Shared Intentionality Hypothesis developed by Tomasello et al. Marco Pina and Nathalie Gontier, *The Evolution of Social Communication in Primates: A Multidisciplinary Approach*, vol. 1, *Interdisciplinary Evolution Research* (Cham: Springer Verlag, 2014), 299, accessed 23 July 2015, http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-02669-5. See also Michael Tomasello et al., "Understanding and Sharing Intentions: The Origins of Cultural Cognition," *Behavioral and Brain Sciences* 28, no. 05, (2005).

[455] Gauvain and Parke (2010), 240.

as actors in the role and counter-role in which they meet.[456] The respective performances are subject to verification and will adjust to achieve it. Since these roles and the expectations that accompany them are partially constituted from social norms, they provide structure and meaning for the situations people experience, and they also reveal cultural information. Though they involve norms and structure, they are flexible and allow for the presence or absence of different cultural features—a 'whole person' might be the prototypical representative (§3.3.5.2) of the greater Cultural Identity, whereas the individual group members participating in these interactions engage within the parameters of the roles, which are only parts of it. Thus, the cultural information they reveal is partial yet legitimate. These dynamics explain the fluidity in expressions of Cultural Identity; different elements can be either more or less salient and negotiable in different contexts without compromising the identification. It underscores the necessity of considering multiple elements in different interactive scenarios, weighted by the meaningfulness behind the behaviors, in analyses of identity work.

It is these role identities plus Personal Identity that constitute Individual Identity—an extension of Self^{Self}, or Self 'raised to the power of' Individual-Other(s). So, it is at this level that the 'sensual and experiential' person becomes evident. Engagement at Level 2 involves cognitive, behavioral, verbal, attitudinal, and emotional elements. Emotions produce behavior because feelings are motivational[457] and the same link in the brain that controls emotion and is structured by interaction also "fine-tunes" behavior by managing them.[458] These connections are the reason for the close link between emotions and behavior that is a universal aspect of human experience, along with the fact that the mental mapping that occurs in the development of this identity also includes emotions.[459] As a result of the dynamics at this level, the effects of emotions then extend further, beyond the immediate interactants, into the broader social network.[460]

Consequently, relationships at this level are significant for understanding individual behaviors of cultural group members in terms of cooperation, commitment, values and beliefs, agency, physicality, symbolic communication, attitudes, and emotions. Context is also a part of the co-constitutional nature of Identity. The dynamic engagement of contextual elements in social interaction is well-recognized and has been evident in these Identity processes. Several additional aspects of this specific element are significant to considerations of Identity enactment, i.e., behavior, that leaves an imprint on the material and textual record.

3.2.3.2. Context

The co-constituted nature of context is not only a well-established perspective but is also a relational one. Some particular features of that connection impact archaeological investigations of Cultural Identity that are important to draw attention to here because context does more than

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[456] Peter J. Burke and Jan E. Stets, *Identity Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 113-118.

[457] Bronfenbrenner and Morris (2006), 797.

[458] John Gowlett, Clive Gamble, and Robin Dunbar, "Human Evolution and the Archaeology of the Social Brain," *Current Anthropology* 53, no. 6, (2012): 694.

[459] Ibid.

[460] See the literature on Social Network Analysis, and Structural Balance Theory in particular. For instance, Dorwin Cartwright and Frank Harary, "Structural Balance: A Generalization of Heider's Theory," in *Social Network Analysis*, ed. Linton C. Freeman, vol. 4: *Antecedents and Consequences of Network Structure* (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2008); Jonathan H. Turner, *Theoretical Sociology: A Concise Introduction to Twelve Sociological Theories* (Los Angeles: SAGE Publications, 2014), 151-152; Forsyth and Burnette (2010).

frame interaction—it is directly involved in it through material things, by staging Performance Points, and in the way it sculpts behavior.

Context is the framework resulting from the intersecting influence of "architectural features of human cognition," environmental regularities and institutions,[461] customs, and individual preferences and traits. Thus, it includes a range of levels involving Self in relation to Other(s), from social structure to the perceptual and behavioral factors.

Social structure is typically approached generically, characterized as something like the "recurrent patterning of social life."[462] Johnson-Hanks et al. proffer a conceptualization of it that captures an important nuance—the participation of material things. In their description, it is "both shaped and sustained through the interplay of schematic and material elements. Schematic elements—such as ideas, values, and 'habits of mind'—and material elements—such as objects and performances—propel, support, constrain, and transform each other in tangible ways over time."[463] Since individuals develop emotional or relational attachments to objects and places, they can both frame and 'participate' in primary relationships; engagement can occur at this level, even in the absence of another human. Thus, ties to a homeland or culturally symbolic things are genuinely meaningful to group members.

From the individual perspective, Self encounters context as a nested layering of influences, made up of a multitude of discrete yet related activities and experiences, that range from immediate to remote.[464] It is a reciprocal dynamic through which the individual and contextual elements perpetually co-constitute each other in their own distinctive but interrelated ways, yet it can be analytically discernible. Identity and behavior are two affected dimensions in the co-constitutive process. Johnson-Hanks et al. account for the contingencies in the effects of it by looking at the active points of intersection as "conjunctures."[465] These are the historically situated "turning points"[466] that arise in discrete moments when Identity and behavior come together. In these points, the Person performs Identity by employing the socially-constructed schemas (ideas, meanings, and values) and resources (abilities, knowledge, and behaviors) that she has assimilated into her personal characteristics as part of Personal Identity formation[467]—cognitively, affectively, and behaviorally. The concept of Performance Points[468] is a dramaturgical approach to the Conjuncture concept that considers the actants (Self and Other) as performing their identifications in the Conjuncture. Context influences both the setting and the mode of these Performance Points, from framing the larger structural environment to swaying individual awareness within socially structured patterns of cognition. Context "influence[s] how

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[461] Malley and Knight include memory as well, which is a topic addressed in §3.4. Brian Malley and Nicola Knight, "Some Cognitive Origins of Cultural Order," *Journal of Cognition and Culture* 8, no. 1, (2008): 52.

[462] Johnson-Hanks et al. (2011), 2.

[463] Note that their use of the term 'material' denotes something like 'materialized elements,' a different notion than the term usually signifies in anthropological and archaeological discussions, but the implications have the same pertinence. Ibid.

[464] Marc H. Bornstein, ed. *Handbook of Cultural Developmental Science* (New York: Psychology Press, 2010), 246.

[465] These are the "specific configurations of structure that are 'in play' in relation to the given action or event," Johnson-Hanks et al. (2011), 2, 51 (emphasis in the original).

[466] Ibid., 2.

[467] Ibid., 2, 15.

[468] The label is inspired by Fine's use of the phrase in his related discussion. Gary Alan Fine, "The Hinge: Civil Society, Group Culture, and the Interaction Order," *Social Psychology Quarterly* 77, no. 1, (2014): 16.

much one notices in the fringes of the mind"[469]; it affects how a person thinks about that of which she is aware. The cumulative result of these conjunctures is essentially what Chris Fowler refers to as "modes" or "fields" of personhood. He says:

> *Modes of personhood,* or *fields of personhood,* are terms used here to describe the overarching logic of being a person within any social context and the specific long-term trends in the practices that support that logic. Modes of personhood provide the forms that relationships are supposed to take. People actively engage with these trends, and with that particular concept of personhood, when they pursue strategies of interaction. As a result of these interactions, each person is constituted in a specific way.[470]

It is such Persons, who constitute and are constituted by factors in the present and from the past in a particular context, that enact the behaviors evident in archaeological data. Conjunctures are a heuristic device through which they can be analytically considered.

In light of this, it becomes more evident how both structural and socio-cognitive contextual elements sculpt behaviors. The cultural schemas that develop provide knowledge of how things are "supposed to be done."[471] They predispose interactants toward attitudes and expectations, prompting 'correct' behavior for Self and providing the basis upon which she evaluates Others' actions. As a result, behaviors considered to be correct are encouraged while others are not.[472] The effect is that context constrains individual behavior, influences goals and expectations, and molds the behavioral patterns[473] that become evident in the larger cultural picture. The nature of relationships is such that behavior adapts to the context of the relational situation, but it does so in accordance with cultural norms—the rights and duties appropriate to the roles[474]—as noted above. Context is directly involved in behavior because a person's "position to act,"[475] as Ian Hodder and Scott Hutson describe it, is circumscribed within its boundaries.

The reciprocal side of this sculpting is just as important. Each person has a combined physical, cognitive, and behavioral impact on context. It stems from idiosyncrasies of dispositions, abilities, and personality[476] as well as agency, but also by the very way we think—studies have linked cultural patterns to corresponding processes in the mind.[477] Furthermore, the processes in primary relationships have been shown to be more powerful than those at work in

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[469] Damasio (1999), 129.

[470] Chris Fowler, *The Archaeology of Personhood: An Anthropological Approach*, Themes in Archaeology (London: Routledge, 2004), 4, Box 0.1 "Key Definitions".

[471] Naomi Quinn calls them "pre-packaged task solutions." Quinn, 2006, 5.

[472] Jacqueline J. Goodnow, "Culture," in *Handbook of Cultural Developmental Science*, ed. Marc H. Bornstein (New York: Psychology Press, 2010), 4.

[473] Shelley Brickson, "The Impact of Identity Orientation on Individual and Organizational Outcomes in Demographically Diverse Settings," *Academy of Management Review* 25, no. 1, (2000): 86.

[474] Robert A. Hinde, *Individuals, Relationships & Culture: Links Between Ethology and the Social Sciences*, Themes in the Social Sciences (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 23, 25.

[475] Ian Hodder and Scott Hutson, *Reading the Past: Current Approaches to Interpretation in Archaeology*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 103.

[476] Different from CAUs, these would function more as idiosyncratic filters through which CAUs are formulated. Bronfenbrenner and Morris call these characteristics "behavioral dispositions," "biopsychological liabilities and assets," and "demand characteristics," respectively. Bronfenbrenner and Morris (2006), 810, 812.

[477] Malley and Knight (2008): 53-65.

the environment within which they occur.[478] Thus, the relationality between individuals and context can have a significant impact on cultural identification and its expression.

3.2.3.3. Summary

Individual Identity is where agency and social structure come together in interaction, guiding behaviors that produce the archaeological record. In these processes, cultural information is developed, transmitted, and revealed. This level of identification forms in close relationships, where Personal Identity is primary but raised to a higher power, through processes that encourage and support continuity. Agency and relationship are the operative dimensions in these interactions, drawing together the Person and enculturated knowledge through physicality and symbolic communication. Enacted through what is essentially role-play, structure, individuality, and even emotions come together and enter into the more extensive social network. Context is directly involved in these processes by bringing material things into the relationality, by staging the conjunctures of identity and behavior, and sculpting those behaviors. This direct involvement includes the reciprocal effects from social cognition and agency. These features expose the significance of the processes and their effects on Cultural Identity.

3.2.4 $Self^{Group\text{-}Other(s)}$ as Group Identity (Level 3)

Although Cultural Identity is categorical, it is operative at the group level. The distinction can be clarified by considering the processes at work at both levels. All of the processes involved in Group Identity—how it forms, is expressed, persists, and changes—are recognizable as factors that are routinely considered in interpretations of archaeological evidence and culture-oriented research generally. The discussion here is limited to demonstrating that the identification behind them is more than just another category, or kind, of identity—it is other identities raised to a higher power.

In contrast to Individual Identity, which involves face-to-face interaction between individuals in primary relationships, Level 3 relationality ranges from the extended family to the community. One-on-one interaction with each individual in these social circles is possible, even likely, but not inevitable and can occur frequently or rarely.

A group is an entity that exists from the sense within the group members, and out-group members, that there is a commonality that binds them together. The perception arises from the similarity they have in common along with proximity and frequent interaction, shared outcomes, and spatial patterning or boundaries.[479] Most meaningful relationships at this level are, consequently, built on interaction with individuals with whom Self has frequent contact due to a common interest or activity. The closest bonds are those with extended family members or a similarly close network of friends; in both cases, there is an awareness of a shared primary relationship. The main difference between Level 2 and Level 3 is the degree of closeness

[478] "…the results [of the study under discussion] reveal that the effects of proximal processes are more powerful than those of the environmental Contexts [sic] in which they occur." Bronfenbrenner and Morris (2006), 804.

[479] Although Forsyth and Burnette's recent treatment of this idea, based on Campbell's original presentation, does not include the spatial component, space is a factor in group formation as will be discussed in §3.3.3 . Forsyth and Burnette (2010), 496; Campbell (1958): 17-18.

(primary in contrast to secondary relationships and beyond). Individuals are likely to be members of more than one group at any given time[480] and memberships can overlap group boundaries.

'Community' is the term that describes the outer ring of this social circle. These are the people with whom Self is associated by virtue of some unifying commonality that is not built on ongoing interaction but has the potential for it. From the closest to the broadest parameters of Level 3 relationality, the unifying element is a commonality that is the basis for ongoing interaction, whether it is actual or potential. Rather than constituting separate levels, $Self^{Group\text{-}Other(s)}$ encompasses the range of relationships from extended family to community because the same processes are at work throughout, albeit operating at different levels of scale, and nested according to relational distance and interactional frequency.

Part of a dynamic already in motion, neuropsychological, motivational, and structural factors in play in a Person's networked interactions are what generate Group Identity. This occurs because it is an innate human characteristic;[481] it is a natural part of the perpetually ongoing processes of identification, including the other levels. Individuals are highly motivated to join them because Group membership provides benefits the Person cannot otherwise obtain. For instance, since individuals benefit from group success whether they contribute to it or not, it becomes "a source of self-esteem that goes beyond what can be achieved by the individual alone"[482]—it raises self-esteem (a part of identity) to a higher power. Also, people have a need for both belonging and distinctiveness, and Group membership allows for the needed balance between these two drives.[483]

Further, as the grouping increases in scale (e.g., to the community level), the opportunities for these needs being met also increases to a higher power. One reason Group Identity has this capacity is that group identification forms from attraction between the Person and the group based on the Individual's identity standards; the attraction is based on similarities in traits or attributes that are self-defining or self-relevant to the person, and thus meaningful. In the process of developing Group Identity, individuals come to perceive both Self and other group members in terms of these shared characteristics,[484] which then become the standards against which the group identification is meaningfully verified. To a degree, and in certain circumstances, the individual and the group may become "psychologically interchangeable"[485] as Self internalizes group properties. The result is a collective mindset of Self-as-Group-Member that is invoked in certain situations, e.g., when the group as a whole is under threat. Since group membership rests on shared characteristics,[486] members can in such circumstances perceive themselves as belonging to the group as an inclusive whole, or a collective. This mindset becomes a factor in the formation of extended group networks because it makes groups more

[480] Forsyth and Burnette (2010), 496-497.

[481] Ibid., 503.

[482] Marilynn B. Brewer, "Intergroup Relations," in *Advanced Social Psychology: The State of the Science*, ed. Roy F. Baumeister and Eli J. Finkel (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 540.

[483] See the literature on Optimal Distinctiveness Theory, e.g. Ibid., 540-542.

[484] (Not entirely, however, because Personal Identity is still primary and Individual Identity is still present.) Abrams (2015), 210.

[485] This insight comes from Self-Categorization Theory. Ibid., 207-208.

[486] Sabine Otten, "The Ingroup as Part of the Self: Reconsidering the Link Between Social Categorization, Ingroup Favoritism, and the Self-Concept," in *The Self in Social Judgment*, ed. Mark D. Alicke, David Dunning, and Joachim I. Krueger, Studies in Self and Identity Series (New York: Psychology Press, 2005), 242.

than simple aggregates of relationships.[487] Self acquires "a meaningful identity in a group context"[488] through the bonds of similarity (to the group characteristics) that can only be achieved on the group level.

In addition to the needs being met, another innately motivational feature of this Identity is that the Individual can achieve some specific accomplishments only at this level, such as identity validation. Group Identity strengthens Self and Individual Identities by providing information and feedback about the person herself as well as how she fits into the greater social reality.[489] As a different kind of relationality—a different level—Group Identity can verify Self's viewpoints as correct, valid, or proper[490] in ways that one-on-one relationships cannot.

Because Group Identity meets needs in a different way than is possible in other levels and raises them to a higher power, it can also generate behaviors that would not otherwise be possible or considered. Constructing monumental buildings is a readily apparent example of one that might not be possible. Importantly, however, since group membership has its distinctive advantages, defense of the group or being a traitor and other behaviors related to group membership can invoke intense affective responses. These can motivate behaviors that might not otherwise be considered, such as throwing a person in the river as a juridical procedure.[491] Complex social structures develop around these benefits and behaviors. For all of these reasons, members can have strong motivations to achieve sameness with the in-group and its members and differentiation from out-groups and their members. Such effects are clearly significant to the expression of Cultural Identity.

Cultural Identity is one categorical identification among others that is operationalized at the group level.[492] The connection between the two dimensions becomes clearer through consideration of the characteristics and processes at work in Level 4.

3.2.5 Self$^{\text{Categorical-Other(s)}}$ as Categorical Identity (Level 4)

Categorical Identity is usually referred to in the literature as 'collective identity,' a designation that varies widely in application. Many studies give examples of it as race, ethnicity, nation, culture, community, gender, age, occupation, class, status, health, religion, or legal status.

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[487] (In the cited reference, the author is discussing relationships among children, but the principle applies to groups in general and is supported through Social Network Theory.) Kenneth H. Rubin, Charissa Cheah, and Melissa M. Menzer, "Peers," in *Handbook of Cultural Developmental Science*, ed. Marc H. Bornstein (New York: Psychology Press, 2010).

[488] Abrams (2015), 208.

[489] Forsyth and Burnette (2010), 501-502.

[490] Ibid., 502. This satisfies the basic psychological need for coherence; see William B. Swann and Jennifer K. Bosson, "Self and Identity," in *Handbook of Social Psychology* (John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2010), 606; William B. Swann, Jr. and Jennifer K. Bosson, "Identity Negotiation: A Theory of Self and Social Interaction," in *Handbook of Personality Theory and Research*, ed. Oliver P. John, Richard W. Robins, and Lawrence A. Pervin (New York: Guilford Press, 2008), 452.

[491] The river ordeal is an Ancient Near Eastern procedure by which someone accused of witchcraft was cast into the river, where the divine determination of guilt or innocence was indicated by whether or not the person survived.

[492] See e.g., Mary Ann Glynn and Chad Navis, "Categories, Identities, and Cultural Classification: Moving Beyond a Model of Categorical Constraint," *Journal of Management Studies* 50, no. 6, (2013): 1134; Vignoles (2011), 3 ff.

This flexibility gives the term much utility but also makes it prone to confusion through the lack of specificity.

Given the ambiguity that commonly accompanies it, a non-scientific survey surprisingly revealed that there is a widely-ranging generic usage of the term—it is employed to refer to virtually any idea or entity that involves multiple people with an element of similarity.[493] All were technically valid uses of the term based on dictionary definitions. A relational perspective reveals a notable consistency in the variant scales of size and realms of application seen in those studies, however—what 'collective' is used to represent is Self relating to Other(s) on the basis of a shared identifying feature but not (necessarily) through a relationship, either real or potential. Instead, it is on the basis of sameness (or difference) along the axis of a categorical identifier such as race, culture, age, gender, institution, profession, or religion, or what we would typically refer to as socio-demographic categories. It differs from the collective identification that arises in Level 3 noted above, where the Individual develops a psychologically interchangeable sense of Self-as-Group-Member based on similarity, proximity, and interaction (either actual or potential). The identities referred to in the studies as collective are, instead, aggregational and based on similarity or difference alone. In other words, they are categorical.

The implications of these results are significant for interpretations of evidence related to Cultural Identity and other Categorical Identities, as it exposes a potentially significant gap between the intended target and the concepts employed in the analyses. The results of the survey reveal that the focal identities are approached as categorical but usually considered as collectives and then treated as groups [494] when those are three specific things themselves. Since Categorical Identity is enacted at the group level, analyses of it at as such have an element of accuracy, but the actual underlying hierarchy of motivations and meaningfulness is obscured. The resulting mis-orientation seems to underlie a great deal of the difficulties encountered over the categorical identities involved, including (if not especially) Culture.

From the Self^{Other} perspective, Level 4 is Categorical Identity with the specific meaning of a shared belonging to a social category that may or may not involve a direct relationship between Self and in-category-Other(s). There are distinctions in how person, process, context, and time associate at this level of identification, in comparison to the other levels, that are significant to Cultural Identity.

3.2.5.1. Person

Categorical Identity is different in kind from the other levels. Although still relational, it amounts to a socio-cognitive state produced from innate and automatic cognitive processes (such as the schematic content application) generated through social interaction. It is ephemeral and can manifest in a virtually limitless number of configurations. It arises through social cognition

[493] 'Collective' refers to a group in the greatest number of occurrences, followed by community, then culture. The least common, but still significant, number of times the term is enlisted is to indicate a mode of being or doing, either in individuals within the collective (e.g. collective self) or the collective in a particular mode (e.g. collective action). The survey included sixty-five publications on the subject of identity from different disciplines (psychology, sociology, philosophy, anthropology, and archaeology).

[494] Brickson's discussion of organizational group identity provides an illustrative example of the convolutions in terminology that arise. Note that, despite that fact, it is excellent scholarship and draws valid inferences from the socio-cognitive processes involved; the relational perspective proposed in this project could suggest additional insights. Brickson (2000): 90.

and situated interaction between Self and Other(s) in an encounter[495] and is the basis for many behaviors we strive to understand in the material record.

However, there is no real 'person' in Categorical Identity. At this level, in the brief period of time at which this identification is operative, the Person is more like a place-holder—one representative bearer of the salient characteristic divorced from all other non-salient attributes. An example of its activation can be seen in the action of checking a box on a registration form, e.g., married, divorced, or single; the only operational feature is that one and it does not persist beyond a fleeting moment. The identification has little meaningfulness as a result. The attributes on which it might be based can be very meaningful in the other levels of relationality, but in Categorical Identity they are not; they are merely classifiers.

This dynamic can be very important to our analyses, for instance when considering that Amorite identification may be a military one. That description may be accurate, the individual may be a soldier and membership in that occupational category may be meaningful when relating to Other(s) either within or external to that group, but it is not sufficiently encompassing to constitute—or to thereby replace—a cultural identification, e.g., an ethnicity. This nuance will be clarified in the discussion of Cultural Identity below.

3.2.5.2. Process

The processes involved at this level—attention, categorization, schematic content application, and identification—develop as part of the previous levels of identification. The cognitive aspects have greater prominence in the discussion at Level 4 because of the more strictly socio-cognitive nature of this dimension. Categorical Identity has an interesting retrogressive-recursive position in the identity hierarchy, as it is the furthest removed—relationally—from the Individual and develops through the processes in the previous levels, yet it operates (e.g., via attention) preliminarily to the others. Further compounding the effect, it may be the end result of the sifting process that engages in an encounter to classify each Other as a member of a relational category, starting with the closest; it could end with the most distant—no similarity at all, an unknown Other classifiable only as different.[496]

3.2.5.2.1 Attention

Attention is a process by which aspects of the larger environment, the internal Self, and the immediate context are all brought together in an interactional situation. It is the mental orientation that guides our perception to prepare us for the initial categorization of Others—as similar or different, in-group or out-group, friendly or hostile—and it influences our behavior in response. It is largely a subconscious process directing focus toward the things in our environment, the actions taken by them, and the reasons for those actions.[497] By establishing the patterning in both what we attend to and what we do not, over time it becomes part of what

[495] See, for example, Brekhus' discussion of automatic and deliberate cognition. Wayne Brekhus, *Culture and Cognition: Patterns in the Social Construction of Reality*, Cultural Sociology (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2015), 28 ff.

[496] The sifting process continues beyond human Others to include other animate and inanimate things, such as animals, objects, and places.

[497] Maldonato (2014), 26; Brekhus (2015), Ch. 2.

Wayne Brekhus calls a "local cognitive culture"[498] that is "shaped, filtered, and influenced by culture and social location."[499] The phenomenon is perhaps more recognizable by other labels such as "filters," "frames," or the "mental maps" and "habitus"[500] that appear in the literature. Attention operates to prepare us for the varieties of actions needed to navigate daily life, whether that is protective action to defend against threat of harm, coalitional action for enhanced survivability, or social behavior to meet needs and accomplish goals, that arise in the processes of the other identification levels. It attunes to an Individual's personality, attitudes, and her commitment to her various identities as it develops in those processes (e.g., via schemas or mental maps).[501] Attention is a process by which the influences in our environment, such as objects, cultural and institutional styles, power relations, relationships to and within family, religion, occupation, community, group memberships, and social networks all impact what we think and how we think down to including even what we do or do not notice.[502]

The schemas we develop about groups and roles, as well as those we have about ourselves, organize attention.[503] Thus, the prototypes associated with those schemas within relational categories guide our perception. James Fernandez's description of these as "classes of belonging" highlights the significance of the behavioral aspect when he notes that they "act as imperatives of interaction."[504] The cognitive structuring of schemas and prototypes directs our attention toward what is relevant and away from what is not, based on an assessment of what is significant,[505] important,[506] and pertinent in the situation. Since they develop within the framework of an individual's mental map, or local cognitive culture, those assessments are contextually (or Culturally) shaped.

The things that trigger attentional direction and intensity vary in salience and prominence along situational lines. Deviance, novelty, and routine each trigger attention, along with our internal prompts and thoughts, in different situations. Since, for the Categorical Identity process, the action our attention is preparing us for is the initial categorization of Other as similar or different,[507] it is the routine, prototypical cues that capture our attention. Consequently, readily visible features, such as physical appearance and explicit behaviors, are quickly assessed to guide the individual's response to those cues. It happens with virtually no conscious awareness of

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[498] Brekhus (2015), 33.

[499] Ibid., 13.

[500] Ibid., 22.

[501] See, for instance, Norbert Ross and Douglas L. Medin, "Culture and Cognition: The Role of Cognitive Anthropology in Anthropology and the Cognitive Sciences," in *A Companion to Cognitive Anthropology*, ed. David B. Kronenfeld (Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011).

[502] Maldonato (2014), 26.

[503] Daniel G. Renfrow and Judith A. Howard, "Social Psychology of Gender and Race," in *Handbook of Social Psychology*, ed. John D. DeLamater and Amanda Ward, Handbooks of Sociology and Social Research (New York: Springer, 2013), 510-511.

[504] James W. Fernandez, "Peripheral Wisdom," in *Signifying Identities: Anthropological Perspectives on Boundaries and Contested Values*, ed. Anthony P. Cohen (London: Routledge, 2000), 133.

[505] Specifically, what is cognitively marked or unmarked. What is marked is that which is socially specialized, such as 'woman', compared to the unmarked and "'socially generic,'" such as 'man' (which can stand for both). Brekhus (2015), 25.

[506] This importance is in terms of what is central or peripheral. Fernandez argues that wherever there are boundaries, including those that delimit categorizations, there is a center and a periphery within. Fernandez (2000), 117, 133.

[507] Alexander V. Shkurko, "Cognitive Mechanisms of Ingroup/Outgroup Distinction," *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour* 45, no. 2, (2015): 190 ff.

the process, giving such things as physical features and dress a significant degree of initial prominence in interactional situations.[508]

These learned patterns of thinking mold individual responses to events and situations that are culturally-structured while still personally agentive,[509] shedding light on why ordinary things are so naturally expressions of broader cultural significance and why—as part of the mundane, "unmarked" cultural features—they would be less likely to change than exceptional items would be.[510]

3.2.5.2.2 Categorization

Categorization is a pivotal operation of identification processes, as it directs relationality in one line of development versus another. Continuing the discussion of the Level 4 characteristics, this section elaborates on how this social categorization is structured yet flexible in character, having identifiable regularities but still being intuitive as well as relational. Although active in each level, the regularities it produces as Level 4 social forms are of particular interest for an archaeological approach to Cultural Identity.

Alexander Shkurko asserts that "[s]ocial cognition is fundamentally categorical."[511] Categorization is what the human brain does immediately upon the perception of any information.[512] This understanding is one of the primary bases of Self^{Other}, in that we automatically categorize social information as 'me' or 'not me,' 'us' or 'them,' as seen in the previous levels of identification. Within each, any Other who does not fit the inclusive related-Other category is cast as the correlated unrelated-Other, or different, as a result of the 'sifting' process. Everyone Self encounters is related to her at one of these levels, either as a member of her categorical in-group or an out-group.[513]

Studies consistently reveal the perception of groups along such lines of relationality and show that this categorization is intuitive. The research done by Brian Lickel and his colleagues also demonstrates that Level 1 identity is primary and relationality is a key factor—even in the seemingly non-relational domain of categorical similarity.[514] Laurence Kaufmann and Fabrice

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[508] Ibid., 203 ff.; Brekhus (2015), Ch. 2; Maldonato (2014), 26 ff.; Brian Lickel, David L. Hamilton, and Steven J. Sherman, "Elements of a Lay Theory of Groups: Types of Groups, Relational Styles, and the Perception of Group Entitativity," *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 5, no. 2, (2001): 131 ff.

[509] Benjamin N. Colby, "Toward a Theory of Culture and Adaptive Potential," *Mathematical Anthropology and Cultural Theory* 1, no. 3 (2003): 16/53, accessed 18 April 2016, http://mathematicalanthropology.org/Pdf/Colby0703.pdf.

[510] As part of the schemas developed in those processes, they have a tendency to not change. As Brekhus points out, the most notable things are the least noticeable; they have "tremendous normative power." See, also, the discussion of automatic processes (Lieberman) and those involved in Kitayama's "layers of culture." Brekhus (2015), 26, and related comments on 47, 48, 82-83, 108; Matthew D. Lieberman, "Social Cognitive Neuroscience: A Review of Core Processes," *Annual Review of Psychology* 58, no. 1, (2007): 260-261; Shinobu Kitayama and Jiyoung Park, "Cultural Neuroscience of the Self: Understanding the Social Grounding of the Brain," *Social, Cognitive and Affective Neuroscience* 5, no. 2-3, (2010): 120-121.

[511] Shkurko (2015): 188-189.

[512] Jürg Wassmann, Christian Kluge, and Dominik Albrecht, "The Cognitive Context of Cognitive Anthropology," in *A Companion to Cognitive Anthropology*, ed. David B. Kronenfeld, Blackwell Companions to Anthropology (Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 47.

[513] As discussed in the functioning of 'Attention' in the previous section.

[514] Lickel, Hamilton, and Sherman (2001): 131.

Clément demonstrate that analogical mapping—the socio-cognitive mechanism of detecting and matching similar data from different sources—is the underlying process through which this intuitive social categorization occurs.[515] The cognitive process of analogical mapping is a bridge between intuitive, experiential cognition that manifests in social forms and the symbolic, ideological cognition of culture.[516]

Analogical mapping includes both the cognitive function and the "relatively autonomous cultural products of this processing."[517] Social forms are one manifestation of the process. These are cross-societal ways that people interact—the "invariant features of social groups"[518]—such as relationship and interaction patterns, social activities, and "even obligations and prescriptive rules."[519] They are real social facts comparable to the physical properties studied in the natural sciences. Kaufmann and Clément draw upon George Lakoff's example of color as an analogous ontological realism, noting that as color does not exist except through the interaction between blueness (e.g., the sky) and a retina, social forms do not exist without interaction between social actors. They are an interactional property as 'real' as color and constitutive of objective reality.[520] They meet the criteria for ontological status because they have bases in ecological laws (cooperation, subordination, competition, and rivalry) and ontological properties (they are objective,[521] external, and potentially causal).[522] These two attributes, and the cognitive processes through which they emerge, give rise to some features that surface in all people groups with observable regularities, i.e., social forms. As a result, social forms are a heuristic device available for cultural analyses; they are a basis for grounded cross-cultural comparison of relational groupings, such as kinship groups and communities of practice.

(i) Regularities, Reductionism, and Social Forms

Identifying regularities can be mistaken for (the anathema of) reductionism, which is fallacious and to be avoided. However, not all claimed patterning is reductionistic. The regularities observable as social forms are an important case in point since they represent much of the observable cross-cultural patterning investigated in cultural research. Coalition building is an example drawn upon by Kaufmann and Clément.[523] Forming coalitional associations with others is thought to have developed due to the advantages they afford for survival; so, they are deeply ingrained in the human psyche. They have the benefit of being conservative in terms of cognitive energy—it requires much less mental effort to deal with something already known,

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[515] It is operative in the formation of mental maps (see Brekhus). The Kaufmann and Clément study makes a strong case for cognitive science being an approach through which social science can be grounded in natural science (pp. 223-225). Laurence Kaufmann and Fabrice Clément, "How Culture Comes to Mind: From Social Affordances to Cultural Analogies," *Intellectica* 46, no. 2-3, (2007): 225; Brekhus (2015), Ch. 3.

[516] Kaufmann and Clément (2007): 223.

[517] Ibid., 225.

[518] Ibid., 223.

[519] Kaufmann and Clément actually present these forms with a little more specificity, calling them "basic relational 'formats' (cooperation, dominance, kinship, competition)," "patterns of actions (fighting, sharing, reconciling, playing)," "situations (food gathering, political struggles), and even obligations and prescriptive rules." Ibid., 226.

[520] Ibid., 227; George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Philosophy in the Flesh: The Embodied Mind and its Challenge to Western Thought* (New York: Basic Books, 1999), 25.

[521] They are objective in the sense that they can be discerned by subject matter, temporality, and logical operation. John R. Searle, *The Construction of Social Reality* (New York: Free Press, 1995), 113-126.

[522] Kaufmann and Clément (2007): 227 (drawing partially upon Searle 1995).

[523] Ibid., 226-229.

compared to the unknown, due to the predictability it affords. Since dealing with people we know is easier, we have more cognitive energy to devote to further beneficial coordination with relational Other(s). Kaufmann and Clément connect this to the development of cultural constructs based on group membership, such as ethnic groups and communities. Assessing coalition building, as an underlying operation in community identification, is an example of the type of analytical interpretation performed in research involving historical reconstruction, including archaeology. When sufficiently supported by logic, established theory, and the available empirical data, using such heuristics as social forms is not only justified but undoubtedly beneficial to robust interpretations of the evidence.

Importantly, social forms are conducive to Conceptual Analysis—the approach taken in Self^{Other}. Kaufmann and Clément make this clear when they write: "adopting an analytical method in order to identify the fundamental elements of a system is different from the reductionist claim that those very elementary units do explain the system as a whole."[524] Social forms are cultural elements, not simplistic essentialisms of Culture itself. Culture is not reduced to any of its constituent units; it is a framework that includes them all in contextually varied configurations. Thus, social forms are useful analytical tools for identity research because they combine ontological stability and situated flexibility and because they demonstrate the validity of and reasons for the cross-cultural regularities observed in the process.

What social forms do is constitute "affordances" that "are the opportunities for perception and action offered by the environment."[525] Neither in the environment nor the perceiver, they exist only within an interactive interdependence between the two, like color. Kaufmann and Clément go on to argue that social objects (e.g., people) provide the most elaborate environmental affordances, interacting through social signals of demand and response on a level below that of culture; it is cognitive work accomplished before any cultural imprint is incorporated. They describe it as a kind of spontaneous "seeing-as" that infers from the actions of Other(s) that the situation is of a particular type, based on expectations, generalizations, and predictions.[526] In other words, it is a categorization—one based on analogical reasoning which considers the relationship between two things, not the things themselves.

Kaufmann and Clément's presentation of ontological social forms and the process of analogical mapping explains the cognitive processes behind relational networks that recur in every society, without specifying the content of those forms. Rigorously affirmed social regularities, such as social forms, are useful heuristic tools for comparative analyses of archaeological evidence by which theoretically and empirically grounded interpretations can be derived.

(ii) Cognition, Categorization, and Self^{Other}

Social forms are the phenomena underlying the Culture Contents element of Cultural Identity (Appendix C) employed in the analysis of the Amorites in the next chapter. Shkurko's recently published study "Cognitive Mechanisms of In-group/Out-group Distinction" demonstrates the validity of social forms as a heuristic device and Self^{Other} as an organizing framework.

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[524] Ibid., 223.
[525] Ibid., 227, following James Gibson.
[526] Ibid., 244.

In his discussion of social categorization, Shkurko captures all of the elements of the Self[Other] approach to Level 4 identity formation: it is relational and situated; it is one level of identity among others; it is based on self-other similarity and difference; and, it has cognitive, emotional, and behavioral components. His positional statement incorporates most of these when he writes:

> I argue that the in-group/out-group distinction should be treated as one of the *elementary relational ego-centric forms of social categorization* having its particular behavioral effects irrespective of the nature of the category at hand. I also argue that it can be produced by distinct sets of cognitive operations resulting in differing effects. These differences must be taken into account when psychological processes, intergroup relations, or social structures are analyzed.[527]

The group distinctions that Shkurko is referring to are the categories of Level 4 identity.[528] In the process of further elaboration, he affirmatively highlights other aspects of the Self[Other] paradigm: that social categorization is social (it produces social effects such as attitude and behavior[529]), self-referential and relational ("ego-centric as it refers to those with whom one identifies"[530]), and cross-culturally salient.

The "forms of social categorization" Shkurko refers to are social forms.[531] In his article, he directs attention to the "crucial conceptual difference between relational and substantial categorizations"[532] that is part of the Self[Other] approach. Their nature as a socio-cognitive state, or relative versus substantial categorization, is what makes social forms a useful heuristic device for comparative analysis. Many studies of identity and, as he points out, social categorization specifically, focus on the features of the salient categorization. As such, those analyses are based on the *contents* of the classification—on substantial categorizations. In-group vs. out-group classification, as he recognizes, is a *relational* categorization. The difference is "crucial" in his discussion of social forms because they are the product of content-free categorization, yet they are relational forms.[533] Self[Other] exposes how the categorical association can be both a relational social form and content free—it is because the categorization that creates the form is not the Other, it is simply the criterion by which Other is perceived. The Lakoff analogy can demonstrate the significance of this observation. In that scenario, the sky is not the relational Other of blueness—it is only the means by which it becomes perceptible. The relationality—where the meaning lies—is with the color; it is the blueness that is the 'content' of the 'relationship.' At sunset, the content of this relationship might be red, changing with the situated context in *content* but not in its form or its relational association. To carry this to its fullest advantage, note that the meaning of the red sky may be different, but both colors are meaningful and in comparable relational terms. Returning to social forms, it is the individuals, who fit the criterion and establish the contents of the social form, with whom the relationality applies; it is

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[527] Shkurko (2015): 190, emphasis added.

[528] This is taken from contextual clues in his narrative, including this statement (which itemizes the kinds of groupings he is referring to): "Various social contexts give rise to a multitude of categorizations: from those based on race, gender, or income to those based on hobbies, weight, or ability to tell jokes." Ibid., 188.

[529] Ibid.

[530] Ibid., 191.

[531] Ibid., 190-191.

[532] Ibid., 190.

[533] See Pierpaolo Donati, "Manifesto for a Critical Realist Relational Sociology," *International Review of Sociology* 25, no. 1, (2015): 88.

the *substantial* categorical identification that is operational—with its content—at the group level.[534]

This characteristic of social categorization, though seemingly abstruse, is advantageous for cultural analysis in that it allows for investigation of the stable, or cross-cultural, categories of evidence on the same comparative level, as well as the flexibility, or variation, of the cultural contents within them. From an analytical perspective, social categorization is based on the relative positioning between social actors that exists prior to the cultural contents within the categories;[535] social forms are content free, and the categories are functionally equivalent. Consequently, they allow consideration of the identification processes at work before cultural embellishment supervenes, at a comparative level of equivalence.[536] When taking up situated encounters and social forms in his idea of "relational representations," Shkurko makes the same observation. He asserts, "an abstract content-free categorization can serve as a general form of social cognition, having its particular effects *irrespective* of the nature of the category."[537] This characteristic explains why the same, but not necessarily all, social forms may appear in different communities. It is a socio-cognitive process that allows for different categorizations and different contents to fill them. The result of this is that we can expect only that certain forms of social categorization will appear in different groups. They may be similar and/or different and the features—their individual properties such as boundaries, expectations, rules, and obligations—may or may not vary between those communities and/or over time. The categorization is the regularity; the contents are culturally specific. It is a flexible stability. As a result, analytical analyses made through heuristics such as social forms can clarify the data and resolve what otherwise may seem contradictory.

3.2.5.2.3 Schematic Content Application and Identity Markers

For archaeological research, understanding how these socio-cognitive processes translate into behavior is essential. As discussed in §3.2.3.2, Categorical Identity is an internal process of interpreting perceptions of the external in relation to self-perceptions. The character of its formation then comes through specific, situated inference, in the Performance Point. Schematic content application[538] is the recursively staged process by which all that constitutes the Self and perceived information from the situated encounter are considered together and populated with the identification that translates into behavior. It involves connecting schemas, motivations, and situational information into categorizations. These processes are critical to cultural identification in that they underlie the patterned behavior discernible in historical evidence as identity markers.

The process (Figure 3.3) begins through the analogical mapping processes that are active in each level of identification. Self enters any situation with the previously developed schemas—

[534] Note that additional complexity comes from the fact that the social categorization is also active in each of the other levels of identification. In the quotation above, Shkurko calls for this being taken into consideration as well.

[535] See Figure 3.3 below. This is the second stage of the cognitive bridging process discussed more fully in the next section (§3.2.5.2.3).

[536] Shkurko states the advantages a little more decidedly, saying, "While content-based representations of the social world are expected to differ in numerous ways, relational forms should be highly abstract and thus universal in their mechanisms and effects." Shkurko (2015): 190.

[537] Ibid.

[538] Michael A. Hogg, "Intergroup Relations," in *Handbook of Social Psychology*, ed. John D. DeLamater and Amanda Ward, Handbooks of Sociology and Social Research (New York: Springer, 2013).

predispositions of thought, or patterns of thinking, developed from past experiences, social constraints, her established hierarchy of meanings, and certain motivations (e.g., belonging, validation, and uncertainty), i.e., her personalized 'local cognitive culture.' In a situated encounter between Self and Other, the analogical mapping that is automatically engaged to make sense of the world results in an initial determination of similarity or difference based on relational distance.[539] This operation is the first stage of Figure 3.3. As discussed in §3.2.5.2.2 , the inference is drawn—or the sifting process takes place—along a continuum of more or less relational distance that ultimately reduces to a binary determination (e.g., in-group vs. out-group), because it is the simplest form for cognitive efficiency.[540]

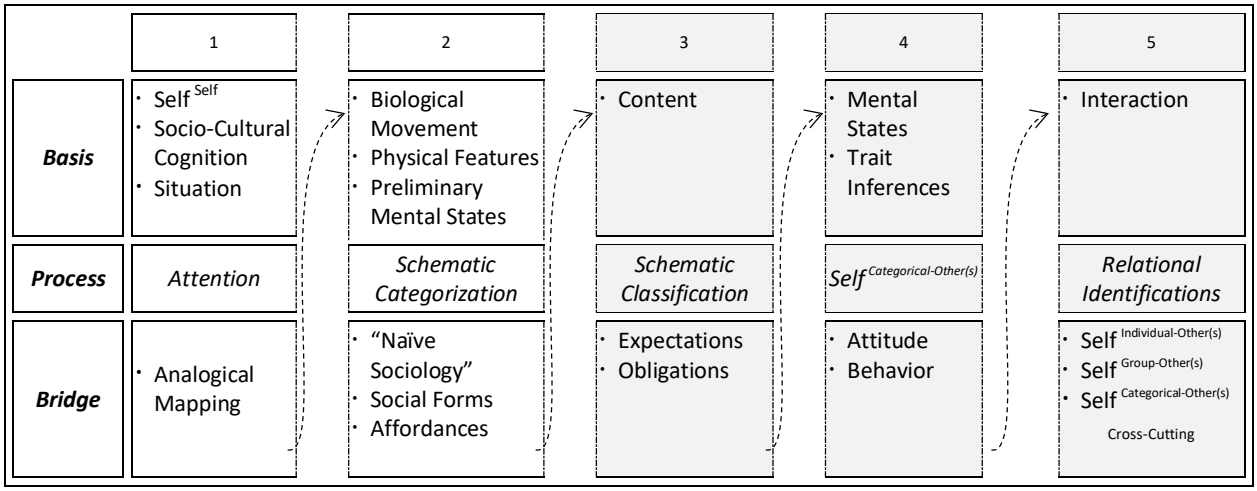

Figure 3.3: Cognitive Bridges between the Social Mind and Social Context

As noted, each interactant comes into an encounter with psycho-social motivations, including the need to belong and the need for survival. Satisfying them is a two-part process of impression management involving physical perception and inferences about Other(s)' mental states[541] (depicted in the second column of Figure 3.3). Interpreting information perceived through the senses is how Self makes inferences about Other, filtered through her attitudes and personality, that classify him in such a way as to guide her actions and behavior. The physical criteria that attract cognitive attention (biological motion, facial features, voice, physical attributes,[542] and appearance, e.g., dress) are the bases of these inferences.[543] The emotional

[539] Shkurko (2015): 198.

[540] Shkurko refers to this as the "final stage of unindividuation and data reduction" in social categorization. Ibid., 200, 207.

[541] Lasana T. Harris, Victoria K. Lee, and Beatrice H. Capestany, "The Cognitive Neuroscience of Person Perception," in *The Cognitive Neurosciences*, ed. Michael S. Gazzaniga, G. R. Mangun, and Sarah-Jayne Blakemore (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2014), 995.

[542] Kerri L. Johnson, Frank E. Pollick, and Lawrie S. McKay, "Social Constraints on the Visual Perception of Biological Motion," in *The Science of Social Vision*, ed. Reginald B. Adams et al., Oxford Series in Visual Cognition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 5/30 and 36/30, http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195333176.001.0001.

[543] Harris, Lee, and Capestany (2014), 995 ff.

states, identity, status, age, sex, race[544], personality, and communicative signaling[545] Self discerns from those criteria inform the classification(s).

From this cognitively and situationally informed position, the categorization process engages, and Self classifies Other in terms of relational evaluations that modulate her initial behavioral response[546] (depicted in the third column of Figure 3.3). The categorization process continues to refine the evaluation by considering consistency with in-group vs. out-group status, similarity or difference, the stereotypes relevant to the situation, and coalitional assessment, as discussed above (pp. 85-87). It is in this stage that the content of the particular categorization begins to become salient (fourth and fifth columns of Figure 3.3) and behavioral responses become calibrated.

This process is critical to cultural identification because it shapes behaviors and also because it fashions how they are classified. From being employed in situated interaction based upon the person's pre-established mental map, the perceived similarities or dissimilarities become associated with a particular category (or cultural group) in a feedback loop. In the process, Other becomes associated with the characteristics, or markers, that place him in a particular category. Consequently, it is also a mechanism by which the identity markers themselves become established.

3.2.5.3. Categorical Identity over Space and Time

Application of the context and time elements of the PPCT framework[547] highlights differences in these dimensions of Categorical Identity that demonstrate why Cultural Identity is, by nature, resistant to change. As a socio-cognitive state that arises through structured cognition, the categorical identification itself is minimally affected by anything less than drastic changes in either context or time. As a cognitive structure, it is part of the way people think, such that, once acquired, these structures become enmeshed in other thought processes. Although they are patterned, they are not rigid because of the opportunities for flexibility, or even change, that arise in each of the bridges along the way (Figure 3.3). Also, as an ephemeral socio-cognitive state that arises and forms the foundation of further identification, Categorical Identity does not persist as an identification for Self in its own right, only the cognitive structure[548] does. Change in the categorization would involve changes in cognitive structure and take adaptive lengths of time. The socio-cultural structures on which it is *based* may change. Changes in the socio-cultural structures can change quickly, for instance by the individual relocating to a new environment. Such a drastic change in context dramatically alters the available contents with which to populate the categorization. Even in these circumstances, the previously developed schemas will persist for an extensive period of time, until acculturation and enculturation (in succeeding generations)

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[544] Johnson, Pollick, and McKay, in *The Science of Social Vision*, (2011): 4/30.

[545] N. F. Troje, "Biological Motion Perception," in *The Senses: A Comprehensive Reference*, ed. Allan I. Basbaum and Richard H. Masland, vol. 2 (Elsevier, 2008), 8-10/18, http://130.15.96.239/Text/biomotionTroje08.pdf, edsgvr; Jonathan B. Freeman, Nicholas O. Rule, and Nalini Ambady, "The Cultural Neuroscience of Person Perception," in *Progress in Brain Research*, ed. Y. Chiao Joan, vol. 178 (Elsevier, 2009), 196.

[546] See, for instance, Maria-Paola Paladino and Luigi Castelli, "On the Immediate Consequences of Intergroup Categorization: Activation of Approach and Avoidance Motor Behavior Toward Ingroup and Outgroup Members," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 34, no. 6, (2008): 755.

[547] See n. 433 above.

[548] The social structures built up around it would as well.

make alterations. This dynamic of persistence makes Cultural Identity a viable basis for discerning its material expressions over time and space.

3.2.5.4. Summary

Categorical Identity forms out of the situated cognition of Self encountering Other(s). It develops from spontaneous relational (or social) categorization. It is a content-free evaluation based on similarity and difference perceived through kinesthetic information that is motivated by the need to determine approach or avoidance behavior. As Shkurko says, however, social categorization is "social only if it produces categories that differentiate social objects in such a way that objects from different categories are expected to differ in some behavioral and cognitive activities other than the very principle of classification."[549] Those expectations arise at the point where the distinctive content of the Categorical Identity is enjoined in the process, such as Cultural Identity.

The categorization is in itself not very meaningful to Self or social situations, except in the critical role it plays in the process of forming situated or interactive, content-based categorical identities, such as gendered or cultural identities—it is these contents that provide the relational component that makes the Identity meaningful. Cultural Identity is a particular manifestation of Level 4 identification based on a variety of criteria configured in a specific way. As such, it is an identification that is not based on relation*ship*; it shifts from relational to relationship as it develops through interactive associations between Self and Other(s). In the process, it manifests as a Level 3 (group) identity.

3.2.6 Summary

Since Barth's seminal study, the conceptualization of identity in terms of self and other has become an established premise in identity studies. Self^{Other} captures it as an augmentative relationality at four levels, with each raising the others to a 'higher power' based on the socio-cognitive processes involved. Each level contributes to Cultural Identity, which is found to be a categorical identification. As such, it has cross-cultural regularities and culture-specific characteristics that include personal agency, close relational ties, and meaningful group memberships contextualized in space and time. In the next section, both its regularities and its specific characteristics are brought together in an analytical framework.

3.3 Culture and Cultural Identity

Following the *Oxford English Dictionary*, culture can be summarized as something like *a group's ideas and ways of life in a particular time, or the group so characterized*. Researchers in various academic fields deal with different aspects of culture, in a wide variety of ways, to arrive at some statement that can more adequately explain the meaning of the concept. Despite the complexity involved, there exists an undeclared consensus about what is meant by the term 'culture' when academicians confront the topic from an analytical approach. That definition is:[550]

[549] Shkurko (2015): 188.

[550] Although this definition is not specifically stated in other sources, consideration of the combined assertions made about the constituent elements by other researchers demonstrates that this is a composite of the accepted constructs across the disciplines. This is based on a non-scientific survey of more than 200 publications in

Culture is the conceptual matrix of ways of thinking and acting connecting persons, other living and material things, place, and time that serves as a basis of belonging for members.

In light of the previous section, Cultural Identity can then be defined as:

Cultural Identity is identification by Self and Other(s) as a member of the categorically distinctive conceptual matrix that includes ways of thinking and acting connecting the people, other living and material things, place, and time to which they belong.

The following discussion presents an overview of the constituent elements in this definition. In the process, it opens up the concept for its analytical application to Amorite Cultural Identity.

3.3.1 A Conceptual Matrix

When people mention culture, the reference is not to only one thing, but a combination of beliefs, practices, and objects associated with some group of people. Perhaps the most readily accessible domain for thinking about it in modern society is that of a national culture. The multiplicity of meaning appears when a reference to American culture evokes a number of seemingly disparate ideas such as football games and apple pie. Referential multiplicity problematizes the nature of culture in ways that are important to consider for analytical research.

Culture is a process as well as a 'thing,'[551] so its characteristics—or constituent elements—can only be understood in terms of that process. Problems can arise when we approach a concept that is both a process and a thing as though it was only a static 'thing.' As a process, Culture has a developmental character that incorporates both material things (such as objects, architecture, biological entities including people) and immaterial things (such as knowledge, values, and beliefs). As a thing, it is the mental construct that includes some permutation of those elements at a particular time.

Culture is the matrix in which things both immaterial and material—such as football games and apple pie—belong together. The immaterial elements are the accepted ways of thinking and acting developed in the socialization process and the different levels of identification. It consists of the comprehensive range of categorizations based on similarities and difference, with their attendant behavioral and attitudinal expectations developed through those processes. Culture is a social form; a specific culture is a "unique…combination of patterns of behavior and belief,"[552] or thinking and acting.

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a wide range of the fields involved in culture studies, e.g., anthropology (and sub-fields such as social, cultural, and neuroanthropology), cognitive science, psychology, cultural communication, philosophy, cultural geography, various archaeological perspectives, history, Middle East studies, and Near Eastern Studies.

[551] This has been recognized in the literature at least since Leslie White addressed the issue in Leslie A. White, *The Science of Culture: A Study of Man and Civilization* (New York: Grove Press, 1949), 86.

[552] Carol R. Ember, Melvin Ember, and Peter N. Peregrine, "Cross-Cultural Research," in *Handbook of Methods in Cultural Anthropology*, ed. H. Russell Bernard and Clarence C. Gravlee (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), 1/38, http://site.ebrary.com/lib/berkeley/docDetail.action?docID=10891906; see also, Gary P. Ferraro and Susan Andreatta, *Cultural Anthropology: An Applied Perspective*, 10th ed. (Stamford, CT: Cengage Learning, 2014), 28, 29; Clifford Geertz, "Passage and Accident: A Life of Learning [1999]," in *Available Light: Anthropological Reflections on Philosophical Topics*, ed. Clifford Geertz (Princeton: Princeton University Press,

As a social form, it is a universal product of human sociality and cognition with recognizable regularities. Those regularities, or contents, can be organized by its definitional dimensions—Culture Contents are ways of thinking and acting, related to a) people, and b) other living and material things, along with c) space, and d) time to which e) people belong. The brief consideration of each presented here establishes the foundation for application of the framework to the Amorites (see Appendix C for more details on Culture Contents).

3.3.2 Ways of Thinking and Acting

Thinking and acting go hand-in-hand. Culture links them in two ways: one is by connecting various ways of thinking together; the other is by tying those ways of thinking to ways of acting.

Connected ways of thinking are fundamental to Culture—it is a cognitive system.[553] As Marilyn Strathern proposes, it is essentially a worldview.[554] A worldview is an interconnection of ideas that are also connected to action or, as Mary Clark describes it, a "mental platform" for social behavior.[555] Worldviews connect ways of thinking and thinking to acting, and that is what Culture does.[556] The two components are integrally connected in the matrix.

3.3.3 Persons, Other Living and Material Things, Place, and Time (P, O, S, T)

The 'things' that the thinking and acting is about are people, other living and material things, place/space, and time. This holistic combination of Culture Contents captures the widely recognized elements that are routinely the subject of associated research. Consideration of them as part of the cultural matrix is also widely recognized across the disciplines.[557] The

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2001), 16; W. Penn Handwerker, *The Origin of Cultures: How Individual Choices Make Cultures Change*, Key Questions in Anthropology (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2009), 14-15.

[553] Ward H. Goodenough, "Cultural Anthropology and Linguistics," in *Report of the Seventh Annual Round Table Meeting on Linguistics and Language Teaching*, ed. Paul L. Garvin (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1957), 167; Giovanni Bennardo and David B. Kronenfeld, "Types of Collective Representations: Cognition, Mental Architecture, and Cultural Knowledge," in *A Companion to Cognitive Anthropology*, ed. Giovanni Bennardo and David B. Kronenfeld (Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 83-88.

[554] Marilyn Strathern, "The Nice Thing About Culture is that Everyone Has It," in *Shifting Contexts: Transformations in Anthropological Knowledge*, ed. Marilyn Strathern (London: Routledge, 1995), 161, 162.

[555] Mary E. Clark, *In Search of Human Nature* (London: Routledge, 2002), 4-5.

[556] Bennardo and Kronenfeld (2011), 88; Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (1973), 44; Kitayama and Park (2010): 122.

[557] See, for instance: Philippe Descola, *Beyond Nature and Culture*, trans. Janet Lloyd (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2013), 73-75; Douglas Hollan, "From Ghosts to Ancestors (and Back Again): On the Cultural and Psychodynamic Mediation of Selfscapes," *Ethos* 42, no. 2, (2014): 176; Norbert Ross, *Culture & Cognition: Implications for Theory and Method* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2004), 61; Christoph Antweiler, "Cosmopolitanism and Pancultural Universals: Our Common Denominator and an Anthropologically Based Cosmopolitanism," *Journal of International and Global Studies* 7, no. 1, (2015); Agustín Fuentes, *Race, Monogamy, and Other Lies They Told You: Busting Myths about Human Nature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012); Bennardo and Kronenfeld (2011); Michael Cole, "Cultural–Historical Activity Theory," *Laboratory for Comparative Human Cognition*, (2010), accessed 18 April 2016, http://lchc.ucsd.edu/People/MCole/CHAT-Paper_2010.pdf; Downey and Lende (2012); Kitayama and Park (2010); Goodnow (2010), 4 ff.; Heidi Keller, "Cross-Cultural Psychology: Taking People, Contexts, and Situations Seriously," in *The Oxford Handbook of Culture and Psychology*, ed. Jaan Valsiner (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 9/29, accessed 24 October 2015, http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195396430.013.0007; Kenneth D. Keith, "Introduction to Cross-Cultural Psychology," in *Cross-Cultural Psychology: Contemporary Themes and Perspectives*, ed. Kenneth D.

classifications by which they are delineated derive from interdisciplinary research (see Appendix C[558]). Norbert Ross presents the ideas succinctly from a cognitive anthropology perspective, including the analytical distinction between the contents and the matrix itself:

> Culture describes all the mental processes that are (or can be) subject to social transmission, as well as other elements of human behavior (including material goods) that help to establish and form our mental processes. These different elements (mental, behavioral, and material) can often only be understood as a set of interrelated features, one causing and forming the other, and are in constant relation with the (social, historical, and natural) environment. The abstract concept of culture has to be distinguished from a culture, which is a unit of study that is constituted by a relatively enduring aggregate of people, recognized as such by their members, within which all functions necessary for the continuation of communal life are performed by in-members.[559]

Figure 3-4 captures the interrelated associations between each of these elements in the matrix as outlined in Culture Contents (including the researchers' interpretive lens).

Keith (Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 3-4; William H. Sewell, *Logics of History: Social Theory and Social Transformation*, Chicago Studies in Practices of Meaning (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 9-10, 164; Turner (2014), 194-196; Gary Alan Fine, *Tiny Publics: A Theory of Group Action and Culture* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2012), 34-36; Bruce G. Trigger, "Cross-Cultural Comparison and Archaeological Theory," in *A Companion to Social Archaeology*, ed. Lynn Meskell and Robert W. Preucel (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2007), 48; Darvill (2008), s.v. “Culture"; Thomas E. Levy, "Foreword," in *Archaeological Perspectives on the Transmission and Transformation of Culture in the Eastern Mediterranean*, ed. Joanne Clarke (Oxford: Oxbow, 2005); Jason Ur, "Cycles of Civilization in Northern Mesopotamia, 4400-2000 BC," *Journal of Archaeological Research.* 18, no. 4, (2010).

[558] They have been cross-tabulated with the Electronic Human Relations Area Files (eHRAF) and other enumerative sources. The outline in the Appendix is a tool for organizing evidence according to the four levels of identification in a manner that is consistent and grounded in empirical and theoretical principles.

[559] In this statement, Ross, in fact, recognizes each aspect of the Self[Other] conceptualization of Culture: ways of thinking (socially transmitted mental processes); ways of acting that are integral to those ways of thinking; a matrix (interrelated set) of features that are, in combination, greater than the sum of its constituent elements (they cause and form each other); connected to time and place (natural and historical environment); with the substantial categorization (a culture) differentiated from the social form (culture); to which people are ascribed (recognized) as belonging (in-members). (His characterization of the group as an "aggregate" could be amended to a composite, as discussed in §3.2.4 above.) Norbert Ross, *Culture & Cognition: Implications for Theory and Method* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2004), 61.

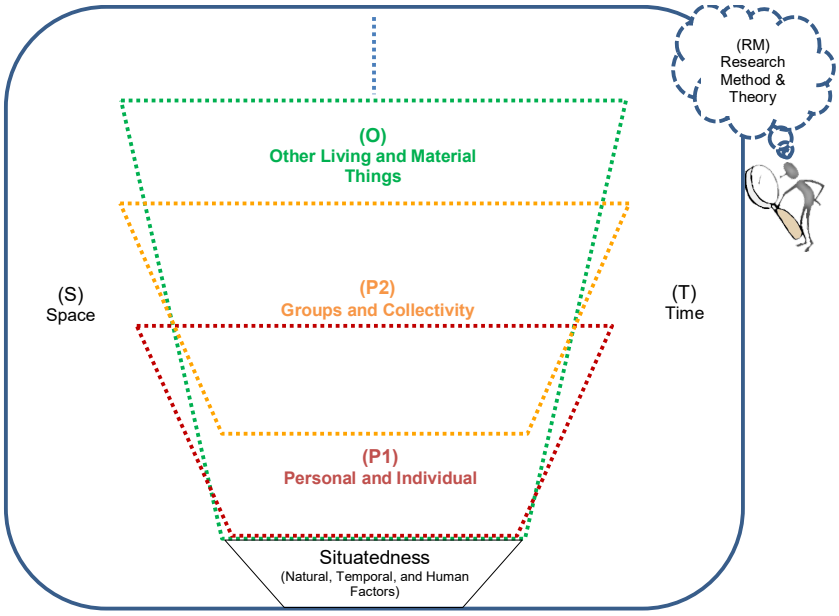

Figure 3.4: Interrelation of Culture Contents

3.3.4 Belonging

Culture is meaningful. It is a conceptual matrix but one that is social at its core. Shared categorization yields common experiences and similar histories. Consequently, Culture is associated with a person's sense of Self, as a factor in her Identity hierarchy. It also affects social structures, as social rules organize the features of which it consists. By nature, categorization differentiates between who does or does not belong in the grouping, and belonging is one of the primary human cognitive-emotional drives. Thus, Culture is a potent force in individual lives as well as in social dynamics.

Note that Culture is not the same as ethnicity, society, or other terms with which it is often conflated. Ethnicity, for example, generally carries the understanding of a genealogical basis for the relationality. An ethnic group may have a culture—every group has a culture, in fact. However, an ethnic group, or even a society, is instead a component of Culture, not equivalent to it. This nuance is clarified in the following section.

3.3.5 Cultural Identity

The matrices can vary widely in the Cultures they circumscribe. Families have Cultures, as do organizations, towns, regions, and nations. What governs the categorical distinctiveness of a particular matrix is the specific contents with which the ways of thinking and acting are filled, along with the people, other living and material things, space, and time to which they are connected. The content-filled conceptual entity becomes a basis *for* identification by members or *as* an identification by non-member Other(s). The matrix is an abstract template. The contents make it specific. It is the dynamics between them that make it 'real.'

The extent of the connections included within the matrix defines the boundaries, and thus the label by which the Culture is identified. As an example, when membership is determined by parental and sibling relationships, referring to the accepted ways of thinking and acting that

connect them with each other, their pets and things, their house, their farm, and the decades of their ties, it is a reference (in modern terms) to the Culture of a particular nuclear family. To the individual, this would be a Level 2, Self$^{\text{Individual-Other(s)}}$ Cultural Identity.[560]

In most cases, however, a reference to cultural identity is more widely encompassing. In current parlance, whether academic or popular, speaking of cultural identity in the generic sense evokes conceptualizations of the shared ways of thinking and acting that characterize the broadest configuration of people and things of which individual members are aware. Or, as Ross phrases it, the broadest extent "within which all functions necessary for the continuation of communal life are performed by in-members."[561] The most common image in modern society is that of a national culture such as the American culture mentioned previously. Nations are a modern development that occurred well beyond the Amorite period, but the conceptualization is the result of the same socio-cognitive processes they and all other behaviorally modern humans have experienced throughout time. The focus of the discussion in this project is the broadly inclusive categorization, short of including all of humankind, which makes 'us,' and all of our subgroupings, belong together and 'them' and their subgroupings something different. These associations become clear by exploring the person and processes of Cultural Identity.

3.3.5.1. Person

The Person of Cultural Identity is the Individual who identifies with a particular iteration of the conceptual matrix labeled Culture. This Person is also affected by that Culture. Culture may not be real in a material sense but it is in an ontological one—it has entitativity, and it has real effects on people and the world.[562]

Every individual beyond the age of childhood[563] recognizes the matrix in one or more forms. The conceptualization of it is widespread enough to suggest it may be productively treated as a universal human construct, or social form—an inevitable outcome of our distinctive commonalities in cognition as social beings.[564] As has been established, the conceptualization is what would be anticipated in a specific case, not the particulars of what the conceptualization includes. The contents of the matrix are widely variable—virtually unlimited in the possibilities, in fact—yet, these contents are curiously circumscribed within a relatively limited number of

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[560] This invites much further development, which is beyond the scope of this project.

[561] As above, p. 96.

[562] See §3.2.5.2.2. This view is supported by theoretical, philosophical, and empirical evidence. See for instance, Juan F. Domínguez Duque et al., "Neuroanthropology: A Humanistic Science for the Study of the Culture–Brain Nexus," *Social Cognitive and Affective Neuroscience* 5, no. 2-3, (2010); Descola (2013); Brekhus (2015); Handwerker (2009); Seyla Benhabib, *The Claims of Culture: Equality and Diversity in the Global Era* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).

[563] Kitayama and Park (2010): 123, and sources cited therein.

[564] As Christoph Antweiler notes, there is good reason to assert that human universals may exist but all such claims should be used with caution. It is in this light that this and other such statements in this project are offered. Christoph Antweiler, *Our Common Denominator: Human Universals Revisited*, trans. Diane Kerns, English ed. (New York: Bergahn, 2016), 256. For an overview on the topic of human universals, see Donald E. Brown, "Human Universals," in *Theory in Social and Cultural Anthropology: An Encyclopedia*, ed. R. Jon McGee and Richard L. Warms (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2013). For an effective presentation of a balanced perspective on the issues involved, see Alexandra Alexandri, "The Origins of Meaning," in *Interpreting Archaeology: Finding Meaning in the Past*, ed. Ian Hodder et al. (Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2013 [1995]), 61-62.

categories in actual occurrence.[565] A Cultural Identity is not universal in itself, but the fact of the existence of cultural identifications can productively be considered universal for analytical purposes since Culture is a social form,[566] identification is innate, and there is abundant evidence (even at the level of common knowledge) that supports it.

3.3.5.2. Process

The process of Cultural Identity formation is what anthropology has recognized for more than a half-century as enculturation—it forms through the enculturated conceptualization of boundaries around known contents. The following consideration of the characteristics that support the stable yet flexible nature of this identification add to the previous discussion (§3.2.5.2).

Culture as a concept and an identification is, on one hand, a very fluid thing, but on the other, it is also quite definitive. Generally speaking, we know what *a* culture is; we know what *our* culture is. However, the specific boundaries are "fuzzy."[567] The complexity of schematic, categorical conceptualizations such as Cultural Identity is such that their borders can only be exposed through similarities and differences. Cognitive processing simplifies them by circumscribing the set of meanings and distilling that information down into a condensed form.[568] Once formulated, the conceptual category (e.g., Culture) reduces the need for perceptual data in order to deal with the moment—it eases comprehension, confers meaning, and reduces uncertainty.[569] It does this largely based on prototypes or "benchmarks."[570]

Prototypes, like benchmarks, capture fuzzy sets of representative elements—the features represented by exemplary members of the set, or ideal types based on an abstraction of group features.[571] They encapsulate some definitive characteristics of the category but are not rigid molds. They are bound by minimum standards and can accommodate variation; they can be reformulated and propagate new categories; they can strengthen and weaken over time and in different circumstances.[572] One way this flexibility is evident is in the gradients of group membership that exist. For instance, leaders of groups typically exemplify the prototype to a greater degree than do other members. A member's inclusion in the group is based on how much or how little similarity she holds with the prototype;[573] it is not (necessarily) an either/or situation. Rather than a strict checklist of features required for category membership, the standards are such that the features are weighted in terms of their salience to the category and how common the feature is within group members.[574] This dynamic produces "typicality effects" that do not require similarity with the whole checklist to fit the classification; a complement of

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[565] They are captured in the Culture Contents outlined in Appendix C.

[566] Kaufmann and Clément (2007).

[567] This term is recurrently encountered in reference to the boundaries around social categories. See for instance, Glynn and Navis (2013): 1126; Brekhus (2015), 61; Hogg (2013).

[568] Glynn and Navis (2013): 1126.

[569] Ibid., 1127.

[570] Ibid., 1126.

[571] Ibid., 1126 (following Hogg and Terry).

[572] Ibid., 1127.

[573] Rodolphe Durand and Lionel Paolella, "Category Stretching: Reorienting Research on Categories in Strategy, Entrepreneurship, and Organization Theory," *Journal of Management Studies* 50, no. 6, (2013): 1101.

[574] See the discussion of the cognitive processes involved in §3.2.5.2.1.

only a few elements may be all that is required.[575] Consequently, prototypes are definitive but allow permutations of the set of defining categorical features. The prototypes that Cultural Identity is based on, then, are stable yet flexible and researchers should expect to see expressions of it, but not a full complement of Contents, in any archaeological context.

3.4 An Archaeological Approach to Cultural Identity

Since Cultural Identity is a social phenomenon, social archaeology's focus on human agency, relationality, and social networks[576] makes it a well-suited approach for considering material evidence for the relational conceptualization of Identity. Three of the theoretical approaches in the field are particularly useful—materiality,[577] social memory, and landscape theory.

The connection between Identity processes and material things has appeared at several points in this project. Importantly, connections with material things are a fundamental defining characteristic of Cultural Identity—they are the main distinction between Cultural and social identity.[578] Ian Hodder's "Human-Thing Entanglement" approach corresponds well with a relational approach to identity, including the consideration of objects as relational Other(s).[579]

Time, too, has been shown to play an integral role in the processes at all levels of relationality; time and memory of shared history are inherent factors in cultural identification (§3.2.5.3). Social memory is the theoretical approach that recognizes the relationality between people and the past—it is the past tied interpretively to the present.[580] It includes individual memories but also the "multilayered terrain of sedimentary deposits of historical artifacts, witness accounts, oral histories, and forgotten and invented landscapes"[581] that are part of cultural memory. Sian Jones captures the element of space (the subject of landscape theory) in this statement—it is part of the relationality involved in each level of identification both in memory of the past and in the present.

The interpretive approach to an archaeological investigation of Cultural Identity proposed in this study is one that recognizes that relationality is the focus of the investigation—within people at four levels of identification that are present at all times in the behaviors that create the material record as well as between people and their things, time, and space.

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[575] R. Durand and Paolella (2013): 1103.

[576] Bolger and Maguire (2010).

[577] See the description of this on the website of the Materiality Research Project of the Anthropology Department at Stanford University, https://anthropology.stanford.edu/research-projects/materiality.

[578] This is based on the correlating contrast between society, which is relationships between people, and Culture, which includes group members' relationality with things.

[579] He prefers to separate his entanglement approach from other materiality studies because of this interconnected, or relational, element. Hodder (2012), 16, 41.

[580] Siân Jones and Lynette Russell, "Archaeology, Memory and Oral Tradition: An Introduction," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 16, no. 2, (2012): 270, 271; James V. Wertsch and Henry L. Roediger III, "Collective Memory: Conceptual Foundations and Theoretical Approaches," *Memory* 16, no. 3: From Individual to Collective Memory: Theoretical and Empirical Perspectives, (2008): 320.

[581] Jones and Russell (2012): 271, quoting Bertrand Taithe.

3.5 Conclusion

Archaeological research into Cultural Identity can be conducted systematically and analytically in such a way that the results are supported by theory and empirical evidence. The relational paradigm proposed in this project is potentially a tool for achieving an interpretation of the evidence that can be validated by being reproducible in comparative application to the Cultural Identity of other groups. The basic premises of the paradigm developed in this chapter are:

- It recognizes Identity as a socio-cognitive phenomenon of relationality that has been established empirically and theoretically in multiple disciplines, which is characterized by a nested hierarchy of interrelated levels that rise successively to a 'higher power.' It is based on the established methodology of Conceptual Analysis, recognizing that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts.
- It recognizes Culture as the conceptual matrix that includes a particular configuration of the widely recognized complement of social connections, beliefs, practices, and objects established by that relationality, to which a group of people meaningfully belong.
- It recognizes Cultural Identity as a categorical identification, with a particular cultural matrix, that is operational at the group level.
- It corresponds with materiality, social memory, and landscape theory which can provide well-established methods through which analytical interpretations can be made from specific evidence of cultural groups.

The viability of this approach is tested preliminarily by its application to the evidence for Amorite Cultural Identity in the next chapter, where—by demonstrating that the data supports an analytical interpretation of them being an ethnic group—the results validate its potential usefulness.

Chapter 4
The Amorites in Self^{Other} Paradigm

4.1 Introduction

One thing made evident by the survey of research and interpretations in Amorite Studies surveyed in Chapter 2 is that researchers have amassed a significant body of evidence on the subject over decades of inquiry from multiple approaches and perspectives. The efforts are still ongoing, and new contributions continue to become available on a frequent basis. The research is vigorous but is not making progress toward a consensus on major issues, such as Amorite Identity. Therein lies the impetus behind this project, which proposes an analytical approach to the matter that can provide a common ground. One way of delineating the data set by which the proposed paradigm can be tested, that is sufficiently representative yet constrained, is to draw upon the markers of their identity that have been recognized in that research.

Among the points of discussion in the ongoing disagreement over the nature of Amorite group identity, there is a list of typifying 'markers' that appears in the literature. These are routinely mentioned, if not discussed at length, in many studies. The characteristics that are normally included are such things as nomadism, pastoralism and association with those animals, tribal organization based on kinship, the Amorite assembly (*puhrum*), the Amorite language, the deity Amurru, and their origins in Jebel Bishri.

When assessed analytically in light of Self^{Other}, it becomes evident that each of these markers belongs within a specific category of Culture Contents[582] and each of the four dimensions of relational connections (people, other living and material things, space/place, and time—or P, O, S, T) are included (§3.3.3). Consequently, they provide an excellent pool of data with which to test the proposed framework. At the same time, such a test presents a potential opportunity to expose useful insights about the Amorites and the evidence concerning them.

In this chapter, the distinguishing markers of Amorite identification are surveyed through the paradigm in order to consider each one analytically and the comprehensive picture holistically. The immediate results are a detailed compilation of Amorite markers that have not been collected previously in this way. Although not exhaustive, the elements included are comprehensively representative in that distinguishing characteristics from each level (Levels 1, 2, 3, and 4) and dimension (P, O, S, and T) of relationality are considered. The classificatory framework can be expected to highlight elements that are discordant, as well as patterns of similarity, among the different kinds of markers (cultural contents) identified in the separate studies from which they are drawn. It will also provide a starting point for establishing an analytical basis for discerning the kind(s) of group identity 'Amorite' was perceived to be in the OB, and perhaps provide an answer to the original question "Who are the Amorites in the Old Babylonian Period?"

After laying out the theoretical foundations, the markers are presented as Culture Contents in the structure developed in §3.3.3 and Appendix C. Examining the evidence through that lens makes it evident that there are many more indicators of their cultural characteristics than are included in the usual, short list. It also brings to light additional insights that substantiate the practicability of the framework and contribute to the field of Amorite Studies. It reveals that,

[582] Specifically, in order: S1b.2, O1b.2, P2c.4 and P2a.1, P2c.4, P2b.6, P2b.1, S1b and T2b.1.

when considered holistically, there is analytical evidence to support the long-assumed but increasingly questioned interpretation of Amorites being an ethnic group in the Old Babylonian period.

4.2 Theoretical Foundations

The identity markers surveyed in this chapter are drawn from the work of researchers who have identified them using textual, visual, and archaeological evidence. Drawing conclusions from any source is interpretive and thus employs theoretical lenses, so presented here are the main theoretical perspectives that inform how the evidence—consisting of the texts and visual material, the archaeology, and the markers themselves—is considered in this project:.

4.2.1 Textual Analysis, Imagery & Identity

Written texts are useful for cultural studies, but they are not necessary. Much valuable information is derived from oral evidence in ethnographic endeavors and the material evidence from atextual environments drawn upon in archaeological research. For Amorite studies, however, they are both useful and necessary—at least in the current state of the field. If not for the textual record concerning them, their existence would not (yet) have come to our awareness, at least not in the view of those who hold the position that there is no archaeological record of their presence. This makes the textual data crucial.

The complexity of textual analysis and its application to archaeological research, generally, has laid a minefield for researchers from any perspective it seems. There is (sometimes passionate) debate over interpretations incorporating texts from all eras, with the Ancient Near East suffering a particular burden due to the nature of the material (its antiquity and arcane characteristics, especially) and the developmental trajectory the field has taken in the years since its inception.

Combined, these factors present a formidable obstacle to capitalizing on the abundant textual evidence that is available for the Amorites. So, a robust theoretical approach is needed for this exploration of their Cultural Identity. It needs to be one that can accommodate deconstructing the evidence for extrapolation and then interpolation into the Self^{Other} framework.

Sociological Discourse Analysis is a well-developed and established approach that has the requisite strength. It also corresponds with the paradigm. The brief introduction to the methodology that follows establishes the basis upon which it is brought to bear in this chapter.

SDA is a particular direction within the discourse analysis tradition that has developed from research in multiple disciplines (e.g., linguistics, anthropology, psychology). What sets it apart is the incorporation of techniques and insights from those fields with a particular social and contextual focus toward interpretation of the socio-cultural *meaning* in discourse. Recognizing discourse as "any practice by which individuals imbue reality with meaning,"[583] it includes texts, imagery, and objects. It considers them in three dimensions: as social information, as a reflection of the agents' ideology, and as social product.[584] As social information, discourse arises from the writer's knowledge of his social reality; as ideological, it consists of cultural schemas (or mental

[583] Jorge Ruiz Ruiz, "Sociological Discourse Analysis: Methods and Logic," *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 10, no. 2 (2009): 2/30, accessed 20 Nov 2017, http://dx.doi.org/10.17169/fqs-10.2.1298.

[584] Ruiz Ruiz presents a helpful, general discussion of the characteristics of this approach. Ibid., 15-18/30.

models)[585] that develop through intersubjective perception; as social product, it enjoins the contextuality of the arena in which it is produced. More specifically, as Discourse (with a capital 'D'), it deals with the way meaning is made through language, art, things, and "other social practices (e.g., behavior, gestures, custom, eating, dressing) within a community."[586]

The study in this chapter is not an SDA case-study. Thus, although it draws upon the approach in various ways, a more detailed exploration of it is not necessary for present purposes. A few of James Paul Gee's statements, relayed by Dunn and Neumann, are sufficient to underscore the applicability of the approach helpfully and concisely:

> For Gee, … it is through discourse—"language-in-use"—that meanings are made, rendering it both ubiquitous and political. Language has meaning only in and through social practices. Gee suggests that when one "pulls off" the performance of social identities and social activities… they do so through the use of language-in-use to convey meaning, but also by getting the "other stuff"—one's body, clothes, gestures, actions, symbols, values, attitudes, and so on—"right" as well. As Gee notes, "When 'little d' discourse (language-in use) is melded integrally with non-language 'stuff' to enact specific identities and activities, then I say that 'big D' Discourses are involved... All life for all of us is just a patchwork of thoughts, words, objects, events, actions, and interactions in Discourses" (Gee 2005: 7).
>
> … Meaning is constructed through discourse and put into practice through Discourse. "Discourses, for me [Gee], crucially involve (a) situated identities; (b) ways of performing and recognizing characteristic identities and activities; (c) ways of coordinating and getting coordinated by other people, things, tools, technologies, symbol systems, places, and times; (d) characteristic ways of acting-interacting-feeling-emoting-valuing-gesturing-posturing-dressing-thinking-believing-knowing-speaking-listening (and, in some Discourses, reading-and-writing, as well)" (Gee 2005: 33).[587]

The correspondence with Self^{Other} is evident. It shows that SDA considers discourse relational (or "social") in both formation and expression. It also shows that: it is contextual, so it incorporates situatedness in time and space; it is expressed through behavior; what it expresses is a cultural worldview; and, that all of this has cognitive, perceptual underpinnings. The description of capital-D Discourse shows that the correlation is even more extensive in that it recognizes the various dimensions of Culture Contents and the processes involved in the different levels of identification. Discourse is an important component of the identity processes

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[585] Amber Wutich, Gery Ryan, and H. Russell Bernard, "Text Analysis," in *Handbook of Methods in Cultural Anthropology*, ed. H. Russell Bernard and Clarence C. Gravlee (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), 7/25, http://site.ebrary.com/lib/berkeley/docDetail.action?docID=10891906.

[586] There is a distinction within the approach between Discourse and discourse (with a lower case 'd'), which is more focused on linguistics; see Dunn and Neumann's discussion on James Paul Gee's work on this point. Kevin C. Dunn and Iver B. Neumann, *Undertaking Discourse Analysis for Social Research* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2016), 31.

[587] Ibid., 31-32. See James Paul Gee, *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2005).

identified in Self-Other.[588] This complementarity between the approaches should expand the interpretive capacity of both when applied in concert.

4.2.2 Archaeology & Identity

The theoretical foundations for an archaeological inquiry into Cultural Identity were established in Chapter 3. The data set to which it is applied here is archival, dealing with Amorite identifiers (markers) previously recognized by researchers, rather than to a specific assemblage. It serves a two-fold purpose: as a preliminary test of the paradigm for its potential applicability to more circumscribed case-studies and to begin to establish a basis for further inquiry dealing with Amorites specifically.

4.2.3 Identity Markers

Identity markers are real. Because they are so common and readily apparent, some tend to think of these seemingly transparent notions as simplistic or not theoretically informed, and thus not viable for scholarly use except as handy generalized references. However, it is precisely because of their accessibility that they constitute legitimately productive analytical elements. They are used in this study because they are real and commonly recognized, and also because they are incorporated into theoretically robust identity studies (in different fields, e.g., sociology and applied linguistics, such as cited below). They are also applicable in the case of the Amorites.

Identity markers are both stable and flexible; they are not rigid checklist items. As attributes that signal a position of categorical belonging to one side or another of a boundary line, they demarcate sameness from difference, ingroup from outgroup, Self from Other. They mark a defining element that differentiates two entities even though similarity or even sameness may be found in other comparative aspects between them. At the same time, they are to some extent contextual because they indicate a boundary that is salient in a particular comparative scenario. In other circumstances, the same element may be a marker of sameness, with difference located in another feature. Difference between two entities, whether an individual or a group, is inevitable; otherwise, the two entities would, in fact, be one. So, when two or more entities are involved, some boundary marker is always present.

Cultural Identity markers are those defining attributes that differentiate groups in some area of Culture Contents. To be defining, the attribute needs be sufficiently meaningful to the group for them and/or Other(s) to perceive it as a boundary line that Individuals cannot cross and be considered a *prototypical* group member. Every marker does not have to be manifest in every member. For instance, members of an endogamous tribe who marry someone from another line may remain tribal members (if their social rules allow for it); they just would not be considered exemplary. As a cultural group, the practice of endogamy would be an identity marker. In contact with, or comparison to, another tribe this would be a point of identification, either as same or different.

Identity markers are not merely the theoretical products of analytical, scholarly minds. They are generated through the socio-cognitive processes involved in interaction. Since they are by necessity accompanied by some behavioral consequence (because what we think affects how

[588] See the discussion on group processes in §3.2.4.

we act, §3.3.2), they are perceived (by Other) as social signals, or schematic clues, that engage the analogical mapping processes by which people categorize Self and Other. They are the perceptible evidence that gives rise to social affordances. The discussion in §3.2.5.2.3 introduced these processes. In Figure 3.3 of that section (p. 91), identity markers come into play in the third- and fourth-column stages of the process. The social forms produced in column two constitute the categorical dimensions which, when populated with Contents (in column three), become markers for inference of categorical sameness or difference (in column four) that set the stage for relationality (column five).

Since the socio-cognitive processes that give rise to identity markers are common to all human experience, arising from the innate features of human social cognition (§3.2), our observation of them in research is not merely theoretical. They are real factors for analysis in research because they are real analytical factors employed in human social life.

This ontological ('real') status, validates the use of identity markers in the many studies that draw productively upon the concept in various disciplines (including Near Eastern Studies[589]). For example, the team of sociologists Richard Kiely et al. analyzed the regularity in the way study subjects deal with them and classified ten identity markers of national identity: place of birth, ancestry, place of residence, length of residence, upbringing and education, name, accent, physical appearance, dress, and commitment to place.[590] Anyone familiar with identity studies at all will recognize those markers.[591] Because of the socio-cognitive processes that underlie them, it is not surprising that they were also able to establish several probabilistic rules by which these markers operate in social interaction: nine concerning how identity claims are made, two for how they are ascribed by Other(s), and two for how they are verified on both sides.[592] These, too, are readily recognizable. They are also consistent with the ascription and verification processes addressed in the Self ^{Other} paradigm. The Kiely et al. studies on these phenomena demonstrate the amenability of identity markers to analytical investigation.

This ontological capacity supports the instances in which different markers have been associated with Amorites. They appear in the literature from all sides: contemporaneous descriptions by non-Amorite Other(s), claims made by Amorites themselves, and researchers in fields contributory to Amorite Studies. A number of these are incorporated in the catalog of features in §4.3.

4.2.4 Summary

The multiple lines of evidence incorporated in this application of the paradigm draw upon three particular theoretical approaches: Social Discourse Analysis, the Self^{Other} approach to the archaeological investigation of Cultural Identity, and Identity Markers.

Textual evidence is critical to Amorite studies, but its interpretation and application to archaeological research are considered problematic. Social Discourse Analysis is an approach to its analysis that recognizes the contextual, social, ideological, and neurobiological factors of the

[589] See, for instance, Buccellati, "The Semiotics of Ethnicity: The Case of Hurrian Urkesh" (2010), 80-81.
[590] Richard Kiely et al., "The Markers and Rules of Scottish National Identity," *The Sociological Review* 49, no. 1, (2001): 36.
[591] Note the consistency with different categories of Culture Contents identified in the present study.
[592] Kiely et al. (2001): 41 ff.

evidence. Thus, it comports well with the Self^{Other} paradigm and provides a robust method for interpreting the written, visual, and other communicative evidence within that framework.

Self^{Other} approaches the consideration of this textual, material, and symbolic evidence through the lens of relationality, as developed in previous chapters, and serves as the structuring paradigm for analyzing markers of Amorite identity.

Identity markers are real. They signal boundaries of various kinds, including those that delimit cultural elements. More than the simple, handy reference tags that some may assume them to be, they are grounded theoretical constructs with demonstrated usefulness in analytical research. Consequently, Amorite identity markers identified by various scholars in previous research are the valid and promising data set used in this study.

4.3 Amorite Evidence in Analytical Paradigm

4.3.1 Introduction and Evidentiary Source Material

Researchers have identified Amorite markers from all three of the evidentiary sources: textual, archaeological, and visual. Amorite Studies are somewhat segmented into three socio-geographic regions. Most of the textual evidence comes from greater Mesopotamia. It indicates the potential presence of Amorites throughout the Ancient Near East, including the southern Levant and Egypt. Cuneiform evidence from the southern Levant is almost non-existent (so far), but there is a substantial accumulation of archaeological evidence from throughout the region. Much of the composite archaeological evidence for Amorite markers is generated from the middle ground[593] contact area between Mesopotamia and ancient Canaan, or modern Syria and the Middle Euphrates region, where both material and textual, and some visual, sources are available. Egypt, on the other hand, has a rich accumulation of material, textual, and visual evidence. It is from this region that visual markers for Amorites have been identified. Interest in the group generated by indications of their presence in each of these regions produces studies channeled by the types of evidence available, which has produced a tenuously connected body of research material. When assembled and correlated, the combination of these past results can provide a comprehensive picture that also includes some opportunities for cross-verification for the various claims regarding their identity markers.

The textual evidence from which researchers have identified Amorite markers range from the esoteric to the facile, from works of literature such as *Marriage* to lists of individuals receiving rations. As exhibited in Gee's points above, SDA recognizes that identification is manifest in every type of discourse (§4.2.1). Whether through explicit statements or implicit understandings, the writer's conceptualization of social context is incorporated into the message. Hodder makes the connection from an archaeological perspective, saying "the meaning of texts or material culture is situated within discourse."[594] SDA explains this capacity as a result of the structure in discourse that produces "a field of intelligibility" within a particular social realm.[595]

[593] Durand identifies this area as an "unwritten middle region" between East and West during the period. Jean-Marie Durand, "Assyriologie," *Annuaire du Collège de France*, (2001-2002): 741.

[594] Ian Hodder, "The 'Social' in Archaeological Theory: An Historical and Contemporary Perspective," in *A Companion to Social Archaeology*, ed. Lynn Meskell and Robert W. Preucel (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2007), 30.

[595] Dunn and Neumann (2016), 3.

It approaches texts as a form of "communicative event"[596] or "speech act."[597] As discourse, they "are comprised of signifying sequences that constitute more or less coherent frameworks for what can be said and done."[598] Thus, they are grounded in social cognition. They involve relationality between the writer/speaker and reader/audience, such that agreement/understanding must meet from both sides; without this mutual intelligibility, there is a rupture that makes the speech act incomplete. There is some flexibility in the potential meaning, on both sides (intention or interpretation), but it is limited to the bounds of permissibility that are established within the context.[599] Consequently, a statement about the Amorites such as the one appearing in *Marriage* that they have the features of a monkey must correspond to some conceptualization of 'Amorite' (or MAR.TU in this case), 'monkey', 'monkey features', and the implication of this trilateral association for both writer and reader for the reference to have any meaning to either one. Whether the comparison is intended to be literal or figurative, and whether the reader understands it the same way, is a product of the context and its cultural schemas, i.e., it is social product. Arcane or popular, any textual or visual reference to or about Amorites reveals something about the social understanding of them. As a result, texts of all types from which markers have been identified—by modern scholars or contemporaneous OB actors— are considered in this study. As forms of discourse, imagery and material evidence are also taken into account from that perspective.

In the following sections, the elements identified as markers of Amorite identity are organized by the Self^{Other} framework. This is not an exhaustive compilation, but it is comprehensive in representing the full scope of the Culture Contents identified for this group in the literature. The references and supporting documentation provided are intended to support the inclusion of the particular category but are, also, not an exhaustive citation of all the relevant primary or secondary sources.[600] The identification of Amorites follows established practices, based on the associations as discussed in §2.6.1.1—linguistic and onomastic indicators, along with connections to related references (such as sub-groups) and conceptual entities (such as the deity). The markers included were selected from scholarly research and evaluated on that basis. Although commentary is included in certain areas, complete studies—applying the full complement of theoretical considerations and evidence—would be beyond the limits of this project.

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[596] This term comes from Fairclough's research. Dunn presents it succinctly: "…Fairclough offers a three dimensional model that emphasizes the text ("the communicative event"), the discursive practices within which this text is embedded ("order of discourse"), and the social practices encompassing the order of discourse (the "social field")." Ibid., 36. See Norman Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*, Language in Social Life Series (London: Longman, 1995).

[597] This concept is referred to as "socially situated speech," and (most likely) in other ways, but "speech acts" captures the multi-layered actuative aspect of the discourse. Introduced by the philosopher J. L. Austin, "speech acts" have received quite a bit of attention in the literature (by John Searle and others). In essence, it is the production of meaning through the words, references and predications, intention, related actions, and the generation of effect, of a linguistic act. See Brenda Farnell and Laura R. Graham, "Discourse-Centered Methods," in *Handbook of Methods in Cultural Anthropology*, ed. H. Russell Bernard and Clarence C. Gravlee (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), 5-10/43 and bibliography; John R. Searle, "What is a Speech Act?," in *Philosophy in America*, ed. Max Black (London: Taylor & Francis, 2014 [1964]).

[598] Dunn and Neumann (2016), 47.

[599] In addition to the contextual considerations mentioned in this chapter, see the discussion of Conjunctures in §3.2.3.2.

[600] Rather than a literature review being included, the individual sources are introduced when they are drawn upon in the discussion.

4.3.2 Connections to People

As is the case with other people groups, Amorites had relationships with each other, and Other(s), as individuals and as a group. The textual references to them mentioned in Chapter 2 occur in all three grammatical persons, demonstrating that the label was meaningful as an identifier to them and Other(s) on each level. This suggests it was not only an adjective, pejorative or otherwise, referring to the occupation of some people or from whence they came (§2.6.1), as is demonstrable through the following brief sketch of some examples based on associations with the term MAR.TU/*amurru*.[601]

First person: Ikun-pisha calls the Amorite assembly "my assembly,"[602] Zabaya calls himself "mighty man, Amorite chief,"[603] and Hammurabi considered himself in the first person as belonging to the Amorites as a collective ("[I], Ḫammu-rāpi, god of [his] nation…").[604]

Second person: A parent giving an Amorite name to a child, whether by language or lexeme, ascribes this identification to him or her in some manner. In essence, by saying "I give you this Amorite name" the name-giver says, "I identify you with Amorite-ness" in some form.[605] The nature of the cuneiform record makes exemplars with direct second-person references unlikely, where an individual is explicitly calling another an Amorite in the text.[606] The primary ways by which they refer to a person's identity are by name, lineage, or practices. Thus, having a linguistically Amorite name would carry that implication, as would asserting ancestry or kinship with other Amorites, or worshipping the god by that name. Therefore, when Bur-Assur says to Innaya "I swore an oath to you by Amurrum, your god,"[607] he is essentially calling him an Amorite.

Third Person: These references are understandably the most common. They appear indirectly as individuals (in the singular) as in references to persons with the MAR.TU/*amurrum* name element[608] or title.[609] They also do so explicitly: Sassanatum tells Sumu-abum that he is to give Lalatum to "an Amorite";[610] and, the owner of a field is specified as "Amurrîtum (the Amorite woman)."[611] They also pop up in groups (third person plural) in various guises, such as in Isin

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[601] The Culture Content aspects are discussed more thoroughly in the pertinent sections that follow.

[602] IM 49341 + IM 49240. The two letters are contemporary and pertain to the same subject matter. In IM 49341, Ikun-pisha says he has gone "to the assembly of the Amorites" where he has served; then in IM 49240, he says "Let me learn the decision of my assembly…" In terms of ancient textual evidence, this is strong evidence of self-identification as an Amorite.

[603] AbD 88-286.

[604] BM 64265, as Stol asserts. (Hammurabi undoubtedly did not inscribe these words himself but certainly would have sanctioned them.) Marten Stol, *Studies in Old Babylonian History*, Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul vol. 40 (Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1976), 84 with n. 54.

[605] See §4.3.2.1.2 (P1b.2) for further discussion.

[606] Although Lewy does raise the interesting possibility that Aššur-ṭâb being qualified as DUMU MAR.TU, in place of his patronymic on his seal indicates his contemporaries knew him as "Aššur-ṭâb the Amorite." Lewy, "Amurritica" (1961): 39.

[607] NBC 3731.

[608] A.7758 is an example: Izi-sumu tells Aḫi-ša-kimi to take the tablet to Warad-Amurrim.

[609] The author of A.7542 (Sin-rabi) says "I wrote to you twice concerning Ubajatum, the *abi Amurrim*, but you did not come."

[610] YBC 9955.

[611] Found in two tablets (AO 4480 and VAT 6675) from Kish dating to the reign of Sin-muballit. Lewy, "Amurritica" (1961): 44.

where they are trade partners with the craft workshop along the same lines as an institution (e.g., the palace or temple), even having their own scribe,[612] or receiving 'gifts' as a group.[613] Their 'Amorite Assembly' is a group of community leaders.[614] Finally, they also appear in third person as a collective: of individual kings,[615] including Hammurabi,[616] and as a people group—the "children of Amurru."[617]

The texts clearly present Amorites as a group of individuals who belong together by that distinctive label. The "Old Babylonian List of Amorite Names" published by Gelb presents Amorites in all three persons in that single document. The list enumerates individuals by their names and family relations, sub-divided by sections under men with Amorite names,[618] and then totals them "29 Amorites."[619] In this text, they are presented in all three grammatical persons in parallel to other people groups (e.g., the Elamites) and their members, which is a significant demonstration of differentiation at all three levels.

In the following sections, specific markers are considered in catalog form structured by Culture Contents. As all four levels of identification (from Personal to Categorical) are involved in Cultural Identity (see Figure 3.4), markers from each are included. Levels 1 and 2 are the most intricate, requiring more theoretical development; they include discussion not typically encountered in other studies. Levels 3 and 4 are more standard conceptualizations, requiring fewer examples and less discussion. Though not exhaustive treatments, the coverage is adequate to support their placement in the framework.

4.3.2.1 Individuals (P1)

As developed in Chapter 3, Individual Identity (Level 2) is built upon Personal Identity (Level 1). Features at both levels are noted as Amorite markers. Since the Level 1 identification itself becomes discernible to Other(s) only in behavior (starting in Level 2), it is the visible, bodily aspects that mark distinctiveness for Other(s) at this stage—they can perceive only the physiological features, not the inner realm where the cognitive 'expression' (such as the motivations and beliefs) at this level occurs. From Other(s) perspective, Level 1 is a Personal identification that presents without (technically, before) behavior, as noted in §3.2.5.2.1. From the Person's perspective, phenotypical features are elements of Situatedness in Time, because she acquires them by inheritance—they are the cumulative genetic product of what has come before in her line of descent. Specifically, it is a T2b.3 relationality. Since these physical features are fundamental to interaction at every level of identification (§2.2.4.2.3), the challenge of the evidence for these markers is engaged with in the following discussion.

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[612] Marc Van de Mieroop, "The Administration of Crafts in the Early Isin Period," in *Cuneiform Archives and Libraries*, ed. K. R. Veenhof (Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1986), 162 (in reference to BIN 169 430) and 166.

[613] NBC 7206.

[614] IM 49341. See §4.3 for further discussion.

[615] A.2760.

[616] BM 22454.

[617] BM 92656.

[618] This is according to de Boer's criteria, as their names all include the theophoric 'El.' De Boer *Amorites in the Old Babylonian Period*, (2014), 53.

[619] TA 1930, 615. See Appendix A-5.

4.3.2.1.1 P1a (Personal Well-Being)

P1a is the level of the physiological, psycho-cognitive, and socio-behavioral Person.[620] Although it may not normally be part of archaeological considerations, it is addressed here in the interest of comprehensiveness, because: 1) it demonstrates that Amorites were perceived as identifiable at each of the four levels; 2) the physical person had particular significance in the general Mesopotamian worldview; and, 3) it impacts other levels of identification, including Cultural Identity.

Some of the markers associated with Amorites are physiological, as should be expected in evidence of interactions between them and other groups over long distances.[621] As developed in §3.2.2, people experience the world on the personal level, as the embodied, sensual and experiential, social Self. It is a neurobiological process that is an innate aspect of human nature, forming Personal Identity (Level 1). Every human individual has this same experience, so we recognize it in Other(s) and relate to them in light of that awareness (either consciously or subconsciously). The 'raw data' upon which it is based is, consequently, something we automatically attune to when interacting with Other(s). Physical attributes are one of the elements involved in the process. As visual features, they are readily accessible and therefore prominent in the categorization processes involved in interpersonal interaction and the subsequent levels of identification.[622]

The personal markers associated with Amorites that have been identified as having group-wide distinctiveness include phenotypical features, which may have had even more significance in Mesopotamian minds that we might expect. As Foster says, "In Mesopotamian tradition, there is little to suggest a concept of a separate, coexisting soul, mind, and body; rather, the body was the essential person."[623] This perspective would heighten the significance of bodily features and actions.

One text serves as a useful touchpoint for this discussion. *Marriage*[624] is a literary composition thought to come from the early OB or Ur III period. It was in active circulation during the early second millennium and resonates with contemporaneous practices.[625] It is renowned for its pejorative list of Amorite features, including: having destructive hands and monkey features; being wanderers, confused, and disruptive; living in tents, exposed to the elements; grubbing for mushrooms and eating uncooked meat; not knowing how to pray and not burying their dead. As Jerrold Cooper has said, the included list of features "surely represents a

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[620] See these contents listed hierarchically in Appendix C-5.

[621] This intuitively discerned phenomenon, of genetic (which includes, to some degree, phenotypic) similarity decreasing with geographic distance, remains valid in genetics research. See for instance Catherine Nash, *Genetic Geographies: The Trouble with Ancestry* (Minneapolis: University Of Minnesota Press, 2015), 41, 175-183.

[622] See the discussion of P1b-Interpersonal Interaction in §4.3.2.1.2 below.

[623] Benjamin R. Foster, "The Person in Mesopotamian Thought," in *The Oxford Handbook of Cuneiform Culture*, ed. Karen Radner and Eleanor Robson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 120.

[624] CBS 14061. See Appendix A-2 for a full translation of the text.

[625] For instance, Klein notes that it includes "all the social and legal elements of an Ur III and Old Babylonian type of marriage." Jacob Klein, "The God Martu in Sumerian Literature," in *Sumerian Gods and Their Representations*, ed. Irving L. Finkel and Markham J. Geller, Cuneiform Monographs 7 (Groningen: STYX Publications, 1997), 107.

cultural prejudice prevalent in Old Babylonian times at a certain level."[626] To be meaningful,[627] that representation had to be viable in both the minds of the writer(s) and the readers.

As with all of the available literary sources, *Marriage* reflects a conceptualization of Amorites from an etic perspective;[628] it is written from the view of an urban resident of the city of Ninab about Amorite Other(s) represented by an anthropomorphized deity MAR.TU. He and his people are 'outsiders' conceptually and literally—they live outside the city walls.

The storyline of this text has Martu participating in a festival where he proves himself strong and consequently worthy to marry the king's daughter as a reward. On the P1a level, the markers appear in the well-known words of the potential bride's girlfriend, such as in the line: "Lo, their hands are destructive, their features are those of monkeys." The implication of this statement is that there was some perceived physical differentiation between Babylonians and Amorites typical enough to resonate with the writer's audience. Whether it was minor, and referred to with humor in order to ridicule,[629] or more significant, is immaterial to the fact of its presence. For present purposes, it is the cited differentiation on this level, as discourse, that should be noted.

Although discussions on the meaning of this reference to monkey-like features, which get caught up in the topic of race and other interesting issues,[630] are inconclusive, visual evidence from Egyptian sources supports the idea of this being some form of physical differentiation. In that imagery, there are two marked physical features of 'Asiatics' in Egyptian art: skin color and nose shape.

An association between Amorites and the Asiatics in the Middle Kingdom (2040-1640[631]) Egyptian Delta (and, by association, with the Hyksos) has been in the literature since 1890 (§2.4). The currency of the idea has waxed and waned over the years [632] but has revived in recent research. Phyllis Saretta makes a detailed argument based on a comparative analysis of the

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[626] Jerrold S. Cooper, *The Curse of Agade* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983), 470.

[627] It had to have some meaningfulness in order to be written in the first place. The text is a Performance Point that draws on shared intentionality and cultural forms of meaning. Klein notes that, although only one copy of the text itself has been discovered, it was listed in a catalogue of literary texts from ancient Ur; this indicates that it was socially meaningful beyond the act of one writer. Jacob Klein, "The Marriage of Martu: The Urbanization of 'Barbaric Nomads'," *Michmanim* 9, (1996): 94 n. 35.

[628] In addition to this being a fact of the nature of the socio-historical situation, it is made clear in this case by the content as well as the consistent use of the third person plural pronoun.

[629] See the comments on this idea in H. L. J. Vanstiphout, "A Meeting of Cultures? Rethinking the 'Marriage of Martu'," in *Languages and Cultures in Contact: At the Crossroads of Civilizations in the Syro-Mesopotamian Realm*, ed. Karel van Lerberghe and Gabriela Voet (Leuven: Peeters, 1999), 470.

[630] See for instance Dominique Collon, Margaret Sax, and C. B. F. Walker, *Catalogue of Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum: Cylinder Seals III, Isin-Larsa and Old Babylonian Periods* (London: British Museum Dept. of Western Asiatic Antiquities, 1986), 45-47; Dominique Collon, "Review: Hamoto, Azad 'Der Affe in der Altorientalischen Kunst'," *JAOS* 118, no. 4, (1998); Cooper, *The Curse of Agade* (1983); Sally Dunham, *The Monkey in the Middle*, vol. 75, *ZAA* (1985).

[631] Although other researchers delineate the periods differently, Saretta is followed here because that is the source most of this Egyptian-based discussion draws upon; in general terms the Middle Kingdom is considered as being ca. 2000-1600. Saretta (2016), 286-287.

[632] See Tubb, "Aliens in the Levant" (2009), 116; William F. Albright, "From the Patriarchs to Moses: From Abraham to Joseph," *The Biblical Archaeologist* 36, no. 1, (1973)., 30; Edwin C. M. van den Brink, *Tombs and Burial Customs at Tell El-Dab'a and their Cultural Relationship to Syria-Palestine during the Second Intermediate Period* (Wien: Institut für Afrikanistik und Institut für Ägyptologie, 1982), 68; John Van Seters, *The Hyksos: A New Investigation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), 191.

textual, visual, and archaeological evidence from Egyptian and Mesopotamian sources and concludes that the *Aamu* element of the Asiatics in Egypt were Amorites.[633] Because of its contribution to Amorite Studies and its continued presence as a line of thinking in the field, and the present study's objective to consider the comprehensive picture of the Amorites in evidence, the association (*Aamu* = Amorites) along with the insights from Saretta's monograph and similar sources are included for consideration at face value. Whether or not the claim stands up to critical review remains to be seen.[634]

One of the often-noted characteristics of Asiatics in Egyptian art is their yellow-painted skin. Although this is recognized as a stylized technique for depicting foreigners, and not necessarily an indication that they considered their skin to be that color, it does indicate that they saw a defining characteristic associated with skin color that was meaningful to them and was a boundary marker between them and Other(s).[635] This is made evident in the regular depiction of other groups in contrasting hues. In the famous painting of "Horus and the Four Races" from the tomb of Seti I, these standard colorations appear: Egyptians are red-brown, Nubians are black, Asiatics (*Aamu*) are yellow, and the Libyans are a lighter peach (Figure 4.1).[636]

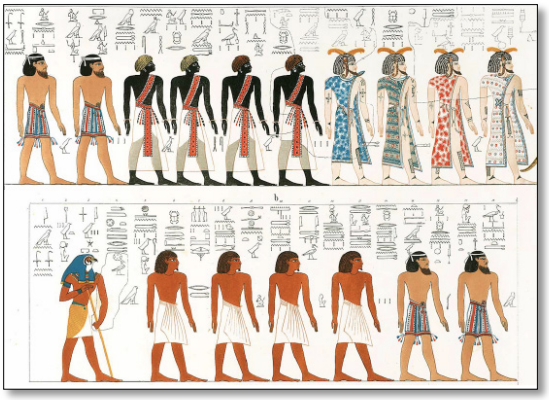

Figure 4.1: "Horus and the Four 'Races.'"
Source: Woodcock, *Noticing Neighbors* (2014), Fig. 13.

[633] "…the peoples designated as 'MAR.TU/*Amurru*' in the Sumerian and Akkadian texts are the direct counterpart to those Asiatics designated as *ʒmw* 'Asiatics' in the Egyptian record." Saretta (2016), 13-14.

[634] It has received mixed reception: Mourad, and Homsher and Cradic (unfavorable); Van der Perre (mixed); Kamrin (favorable). The monograph more generally is cited favorably in other research, e.g., Woodcock, Goldwasser, and Bietak. Anna-Latifa Mourad, *Rise of the Hyksos: Egypt and the Levant from the Middle Kingdom to the Early Second Intermediate Period*, Archaeopress Egyptology vol. 11 (Oxford: Archaeopress Publishing Ltd., 2015), 14; Homsher and Cradic (2018): 6; Athena Van der Perre, "Review: Phyllis Saretta, Asiatics in Middle Kingdom Egypt: Perceptions and Reality," *Chronique d'Egypte* 92, no. 183, (2017); Janice Kamrin, "The Procession of 'Asiatics' at Beni Hasan," in *Cultures in Contact: From Mesopotamia to the Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B.C.*, ed. Joan Aruz, Sarah B. Graff, and Yelena Rakic (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013), 161 n. 137; Taylor Bryanne Woodcock, *Noticing Neighbors: Reconsidering Ancient Egyptian Perceptions of Ethnicity* (PhD Dissertation, The American University in Cairo, 2014), 52; Orly Goldwasser, "Out of the Mists of the Alphabet: Redrawing the 'Brother of the Ruler of Retenu'," *Ä & L* 22, (2012); Bietak, "From Where Came the Hyksos?" (2010), 146 n. 156.

[635] It is possible that the association of skin color with Other-ness was simply transferred from interaction with one or more other groups. Note that as a readily perceptible physical feature with significant consequential implications for relationality, this is a prominent inferential feature. See the discussion in §3.2.5.2.3 Schematic Content Application and Identification.

[636] See Woodcock (2014), 13, Fig. 13; along with Anthony Leahy, "Ethnic Diversity in Ancient Egypt," in *CANE*, ed. Jack M. Sasson, vol. I (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2006), 226-227.

There were different groups of West Semites (or northerners) comprising the people designated by the generic label of 'Asiatic' with whom the Egyptians were interacting.[637] Yet, as Saretta and Taylor Woodcock demonstrate, the textual evidence clearly indicates that they were aware of separate ethnicities comprising such 'umbrella' terms in their vocabulary. Thus, as part of the Asiatics, the *Aamu*/Amorites are depicted in the yellow signifier of the general categorical grouping.

Another famous depiction of Asiatics, a section of the murals in Tomb 3 of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hasan (ca. 1900 BCE; Figure 4.2), depicts a caravan of them arriving in Egypt. Here they are depicted with the yellow skin and accompanied by an inscription identifying the Amorite name of their leader (Abishai) with the title "ruler of the foreign land."[638]

Figure 4.2: "Detail of the Procession of Aamu."
Source: Kamrin, *Procession* (2013), Fig. 154.

The mural also depicts a second potential phenotypical marker—a distinctive nose. Muzhou Pu and Saretta both point out that this is one of the "standard characteristics" of Asiatics in Egyptian art.[639] Both are noting it in discussion of the Old Kingdom (2675-2130) period but, as with skin color, this feature is not likely to change in that span of time, and it is also depicted in Middle Kingdom representations as here in the image of Abishai (more clearly depicted in Figure 4.3). Saretta draws attention to his "hooked" nose in that painting.[640]

[637] Woodcock (2014), 42 ff.

[638] This is the traditional rendering of the title, in the often-cited work of Donald B. Redford for example, although Kamrin translates it "ruler of the hill-lands" (and Abishai as Abisharie). Kamrin (2013), 25; Donald B. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 100.

[639] The phrasing is Pu's. Muzhou Pu, *Enemies of Civilization: Attitudes toward Foreigners in Ancient Mesopotamia, Egypt, and China*, SUNY Series in Chinese Philosophy and Culture (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005), 55; Saretta (2016), 61.

[640] Saretta (2016), 90.

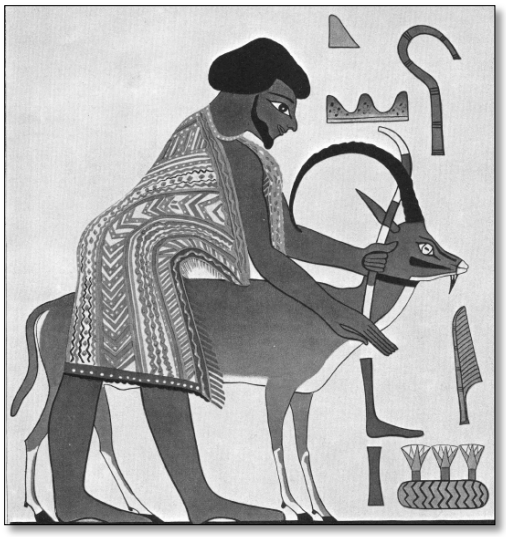

Figure 4.3: "The Aamu Sheykh, Absha."
Source: Percy E. Newberry and G. Willoughby Fraser, Beni Hasan Part I, Archaeological Survey of Egypt (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1893), pl. XXVIII.

The relief depicting *Aamu* Asiatics at Serabit el-Khadim[641] exhibits the same feature (Figure 4.4). Thus, it seems that there was a difference in the nose between Egyptians and Asiatics, and *possibly* specifically for Amorites (based on its presence for Abishai and at Serabit el-Khadim[642]).

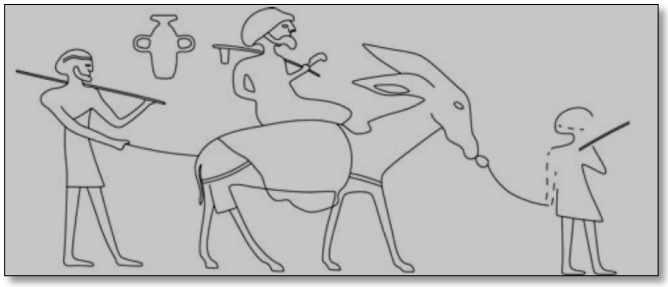

Figure 4.4: Relief Depicting Asiatics, Serabit el-Khadim.
Source: Orly Goldwasser, "Out of the Mists" (2012): Fig. 352.

There are allusions to the nose feature in Mesopotamian imagery. Saretta points out the parallel with the female donkey rider (Figure 4.5).[643] Eva Braun-Holzinger makes several references to the large noses in her study of bronze Mesopotamian figurines, describing one as

[641] Serabit el-Khadim is a turqoise (and copper) mining area in the Sinai Peninsula with other evidence of West Semitic presence (e.g., in the script used and the presence of the name of the Canaanite goddess Ba'alat in the inscriptions); see Kathryn A. Bard, *An Introduction to the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2007), 190-191.

[642] See Saretta (2016), 129 ff.

[643] The figurine is unprovenanced (purchased off the market in Syria). Ibid., 101; Silvia Schroer and Othmar Keel, *Die Ikonographie Palästinas/Israels und der Alte Orient: Eine Religionsgeschichte in Bildern* (Fribourg: Academic Press, 2005), 74 no. 265.

"projecting far" ("Nase weit vorspringend")[644] but she does not delve into any group identifications. The examples do attest to a subset of the population that had markedly different noses.

Figure 4.5: "Rider on a Donkey."
Source: Saretta, *Asiatics* (2016), Fig. 3.30b.

Discussions about Amorite appearance in the Mesopotamian record typically focus on style (e.g., dress, hairstyle, accessories) rather than phenotypical features. The fact that skin color is a marker of the *Aamu* to the Egyptians opens up an interesting possibility about why such features would not be as prominent in the Mesopotamian evidence. It may be an indication that they were not different in this way from their closer neighbors—that there is no evidence of general (e.g., skin color) differentiation between the Amorites and other Mesopotamian groups because there *was* none to that degree. It is not because they did not pay attention to the physical differences that we typically refer to as racial indicators; it is simply that there were none making a profound difference, greater than, say, a nose. This certainly fits with the social history of ongoing interaction between the groups in the area for centuries and actually supports the interpretation of other evidence indicating Asiatics moved into the Delta from the north where they were a part of the general population—it is a farther distance with greater cultural (and presumably genetic) differentiation.[645]

This adds further support to the potential significance of statements such as "their features are those of monkeys" in *Marriage* at the P1a.1 level—Other(s) are noting some element of differentiation in this aspect between them and the Amorites or the character in the story would not be able to make such a statement and expect it to be meaningful to the audience. There has been discussion of this being figurative language conveying an ideological perspective toward threatening outsiders.[646] This may be the case but does not negate the likelihood of there being perceptible physical features that prompted this association to begin with, as other scholars recognize.[647] Their noses may be one of these aspects; a difference in the shape of the nose is, in

[644] No. 235, from Susa. Eva Andrea Braun-Holzinger, *Figürliche Bronzen aus Mesopotamien*, Prähistorische Bronzefunde vol. Abt 1, Bd 4 (München: Beck, 1984), 69.

[645] This pushes the relationality further into the Level 4 categorical mode, with the attendant increase in schematic representations. See the discussion of the various processes in play in §3.2.5.

[646] The Gutians are also described as monkeys in *The Curse of Agade*. See for instance, Cooper, *The Curse of Agade* (1983), 30 ff.

[647] Michael Streck, in his *Amorite Onomasticon*, translates the phrase as "their appearance that of a monkey" ("ihr Aussehen das von Affen") and comments on such "statements that disparaged their physical

fact, one of the typical physical differences between people and monkeys. Woodcock raises a helpful comparison to colonial European descriptions of North American Indians;[648] these tribes had different physical features, but all were called Indians by the European Other(s) and generalized with certain phenotypical characteristics, such as 'red' skin (and their noses, coincidentally). The tribes perceived and acted upon recognizable physical differences between their groups, but skin color was not one of them.[649] In the Mesopotamian case, the fact that other outsider groups are referred to in the same way as Amorites, and with other characteristics by which they stereotype them (such as being beast-like), may be an indication of a regional phenotypical subset of some kind and/or the development from this kind of association into a generic pejorative for outsiders.[650] From their perspective, it is another level of differentiation, that developed amidst closer interaction over time and space than that of the Egyptians. The word for 'features' in this phrase ($ulutim_2$) is referring to physical, created form.[651] In combination, the fact that human attention to physical features is an innate and automatic feature of social cognition,[652] that is socially meaningful,[653] along with the necessity of shared understanding to meaningful communication,[654] plus the use of a term indicating a physical form, seem to indicate that considering this phrase as a reference to actual (or at least perceived) Amorite physical appearance differentiated from Babylonians (as well as Egyptians) is warranted.

Also on the P1a level, the reference to 'stupidity'[655] undoubtedly has some basis in fact. That is not to say that Amorites were intellectually challenged; not only is that unlikely, it is also

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appearance" (translated from the German). He cites others who do so as well. Streck, *AOAT 271/1* (2000), 73 and 74 with 75 n. 71.

[648] Woodcock (2014), 104, n. 549.

[649] Native American tribes collectively differentiated themselves by color from whites and blacks during the colonial period, but not between themselves at that time or before. See for instance, the transcript of the speech (Hall) by the Seminole chief Neamathla, where he makes several statements along these lines, including "I will tell you how the Great Spirit made man, and how he gave to men of different colors the different employments that we find them engaged in. …the Great Spirit made the white, the black, and the red man, when he put them upon the earth." Nancy Shoemaker observes that the "Northeastern Indians may have been incorporating a concept Europeans introduced to them that skin color was significant-or they came to this idea on their own. Thus eighteenth-century Indians did use biology either to reveal identity or to build a common identity." James Hall, "Neamathla," in *History of the Indian Tribes of North America with Biographical Sketches and Anecdotes of the Principal Chiefs*, ed. Thomas L. McKenney and James Hall (Philadelphia: D. Rice and J.G. Clark, 1842), 82; Lori L. Jervis et al., "Historical Consciousness Among Two American Indian Tribes," *American Behavioral Scientist* 50, no. 4, (2006): 638.

[650] Along these lines, Cooper refers to a converging of topoi: "… the topos of the uncivilized nomad (Amorite) merges with the topos of the animal-like brute from the mountains (Guti) in two other descriptions of the Amorites…" Cooper, *The Curse of Agade* (1983), 32.

[651] Sumerian $ulutim_2$, Akkadian *nabnītum*: "1. offspring, progeny, product, 2. habitat, place of growth, 3. living creature, 4. appearance, stature, features." (*CAD*)

[652] §3.2.5.2.1.

[653] §3.2.3.1.

[654] §3.2.3.1.

[655] *Marriage*, 131. "Their counsel is confused…" Similar references to Amorites are found elsewhere, such as in Shu-Sin's (Ur III) Inscription: "The Martu, a destructive people,/with the brains of a beast,/ who like wolves/[*ravage*] the stalls and *sheepfolds*,/ people who do not know grain, people who are [*on the move*], who are [.. *never*] peaceful!" Klein, "The Marriage of Martu: The Urbanization of 'Barbaric Nomads'" (1996): 84. Another example is a proverb about Amorites: "Gunida-wheat was made instead of honey. The Amorites who ate it did not recognize what was in it." Jahn (2007), 202.

not necessary for the perception of a particular kind of mentality being associated with a group[656] and its individual members.[657] As noted previously, thinking manifests in behavior that Other(s) observe, especially in close interaction but also in group behaviors. Consequently, the actions expressing Cultural Identity at Levels 2 and 3 become associated with the Individuals as Persons, as group members, and categorically (Level 4). The behaviors expressing the worldview that lies within them[658]—such as valuing relationships with Place (e.g., the 'wilderness' rather than the city) or things (like tents instead of houses)—and differentiate them from the Other group can be reduced down to the cognitively simplified categorization (schema[659]) of a mentality, which becomes a marker. This characterization is an element of the Level 4 Categorical identification of 'Amorite' that becomes ascribed to them.[660] Difference without relationship usually produces a perception of threat in some fashion and typically resolves in the sense of the Other as inferior[661] as a means of achieving self-preservation and homeostasis (§3.2.3.1). So, by allegory, since animals (including monkeys) behave differently and can be threatening, "brains of a beast" or 'confused counsel' (see n. 655 above) is simply a way of saying 'they think differently' because they act differently.

Foster captures each of these three characteristics (skin color, nose shape, acting differently) as significant to the Mesopotamian way of thinking when noting their emphasis on the human body. Included in their "elaborate lists of favorable and unfavorable physical traits and mannerisms,"[662] he mentions that: a "dark complexion" was connected with bad character (villainy); a broad nose boded a doomed marriage; and, "doing things right" (which would mean thinking and behaving as expected) would bring a good life. Light skin, a strong nose, and intelligence were valued by them in general. Amorite features in those aspects would, then, have social implications.

Given the significant impact physicality has on relationality between individuals both within and between different groups (§3.2.3.1 and §3.2.5.2.3), the possibility of this kind of differentiation has been considered here. In the next section, the discussion moves from the evident recognition of their innate physical markers of group belonging into exploring awareness of them as social Individuals expressing that membership.

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[656] Amorites were not alone in this attribution. Cooper notes that Gutians and Amorites both represented the nomadic hordes and each are described as mentally challenged in the *Curse of Agade* (an Ur III text in circulation during the OB period). Even at that, he notes some differences: the Gutians are depicted as "beastlike embiciles," while the Amorites are (merely) "curious primitives." See Cooper's insightful analysis under the section "Excursus B: The Subhuman Barbarian" in Cooper, *The Curse of Agade* (1983), 30-33.

[657] Cooper points out that the kinds of disparaging comments under discussion here could be applied to individuals as well as groups. His comments are consistent with Level 1 and Level 4 (categorical, from the etic perspective) identifications that underly identity markers. Ibid., 33 and 35 n. 46.

[658] This is the "habits of mind" or socially-constructed schemas and resources discussed in §3.2.3.2.

[659] The processes and implications of schemas in identification are discussed in §3.2.3 and §3.2.5.

[660] A common characteristic of Sumerian literature is the "telescoping of history into exemplary types," or prototypes. Bendt Alster and Takayoshi Oshima, "Sargonic Dinner at Kaneš: The Old Assyrian Sargon Legend," *Iraq* 69, (2007): 7. See §3.2.5.2.1 and §3.3.5.2 for the significance of prototypes.

[661] Without relationship, attitudes toward difference tend toward the negative (see e.g., Paladino and Castelli); note Liverani recognizing it in his discussion of "ecological reality and mental maps." In this context, Amorite is a non-coalitional categorical Other so the tendency toward the negative results in an avoidance response and the interpretation of Other as a threat (§3.2.5.2.3). Paladino and Castelli (2008): 755; Liverani (2014), 18-19.

[662] Foster (2011), 121 (following Barbara Böck).

4.3.2.1.2 P1b (Interpersonal Interaction)

P1b is the level at which expression of Personal Identity begins; where P1a identification elements are deployed (§3.2.3). Here, the visual and symbolic distinctions scholars more commonly include in Ancient Near Eastern identity research come into view. The implications of the differentiation at level P1b.1 "Dress and Adornment" are fairly intuitive,[663] commonly cited, and addressed in other studies. Three markers within this classification (hairstyle, beard, and dress) are included in the following discussion since these features are not often discussed in Amorite Studies. Recognition of multiple aspects strengthens the potential validity of the association with Amorites for each. The narrative is limited to what is sufficient to note their recognition as Amorite markers and some of the supporting evidence.

Personal Names have a particular kind of multi-level significance for Identity. Naming practices are included here because, somewhat like physical features, it is at the level of Personal Identity that names are operative in interaction with Other(s), where they function as a special kind of label (Level 1, P1a.2-3). Technically, they are a part of language practices (Level 3, P2b.6). They are also highly contingent on close personal relationships, as parents typically name their children (Level 2, P1c.1).[664] This situation merely reflects the complexity that is inherent in Identity.[665] On that basis, P1b.3 "Socialization" is the most appropriate classification for them in this discussion, as it can bridge all three of the other levels.

(i) P1b.1 Hairstyle (Male):

Saretta identifies the mushroom-shaped hairstyle, without a headband, on the image of Abishai (Figure 4.2) as newly introduced into Egyptian art during the Middle Kingdom. In the previous phase, Asiatics were depicted with long hair.[666] She concludes that "it may well be that it designated *ꜣmw* Asiatics (i. e. the Amorites *ꜣmw* of the MB II age) of a particular class."[667] Other evidence of the association is found in some limestone statues at Avaris with yellow skin

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[663] This does not, however, mean that it is a simplistic topic. Many insightful studies of dress take the subject far beyond the superficial level that suffices for present needs here. See for instance, Ariane Thomas, "In Search of Lost Costumes: On Royal Attire in Ancient Mesopotamia, with Special Reference to the Amorite Kingdom of Mari," in *Prehistoric, Ancient Near Eastern and Aegean Textiles and Dress: An Interdisciplinary Anthology*, ed. Mary Harlow, Cécile Michel, and Marie-Louise Nosch (2014); Terri-lynn Tanaka, *Dress and Identity in Old Babylonian Texts* (PhD Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 2013); Susanne Küchler and Daniel Miller, *Clothing as Material Culture* (Oxford: Berg, 2005).

[664] This distinctive psycho-cultural character of naming is well-recognized in psychology. See, for instance, Mavis Himes, *The Power of Names: Uncovering the Mystery of What we are Called* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016), 45-47,76-77, 167; Rocco Quaglia et al., "Names in Psychological Science: Investigating the Processes of Thought Development and the Construction of Personal Identities," *Integrative Psychological and Behavioral Science* 50, no. 2, (2016): esp. 288 ff.

[665] The Contents framework allows for all three to be taken into consideration through the sub-coding selections, as pertinent to the research focus. For instance, if considering intergenerational naming patterns as a cultural practice in analyzing royal naming, they might be coded P2b.6.-1.v (language, in relation to customs and norms, in relation to time) with a secondary coding structure based on class/status (P2a.4.3); the features of each could then be considered in concert, e.g., Amorite language vs. Akkadian, Amorite vs. Akkadian naming practices, and both over time, and then with a qualifier by class (royal lines compared to priestly lines, for example). It allows the same kinds of associations to be considered within the same temporal or other sub-coded conditions, while also isolating the specific differentiating factor of interest.

[666] Saretta (2016), 91.

[667] Ibid., 90.

and the mushroom hairstyle.[668] It also appears on the representations of Asiatic soldiers on the stela from Serabit el-Khadim (Figure 4.4).[669]

(ii) P1b.1 Beard:

Beards are the second of the three characteristic Asiatic features mentioned by Pu.[670] As with hairstyles, Saretta notes a transition between the Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdom in the characteristic Asiatic beards;[671] she observes a connection between the short, pointed style and the *Aamu*.[672] It is present in the image of Abishai and the other males in the Beni Hasan mural (Figure 4.6).[673]

Figure 4.6: Procession of Asiatics, Mural, Beni Hasan ("The *Aamu* Scene").
Source: Janice Kamrin, "The Aamu of Shu in the Tomb of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hassan," Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections, (2009): Figures 1-2.

The imagery at Serabit el-Khadim (Figure 4.4) depicts them on both Khebeded, the brother of the ruler of Retenu (Canaan), and Imeny, a chief steward with an Egyptian name but who, as Manfred Bietak describes the circumstance, "was not ashamed to record his Asiatic descent nor to have himself depicted on one section of the lintel with an Asiatic beard."[674] Goldwasser notes that the beard is emphasized on Khebeded and in the classifier for the word *Aamu* in the tomb of Khnumhotep III at Dahshur (Figure 4.7).[675]

[668] Manfred Bietak, "Hyksos," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, ed. Donald B. Redford (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 7/10, accessed 03 May 2010, http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195102345.001.0001/acref-9780195102345; Manfred Bietak, *Avaris, the Capital of the Hyksos: Recent Excavations at Tell el-Dab'a* (London: British Museum, 1996), 20 with Fig. 17.

[669] Bietak, *Avaris* (1996), 17 with Fig. 14.

[670] The other two being long hair and a prominent nose. His discussion is framed in the Old Kingdom context; the difference in characteristic hairstyle (from long to mushroom-shaped) between the Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdom is noted by Saretta. Pu (2005), 55; Saretta (2016), 91.

[671] Saretta (2016), 90.

[672] Ibid., 63 and elsewhere.

[673] Ibid., 87 ff.

[674] Bietak, *Avaris* (1996), 19 and Fig. 15.

[675] Goldwasser (2012): 356.

Figure 4.7: Classifier for the word *Aamu*.
Source: Goldwasser, "Out of the Mists" (2012): 356, Fig. 7 (following Allen).

There is Mesopotamian evidence that reflects an association between *Aamu*/Amorites and this style of beard. A statue at Ebla, with features that parallel those on the statue of one of the Asiatic dignitaries at Avaris (on which the lower part of the face is missing), has a short pointed beard.[676] The seal given by Nurahum (*ensi* of Eshnunna) to Ushashum, his son-in-law and the son of Abda-El (who is referred to as *rabian Amurrim*), has an image of a man (presumably representing Ushashum) with a pointed beard (Figure 4.8).[677]

Figure 4.8: Seal given to Ushashum, son of Abda-El the *rabian Amurrim* (Isin-Larsa Period).
Source: Franke, "Presentation Seals" (1977), Pl. C8-b.

In his survey of the history of beards, Christopher Oldstone-Moore points out the importance of beards in the Mesopotamian way of thinking: "one's beard, and other hair, announce what *sort* of man one is."[678] Thus, it was an important element of their Personal

[676] Bietak notes the parallels. Statue TM.88.P.627. Bietak, *Avaris* (1996), 20; see Paolo Matthiae, "Nouvelles Fouilles à Ébla en 1987-1989," *Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, Comptes Rendus des Seances de l'Annee 1990* II, (1990): 425 Fig. 421.

[677] This seal appears to also exhibit the mushroom hairstyle. Franke describes it as "an unusual hairstyle or hat, with a peak of hair at the back of the neck." Judith A. Franke, "Presentation Seals of the Ur III/Isin-Larsa Period," in *Seals and Sealing in the Ancient Near East*, ed. McGuire Gibson and Robert D. Biggs, BiMes 6 (Malibu: Undena, 1977), 63.

[678] He includes a broad temporal scope, beyond the OB. Christopher Oldstone-Moore, *Of Beards and Men: The Revealing History of Facial Hair* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2016), 37.

Identity and choosing to adopt a characteristic group style for it would have been significant in identity work.

(iii) P1b.1 Dress:

Saretta identifies two types of garments distinctive for *ʕmw* Amorite males in the Beni Hasan mural, a colorful robe and a kilt (Figure 4.6). Egyptian men wore white kilts.[679] In the Mesopotamian world, the difference in male dress seems to center on status distinctions that are not (yet) associated with a difference in cultural identification, e.g., ethnicity: elites wore long robes, whereas shorter robes are found on 'gentlemen' and kilts on commoners.[680] Abishai is depicted with a below-the-knee length multicolored robe covering one shoulder.[681] Following him, the man holding an ibex wears a kilt. In the evidence Saretta draws upon, there are different lengths in the robes worn and varying decorative patterns; some are undecorated. Support for her conclusions can be drawn from Lönnqvist, who associates the kilt with the Amorite Animal Style mentioned above (§2.6.2.1).[682] She draws on the parallel to Egyptian representations of Asiatics,[683] mentioning the robe only in association with the deity Martu.[684]

For Mesopotamian comparanda, Saretta cautiously includes the investiture scene at Mari and its colorful garments[685] (Figure 4.9); Lönnqvist also associates that mural with the "animal style."[686] In addition, the Hammurabi/Lu-Nanna statue (AO 15704) has the short robe.[687] Although not well preserved, Franke points out that Ibal-pi-El wears a long robe on the seal he gave to his wife.[688]

Figure 4.9: "'Investiture' Wall Painting, Mari."
Adapted from Marian H. Feldman, Diplomacy by Design: Luxury Arts and an "International Style" in the Ancient Near East, 1400-1200 BCE (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), Pl. 15.

[679] Saretta (2016), 65.
[680] Braun-Holzinger draws on this distinction in her discussion of the Lu-Nanna statue (AO 15704). Braun-Holzinger (1984), 54.
[681] Saretta (2016), 88.
[682] This is an identity marker (P2b.4) not included in the present study. Figures in kilts are one of the characteristic features of the style. Lönnqvist (2000), 322 ff., 351, 377.
[683] Lönnqvist (Silver) and Saretta appear to have arrived at their conclusions independently. Ibid., 404.
[684] Ibid., 239.
[685] Saretta (2016), 66-67.
[686] Lönnqvist (2000), 377.
[687] Braun-Holzinger (1984), 54.
[688] Franke (1977), 64 and Pl. C-12a-b.

The kilt is present on a local dagger sheath from Byblos (Figure 4.12) with cross-hatching that Sarreta considers as being an Asiatic technique;[689] Lönnqvist cites this dagger and another, both with the kilt (and other identified Amorite markers), as exemplars of the "type-fossil" Amorite triangular dagger.[690] Lönnqvist also mentions the seal of Kabi-Addu, a servant of Zimri-lim, in the "animal style" with kilts.[691]

Evidence supports the idea that *ʕmw* dress differs from that of Other(s)—both other Asiatics and Akkadians. Saretta notes a distinction between them and the *Styw* subgroup of Asiatics. The *Styw*, she explains, are a nomadic element that is set apart from *Aamu* on a (lower) socio-economic basis.[692] Comparative evidence from Tombs 14 (*ʕmw*) and Tomb 3 (*Styw*) at Beni Hasan highlights slight differences between the groups of Asiatics depicted there, including things like wrist and ankle bands, belted kilts, and kilt length; the *Aamu* have longer kilts.[693]

As for the textual evidence from Mesopotamia, Buccellati notes that the texts "speak of…garments fashioned in the Amorite style."[694] In *Marriage*, Martu provides the slaves of Ninab with multicolored garments (ll. 121-123). Indications of an awareness of difference in dress between Amorites and Akkadians comes to us in a letter from Bahdi-lim (governor of Mari) to Zimri-lim, where he says:

> I spoke thus to my lord: "Today the land of the Benjaminites was given to you. Well, this land is clad in Akkadian clothes! My lord should honor the capital of his royalty (= Mari), as you are king of the nomads [Hana], you are also secondly the king of an Akkadian (speaking) territory. My lord should not mount a horse, he should ride a *nubālum* wagon and donkeys to honor his royal capital!" This is what I said to my lord.[695]

Here, Bahdi-lim alludes to a comparative difference between Akkadians and Amorites in clothing, language (P2b.6), and transportation practices (O2b.1).

Thus, in dress, there appears to be evidence of differentiation between the Amorites and the Akkadians, Egyptians, and other Asiatics/West Semites in text and art. In the next section, discussion advances into markers at the Personal level involving more of an etic constitution, where close-relational Other(s) are directly involved in Self's acquisition of the identifier.

(iv) P1b.3 Personal Names:

Distinctive Amorite naming practices are varied and widely recognized. To some extent, they follow common Mesopotamian practices of the era, such as incorporating names of deities and using a particular language. Although the conventions are common, distinctiveness arises in the particular sphere of permissible choices of Culture Contents employed in following them. Theophoric elements are an example. In addition to the (potentially) eponymous deity Amurru, they selected names of particular gods (Yarah, El, Addu, or Dagan), parallel in practice but

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[689] Saretta (2016), 103.
[690] See §4.3.3.2 for further discussion about the daggers. Lönnqvist (2000), 291.
[691] Ibid., 328.
[692] Saretta (2016), 21.
[693] Ibid., 80-86.
[694] Buccellati, "Amorites" (1997), 107.
[695] *ARM* 6 76 (= LAPO 17 732) ll. 13-25. De Boer *Amorites in the Old Babylonian Period*, (2014), 36.

different in details from those used in the same fashion by other groups.[696] Streck identified a ranking of popularity in those used in Amorite personal names: Addu is the most popular, followed by Dagan, then Yarah.[697]

De Boer's study highlights an interesting boundary in their use of patronyms, in that he encountered Amorite names with Akkadian patronyms, along with other aspects of Akkadian culture, but not Sumerian.[698] His evidence from Sippar also reveals a statistical correlation between language and patronym; in each language, the highest percentage of patronyms is in that same language.[699] The result is not surprising, but having the numerical corroboration of it is valuable. Both of these trends indicate a delineation of boundaries relative to Other groups.

There are also intra-group distinctions. Sippar Amorite names differ from those in Mari, but they are still Amorite names.[700] This is exhibiting a sub-group difference associated with Space/Place.[701] Name variance associated with tribal subgrouping is evident through the incorporation of those different labels, e.g., Tidneans having Ditanu as an element.[702] It is also evident in some clan preferences in naming practices, e.g., within the Bensimalites, the Asharugayu preferred anthroponomic elements (Yûm.ma-Hammu "Mine is the Ancestor" or Ibâl-ahum "The Brother was Strong") in contrast to the Yabasa who chose geographic references (Yabasâ "Dry Country" or Kaswûm "Limit of the Steppe").[703]

Their naming practices are individualized; they reflect consideration of factors specific to the named individual and not only those referential to the group. This is evident in name-giving that commemorates events of significance at birth, such as rains (Zunnan) or an intense storm (Burqân).[704] These reveal the personal level associations of the child (and/or his birth) to the event for the name-giver. A connection between the named individual and his immediate family also arises in other elements that reflect that relationality, such as Ahâtî-Waqra ("My sister is precious").[705] Connection at Level 3 is evident in the use of elements that draw upon events that are significant to the group, such as Tatûr-Mâtum ("The land returned") and Tatûr-Nawûm ("The flocks returned").[706]

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[696] Abusch refers to the use of El as the "Amorite –ilu component." Ibid., 92 with n. 299; I. Tzvi Abusch et al., *Historiography in the Cuneiform World*, vol. I (Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 2001), 354.

[697] Neither MAR.TU or *amurru* appear in his list. Streck is unequivocally opposed to the interpretation of Martu being an Amorite deity; he writes, "Martu ist kein amurritischer Gott!" Michael P. Streck, "Die Religion der Amurritischen Nomaden am Mittleren Euphrat," in *Offizielle Religion, Lokale Kulte und Individuelle Religiosität*, ed. Manfred Hutter and Sylvia Hutter-Braunsar, *AOAT* 318 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2004), 421, 425; see also De Boer *Amorites in the Old Babylonian Period*, (2014), 92, n. 299.

[698] De Boer is citing evidence from Sippar, specifically, here. De Boer *Amorites in the Old Babylonian Period*, (2014), 94.

[699] See Ibid., 93, Fig. 93.

[700] (There is an underlying temporal disparity that could potentially undermine the validity of this point.) Ibid., 69.

[701] That does not necessarily mean it is the basis for it; to determine that would require further analysis.

[702] The two are different forms of the same label. Marchesi (2006), 10.

[703] Durand, "Assyriologie" (2001-2002): 749.

[704] Contra Durand who asserts that personal naming shows that the individual did not exist except in relation to the group ("La dénomination personnelle montre donc que l'individu n'existe pas autrement que situé nettement dans son groupe"). Jean-Marie Durand, "Assyriologie," *Annuaire du Collège de France*, (2000-2001): 695 and n. 693.

[705] Ibid., 695.

[706] Ibid.

The cohesiveness of these practices is evident by discernible changes in patterning over time. Arne Wossink associates the cessation from using MAR.TU as a name element with the cooperative conditions that developed in response to environmental changes following Ur III. Whatever the reason for it may be, he recognizes this change as a development in the naming practices within the same group identity.[707]

Personal names are very meaningful. They are deeply associated with the Person's sense of Self. They differ from other kinds of labels in that they are individualizing whereas other names are classificatory,[708] or, stated another way, they specify subjects rather than objects.[709] By nature, they consequently have unique cognitive characteristics.[710] They are also highly influenced by and tied into relationality at different levels, including culture.[711] Willy Van Langendock and Mark Van de Velde summarize pertinent aspects of their uniqueness succinctly: "Personal names are arguably the most prototypical names. The number and types of names that are bestowed on people are highly culture specific, as are the principles that guide the choice of a name."[712] Consequently, expression of this marker is significant for identification at each level of relationality and can reasonably be considered indicative in Cultural Identity analyses.

4.3.2.1.3 P1c: Close Personal Relationships

This level of Amorite identification can be represented by a marker associated with their conceptualization of the family.

P1c.2 Family: A distinctive characteristic of the family unit for Amorites is the position of the uncle.[713] In contrast to Mesopotamian families consisting of parents and children, where the brothers "quickly" form autonomous units of their own, the Amorite family extended down the line from the eldest male to the grandson and outward to both paternal and maternal uncles.[714] This extended concept of the family is accompanied by a specialized vocabulary, including terms for uncles that do not appear in Akkadian (*hâlum*, *dâdum*)[715] and a corresponding characteristic use of the term *ahhu* ("brother") for male family members.[716]

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[707] Wossink, *Challenging Climate Change: Competition and Cooperation among Pastoralists and Agriculturalists in Northern Mesopotamia (c. 3000-1600 BC)* (2009), 125 with 146.

[708] Ellen S. Bramwell, "Personal Names and Anthropology," in *The Oxford Handbook of Names and Naming*, ed. Carole Hough and Daria Izdebska, Oxford Handbooks in Linguistics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 273.

[709] Quaglia et al. (2016): 284.

[710] Serge Brédart, "Names and Cognitive Psychology," in *The Oxford Handbook of Names and Naming*, ed. Carole Hough and Daria Izdebska, Oxford Handbooks in Linguistics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 476, 479.

[711] As Quaglia et al. phrase it, "It is by acquiring a name, therefore, that the 'I' acquires a 'face' and a social dimension. The name is the objectivization of the I, while remaining part of the Self, as the immutable part which represents an individual, identifies it before others and distinguishes it from others. The choice of name may therefore reflect family dynamics, social values, cultural influences, family expectations…" Quaglia et al. (2016): 284; Bramwell (2016), 272, 275.

[712] Willy Van Langendonck and Mark Van De Velde, "Names and Grammar," in *The Oxford Handbook of Names and Naming*, ed. Carole Hough and Daria Izdebska, Oxford Handbooks in Linguistics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 33.

[713] Durand, "Assyriologie" (2000-2001): 753.

[714] Durand, "Peuplement et Sociétés" (2004), 111-112.

[715] Durand, "Assyriologie" (2000-2001): 753.

[716] Stol, "Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft" (2004), 695.

Differentiation at this level has implications for the group members' local cognitive culture (§3.2.5.2.1), and would consequently be a characterizing factor in their behavior that would be evident in social structures and institutionalized practices, including the cultural makeup of the family itself (§3.3.5). Since a primary consideration in family-level kinship relations is inheritance rights,[717] this affects archaeological and other research efforts by the concomitant expression of the "social house"[718] that would be distinctive from other Mesopotamian groups.

4.3.2.2 Groups (P2)

4.3.2.2.1 Intra-Group Social Relations (Level 3)

(i) P2a.1 Extended Kinship:

Extended kinship is often cited as an Amorite characteristic. This can lose its analytical meaningfulness in the OB context, since this is a typical feature of Mesopotamian society as a whole during this time,[719] except that closer analysis shows that Amorite kinship is distinctive from the parallel conceptualizations of their contemporary Others. It is differentiated in kind and in its extensive implications for their social structure.

The difference in kind is similar to that noted for the Amorite family. There, uncles extend the concept beyond what was included in Mesopotamian family groups. In extended kinship, it is in the inclusion of "kinship by alliance," which the Mari evidence shows they considered to be a blood relationship.[720] Durand brings the two together by outlining their kinship hierarchy as: grandfather (*hammum*), father (*abum*), paternal **uncle** (*dâdum*), maternal **uncle** (*hâlum*), clan (*li'mum*), and kinship by **alliance** (*damû*).[721] Thus, the differentiation between Amorites and Akkadians in texts such as *ARM* 6 76 is one of conceptual lineage, including biological (Hana) along with the fictive (Akkadian) kinships established by the *hipšum* (donkey-sacrifice) ritual. As Durand describes it, it was a "community of blood."[722] This is all tied into being able to participate in the key Amorite ritual of belonging, the *kispum* in their

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[717] Harris points this out as a general concept (following Robin Fox) as well as in a specific association with a Sippar text (CT 6 6), in support of her assertion about the inclusiveness of the term for uncle. (The text also has a seal that references the god Amurru). Rivkah Harris, "On Kinship and Inheritance in Old Babylonian Sippar," *Iraq* 38, no. 2, (1976): 9, 130-132.

[718] "Social house" is a heuristic framework, derived from Claude Levi-Strauss' conception of house societies, that considers the household holistically—as the composite of family members and their dwelling, names, beliefs, rituals, etc. The entity could be considered, for analytical purposes, as a Self (or Person) in the $Self^{Other}$ paradigm. For a current, succinct treatment of the concept, see Picardo. Note also that several of the texts Stol cites on the *ahhu* concept deal with inheritance disputes. Nicholas Picardo, "Hybrid Households: Institutional Affiliations and Household Identity in the Town of Wah-sut (South Abydos)," in *Household Studies in Complex Societies: (Micro) Archaeological and Textual Approaches*, ed. Miriam Müller, OIS 10 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2015); Stol, "Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft" (2004), 695.

[719] See, for instance, J. David Schloen, *The House of the Father as Fact and Symbol: Patrimonialism in Ugarit and the Ancient Near East*, Studies in the Archaeology and History of the Levant vol. 2 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2001), 293.

[720] Jean-Marie Durand, "Unité et Diversités au Proche-Orient à l'Époque Amorrite," in *La Circulation des Biens, des Personnes et des Idées dans le Proche-Orient Ancien: Actes de la XXXVIIIe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Paris, 8-10 Juillet 1991*, ed. Dominique Charpin and Francis Joannès (Paris: ERC, 1992), 116.

[721] Ibid., 120.

[722] Durand, "Peuplement et Sociétés" (2004), 112.

ancestor cult.[723] Thus, extended kinship was a significant factor in their social structure, consistent with theoretical understandings of these interrelated dynamics (§3.2.4).

Several aspects of the OB Mesopotamian social structure have been attributed to the influence of Amorite kinship relations, not the least of which is their rise to power over it. Peter Akkermans and Glenn Schwartz posit that this development was most likely due to their extended-kinship support network (following Norman Yoffee) and military skills.[724] Other manifestations include the change toward a more hereditary administrative system in the palace institution,[725] along with the familial paradigm of political life in that period[726] and in the regional middle-Euphrates economy.[727] This is consistent with socio-cognitive understandings of the cultural effects of kinship, which by nature has a powerful influence over identity at every level. These biosocial systems[728] are very cohesive, being one of the very few cultural domains that always form a whole system.[729] Barnard points out that "there is never half of a kinship system" and that they "more than any other cultural realm both constrain our behavior and define us as individuals."[730] There is a coherency in this Amorite characteristic that strengthens its indicativeness as an identity marker—Yanagisako notes the four long-recognized building blocks of society being kinship, economics, politics, and religion;[731] all four of these dimensions are (unintentionally) wrapped up into the brief picture of the Amorite kinship concept presented here.

(ii) P2b.6 Language:

Another frequently cited Amorite distinction is their language. Although it is not (yet) attested in written form outside of Sumerian and Akkadian, it is recognized as being separate from any other, including others within the West Semitic language family, and exhibits the features expected of a discrete language. For instance, like other languages, it has developmental characteristics such as the Old/Middle/New Amorite phasing identified by Buccellati,[732]

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[723] Dominique Charpin and J.-M Durand, "'Fils de Sim'al': Les Origines Tribales des Rois de Mari," *RA* 80, no. 2, (1986): 163-170.

[724] Akkermans and Schwartz (2003), 290.

[725] Liverani (2014), 196.

[726] Charpin and Durand (1986): §3 Tribal Membership and Political Life.

[727] Christine Kepinski-Lecomte, "Diversité des Origines Culturelles d'un Avant-Poste Commercial: Économie, Contrôle Politique et Pratiques Tribales," in *Haradum II: Les Textes de la Période Paléo-Babylonienne, Samsu-iluna, Ammi-ṣaduqa*, ed. Francis Joannès, Christine Kepinski-Lecomte, and Gudrun Colbow (Paris: ERC, 2006), 12.

[728] Tim Ingold and Gísli Pálsson, eds., *Biosocial Becomings: Integrating Social and Biological Anthropology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 38.

[729] Note that boundedness does not equate to inflexibility. Schloen recognizes this boundedness-kinship connection in regard to premodern Middle Eastern societies. Schloen (2001), 114.

[730] Alan Barnard, "When Individuals Do Not Stop at the Skin," in *Social Brain, Distributed Mind*, ed. R. I. M. Dunbar, Clive Gamble, and John Gowlett, Proceedings of the British Academy 158 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 252.

[731] Sylvia Yanagisako and Carol Delaney, "Naturalizing Power," in *Naturalizing Power: Essays in Feminist Cultural Analysis*, ed. Sylvia Junko Yanagisako and Carol Lowery Delaney (New York: Routledge, 1995), 11.

[732] Buccellati, *Amorites* (1966), 362 (following Gelb).

potential dialects,[733] as well as identified markers that occur in structural linguistic features and terminology. Perhaps most importantly, it is referred to as such by people of the time.[734]

Some of the features that have been identified as clearly differentiated from contemporaneous languages are the *ya-* prefix in contrast to the Akkadian *i-*,[735] names in the *yaf'al*-DN form,[736] the pronoun *mannu* and preposition *ki* vs. the respective *mi* and *ka* in Eblaite,[737] as well as the suffixed pronominal elements in the perfect.[738] Buccellati points to the evidence in speech sounds, having more consonants than Akkadian, along with retention of the middle vowel and the original vowel in first position for third person verbs.[739] He also recognizes a differentiation in word order (verb-subject in Amorite compared to subject-verb in Akkadian).[740]

In addition to the kinship terms noted above, vocabulary differences are seen in association with space, e.g., *nawū* "steppe" (compared to Akk. *sērum*) and *'aḫaratum* "the region behind" reflecting a view of the land beyond the Euphrates from a western perspective.[741]

The language was not completely separated from the general socio-linguistic context, however. As Whiting points out, many of the lexemes were the same in both Amorite and Akkadian.[742] However, some terms that appear to be the same are actually different in meaning. One example is *qîpûtum*, which Durand asserts has the meaning in Amorite of "help that one gives to someone, or that one claims from another," as the result of an agreement between two rulers, compared to the Akkadian term in the same form that denotes a "governor."[743]

Language is easily recognizable as being a primary identity marker. The socio-cognitive underpinnings reveal the depth of its meaningfulness for identification, however, and the validity of it as evidence for Cultural Identity. The evidence of Amorite language being restricted to names is generally seen as a handicap to discerning aspects of cultural identification, but this is, in fact, the most revealing dimension of a language. Labeling people and things is a universal cultural practice[744] because it is a matter of identification and categorization—stemming from the innate human drive to identify who/what something is and who/what Self is relative to it (§3.2.5.2.2). Thus, it is a cognitive process based on two elements that are also key to Self^{Other}:

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[733] Durand cites *ARM* 26 116:34 as evidence of the need for an interpreter between two groups of Amorites. Durand, "Peuplement et Sociétés" (2004), 114.

[734] Ziegler and Charpin assert that the passage in A.109 (see Appendix A) "shows us that the language we call Amorite was also called that in antiquity" ("Der Passus zeigt außerdem, dass die Sprache, die wir 'Amurritisch' nennen, diese Bezeichnung im Altertum auch tatsächlich trug"); see also de Boer. Ziegler and Charpin (2007), 59; de Boer, "Early Old Babylonian Amorite Tribes" (2014): 270 n. 6.

[735] This marker is referred to so often that Durand refers, tongue-in-cheek, to them as the 'Ya People.' Durand, "*CRRAI* 38" (1992), 123.

[736] De Boer *Amorites in the Old Babylonian Period*, (2014), 50 n. 188.

[737] Gelb, "The Language of Ebla" (1987), 61.

[738] Buccellati cites this as a potential innovation in the language. Buccellati, "Amorites" (1997), 108.

[739] Durand refers to this aspect too, describing Amorite as being "phonetically richer" than Akkadian and noting the difficulties this presented for the scribes trying to transcribe words into that language. Durand, "Assyriologie" (2001-2002): 750; Buccellati, "Amorites" (1997), 108.

[740] Buccellati, "Amorites" (1997), 108.

[741] Ibid.

[742] Whiting (1995), 1233.

[743] Durand, "Assyriologie" (2000-2001): 701.

[744] Bramwell points out that there is no known society that does not use names. Bramwell (2016), 264.

categorization and relationality. The labels that result are abstract conceptions,[745] not static placeholders, that are more active than we generally consider them to be—they do things. In Staffan Nyström's words, "To use a name means to start a process in the brain, a process which in turn activates our memories, fantasy, linguistic abilities, emotions, and many other things."[746] Even more, names that have lexical intelligibility—that include words, as Amorite names do—have a dimension of meaning that other names do not.[747] They have a greater degree of associative meaning. The words and names are integrated and communicate elements of a giant mental network which Nyström calls "the mental lexicon."[748] He explains the process this way:

> When we hear or see a name in use, the network is activated and the place, person, animal, company, vehicle, etc. is identified. But at the same time personal memories can be awakened, different associations take place, and in addition the common words forming the name (if they still exist in our lexicon) are crying out for attention with their lexical meaning, adding to the overall meaning of the name in our brain.[749]

He goes on to discuss how these associations are also accompanied by certain affiliated expectations and presuppositions. This is such an automatic process that people look for associated meanings and develop the "folk etymologies"[750] so often encountered in ethnographic research. Names are social cues. This underscores the significance of including MAR.TU or *amurru*, or other such elements, in names.

In addition to these general characteristics, there are several specific points of connection that make this body of evidence an asset to understanding Amorites and their language. For instance, cognitive science confirms that place names, such as *nawū* and *'aḫaratum*, reflect the mental models of past communities.[751] Also, studies of language patterning in intercultural contact scenarios reveal that the tendencies in borrowing (such as lexical elements) and adaptation (such as phonetic renderings of problematic vocabulary) arise in an analyzable fashion.[752] Since names of settlements and people are the most grammatically typical,[753] the Amorite evidence would have a high degree of reliability for reconstructing the language. Furthermore, studies have shown clear associations between language and ethnic groups,

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[745] Staffan Nyström, "Names and Meaning," in *The Oxford Handbook of Names and Naming*, ed. Carole Hough and Daria Izdebska, Oxford Handbooks in Linguistics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 40.

[746] Ibid.

[747] Ibid., 42.

[748] Ibid., 43.

[749] Ibid.

[750] Ibid., 49.

[751] The author's phrasing resonates with Self^{Other}: "Place-names offer windows into how the landscape was visualized, by whom and from where, what mattered to communities, how they defined themselves or were defined by others, how they felt about their home, and a thousand other intangibles." Richard Jones, "Names and Archaeology," in *The Oxford Handbook of Names and Naming*, ed. Carole Hough and Daria Izdebska, Oxford Handbooks in Linguistics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 473.

[752] Berit Sandnes, "Names and Language Contact," in *The Oxford Handbook of Names and Naming*, ed. Carole Hough and Daria Izdebska, Oxford Handbooks in Linguistics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 541.

[753] Van Langendonck and Van De Velde (2016), 33.

between dialects and clans, and the regular association between the name of a language and the group that speaks it or that inherits affiliation with it, whether they speak it or not.[754]

All of these render the evidence of the Amorite language more robust than might be supposed and more revealing about the identification of those who speak it or inherit the tradition of it—the Amorites.

(iii) P2c.4 Governance (The Amorite Assembly)

The most commonly drawn-upon Amorite marker in this category is the *puhur amurrim* or Amorite assembly. In general practice, a *puhrum* was a council made up of the heads of families in the cities that met as a sort of local court to deal with matters of family law and unresolved crime.[755] They are attested centuries before the OB period.[756] Distinctiveness as an Amorite practice is signaled by the discrete, appositional label.[757] It is set apart by its form as a council of tribal leaders or, as de Boer phrases it, a "pan-tribal assembly."[758]

Some characteristics of the practice that are relevant to understanding their Cultural Identity are: they appear to exhibit change over time between the early and middle OB phases,[759] indicating they were a specific, conceptual entity; they were held for purposes of diplomacy between Amorite leaders,[760] thus functioning within and having influence upon the socio-political organization; they were imbued with deep significance by involving oaths, omens, and religious elements;[761] and, since they represented the collective interests of the group(s), they exhibited and enacted, thereby strengthening and preserving, that relational association.

Researchers recognize the *puhrum* as revealing several different aspects of Amorite identification. Charpin and de Boer refer primarily to (early OB) evidence from Eshnunna and Sippar in their discussions of this institution.[762] From that evidence, de Boer connects it to their Cultural Identity by interpreting it as being one of three indicators that Amorites were an ethnic group.[763] Porter cites a text from Beydar, tying similarities in the local practice at that site to the

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[754] Adrian Koopman, "Ethnonyms," in *The Oxford Handbook of Names and Naming*, ed. Carole Hough and Daria Izdebska, Oxford Handbooks in Linguistics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 254-255, following McConvell.

[755] Stol, "Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft" (2004), 675-677; Westbrook, "Mesopotamia: The Old Babylonian Period" (2003), 367, 436 and elsewhere.

[756] Jean-Jacques Glassner, "Les Petits Etats Mésopotamiens a la Fin du 4e et au Cours du 3e Millénaire," in *A Comparative Study of Thirty City-State Cultures*, ed. Mogens Herman Hansen, Historisk-Filosofiske Skrifter 21 (Copenhagen: Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, 2000), 43-47.

[757] Mention of the Hana assembly (*pahar* ha-na-meš) in A.328 = *ARM* 28 25:8 (from Carchemish) is equivalent. See Kupper's translation of this text in Appendix A-3.

[758] De Boer, "Early Old Babylonian Amorite Tribes" (2014): 279.

[759] Ibid., 278.

[760] Ibid., 279.

[761] Ibid.

[762] Note, also, that reference is made to the assemblies of the *ʾmw*/Amorites in the Execration Texts (see Mourad). Dominique Charpin, Dietz Otto Edzard, and Marten Stol, *Mesopotamien: Die Altbabylonische Zeit*, OBO 160/4 (Fribourg: Academic Press, 2004), 80, n. 266 and 267; De Boer *Amorites in the Old Babylonian Period*, (2014), 276-278; Mourad (2015), 115.

[763] The other two were their names and the fact of the military encounters other Mesopotamian groups had with them. De Boer *Amorites in the Old Babylonian Period*, (2014), 277.

Amorite scenario, as indicating Amorites were like earlier groups in the Khabur region.[764] Comparisons show this Amorite practice to have been different in kind to that of other types of groups (e.g., city assemblies, assemblies of the gods) and in its particularities compared to similar people groups.[765] Also, there is evidence for sub-group differences in assemblies among the Amorites. Durand notes that the *rihṣum*-gathering, which takes place ancillary to the *puhrum*, is attested for both Benyaminites and Bensimalites but practiced mainly by the Bensimalites.[766]

This point about the *rihṣum* introduces what is perhaps the most telling evidence of distinctive Amorite-ness in this feature: that term and the related term *arrum*, which both refer to aspects of the Amorite *puhrum*-assembly, are unknown in Akkadian.[767] Both are attested in direct connection with the *puhrum*, which Durand explains as designating the normal, recurrent assembly while the *arrum* is the discussion that takes place within it, in the sense of voicing an opinion. The *rihṣum*, in contrast, is an impromptu meeting held in association with but separate from a *puhrum*, which occurs in an unconventional place, especially in the steppe.[768]

Another important implication of the Amorite Assembly noted by researchers is the evidence it provides for their coherence, or entitativity, as a group, which is a significant aspect of group identification (§3.3.5.1). Although several researchers draw this conclusion in different ways, de Boer states it succinctly and, at the same time, ties it into another aspect of Amorite Culture Contents—common origin (see §4.3.4 and §4.3.5 below). He says, "from the Ikūn-piša letter archive we know that these kings had some degree of coherence, solidarity and mutual interests, and that they were likely aware of some common origin. This is exemplified by the *puhur amurrim* (Amorite assembly)."[769]

4.3.2.2.2 Categorical Social Relationality (Level 4)

As developed in Chapter 3, categorical identification is a depersonalized, comparative grouping within boundaries based upon prototypical stereotypes (§3.3.5.2). Ancient sources indicate that Amorites saw themselves and were seen by Other(s) as a categorical entity.

A.3080 provides a demonstration of their self-ascription at this level. It reads, in part:

> May god not bring the wicked enemy to the Banks of the Euphrates!
> May your god as well as Dagan, master of the land, shatter the army of the Elamites.
> If they reach the Banks of the Euphrates, will they not stand out like butterflies on the bank, since one is light in color and the other dark?

[764] Porter, "You Say Potato, I Say...: Typology, Chronology, and the Origins of the Amorites" (2007), 105-108; with Fleming (2004), 232-235.

[765] De Boer also makes this point with regard to the evidence from Eshnunna and Sippar (as reflecting difference in time and space). De Boer, "Early Old Babylonian Amorite Tribes" (2014): 278.

[766] Durand, "Peuplement et Sociétés" (2004), 190.

[767] Durand describes them as terms that have no Akkadian equivalents; he suspects they may be homophones. Ibid., 188.

[768] Ibid., 188-190.

[769] De Boer *Amorites in the Old Babylonian Period*, (2014), 40.

> Certainly they say “this town is Bensimalite but this one is Benyaminite,” but their confrontation, is it not like the flood of the river that makes the water from upstream meet that from downstream?[770]

Here, the writer (Hammî-ištamar) makes a distinction between their categorical Self, consisting of Bensimalites and Benyaminites, in contrast to another comparable Other, the Elamites. The boundary line of belonging includes both of these tribal groups within the categorical entity, which the writer claims the foreigners will find out when they attack what they mistakenly take to be two disconnected groups. The basis for the belonging (ethnic or otherwise) is irrelevant to the fact of its existence here;[771] there is some similarity that connects them[772] but excludes members of the categorical entity 'Elamites' and motivates their consequent behaviors.

Numerous other texts differentiate Amorites from other groups, such as the Akkadians, side-by-side. The *Edict of Ammisaduqa* is undoubtedly the most-often cited example. In this text, the king identifies them specifically, the same way, three times:

> § 4. Whosoever has given barley or silver to an Akkadian or an Amorite as an interest-bearing loan…
> § 6. Whosoever has given barley or silver to an Akkadian or an Amorite as an interest-bearing loan..
> (55) A creditor may not sue for payment against the household of any Akkadian or Amorite…[773]

Here, they are individual persons categorized generically under the label. The basis for the differentiation is of little consequence to the relationality it reveals—it reflects a 'relational categorization' regardless of the particular contents that specify the kind of 'substantial categorization' it is (§3.2.5.2.2.ii).

Liverani draws attention to indirect evidence of the categorical differentiation by noting that there are two lines of genealogical texts. One is Sumerian (the Sumerian King List and the Lagash King List) and the other is Amorite (the Assyrian King List and the Genealogy of the Hammurabi Dynasty).[774] The creative development leading to this circumstance is conscious behavior (in the creation of the lists) that gives evidence of subconscious, differentiated mental maps (§3.2) and the behaviors that reflect it.

Direct evidence is found in the well-documented record of military conflict between the Amorites and different groups (e.g., Sumerians) in different times and places. The Other combatants were fighting a categorical enemy, not all at once but in the separate battles, where each contingent was considered part of the singular Amorite enemy.

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[770] Translated from the French. Durand, *Les Documents Epistolaires du Palais de Mari 2* (1998), 488 (LAPO 417 733).

[771] The point is raised here just with regard to the fact that they had a recognizable Categorical Identity; the basis is important in its expression and significance, however. See §4.3.4, §4.3.5 and, ultimately, §4.3.6.

[772] In cultural psychology terms, this is homophily—the tendency to make connections with similar others. It is operative in the social networking processes that become part of Cultural Identity analyses. See David Easley and Jon Kleinberg, *Networks, Crowds, and Markets: Reasoning about a Highly Connected World* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 614; and the discussion on "self-anchoring" in Otten (2005), 249-250.

[773] This is written "^{lú}*Ak-ka-di-i ù* ^{lú}*A-mu-ur-ri-i*" (in all three instances). Finkelstein (1969): 48-49.

[774] Liverani (2014), 202.

By nature, the basis for interaction on the categorical level consists of aspects from each of the other categories of Culture Contents. Consequently, this relationality between Amorites and Other(s) is best viewed in light of the fuller complement of the framework and further discussion is deferred to §4.3.6 below.

4.3.3 Connections to Other Living & Material Things

4.3.3.1 Natural

O1b.2.1 Amorites and Sheep: The reference to Amorite Sheep mentioned previously (§2.6.1) is just one aspect of the pervasive and long-term association between Amorites and these animals noted by scholars. Their semi-nomadic, pastoral sheep/goat herding lifestyle is the consistent identifier mentioned virtually any time they are brought up for discussion. The association is evident in the texts, such as—indirectly, but meaningfully—in association with the *kispum* ritual (for which they were sacrificial animals), and in *Marriage*, from at least the early OB period. The evidence comes from various places; it is abundant in Mari sources. Some examples include:

- Amorite Sheep: TS. B V 68-A from Susa, in the (previously mentioned) precursor text to ḪAR-ra = *ḫubullu*, from a context dating to 1920-1830 (the "udu mar-tu" in the lexical list at this stage may be a geographic association; even if that is the case, it is a location to which the people group was also connected at that time);
- Amorite Sheep: YBC 7073 = YOS 8 1 from Larsa, in an account involving Amorite individuals from the family archive of Balmunamhe dating to the reign of Rim-Sin (1822-1763);
- Sacrificial sheep for the *kispum* ritual: M.12803 from Mari during Shamshi-Adad's reign (1813-1755);
- Sheep distributed or belonging to Amorites: *ARM* 7 227, *ARM* 5 81, and *ARM* 9 247 from Mari (1792-1762).

The sources reflecting active Amorite association with sheep at mid-third millennium Ebla and Agade[775] demonstrate a long-term association. Buccellati cites Ur III texts from Drehem that mention "Amorite *alum*-sheep"[776] and the receipt of sheep "for the kitchen on behalf of the Amorites."[777] Attestations of (non-Egyptian) wool and sheep are connected to the presence of *ʕmw* from the 12th Dynasty through the Hyksos period in that region.[778] Taken together, even these few examples present a picture of a connection between Amorites and sheep that is long-term and meaningful.

[775] Saretta sums up the situation at Ebla: "Texts show that sheepherders from Mardu sent their wool to Ebla and the skilled Eblaites wove it and made the clothing for the leaders of Mardu." Saretta (2016), 114; Jean Margueron, *Mari, Métropole de l'Euphrate au IIIe et au Début du IIe Millénaire av. J.-C* (Paris: Picard, 2004), 322.

[776] For example, Buccellati, *Amorites* (1966), 42-43 (CCTE O 47), 93-94 (TCL XV 49).

[777] Ibid., 279-280 (CST 185 276).

[778] Saretta (2016), 117; Bietak, "Hyksos," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, (2005): 8/10; Bietak, *Avaris* (1996), 25.

That this association is also pervasive is evident in the various cultural dimensions in which they are involved. Far beyond subsistence[779] resources, sheep are a vital element in the religious, economic, political, and ideological life of the Amorites:

- Religion: As already mentioned, they were burnt offerings in the *kispum* ritual;[780] a text from the Asqudum family archive (Mari) lists eighty-seven sheep from the royal pens to be sacrificed to twenty-five deities.[781]
- Economy: Streck cites their seasonal round of sheep/goat pastoralism as their leading economic indicator ("der beherrschende ökonomische Faktor");[782] in Durand's terms, it was their primary source of wealth;[783] like silver, they served as a medium of exchange;[784] the quantities involved were large—Charpin calculates 5,200 were "expended" every year during Zimri-lim's reign for palace consumption, divination services, sacrifices and rituals, and political gifts.[785]
- Politics: In addition to the gifts just mentioned, political ramifications arise in various situations surrounding them, such as when the movement of herds is mistaken as a threat among Amorite tribes;[786] when the supply of or provision for them generates movement into foreign territory, such as the Egyptian delta; or, when one group robs another of these assets.[787]
- Ideology: Charpin also draws attention to the fact that Mari archives in both the palace and private residences document the shearing of sheep in the courtyards,[788] which reflects a close relationality in the lives of the people; sheep are one (important) element of the Amorite artistic style identified by Lönnqvist;[789] practices surrounding the use of sheep livers in divination exhibit a trajectory that is clearly associated with Amorite socio-political developments of the period,[790] showing that

[779] On this level, sheep were mainly raised for secondary products (e.g., milk and wool). Van de Mieroop, *History* (2015), 93.

[780] M.12803. Jorge Silva Castillo, "Les Offrandes *ana maliki* (aux Ancêtres des Rois de Mari)," in *Nomades et Sédentaires dans le Proche-Orient Ancien*, ed. Christophe Nicolle, Amurru 3 (Paris: ERC, 2004), 239.

[781] Margueron (2004), 450.

[782] Streck, *AOAT 271/1* (2000), 61.

[783] Durand, "Peuplement et Sociétés" (2004), 118.

[784] Stol, "Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft" (2004), 953 (drawing on Steinkeller).

[785] Dominique Charpin, "The Historian and the Old Babylonian Archives," in *Documentary Sources in Ancient Near Eastern and Greco-Roman Economic History: Methodology and Practice*, ed. Heather D. Baker and Michael Jursa (Oxford: Oxbow, 2014), 41.

[786] On one occasion, the Bensimalites feared attack because the Benyaminites were moving up to high pasture near them (based on *ARM* 2 102). Streck, *AOAT 271/1* (2000), 57-58.

[787] (Based on *ARM* 1 191). Ziegler and Charpin (2007), 74.

[788] He bases this on TH 82 144 (unpublished) from the private archive of Asqudum and M.15093 referring to the ceremonial shearing in the 'Courtyard of the Palms' in the Mari palace (for which he refers the reader to Durand). Dominique Charpin, *Gods, Kings, and Merchants in Old Babylonian Mesopotamia*, Publications de l'Institut du Proche-Orient Ancien du Collège de France vol. 2 (Leuven, Belgium: Peeters, 2015), 213-214; Jean-Marie Durand, "L'organisation de l'Espace dans le Palais de Mari: Le Témoignage des Textes," in *Le Système Palatial en Orient, en Grèce et à Rome: Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg, 19-22 Juin 1985*, ed. Edmond Lévy, Travaux du Centre de Recherche sur le Proche-Orient et la Grèce Antiques 9 (Leiden: Brill, 1987), 56, n. 56.

[789] Lönnqvist (2000), 106.

[790] This reflects ideology more than either religious or political practices. See Seth Richardson, "On Seeing and Believing: Liver Divination and the Era of Warring States (II)," in *Divination and Interpretation of Signs in the Ancient World*, ed. Amar Annus, OIS 6 (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2010); Maggie Rutten, "Trente-Deux Modèles de Foies en Argile Inscrits Provenant de Tell-Hariri (Mari)," *RA* 35, no. 3-4, (1938): 36.

these creatures were integrally positioned within their general worldview; one potential meaning in *Marriage* is that it reflects rhetoric intended to encourage a change in another aspect of that worldview, from an idealized mobility to that of a sedentary lifestyle, and sheep play a role (indicated by the king saying Martu can marry his daughter if he agrees that the animals he gives him as a wedding gift, including the ewe and lamb, will sleep in a fold).

Others have noted the implications of these connections between Amorites & sheep for their group identity. For instance, Lönnqvist traces "pastoral technocomplexes" from the Chalcolithic period, that include this emphasis on sheep as a core feature, to demonstrate that Amorites exhibit the same compositional makeup.[791] Michalowski speaks of the place where ovines were originally domesticated (in the western Zagros) to argue for that being the (or at least a) place of origin for the Amorites.[792]

Identification is undeniably caught up in the dynamics created by the connection between Amorites and sheep. One clear example of it is the clustering evident in the Amorite personal names of the witnesses in a sheep loan contract.[793] This is one instance of the general clustering of their names noted by de Boer,[794] which is consistent with the socio-cognitive dynamics involved (e.g., §3.2.4).

Taken together, this yields strong analytical support for the Amorite identification with sheep that is generally recognized as a marker in the literature.

4.3.3.2 Craft & Industry

(i) O2a.2 Amorites and their Daggers:

Along with fenestrated and duckbill axes, the Amorite Dagger (gír mar-tu in Sumerian) is a metal object with which Amorite people are associated in the literature. It is known as such from textual evidence, and a particular triangular, ribbed version has been connected with that label (Figure 4.10).

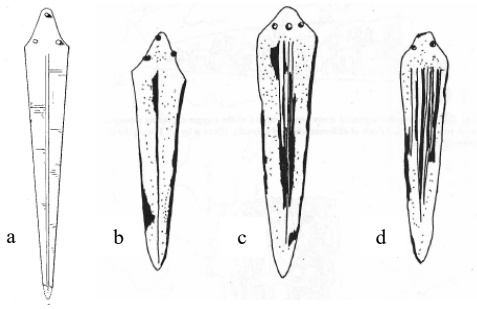

Figure 4.10: Triangular Mid-Rib 'Amorite' Daggers: a) Ur, b-d) Byblos.
Sources: Leonard Woolley, E. R. Burrows, and A. Sir Keith, *Ur Excavations II: The Royal Cemetery*, Plates (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1934), pl. 228: 4;
Lönnqvist, *Between Nomadism and Sedentism* (2000), Pl. LXXVII. (Not to scale).

[791] Lönnqvist (2000), 106, 517.
[792] Michalowski (2011), 89.
[793] (BM 97112, dated to Ammisaduqa 19 (1627 BCE).) Seth Richardson, *Texts from the Late Old Babylonian Period*, vol. 2, JCS Supplemental Series (Boston, MA: American Schools of Oriental Research, 2010), 65 and n. 163.
[794] De Boer *Amorites in the Old Babylonian Period*, (2014), 78.

The written sources are almost exclusively from the mid-third millennium Ebla texts.[795] Although those references to it are numerous, only one third millennium dagger has been excavated at that site.[796] On the other hand, the artifact is widely attested from Ur to Syria to Egypt in the OB/MB period in a number of sites that are also associated textually, or by other indicators, with Amorite presence.[797] So, the apparent disconnect between the textual and material evidence at Ebla may be attributable to other vagaries in the material record. The descriptions of these objects in the Ebla archives are sufficient to create a typology of ten sub-types with details about their materials, pricing, and features, along with some of the associated social practices.[798] The (later) exemplar from Byblos, discussed below, is consistent with those descriptions.

Their extensive evidence in the historical record is associated with Amorites in multiple dimensions; the objects are connected to the people across space and over time via text, stratigraphy, and imagery. It is the resulting apparent cohesiveness in the association that generates the impression of this dagger being an Amorite marker or perhaps, as Lönnqvist refers to it, a type-fossil.[799] She explores the evidence of them in detail, including the findspots, connections between sites and textual evidence, and the seriation. Her presentation of the data supports the connection as being well-founded. However, despite her thorough survey, there remain elements that invite further inquiry such as the fact that no daggers of this type had been found at Mari (the quintessential Amorite site). The association between Amorites and this dagger-type is, on the other hand, also made evident in the work of other researchers. For example, one was found in the grave goods (along with other Amorite-associated items) in the tomb of the official named "'Amu 'the Asiatic'" at Tell el-Dab'a[800] (Figure 4.11).

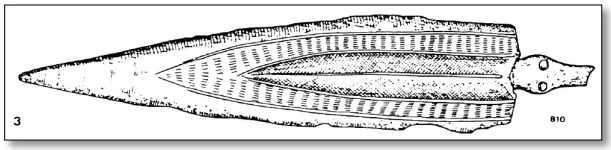

Figure 4.11: Triangular Dagger with Mid-Rib from Tomb of 'Amu the Asiatic,' Avaris/Tell el-Dab'a, Egypt.
Source: Bietak, *Avaris* (1996), Fig. 35.

[795] It also appears in an innovative, earlier third millennium lexical list from Fara and Abu Salabikh. See Miguel Civil, *The Early Dynastic Practical Vocabulary A: Archaic HAR-ra A*, Archivi Reali di Ebla Studi vol. 4 (Roma: Missione Archeologica Italiana in Siria, 2008), 88.

[796] Massimo Maiocchi, "Decorative Parts and Precious Artifacts at Ebla," *JCS* 62, (2010): 2.

[797] See the sources cited throughout this discussion, especially Lönnqvist. Lönnqvist (2000), §11.12.

[798] The descriptions of these objects, and the Byblos dagger, in comparison with the plain objects from other sites raises the question of whether we are also dealing with a marked difference in a ceremonial form of the dagger and the utilitarian version that was employed in battle. See, for instance, Waetzoldt's comments along these lines. Maiocchi (2010): 2-12, 22; Hartmut Waetzoldt, "Zur Bewaffnung des Heeres von Ebla," *Oriens Antiquus* 29, (1990): 18.

[799] Lönnqvist (2000), 290-296.

[800] Bietak, *Avaris* (1996), 41 and Fig. 35.

Also, Guillaume Gernez notes the presence of this dagger type in a tomb from Asimah (in eastern Arabia) in his discussion of the connections between this assemblage and that found in Byblos (Jar 2132) in association with Amorites.[801]

The implement appears in association with Amorites in various artistic media. A few examples drawn from Lönnqvist's study are: a cylinder seal from Tell el-Dab'a (that depicts other objects connected to Amorites as well);[802] the ceremonial version from Byblos that is carved with a broad spectrum of Amorite imagery, including donkeys, sheep, clothing, and other objects[803] (Figure 4.12); and, a carved bone plaque from the tomb of the Lord of the Goats at Ebla.[804] Saretta also draws attention to the depiction of one in the Beni Hasan mural (Figure 4.13, far right).

Figure 4.12: The Byblos Dagger
(Upper panel) Dagger no. 14442 from the Temple of the Obelisks, Byblos.
Beirut Museum. Photo: Courtesy of Alfred Molon, www.molon.de.
(Lower panel) The "Amorite Animal Style" exhibited on the Byblos Dagger.
Source: Lönnqvist, *Between Nomadism and Sedentism* (2000), Pl. LXXX Fig. 1-2 (following Frankfort).

[801] Guillaume Gernez, "Armement et Société au Moyen-Orient: L'example des Lances à Douille à la Fin du Bronze Ancien et au Debut du Bronze Moyen," in *Studia Euphratica: Le Moyen Euphrate Iraquien Révélé par les Fouilles Préventives de Haditha*, ed. Christine Kepinski, Olivier Lecomte, and Aline Tenu, Travaux de la Maison René-Ginouvès 3 (Paris: De Boccard, 2006), 74 and 84 Fig. 6:b.

[802] Lönnqvist (2000), 534.

[803] Ibid., 307-308.

[804] Ibid., 331.

Figure 4.13: Asiatics with Triangular Mid-Rib Dagger, Beni Hasan Mural.
Source: Saretta, *Asiatics* (2016), 81 Fig. 3.21c.

Additional evidence connects Amorites to the manufacture and use of these daggers. From the textual sources, Michalowski understands these to be daggers that were made "in the Amorite manner."[805] Analysis of the arsenical-copper alloy used in them shows that they were locally made[806] and connects them to other smithing in the Syro-Levant.[807] They were one of the Amorite products of trade.[808]

Various interpretations related to identification are made from the implications of the dagger evidence. As a component of the typical assemblage, Lönnqvist draws upon them in tying Amorites into the tradition of the fourth-millennium pastoral technocomplexes,[809] as noted above. Gernez incorporates them into his assertion that Amorite evidence across space is a matter of social rather than physical (i.e., migratory) movement.[810] Graham Philip discerns a variance between ceramic and metalwork patterning and discusses the Amorite dagger types to discuss regional variations in the MBA evidence. He asserts: "Many types show little evidence of regional patterning within the Levant itself, suggesting that their shapes had a widely understood 'meaning'."[811] More direct claims are made, such as when they are enjoined to say that Hama was an Amorite site,[812] Syrian influence was strong during the colony period at Kanesh,[813] and that Amorites generated the cultural change at the beginning of the second millenium at Ebla.[814]

They are also drawn upon to analyze social interaction. Lönnqvist ties them into the discussion of the direction of influence between the Aegean and Syria[815] and for inferring that

[805] A supporting fact is that the metal required to make them was a standard of measure in the Ebla texts (e.g., TM.75.G.2502 IV 1-14), which indicates there was some distinctive aspect of their physical form. Michalowski (2011), 83 n. 83.

[806] Lönnqvist (2000), 309-320.

[807] Graham Philip, *Metal Weapons of the Early and Middle Bronze Ages in Syria-Palestine*, vol. 1, 2 vols., B.A.R. International Series vol. 526 (Oxford: B.A.R., 1989), §3.4 p. 187 ff.

[808] Liverani (2014), 179.

[809] The daggers from that context are virtually identical in appearance to those in Figure 4-12. Lönnqvist (2000), 297; Guillaume Gernez, "Metal Weapons and Cultural Transformations," in *Social and Cultural Transformation: The Archaeology of Transitional Periods and Dark Ages, Excavation Reports*, ed. Hartmut Kühne, Rainer Maria Czichon, and Florian Janoscha Kreppner, vol. 2 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008), Fig. 4.

[810] Gernez, "Armement et Société" (2006), 75.

[811] Philip (1989), 201, 205.

[812] Lönnqvist (2000), 131.

[813] Tahsin Özgüç, "Art & Archaeology of Ancient Kanish," *Anatolia* 8, (1964): 42.

[814] Matthiae, *Ebla: An Empire Rediscovered* (1980), 212-213.

[815] Lönnqvist (2000), 297.

weapons being markers of this group is a reflection of the conflict that marked the period.[816] Along the same lines, Philip attributes broadly dispersed similarities in axe and dagger types of the period to Amorite hegemony.[817]

The connection between these objects and Amorite identity is strong, but not all writers agree. Verderame, for instance, charges treatments of these daggers in the literature with fabricating an ethnicity for the people group.[818] Considerations such as this are why having grounded theory undergirding the interpretations is crucial. In combination, the work cited does appear to have produced the kind of holistic, contextualized consideration of the factors needed to support the claimed Amorite connection. The researchers have: analyzed the textual (linguistic, orthographic, and lexical) evidence; considered style and identified the developmental seriation in the type; done chemical analyses that reveal production and dispersal; and, have considered all of this over space and time, incorporating physical and cognitive science along with anthropological theory and archaeological precision.

The purpose here is not to prove what the Amorite dagger is, but to explore its incorporation in the literature as a marker of Amorite identity. The findings of these researchers are consistent with socio-cognitive identity processes involved: as an outcome of co-constitutive materiality (§3.4), groups tend to make and use certain objects in particular ways, and Other(s) intuitively identify them by those associations. Or, as Malafouris points out more formally, such daggers are mnemo-technical signs.[819]

As with the other categories of evidence, several aspects of this discussion invite further inquiry. For instance, the connection between the decorative objects described in the Ebla texts and the plain form that is widespread over an extended period of time needs development. However, it seems clear that Amorites were associated with a particular kind of dagger in the OB period, consistent with the materiality aspects of Cultural Identity.

(ii) O2b.1 Donkey Transport:

Donkeys played an important role in the transport of people and goods throughout the OB Ancient Near East. This creature had a particularly meaningful association with Amorites that is made most vivid in the donkey sacrifice portion of their distinctive alliance treaty practices but is also captured in the differentiated ways in which they used them for transport. Riding donkeys set Amorites apart from other Mesopotamians as well as Egyptians. The most illustrative example of this in contrast to the Akkadians, who wore different clothes (as noted above, p. 123) and rode differently,[820] is the instruction in *ARM* 6 76 "My lord should not mount a horse, he should ride a *nubālum* wagon and donkeys to honor his royal capital!"[821] Similarly, Saretta

[816] Ibid., 376.
[817] Philip (1989), 205.
[818] Verderame, "¿Un Pueblo Imaginario" (2013), 46.
[819] Lambros Malafouris, "How did the Mycenaeans Remember? Death, Matter and Memory in the Early Mycenaean World," in *Death Rituals, Social Order and the Archaeology of Immortality in the Ancient World: Death Shall Have no Dominion*, ed. Colin Renfrew (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 307.
[820] Whether the difference is in the manner of riding (mounted vs. on a sedan) or the mount (donkey rather than horse), it is a meaningful differentiation associated with representing Amorites well that includes donkeys in contrast to another animal.
[821] Translation from de Boer *Amorites in the Old Babylonian Period*, (2014), 36.

points out that the only evidence of mounted riders in Middle Kingdom Egypt involves depictions of *'3mw*/Asiatics, this being something that Egyptians did not do.[822]

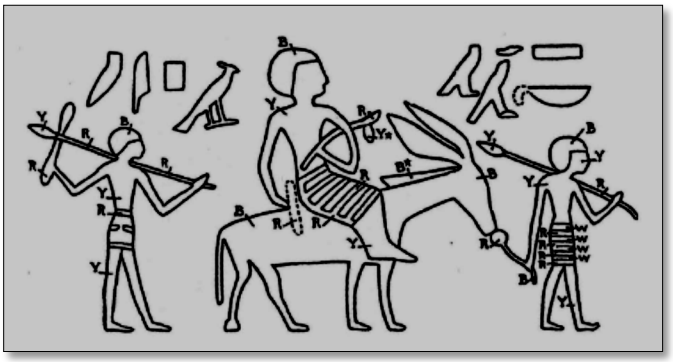

Figure 4.14: Brother of the Prince of Retenu, from the Stela at Serabit el-Khadim.
Source: Alan H. Gardiner, T. Eric Peet, and Jaroslav Černý, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, 2 vols., *Memoirs of the Egypt Exploration Society* 45 (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1952), 206 Fig. 17.

The meaningfulness of the practice is underscored by the textual references to it being an elite means of transport. The king would ride upon a donkey on the trip to Dêr for the great, annual *kispum* observation and would then accompany the goddess-statue in the same fashion during the procession.[823] The 'rider of donkeys,' an important diplomatic position in the Mari texts, exemplifies the ideology, which is easily demonstrated by references to it in a few of the documents included in Heimpel's *Letters to the Kings of Mari*:[824]

- A.3263 (= *ARM* 26 131): he was part of the leadership, along with the generals and a diviner, in a military contingent;
- A.264 (= *ARM* 26 524): he was a highly-placed messenger who could advocate for the policies of the king in his 'own words';[825]
- A.104 (= *ARM* 26 313): he was entrusted to be convincing in matters of life or death;[826]
- A.2238 (= *ARM* 27 16): he had value as a hostage.[827]

In light of this, the significance of imagery such as the Byblos dagger sheath, which depicts a rider on a donkey among other Amorite markers (Figure 4.12, far left figure on sheath) and the Beni Hasan mural (Figure 4.6), is even greater than it first appears because the high value that

[822] Saretta (2016), 99.

[823] David Duponchel, "Les Comptes d'Huile du Palais de Mari Datés de l'Année de Kahat," in *Recueil d'Études à la Mémoire de Marie-Therèse Barrelet*, ed. Dominique Charpin and J.-M. Durand, FM 3 (Paris: SEPOA, 1997), 214, 216.

[824] Heimpel (2003).

[825] A vivid account of this is found in *FM* 2 24, where the messenger reports back to Ibal-pi-El: "I brought the situation to the attention of Hammu-Rabi in (my own) words, and I used a roundabout approach toward convincing him…These things and many more I told him, and I made him trust me with my words, but he still did not accept the friendly words and the good words, however many I urged upon him." Ibid., 149, 476.

[826] Ibid., 77-78, 295-296.

[827] Ibid., 417.

donkeys held in their daily lives and general worldview made them a vital part of their corporate identification.[828]

These animals were also an integral component in the daily lives of other people in the Amorite world. In the economy, for instance, a donkey-load was a standard measure of weight or value for different commodities,[829] and donkey caravans were a well-established, major industry.[830] Yet some were distinctive to Amorites—of primary importance to this discussion is the donkey sacrifice by which their alliance treaties were ratified.[831] The ritual could result in a kinship relation between the participants that was literally considered a 'blood kinship' by virtue of the donkey's role (as mentioned regarding P2a.1, p. 126 above). The king riding a donkey in the *kispum* ritual at Dêr ties several aspects of this together in that this was the most important religious festival of the year to the people of Mari,[832] by which they preserved their ancestral memory and the ongoing kinship ties that were foundational to their group identity.

This pervasive and meaningful association with ways of thinking and acting (§3.3.2) associated with a specific living creature would have made donkeys integral to their conceptual Cultural Identity matrix.

4.3.4 Connections to Space & Place

S1b Territorial Space: Despite the different tacks taken in the discussions, it is generally recognized that their connection to some core geographic region is one marker of Amorite Identity during the period, based on the textual references to KUR MAR.TU (see §2.5.3 and §2.6.1.1). This general area is roughly equivalent to the Syro-Levant plus Northern Mesopotamia and the Middle Euphrates. During the course of the OB, they developed an expansive presence into southern Mesopotamia.

Durand has done extensive work on the connections between Amorites and geographic space—the area as well as the underlying processes and socio-political factors.[833] He traces the Amorites' core regional area to the Middle Euphrates.[834] A.3901 is an example of the fine resolution of some of the evidence he draws upon. It is a letter from Ibal-El, a *merhum* (one of

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[828] Bertrand Lafont points out the broad symbolic importance of donkeys in the Amorite world, evident in the number of other donkey festivals (in addition to the *kispum* ritual) in the calendars of different cities. He mentions Alalah, Aleppo, Mari, Terqa, Shubat-Enlil, Imar, Nuzi, Ugarit, and Sippar. Bertrand Lafont, "Relations Internationales, Alliances et Diplomatie au Temps des Rois de Mari," in *Amurru 2: Mari, Ebla et les Hourrites, Dix Ans de Travaux*, ed. Jean-Marie Durand and Dominique Charpin (Paris: ERC, 2001), 270; Bertrand Lafont, "Représentation et Légitimation du Pouvoir Royal aux Époques Néo-Sumérienne et Amorrite," in *Who was King? Who was not King? The Rulers and the Ruled in the Ancient Near East*, ed. Petr Charvát and Petra Vlčková (Prague: Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, 2010), 33.

[829] See, e.g., the record of generals at Mari receiving three donkey-loads of grain rations per month (A.4287+A.4368 = ARM 26 314). Heimpel (2003), 88.

[830] For instance, one letter from Mari documents a caravan of 300 merchants and 300 donkeys (M.6084 = ARM 26 I/2 432). They were common from at least the middle of the third millennium. Mario Liverani, "Historical Overview," in *A Companion to the Ancient Near East*, ed. Daniel C. Snell (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2005), 8-9, 12.

[831] Lafont discusses some particularly relevant aspects of the practice. Lafont, "Relations Internationales" (2001), 267-271.

[832] Duponchel (1997), 216.

[833] See, for instance, Durand (2009); Durand, "Peuplement et Sociétés" (2004), 118-146; Durand, "Assyriologie" (2001-2002).

[834] From where the river enters the plain south of Carchemish to Hît, including its tributaries (the Balikh, up to the Taurus mountains; the Habur triangle/Upper Jezireh). Durand, "Assyriologie" (2001-2002): 741.

the authority figures over the Yabasi's shepherding operations) who writes to Zimri-lim explaining that because of the vastness of the area under his purview, he cannot provide a comprehensive status report. He justifies his claim by outlining the geographic extent of it plus the obligations involved along the routes within those boundaries.[835] Although Durand's conclusions are drawn largely from Mari evidence, the results are consistent with indicators from other areas, such as the view of Amorites being from the west generated by the Akkadian and Sumerian texts (§2.6.1). Likewise, evidence in the Egyptian delta points back to them being from the area of the Ancient Levant.[836]

Of the various aspects of Space relevant to Amorite identity, the concept of territoriality captured by the term *nighum* provides evidence of a particular relationality they had with the land. The term originally may have been a part of the Amorite lexicon that was subsequently incorporated into Akkadian.[837] It denotes the agreed upon area within which a particular group had rights to travel seasonally for access to water and pasturage. It is a "technical term" that "represented a right or claim to a territorially noncontiguous domain that existed alongside, within, and across other contemporary kingdoms."[838] Jacob Lauinger cites this discontinuous territoriality as being an Amorite trait.[839] The administrator over these affairs was the *merhum*, who had the final say in disputes as the king's representative, could have inter-tribal authority, and acted as the intermediary between the migrating groups and local residents.[840] That such a figure would be connected to a *nighum* indicates the institutional nature of the practice, and thus its integration into their way of life.

Torbjørn Schou's discussion points out some of the implications of this understanding of territoriality on modern interpretations of Amorites in association with Space. For instance, raiding occurred during *nighum* traversal,[841] so hostile incursions (larger in scale) of foreign space were not necessarily involved in such actions. He also points out that the delineations of these routes are likely involved in the *toponymie en miroir* noted by Charpin.[842] They were integral—not ancillary or external—to their geopolitical structure. As Schou says, "While I juggle with terms like sedentary habitation, *matum, nighum*, and kingdoms, I still maintain that the geopolitical structure in the period was mainly based on settlements as hierarchical nodes with routes between them and rangelands for pasture around them…"[843] The prominent, vital nature of pastoralism in the Amorite lifeway would make the *nighum* fundamental to that

[835] Stol summarizes it as being the region between Jebel Hamrin and Tur-Abdin. Durand, "Peuplement et Sociétés" (2004), 123; Stol, "Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft" (2004), 646.

[836] An inscription at Dahshur, for instance, makes reference to the *malku* (an Amorite title) at Byblos. Saretta (2016), 88 n. 123.

[837] Schou (2014), §3.2.6 and Table 5.1.

[838] Jacob Lauinger, *Following the Man of Yamhad: Settlement and Territory at Old Babylonian Alalah*, Culture and History of the Ancient Near East vol. 75 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 196.

[839] He also mentions that it was previously identified as such by Lafont and Durand. Lafont notes a concomitant differentiating emphasis in Amorite rule, with a focus on power over people rather than a region, that is in contrast to the ideology of other periods. Ibid., 198-199; Bertrand Lafont, "L'Admonestation des Anciens de Kurdâ à leur Roi," in *FM 2: Recueil d'Études á la Mémoire de Maurice Birot*, ed. Dominique Charpin, J.-M. Durand, and Maurice Birot, Mémoires de NABU 3 (Paris: SEPOA, 1994), 220.

[840] Schou (2014), 269, 278, 314.

[841] Ibid., 278.

[842] Charpin actually alludes to the *nighum* in relation to the subject. Ibid., 302; Dominique Charpin, "La 'Toponymie en Miroir' Dans le Proche-Orient Amorrite," *RA* 97, (2003): 22 n. 132.

[843] Schou (2014), 310.

structure; evidence of this reality may be indicated by the fact that the Yaminite and Sim'alite *nighum* are separated by 'right' and 'left' (Figure 4.15) along with their immobile places of attachment (*mātum*).

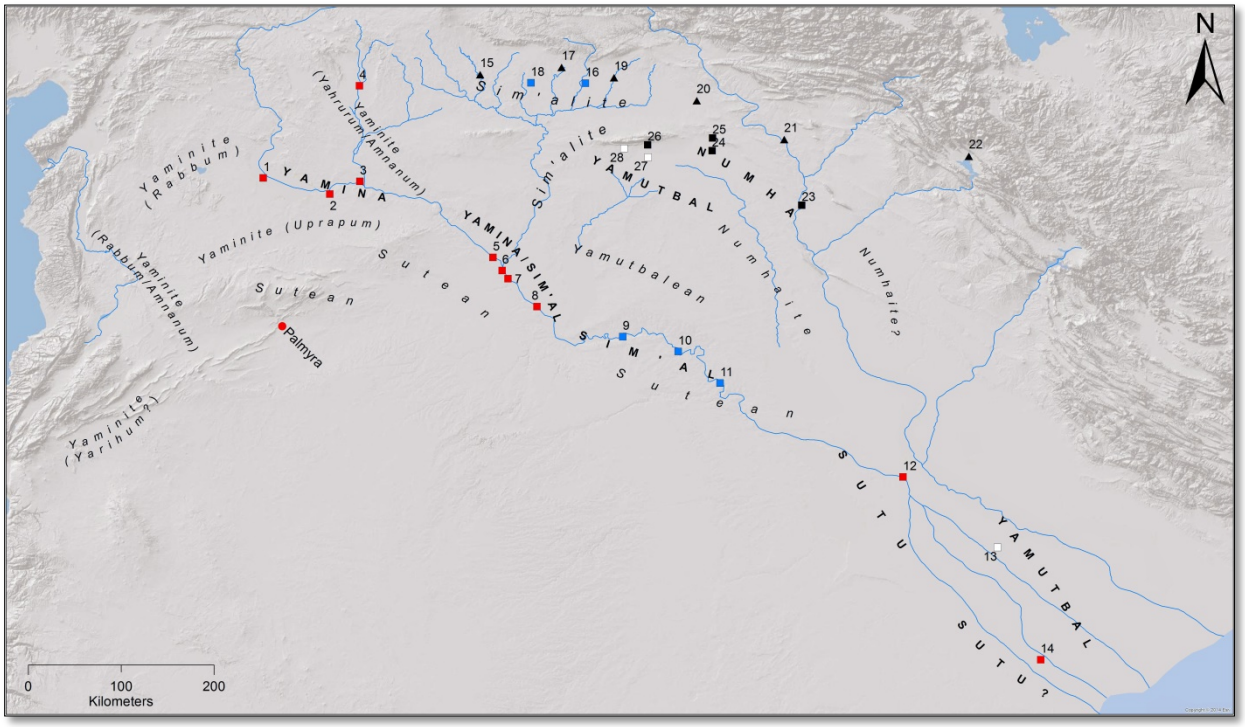

Figure 4.15: "Map of selected known tribal affiliations of the Mari period, as well as indications of tribal territories for seasonal pastoralism."[844]
Source: Schou, *Mobile Pastoralist Groups* (2014), Fig. 5.12.

Figure 4.15 highlights the underlying consistency in the scholarship concerning the OB Amorite homeland, as Schou's reconstruction of Amorite territoriality including the *nighum* fits within the core region described above and reflects their expansion into southern Mesopotamia.[845] It may also present graphical support for Durand's claim (p.141 above) that the middle Euphrates was their core region, as all of the *nighum* territories radiate out from that central location, with discernible boundaries between the different tribal allotments (Figure 4.16).

[844] Schou's key: Sedentary tribal areas are shown in bold, while attested *nighum* are in italic. The *alum* numbered in the map are: 1) Emar, 2) Abattum (Rabbum), 3) Tuttul (Amnanum), 4) Zalmaqum (area), 5) Dabiš, 6) Dumtan, 7) Samanum (Uprapum), 8) Mišlan, 9) Harradum, 10) Sapiratum (Yuma-Hammu), 11) Harbe, 12) Sippar (Amnanum/Yahrurum), 13) Maškan-Šapir, 14) Uruk, 15) Talhayum (Yapturum), 16) Šuna, 17) Urkeš (Hurri), 18) Zalluhan (Yabasu), 19) Šehna/Šubat-Enlil (Hana), 20) Razama (Yussan), 21) Ninua (Turukku), 22) Šušarra (Turukku) , 23) Ekallatum, 24) Qattara, 25) Karana, 26) Kurda, 27) Andarig, 28) Razama (Yamutbal). Colour key: Yamina (red), Sim'al (blue), Yamutbal (white), Numha (black), other tribes (triangles).

[845] Schou presents the Sutu as a non-Amorite tribe. Heimpel explains the Yamutbal expansion into southern Mesopotamia as due to the founding of Larsa by Naplanum (who was probably Yamutbalean). Schou (2014), 309; Heimpel (2003), 18.

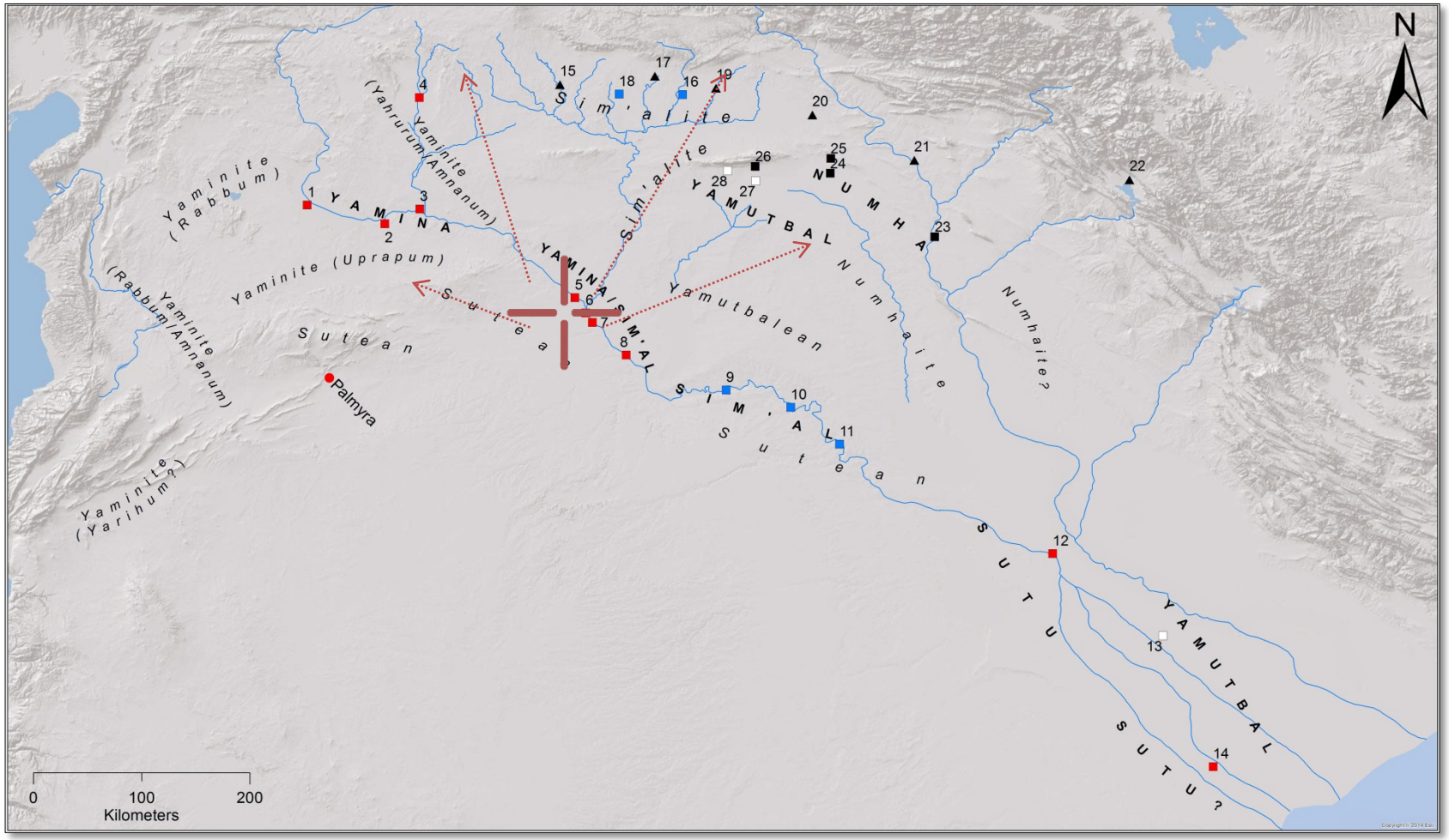

Figure 4.16: Amorite Tribal Territories Radiating from Core Region.
Adapted from Schou, Mobile Pastoralist Groups (2014), Fig. 5.12.

The importance of Space to Amorite identification is clear from the sources that document them referring to themselves in those terms and erecting physical territorial markers. Self-ascribed Identity in spatial terms is evident in labels such as 'sons of the left' (*binu Sim'al*) and 'sons of the right' (*binu Yamina*) in reference to the western Euphrates region. Their burial and other ritual practices involving monuments across the landscape are well-attested in material and textual evidence.[846] Schou describes the *humusum* (also an Amorite term; Akk. *narûm*) as mental and physical commemorative monuments that were imbued with spiritual power but also served as mundane physical reference points.[847] They were erected for various reasons, including to mark negotiation of *nighum* agreements, and were visited regularly by group members during excursions from the settlements for that purpose and as stopping points along their transhumant routes.[848] Such practices would be natural, given the human need for belonging (§3.3.4) and the fact that being away from home can contribute to a loss of identity, as Sophie Demare-Lafont points out.[849] In addition to their relationality with the discontinuous territoriality, each group also had a sense of an anchor—of belonging—to a particular settlement.[850] The markers would have the effect of extending the sense of 'home' by providing socio-psychological mooring points for the journeyers. The routes between them would have had identificational importance, too, as pathways that are culturally significant natural resources.[851] Porter keyed in on the different levels of significance in markers along their travel ways. Her discussion is about the mirror toponymy, but the same amount of meaningfulness would apply to the material markers as to those narrative versions of what are, in essence, the same thing. She says,

> … here [in the matter of exclusionary kinship practices] is where the mirrored toponyms assume specific meaning and function; they themselves may be thought of as geographic representations of ideologies of kinship and descent. Replicating place names is the replication of social identity; it is the invocation of a shared past and a future history that reinforces the mutual obligations that members of the same descent group share.[852]

Building *humusum* monuments to known persons or events would serve the same function as replicating place names, by extending the association that is invoked across space (and time).

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[846] Kepinksi ties the burial mounds in the Middle Euphrates to Amorites specifically (p. 168). (See, as well, the sources cited within these two publications.) Schou (2014), §5.4; Kepinski, "Burial Mounds" (2010).

[847] Schou (2014), §5.4.2.

[848] Ibid.

[849] She draws attention to the fact that being away from home affects identity both for Self and Other(s)—a loss of connection to residence that needs reinforcement for the Person, and causes her to be met with an air of suspicion as an outsider from the perspective of the Other (which is consistent with the socio-cognitive processes noted above, p. 118). Sophie Démare-Lafont, "Identifiers and Identification Methods in Mesopotamia," in *Identifiers and Identification Methods in the Ancient World: Legal Documents in Ancient Societies III* ed. Mark Depauw and Sandra Coussement, OLA 229 (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 21.

[850] Schou (2014), 273.

[851] Culturally significant natural resources "comprise the plants and animals, the rocks and minerals, the waters and waterways, and the landscape and ecosystems that contain cultural meanings for the people who use, relate to, and behold them." Anna J. Willow, "Culturally Significant Natural Resources: Where Nature and Culture Meet," in *A Companion to Cultural Resource Management*, ed. Thomas F. King (Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 115.

[852] Porter, "Beyond Dimorphism: Ideologies and Materialities of Kinship as Time-Space Distanciation" (2009), 205.

4.3.5 Connections to Time[853]

What seems to distinguish the Amorites from other groups in relation to time is not so much any specific singular elements or practices but the nature of their multifaceted link to tradition. It is a particular flavor of an ideology that is confirmed by scholars who have noted the special significance to them of ancestry, tribe, and place of origin—in combination—that is distinctive enough to classify it as an identity marker. It is, consequently, not surprising that several aspects have already been touched upon in previous sections: ancestry (P2a.1), origins (S1b), naming practices (P1b.2), the *kispum* ritual (P2a.1) and the *puhrum* tribal assembly (P2c.4).

Karel van der Toorn draws particular attention to their connection with ancestry and origins in contrast to the Akkadians, writing,

> Whereas the urban population of Akkadian extraction looked to the city and the neighbourhood as anchors of identity, the Amorites and the village dwellers (the two being nearly indistinguishable at times) identified with their land and their ancestors. … These people did not see the city and its neighbourhood as determining their identity; they were far more sensitive to the clan they belonged to and the land of their ancestors.[854]

He then proceeds to develop how—being integral to their identity—this impacted their social practices, including aspects of their religion and group relations. Specifically, it gave rise to a particular Amorite "religious culture"[855] that was focused on a small number of tribal deities (Amurrum, Sin, Addu, Dagan), to which they retained a particular fealty[856] (evident in the exceptional practice of pairing them with other gods[857] and differentiating between a personal god and a city god[858]), and shrine locations in traditional lands that had ongoing significance.[859] In intercultural relations, they seem to have avoided the dynastic marriage practices of other groups in the interest of endogamy,[860] preserving the lineage. Within the group, they had specialized terminology for their tribal social structure (*ḫibrum* "lineage group," *gāyum* "clan", *sugāgum* "clan leader", and the *šībūtū* "council of elders") and called themselves "sons of (tribal

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[853] Several points in this section are related to previous discussion points: see §4.3.2.2.1 for related comments on Amorite markers of extended kinship, language, and the *puhrum*; §4.3.2.1.2 P1b.2 for naming practices and §4.3.4 on the *nighum* and mirror toponymy; comments on uncles in Amorite families are made in §4.3.2.1. 3 (P1c) and see the discussion of boundaries in Chapter Two.

[854] This association with "village dwellers" requires more explanatory development than is practicable for present purposes; it does not detract from the significance of his statement here with regard to Amorite distinctiveness, being (loosely speaking) part of the viewpoint that sees Amorites as the rural population that was mentioned in Chapter Two (especially §2.6.12). Karel van der Toorn, *Family Religion in Babylonia, Syria, and Israel: Continuity and Change in the Forms of Religious Life*, vol. 7, Studies in the History and Culture of the Ancient Near East (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 41, 88.

[855] "Their religious culture, manifesting itself also in the factors determining the choice of the personal god, can be described as Amorite. Between the Akkadian population in south and central Mesopotamia and the Amorites in the West (but increasingly present in the Mesopotamian heartland as well), there was a difference in lifestyle that did not leave the realm of family religion unaffected." Ibid., 88.

[856] Ibid., 91.

[857] Ibid., 82.

[858] Ibid., 88.

[859] Ibid.

[860] Ibid., 40.

name)" in contrast to the Akkadian reference "sons of (city name)."[861] Van der Toorn concludes by saying,

> The Akkadian (or 'native') part of the population moreover asserted and maintained, through the worship of their personal gods, a local identity. In the case of the Amorites this local identity was mainly an identity of origins. The Akkadian devotion to their family god was a devotion to the settlement, the district, or the neighbourhood where the worshippers were born and raised, and usually still lived. The Amorite religion of the 'gods of the fathers', on the other hand, was a loyalty to tradition and a sign of solidarity with those of the same descent.[862]

Charpin and Durand note this affiliation with a particular concept of long-term tradition by saying "different cultural features, such as the cult of ancestors, show how deep was the tribal feeling among the Amorite kings of the Old Babylonian period."[863] In that article, they elaborate on three areas in which this is demonstrated—onomastics, place, and ancestry—with each referring back to tribal origins. In onomastics, they cite the fact that even Amorite rulers of state, such as Shamshi-Adad and Hammurabi, maintained tribal habits in naming their children.[864] Similarly, in regard to place, it is the labeling practices that reveal, manifest, and preserve their relationality with the land, whether by homonymy dealing with entire regions or mirror toponymy for specific sites.[865] Finally, they conclude that a subsurface understanding of the genealogy lists, political alliances, and the *kispum* ritual reveals they saw themselves as belonging to one tribe (Hana) in contrast to Other(s), such as the Akkadians who, in contrast, belonged to the tribe of Sargon.[866]

Importantly, however, Charpin and Durand underscore the special tie that underlay these connections saying, "A l'origine, le sentiment d'appartenance à une tribu est renforcé par l'affirmation que tout le clan se réclame du même ancêtre et ne forme, en définitive, qu'une seule et même famille."[867] More than a political (tribal) organization, it is an association of close personal relationality that extends broadly—they saw themselves as one big happy family.

Durand's subsequent focused study on the family draws out other important details. First, he discusses how Amorite families are larger than those in contemporary Mesopotamian groups because of the way they include uncles to a more integrated degree,[868] as was discussed above. Then he writes about how Amorite names make reference to the family on two levels: on the first level, proper names enjoin ancestry or the names of brothers or uncles, whereas Mesopotamian names draw upon religion (deity name-elements) or politics (king name-elements); on the second level, names mention elements of the social organization (e.g. tribe, clan, confederation).[869] Here evident is the emphasis on family-oriented tradition that marks the Amorite worldview; their names drew traditional family ties together with the present structure of the group. Further, the

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[861] Ibid., 41.
[862] Ibid., 92.
[863] Charpin and Durand (1986): 141.
[864] Ibid., 158.
[865] Ibid., 157-158.
[866] Ibid., 155, 175.
[867] Ibid., 170.
[868] Durand, "Assyriologie" (2000-2001): 693.
[869] Ibid., 693-694.

element of Space is evident in such things as the series of *Mut-* "man of" names that connected individuals to their place of origin. Some of the examples Durand cites are Mut-Bisir "man of Bishri" (a regional association); Mut-Nawê'im "man of the grassy steppe" (a natural region); and, Mut-Qâṣim "man of the 'limit of the community.'"[870]

Antoine Jacquet references this particular Amorite relationality to tradition in his study of the *kispum*, where he says,

> The cult of the ancestors follows another logic [from that of the Akkadian practices], that of remembrance of a person and commemoration of the lineage. That is certainly the most important part of religious believes [sic] and practices of the Amorites whose feeling of the family group and blood links is the base and framework of every comprehension of the society, political order and, in a sense, history of a people.[871]

These blood ties could be established by either biological or negotiated affiliation.[872] Jacquet points out that the primary motivation of the *kispum* was family and that outsiders were not invited.[873] It was a clear boundary, and it bound together a composite of their ancestry, tribe, and place of origin into a family-based approach to their world.

These researchers cite numerous sources of textual evidence. In the close association with the *kispum* ritual, there is also potential material evidence. At Tell Arbid (Syria), for instance, there are changes in the material evidence at the beginning of the second millennium—new tomb types, including a vaulted shaft grave, a standardization in the grave goods assemblage, and new ritual practices giving evidence of ancestor worship—that the excavators suggest may be connected to Amorites.[874] Nicola Laneri also raises the prospect of these practices being in evidence in the so-called 'domestic chapels' at Ur.[875] As research continues and understandings of terminology (in particular), relationships, and practices develop finer resolution, some of the specific meanings of these elements come to vary from earlier conclusions. What does not change, however, is the bottom-line recognition of the particular affinity Amorites had with their situated, family-based, and tribal cultural past that set them apart in several ways from contemporary Others.

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[870] These *Mut-* names can also be connected to theonyms, which Durand points out is a social practice for Amorites rather than religious one, making it a differentiating node in another dimension. Ibid., 694.

[871] Antoine Jacquet, "Funerary Rites and Cult of the Ancestors during the Amorite Period: The Evidence of the Royal Archives of Mari," in *(Re-)Constructing Funerary Rituals in the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Tübingen Post-Graduate School "Symbols of the Dead"*, ed. Peter Pfälzner et al., vol. 1, Qatna Studien Supplementa (2012), 134.

[872] See Durand, "Assyriologie" (2000-2001).

[873] Jacquet, "Funerary Rites and Cult of the Ancestors during the Amorite Period: The Evidence of the Royal Archives of Mari" (2012), 130.

[874] See Zuzanna Wygnańska, "The Ancestor Cult in the Middle Bronze Age at Tell Arbid, Syria," in *Contextualising Grave Inventories in the Ancient Near East*, ed. Peter Pfälzner et al., Qatna-Studien Supplementa 3 (Harrassowitz Verlag, 2014), 48.

[875] Nicola Laneri, "Locating the Social Memory of the Ancestors: Residential Funerary Chambers as Locales of Social Remembrance in Mesopotamia During the Late Third and Early Second Millennia BC," in *Contextualising Grave Inventories in the Ancient Near East*, ed. Peter Pfälzner et al., Qatna Studien 3 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2014), 4-5.

4.3.6 Amorites and Categorical (Level 4) Identity

The preceding description of the relational Amorite connection to time exposes a Level 4 marker. In keeping with the discussion in §3.2.5, this is a categorical identification because it demonstrates a distinctive relationality with a conceptual matrix as the axial element. In this case, the matrix is a family-based ancestral tribal worldview associated with memory of place. They and Other(s) interacted with this conceptual framework as a relational entity. As Charpin noted, they saw themselves as one "tribe" (Hana) separate from all others, e.g., the tribe of Sargon (the Akkadians); this boundary line was respected from both sides in the many documented interactions between these groups. Further, they had associated expectations in ways of thinking and acting. For example, being Amorite allowed one to participate in the *kispum*, whereas Others were excluded; and, relationality to the land allowed for *nighum* agreements, but they did not make them with non-Amorites.

This Categorical Identity can be cited as an Amorite marker that constitutes a Cultural Identity. The definition developed in §3.3.5 is:

> Cultural Identity is identification by Self and Other(s) as a member of the categorically distinctive conceptual matrix that includes ways of thinking and acting connecting the people, other living and material things, place, and time to which they belong.

In this light, Jacquet's statement (quoted in the previous section) is particularly helpful:

> The cult of the ancestors follows another logic, that of remembrance of a person and commemoration of the lineage. That is certainly the most important part of religious believes [sic] and practices of **the Amorites whose feeling of the family group and blood links is the base and framework of every comprehension of the society, political order and, in a sense, history of a people.**

Identification and belonging are connected to this overarching family-based framework within which all of the other markers exist. As a categorical entity, it consists of these elements in a prototypical, stable state, within its particular distinguishing (but still 'fuzzy') boundary lines.

The categorical label, or marker, that we attach to a social-conceptual framework based upon kinship (or "family group and blood links") is ethnicity. This is a modern label for which we have a particular conceptualization as westerners in higher education that is nuanced by our individual ethnic, cultural, and experiential backgrounds. Formal definitions of the concept are also modern. Beyond the dictionary approach discussed previously (§3.3), a useful analytical one, established some time ago by R.A. Schermerhorn, is:

> A collectivity within a larger society having real or putative common ancestry (that is, memories of a shared historical past whether of origins or of historical experiences such as colonization, immigration, invasion or slavery); a shared consciousness of a separate, named, group identity; and a cultural focus on one or more symbolic elements defined as the epitome of their peoplehood.[876]

[876] (As quoted by Ashcroft.) Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin (2013), s.v. Ethnicity; Schermerhorn (1970), 12.

There is no equivalent term in the Ancient Near Eastern languages,[877] but the nature and developmental history of human cognition (§3.2) allow us to recognize the concept as part of their cognitive repertoire. It is a social form and thus a potentially universal feature (§3.2.5.2.2) of all cultures, including theirs. The genealogical list evidence and the "butterflies" on the banks (text A.3080, §4.3.2.2.2) indicate that it was.

As a categorical identification, Amorite ethnicity serves as a determinant of sameness and difference by or with Other(s) and primes relational identities both within the cultural group and beyond it, depending upon the particular 'conjunctural' event or encounter (the Performance Point). Within the group, this may be a tribal affiliation or any other subgroup basis of affiliation, e.g., gender or Community of Practice. For Other(s) in interaction, the categorical boundary remains present, even as the sifting process continues seeking some basis for sameness (§3.2.5.2) across that line of difference. The identification is a schema, or "mental map," developed through socialization, that is very complex in nature but drastically simplified in deployment, taking place automatically, intuitively, and very quickly. Importantly, it produces expectations about behavior and thinking that are unrelated to the category itself (§3.2.5.2.2.ii)—instead, they are related to the contents of which it consists.[878] Some of the tangential behaviors associated with it are such things as particular manners of dress or speech, or using a particular kind of dagger. So, the identification is highly accessible, both cognitively (because it is a simple binary) and intuitively (because of the readily perceptible indicators).

These expectations and their related behaviors and ways of thinking are what provide entrée into discerning the presence of this identification in the Amorite mental map. It is what produces identity markers. They are markers because they (categorically) typify the Amorite actions and reasoning exhibited in the evidence as expected—for themselves and for Other(s), including modern researchers. Thus, the king could be expected to ride a donkey in *ARM* 6 76, even though riding a donkey has nothing to do with ancestry or tribe or place directly. Likewise, it is how Jacquet could arrive at his conclusion about the significance of the family paradigm for the Amorites. Like many other researchers (including those mentioned in Chapter 2), he recognizes the categorical identity underlying all of those "social dimensions" to which he refers. By abstracting the "family group and blood links" basis of it, he is identifying the conceptual category as ethnicity. This places him in the company of all the other researchers who have done so and made it the default perspective with which investigators interact in Amorite studies (as noted previously, §2.6.1.2).

All of the criteria in Schermerhorn's definition have been demonstrated in the Amorite case:

- they are a collectivity—a categorical grouping of people,
- within a larger society—the Ancient Near East cultural milieu that includes other apparent ethnic groups such as the Akkadians and Elamites,

[877] At least not exactly equivalent; however, in some usages, similar terms such as *mātum*, *bītum,* and 'dumu.meš X' could convey the general meaning. See, for example, van der Toorn (1996), 40.

[878] Emanuele Castano and his colleagues point out that the entitativity of the group identification is like an "umbrella" under which these factors are gathered within the defining boundaries of the group; they are considered in concert, as the whole entity, rather than as separate individual elements. This is another way of describing the 'substantial categorization' aspect (which is what is in play here) considered in §3.2.5.2.2.ii. Castano, Yzerbyt, and Bourguignon (2003): 749.

- having a common ancestry—that is both real (biological) and putative (fictive or affiliational),
- with memories of a shared historical past—that is recalled and preserved in cultural features such as the *kispum* rites and genealogy lists,
- having a shared consciousness of a separate, named, group identity—such as MAR.TU, Amurru, or Hana,
- with a cultural focus on one or more symbolic elements defined as the epitome of their peoplehood—such as considering themselves 'one big happy family.'

Consistent with the processes involved on both sides of the magnifying glass (the researcher in the present and the researched in the past), it is thus understandable that ethnicity is the default identification with which many researchers engage the Amorites. Composites of identifying similarities are more indicative of entitativity than are single dimensions. The bonds of shared experiences, outcomes, or fate are even stronger indicators than similarities.[879] Amorite ethnic identity is based on a multi-faceted conceptualization of their family-based ties through time and with place and would thus present a strong entitativity (to themselves and their contemporaries), which would be more readily discernible to modern scholars than another more ephemeral conceptual framework. The nature of Amorite identity revealed by the composite picture of markers from each category of Culture Contents explored in this chapter demonstrates that this ethnic reality is not a simplistic interpretation of the evidence, but a result of the clear, perhaps even overwhelming, evidence.

4.3.7 Summary

In this section, consideration (from the Social Discourse Analysis perspective) has been given to evidentiary material (textual, material, and visual) from Syro-Mesopotamia, the southern Levant, and Egypt, based on Amorite markers designated by the actants and/or in previous scholarship. The objective was to present a comprehensively representative outline of distinguishing Amorite features in paradigm and, thereby, make them accessible to analytical consideration. Although not an exhaustive listing or study of each, identifiers were found to be available and are presented for every level of identification in the Self ^{Other} paradigm.

The markers explored include distinguishing relationality and:

- Phenotype
- Behaviors
- Hairstyle, beard, and clothing
- Personal naming
- Family construct
- Extended kinship
- Language
- The Amorite Assembly
- Sheep
- Triangular mid-rib dagger
- Donkey transport

[879] People, including non-group members, intuitively make a distinction between groups based on entitativity. They are more likely to see an aggregation as an entity or group when members have strong bonds, frequent interaction, and clear boundaries as is the case with the Amorites. Forsyth and Burnette (2010), 496.

- Territory
- Traditional time
- Worldview
- Ethnicity

The result is the demonstration that scholarship reveals Amorites were identified by Self and by Other(s) as distinct in some fashion on every level—from physiological and psycho-cognitive individuals to family and group members, and categorically as an ethnicity.

4.4 Conclusions and Synthesis

Seen through the lenses of Social Discourse Analysis, the Self^{Other} paradigm, and marker theory, this survey of the identifiers discerned in previous scholarship for Amorite Cultural Identity is revealing. Several insights have been gained into the nature of the various dimensions of their identification, including its overall makeup. Revealing in itself is the fact that markers have been identified for each category of Culture Contents. The enigmatic nature of the general view of this people group in the literature makes this surprising. At the same time, it demonstrates strength in the analytical capacity of the framework; this test of the paradigm has shown it to be a viable approach to identity studies.

The theoretical lenses bring the necessary grounding for a sound analytical consideration of the evidence. SDA takes a holistic and multi-disciplinary approach to each of the bodies of evidence necessary for addressing these questions: text, imagery, and material culture. Its focus on meaning in culture targets the specific purpose of this study. Furthermore, it is highly compatible with the Self^{Other} framework, the paradigm structuring the critical approach taken here to the evidence. Identity markers are substantive theoretical conceptualizations, grounded in social-cognition and accompanied by behavior, that have proven productive in other identity studies. In combination, these provide a solid foundation for selecting the objects of analysis (identity markers), outlining those chosen for evaluation (Self^{Other}), and interpreting them with regard to cultural meaning (SDA).

The Amorites have been shown to stand out from Other(s) in the record at all four levels of relationality. As individuals, they are differentiated by phenotypical features and behaviors which had particularly significant meaningfulness in the Ancient Near East, as well as by their style, as seen in hair, beard, and dress. Also, they appear in the textual record in first person, as well as second and third. In combination, this evidence shows that they saw themselves and were seen by Other(s) as Persons associated by these features. There are markers exhibited in their close personal relationships, evident in their naming practices and their particular family structure. Thus, Amorite is shown to be a Personal Identity and an Individual Identity.

As a group, Amorite identification is marked by their extended kinship structure, language, and governance. They had distinctive associations with other living and material things, explored in this survey through their association with sheep, triangular mid-rib 'Amorite' daggers, and donkey transport. They had a particular connection to discontinuous territorial space, demonstrated through their *nighum* practices. They also related to time differently than other groups, as seen in their multifaceted link to a distinctive form of tradition—a family-based ancestral tribal worldview associated with a memory of place—that had a pervasive influence in their overall social structure and practices.

Running through each of these levels of identification is a particular focus on the family. It is seen to be integral to each. At the first level, they share the family resemblance common to kinship groups generally; in the second and third levels it becomes distinctive through ideology:

- Level 1: differentiating phenotypical features have been associated with their biological kinship;
- Level 2: kinship is distinctively involved in their specific personal-naming practices, beyond the more generalized inherent connection in the family construct in the Ancient Near East;
- Level 3: their extended kinship structure is an identity marker, and one that provides ritual procedures for incorporating non-kin Other(s) as blood relatives; their language exhibits distinctive kinship terms; their version of the 'assembly' is kinship based; sheep are brought into the family courtyard and so become part of the 'social house'; the symbolic significance of the donkey is marked by their service as sacrificial animals in the *hipšum*-ritual that creates blood kinship; territory is marked by mirror toponymy (and the *humusum*), which are tied to exclusionary kinship; in their conceptualization of time, ancestry is key.

Ultimately, Amorite Identity proves to be a categorical identification at Level 4. They saw themselves with categorical entitativity, evident by the inclusive references in the texts. They were seen as such by Other(s) who acted upon that understanding, in battles for example. Also, this categorical thinking is evident in subconscious behaviors, such as the differentiated genealogy lists. This categorical identification based on kinship is what we label an ethnicity. Associating this identification with the Amorites on a theoretically-grounded, analytical basis addresses the basic question "What is an Amorite?"

By way of synthesis, a couple of examples can demonstrate some of the benefits that might be drawn from the application of $Self^{Other}$ to the Amorite paradox. Based on the analytical definition of ethnicity (Schermerhorn) and the demonstration that this is the kind of Cultural Identity that captures the 'broadest configuration' of their identification, two opportunities for more incisive consideration of the data appear in: 1) keeping the socio-cognitive nature of ethnicity in mind; and, 2) recognizing differentiation between Group and Categorical identities.

Being mindful of the valid reasons for treating them as an ethnic group can moderate some of the complexity involved in Amorites studies, especially when approached from the analytical perspective. From that angle, ethnicity is a theoretical concept that captures the social form. Before its academic creation and popularization as a term, it would have been thought of simply as something like 'the group of people that share this set of characteristics who consider themselves to be related by blood' and that differs from other groups on the same basis. The characteristics are the Culture Contents, not the ethnicity itself. As an ongoing conceptualization, the socio-cognitive processes involved make it a binary opposition between two comparative things—a category. In interaction, however, it changes—when the specific Contents are enjoined as the salient features in the context that form the stage upon which the relationships play out in the engagement (Performance Point). Researchers identify the different dimensions of Culture Contents, but the actors are aware of only how they 'populate' them. The overarching criterion in the theoretical ethnic concept is kinship and consideration of their Culture Contents indicates the Amorites had this Identity. The strength of their kinship ties also shows they were probably quite mindful of it within their worldview. Keeping these dimensions in mind—the theoretical, conceptual, and embodied dimensions of the identification—can ameliorate the confusion that

arises and avoid some of the distractions. Comparing unlike things is one example, such as equating ethnicity with nomadism. Considering that lifeway aspect might productively frame the discussion, e.g. in terms of nomad vs. sedentary structures and practices, but nomadism is merely a feature of their ethnic Identity, not equivalent to it, or a replacement for it. Other researchers have noted the issue; $Self^{Other}$ validates the basis for it and clarifies the relative differences.

In regard to the second opportunity, recognizing the differentiation between Group and Categorical Identities is related to the emic vs. etic approach, but it is not the same. The two are both in the minds of the actants on each side of an interaction. The texts treat Amorites as both because they are part of Discourse. At times, the focus of the writer or actor is on a particular feature or related behavior. At other times, it is a matter of the group as a whole. The behaviors are generated from Level 3, because to the Person Level 4 is an ephemeral socio-cognitive state that serves simply to frame the interaction. The interpretation of that behavior (then and now) is at Level 4—a matter of whether that behavior fits within the acceptably prototypical characteristics of the composite classification. The expectation that the king would ride a donkey is an example. The expectancy stems from his membership in the category 'Amorite', which, in this situation, is defined by the part of their relational group behavior (Level 3) that includes riding donkeys, with all of the associated meaningfulness that invokes. In contrast, the more comprehensive Categorical ethnic identification arises in cases where two groups are differentiated side-by-side, e.g., Akkadians and Amorites. However, any of the features can be the salient Level 4 categorizations at other times, e.g., nomadism, living in tents, or being skilled soldiers. Focus on the feature has no bearing on the reality of the overall identification, it is merely a matter of contextual salience. Understanding the processes involved in both levels, how it forms and is expressed, for instance, can facilitate stronger analytical consideration of the underlying dynamics that the texts reflect by placing the features and the Identity in their realistic, or 'lived,' respective positions.

In the end, it seems that the Amorite paradox may be resolved by Occam's Razor. The impression of ethnic identification is the most intuitive, and also now shown to be the analytical, interpretation of the evidence. Working from this perspective will, then, be the most productive approach. They were a group. As a group, they had a defining cultural matrix of some kind. If ethnicity is not that kind, the alternative should likewise be demonstrable in a full array of Culture Contents. If or when that is accomplished, research can then shift in the direction indicated and continue to add to the interpretive understanding of the Amorites. In the meantime, more consideration might be given to the idea that the paradox stems not from problems in the data but potentially from the inadequacies in it, such as the material that has yet to be archaeologically recovered, and the interpretive lenses applied. The paradox may be the result of misreading Amorite-related Discourse.

Chapter 5
Conclusion

The Amorite Problem addressed in this study is a multi-faceted challenge that has engaged research interests for more than a century. The body of scholarship produced through those efforts has made a rich corpus of textual and archaeological material available to current researchers that has only been touched upon here. Yet, it has been demonstrated that the potential exists for bringing some resolution to the impasse at which interpretations of that evidence now stand over the basic question of Amorite identity that has been the core issue from the beginning. There is an acknowledged need of more effective methodologies for resolving the constituent questions underlying this problem, particularly with regard to the paradoxical lack of an archaeological imprint for such a significant group. Recent advances in the multiple disciplines engaged in identity research have provided new ways of considering and interpreting the evidence for cultural identity that have been used to advantage in this study. With an interest in clarifying our understanding of the complex case of the Amorites as the frame of reference, this project responds to the call for methodological enhancements by developing a new relational approach to thinking about identity. The framework generated through that perspective provides an investigative tool that is designed to be usable in identity research generally. Considering the Amorite scenario by that method has provided new analytical support for the interpretation of their identity as an ethnic group as well as for the distinctive markers associated with them in previous research. It also reveals that they had a unique worldview that underlay this recognizable differentiation from other cultural groups.

5.1 The Self^{Other} Paradigm

The Self^{Other} approach proposed in this project is a relational, holistic, and analytical one that is based on novel approaches to identity, culture, and cultural identity. The main premise of the paradigm is the recognition that all identity is social, in that it is a matter of relationality between individuals, groups, and other things in every dimension at all times. It is a socio-cognitive phenomenon connecting Self and Other(s) at each of four levels in a nested, augmentative, and meaningful construct of 'who I/Self say I am' and 'who Other(s) say I am.' Those levels are:

Self^{Self}	as Personal Identity (Level 1);
Self$^{Individual\text{-}Other(s)}$	as Individual Identity (Level 2);
Self$^{Group\text{-}Other(s)}$	as Group Identity (Level 3); and,
Self$^{Categorical\text{-}Other(s)}$	as Categorical Identity (Level 4).

Cognitive processes, such as mental mapping and cognitive bridges, have been shown to inherently undergird the identification processes among all of these levels in their formation and functioning over time. As identities are ascribed by both Self and Other(s), belonging, validation, negotiation, and role-play are mechanisms of identity work in the behaviors of interactants.

The second premise of the framework is a relational definition of culture that recognizes it as a conceptual matrix to which group members meaningfully belong. A specific cultural matrix encompasses a particular configuration of content elements that consists of connections to people, other living and material things, place/space, and time (P, O, S, T). Outlined in Appendix C, these are the commonly recognized characteristics of cultural groups, such as kinship

structures, religious practices, language, governance, certain objects, use of space, and ancestral traditions. The Self^{Other} approach gives consideration to them relative to each other from the individual member's perspective within which they arise.

In light of these clarifications of culture and identity, the third proposition of the paradigm comes to light—cultural identity is a relational identification with a particular cultural-conceptual matrix. The relationality perspective reveals that it is a categorical-level identification. As such, it is operational from the emic perspective at the group level and includes manifestations of each individual member's composite identity hierarchy. It is meaningful at the categorical level only fleetingly, except when—from the etic perspective—it is the only basis of relationship, i.e., individuals find themselves unrelated except for being either the same as or different from one another in terms of a categorical criterion.

From an archaeological perspective, the paradigm built upon these premises allows researchers to analytically see evidence of the 'sensual and experiential person' in material expressions as a general feature of the archaeological record. Application of the Self^{Other} lens reveals that the Person at Level 1 is expressed as the agent at Level 2. This Individual has a 'way of being in the world' that is heuristically discernible as a mixture of shared and unique characteristics (CAUs). These elements underly the collective *habitus* of moral codes, social institutions, and other contents (including certain objects) of Level 3 Group Identity. In combination, these comprise how the group identifies and is identified at Level 4. Thus, the paradigm highlights the dynamics that make each of these identifications meaningful in different ways and in relation to each other from the experiential-person's perspective. It also discloses how the different identities motivate individuals and social systems toward identity work (formation, expression, preservation, and permissible changes) that tends to stay within the parameters of validity. By bringing these dynamics to light, they are made accessible to analyses that can produce interpretations grounded in socio-cognitive (that is to say, human) realities.

As demonstrated throughout this thesis, problems arise in analyses of identification—and cultural identity specifically—when the different levels are conflated or not considered in their relational juxtapositioning in light of the socio-cognitive processes in play. As a case in point, collective identity has been shown to be a mindset based on Group Identity (in relation to people) that is evoked under certain circumstances, whereas Categorical Identity is a mental construct based on association with a particular classification. The collective mindset, Group Identity, and Categorical Identity are three separate kinds of identification. The problem of conflated identities is a factor that arises in the Amorite paradox, as seen when identification as a group of soldiers in a text is mistaken for evidence that 'Amorite' was a military rather than an ethnic (or other more meaningful or overarching) Group Identity. Such a misidentification has the potential to misdirect the investigative focus as to what we are looking for and where we are expecting to find it. As a result, it can also skew a researcher's resulting interpretation of the evidence, archaeological or otherwise.

On that basis, this project proposes an analytical approach to the archaeological investigation of cultural identity through a dramaturgical perspective of Performance Points. The Performance Points concept is based on the interdisciplinary socio-cognitive perspective of "Conjunctures" developed by Johnson-Hanks et al. From this vantage point, the encounters through which symbolic communication brings interactants into co-constitutional engagement (such as in Level 2 role-play) and contribute to the various dimensions of identity processes are opened up to investigation. Drawing upon materiality studies and this Performance Points

approach, contextual elements (including objects) are recognized as being interactants in these processes through direct involvement. Their role extends beyond the backdrop or framing with which they are generally attributed—they sculpt, stage, and contribute to human behavior on multiple planes, from the geographic, to the socio-structural and material, to the cognitive levels. As with the underlying processes involved in identity, exposing the material dynamics of social interaction in this way makes them accessible to analytical interpretations, thus providing a degree of objectivity that has the potential to generate greater agreement about the results among researchers.

All of the above has been brought together to address the Amorite Paradox. By establishing the validity of social forms (such as culture) and identity markers (such as language, dress, and styles of governance) as heuristic tools, these two assets have been brought into combination with the Self^{Other} approach to capitalize on the potential for bringing some resolution to this specific challenge. The premise has been that it is engagements as Performance Points, in which an actant's composite identity hierarchy is engaged, that produce the record recovered through the textual and material evidence of Amorites. From this perspective, interactions are opened up to analytical investigation through the cumulative framework of the relational, socio-cognitive understanding of Identity and the heuristic devices of Performance Points and social forms, including identity markers.

The resulting analytical validation of several identifying Amorite features provided in this study is resonant with current trends in Ancient Near Eastern research. Other investigators in the discipline are already moving in the direction of giving greater consideration to processes, engaging with insights from a wider range of disciplines, and employing more analytical approaches. Drawing from neuroanthropology, cultural psychology, sociology, and social archaeology, the Self^{Other} relational approach to cultural identity—developed in this study with the challenges of the Amorite paradox as a guiding principle—fits within that stream. The results support the original claim—that through the advancements in these other disciplines we have the capacity to consider the Amorite Paradox analytically and draw closer to a consensus. The framework produced by these efforts is a tool that can provide a common ground from which efforts to resolve the current impasse concerning the Amorites' cultural identity and their archaeological imprint can be reinvigorated. Implementing it to consider their identity markers through the lens of Social Discourse Analysis in this project has provided preliminary confirmation of the validity of the approach. This has been accomplished by exposing that the Amorite cultural identity was what we refer to as an ethnic group. Characterizing their identification in this way is not new, as has been demonstrated in §2.6.1.2. However, substantiating it through the application of the framework provides the kind of analytical basis for the interpretation—grounded in interdisciplinary theory and empirical research—that is needed to advance Amorite studies toward greater consensus on this fundamental question.

5.2 New Insight on the Amorites

Along with the primary new insight about the validity of their ethnic identity, the Self^{Other} perspective has brought to light cohesive evidence for the Amorites that supports the traditional characterization of them as a group along with several of the distinctive markers associated with them by previous researchers. It adds analytical validation to the view that:

a) their foundational identity was that of a kinship-based ethnic group, in that they identified themselves by a family-based, ancestral worldview (§4.3.6);

b) they had a distinct language, for which there is robust support through the available onomastic evidence (§4.3.2.2.1.ii);

c) they originated in the Middle Euphrates region, with ties to the land through their use of space, such as their *nighum* traversals, that radiated outward in all directions, including southern Mesopotamia (§4.3.4).

The identity markers that have been similarly validated by the approach include that:

d) they were different in physical appearance (§4.3.2.1.1) and stylistic presentation, such as through dress and hairstyle (§4.3.2.1.2), from both Egyptians and other Mesopotamians;

e) there were distinctive items with which they were associated, such as a certain type of sheep (§4.3.3.1) and a dagger (§4.3.3.2.i), as well as a deity (for which see the various comments in Chapter 4);

f) they were also differentiated ideologically from other cultural groups by a particular family-based perspective that permeated their social institutions, including those constructed around their ties to the land (§4.3.4), their extended-family concept (§4.3.2.1.3) and blood relationships (§4.3.2.2.1.i), as well as their governance (§4.3.2.2.1.iii) and religion (§4.3.5).

Importantly, the framework reveals that all of these characteristics were encompassed by a worldview that set them apart in the collective self-consciousness of the Amorites (§4.3.2.2.2) and in the minds of those with whom they interacted (§4.3.6). In the process of considering their identifying elements, this study reveals that the ideological markers (noted in item f above) discerned by other researchers reflect a composite Amorite worldview that was unique in its multifaceted sense of tradition, which was linked to a situated, tribal, and family-based cultural past (§4.3.5). It is the cohesiveness in the resulting practices that makes them identifiable in the evidence to modern researchers.

5.3 Opportunities for Future Research on the Amorites

Several insights gained through this project have the potential to resolve facets of the Amorite Paradox in future research. One comes from having exposed the differentiation in the kinds and levels of identifications. For instance, these differences are likely to be what is operative in the evidence that appears to be portraying Amorites in contradictory ways, when, instead, it is only a matter of contextualized saliency or perspective. More specifically, the explication of Level 4 categorical identification processes indicates that this is what is operative in the etic vs. emic perspective of the reference to them as "people that came from the west" (§2.6.1.3), if that translation of the text is accurate. Recognizing this as a difference in perspective is not what is new; it is already recognized and taken into consideration in the literature. Where the paradigm contributes is in showing *why* that difference can be present without being contradictory, which opens it up to analysis and can provide more basis for agreement among the researchers. Amorites in a textual reference can be any number of things to the Babylonians who wrote it, such as soldiers (a Level 4 categorical identification) and can have that identification within their culture as well (as a Level 3 Community of Practice, P2a.3.6)

without compromising the very meaningful, overarching (ethnic) cultural identification. Having the delineation, and the relationality, clarified provides the necessary grounding for articulating how both levels can be accommodated—by the Amorites, their contemporaries, and modern researchers. It can, thus, potentially clarify the evidence and resolve some of the debates that continue to reappear as propositions and counterarguments concerning the Amorite Problem (§2.5). An example of these recurring exchanges arises in a recent instance of the 'soldier' identification. In his 2011 monograph, Michalowski interprets the label *Amurrum* in the Ur III texts as designating military personnel, which at least one researcher has taken to mean it was their Identity. Landsberger made the Amorite-equals-soldier association in 1924[880] and the idea has continued in the literature since that time, as Michalowski is undoubtedly aware given his status in the field. After raising that point, he (Michalowski) quickly notes that the term could also refer to an ethnic group, a place, or other things.[881] The perpetuated claim that they were soldiers is not the problem; it does, in fact, appear that some Amorites were military specialists. However, that does not mean they were soldiers *rather than* a more encompassing identification—such as an ethnicity, or even a tribe. The problem of attributing one level of identification in replacement of another arises from the lack of clarity that ensues from not having the different identifications placed in perspective with regard to each other—it leaves the interpretations without mooring. This is especially true in consideration of an overarching Cultural Identity, ethnic or otherwise. Without the relative framework in mind, statements are more easily disconnected and misinterpreted,[882] whereas having the scenarios considered analytically in light of the identification processes in play, thus bringing the different dimensions together into a correlative perspective, can obviate some of this kind of confusion. The relational perspective can, thus, facilitate deriving analytical interpretations that can bring the field closer to consensus about Amorite identity and progressing beyond such sticking points. At the least, it will reduce some of the miscommunication that plays into the current deadlock by providing common terminology and a legitimated foundational premise. Akkadian words can be multi-referential, and the Amorites can be many things, but that does not necessarily negate or even undermine the evidence that they were a cultural group, as some would argue (§2.6.1.2, §2.6.2.2). The determination of what *kind* it was cannot be definitively decided without a

[880] Landsberger (1924): 236, following Thureau-Dangin.

[881] Michalowski (2011), 109-110.

[882] Without detracting from his contribution to the field, see, for instance, the disconnect between Burke's conclusions and the statements by Michalowski that he draws upon for them; being mindful of the various processes in play in these identities, as separate levels, might avert similar misapprehensions. Burke asserts, "According to Michalowski, *the term 'Amurrum' during the course of the Ur III period came to denote 'elite Amorite guards,'* though it remains unclear to what extent members of this group of mercenaries were also necessarily identified as Amorite, with the likelihood that they were less and less Amorite over time. It is significant, however, that of the many capacities in which individuals were identified as sedentarized Amorites [following Buccellati] during this period only those associated with military positions can be identified as Amurrum with certainty (Michalowski 2011, pp. 107–09)."

Michalowski's statement is more moderated than Burke's interpretation would suggest; Michalowski wrote, "We have now narrowed down the context in which some of the people designated as Amurrum surface in the Ur III accounting record, with everything pointing in the direction of the military. … It is also true that the word Amurrum was utilized in Ur III times in a way that we might today describe as ethnic. … I should be clear on this: I am only claiming a military role for some, not the majority, of people resident in Babylonia who are designated as Amurrum in Ur III administrative records, but there are other occasions in other times when the term referred to an area, ethnic groups, as well as to a language, …ultimately these meanings are all related..." Burke, "Amorites, Climate Change" (2017), 287, emphasis added; Michalowski (2011), 109-110.

consistent and robust approach through which the evidence can be evaluated holistically. The efforts presented in Chapter 4 of this project are a start.

The Self^{Other} paradigm has been formulated as an organizing framework for compiling data in such a way that interpretations derived from the evidence can be grounded in identity processes. Consideration of these socio-cognitive aspects are critical, in that they are what is at work in the behaviors that create the evidence, whether that be textual or material. The most direct scenario for operationalizing the method would be in using it to organize the data from a discrete assemblage of material evidence such as that in Ebla stratum IIIA or IIIB—a clearly demarcated single occupation phase with a wide array of excavated data (although these strata do not also include textual finds, which would be optimal). By organizing the pottery in terms of the actants' relationality to food according to the vessel function, for instance, it can be organized for comparison to other types of material expressions (whether in the same group context, place, and time or in others) on the same basis. Data is organized in some form or fashion for any analytical study. Archaeological data is typically limited to loci and basket numbers, artifact and decoration type, and other such statistical factors. Without a framework such as the one proposed here that is structured by identity dynamics, there is no verifiable grounding to the pattern analysis that leads to an interpretation from that data; it is only intuitive. It is informed, certainly, but still mostly ad hoc and, consequently, without the objective basis that can promote agreement by other researchers. The suggested implementation of the Self^{Other} framework would be as an interpretive coding structure alongside the statistical aspects. Following this procedure for the artifacts and features of a single occupation phase will make patterned characteristics evident through the relational associations between the different elements, rather than merely the functional ones (as a common example). After the data has been compiled in this manner, it is then available for comparative analysis with other contextualized data sets that have been organized by the same structure, no matter the presupposed cultural make-up. The comparison can be accomplished on the same bases because the identity processes at work are the same—the comparative analysis can be conducted on the same terms.

The framework is structured so that the data can be further nuanced by incorporating other criteria of interest, e.g., the decorative elements or the household types (to capture status or occupation, for example), through the sub-coding structure. It can also accommodate a shift in the interpretive focus from the function-primary approach, as in the pottery example above, to another (e.g., symbolic) one, by using the sub-coding as the primary element. In contexts for which there is also textual evidence, it can inform the data compilation and analysis in different ways, e.g., by including the explicit nature of the relationality for the different content elements (if the texts make that information available). Consider the behavioral aspects associated with the cult of ^{d}*Amurru*, for example. ^{d}AN made him the "lord of the lapis mountains,"[883] so the presence or absence of lapis in certain objects, or a locus, potentially has a different meaningfulness than might otherwise be noted; the connection can be captured through the sub-coding structure and brought into an interpretive analysis that incorporates the identification processes at work, in ways that might not otherwise be considered. The symbolic meaning of the lapis might be captured in an ad hoc approach but not in a consistent, i.e., correlational, manner that would allow further evidentiary materials to be considered on the same basis. These are only a few examples of how the paradigm can be operationalized. It is designed to be sufficiently flexible

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and holistic to accommodate case-scenarios and investigative interests pertaining to cultural identity broadly.

As indicated above, the baseline Amorite identity preliminarily established in Chapter 4 can serve as a starting point for other studies about that group. In the process, the ethnic interpretation will also be either confirmed or refuted. This is, in fact, needed—the findings should be validated further through more appropriately contextualized data sets. Ideally, these would be synchronic studies of more constricted loci, such as the previously mentioned single phase occupations at Ebla. A comparative analysis of both strata at that site would be a particularly strong application scenario since the inhabitants of both are thought to be Amorites—it would provide a diachronic enhancement that has the potential to be revelatory. The validity of the interpretation of Amorite ethnicity should also be further tested and reinforced through comparative analyses with other kinds of contexts. Two such promising case studies are the close, tribally differentiated scenario of Old Babylonian Sippar-Yahrurum and Sippar-Amnanum, or the mixed (Amorite and Others) situation at Haradum, both of which are already in progress.

5.4 Other Benefits of the Paradigm

The main benefit of the paradigm is that it offers a method for synthesizing the disparate insights—whether they be theoretical, interpretive, or evidentiary—in the research already available or in-progress, as well as for future efforts. Thus, it can potentially bring some resolution to the Amorite issues, aid Near Eastern studies more widely, and facilitate identity research generally.

This project began by raising two questions related to the research on Amorites—*what* are we looking for? and *where* are we looking for it? By presenting a way of reining in the problematics of identity, culture, cultural identity and the archaeological investigation of it, both of those questions have been responded to and a third has also been addressed—*how* are we looking for it? With regard to the first two questions, what researchers are looking for is evidence of differentiation between Amorites and other groups. Within even the limited scope of the evidence considered in this project, this kind of distinctiveness has been supported in several areas (as noted above in items a-f). As far as where they are looking is concerned, investigators in Amorite studies consider the same categories of evidence that have proven fruitful in research for other cultural groups around the world, such as social practices, imagery, objects, and language. The results of this present study indicate that Amorite distinctiveness is found in those categories of evidence in each dimension of a cultural (group) identification as defined through relational identity processes. Having offered some resolution to those questions, the field is better positioned for refining our understanding of them from different perspectives, archaeological or otherwise, and advancing beyond the impasse on the fundamental question of the character of their Amorite identity. The nature of identity—being innately socio-cognitive and behaviorally expressed—indicates that we are justified in the intuitive expectation that if a distinctive group of people is present there will be some manifestation of their identity that will manifest in the historical record. The only reasonable exception to that would be the inadequacy of either the evidence or the methodology, whether a lack of preserved or excavated materials or inefficacious field or interpretive methods. Given the rationality of this expectation, if we are unable to discern the presence of Amorites (or any cultural group) when they are reasonably believed to be in a location for which we have adequate data, the more judicious assumption

should be that we need to reconsider our research methods rather than to conclude the group does not exist or is something other than what the available evidence indicates. The benefits of this project in that regard come from considering the third query concerning the methods of *how* we look for the answers to the complex issues surrounding the Amorites. As an interdisciplinarily-grounded, holistic, analytical approach that has yielded preliminary results, $Self^{Other}$ is a recommended answer to that question.

The positioning and character of the Amorites are such that the benefits of resolving the issues surrounding them may extend much further than Amorite Studies. Achieving consensus on their identity issue will allow forward movement into more productive insights in related research. For example, it can inform other dynamics of cultural interaction in the ancient world up to the modern Middle East. In addition, it has the potential to shed light on other related topics generally, e.g., pastoral nomadism or aliterate group dynamics. Should the paradigm prove valid in further research efforts, it may also contribute to the discussion on other social issues involving identity. Thus, the drama of the Amorite story is to be continued and Hammurabi's influence lives on.

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Appendix A
Primary Texts

A-1. Primary Text Excerpts

Text ID	Transliteration	Translation	Text Type	Attestation	Provenience	Date
A.104 (= ARM 26 312)[zzzz]	27') *i-na-an-na šum-ma li-ib-bi be-lí-ia* 28') lú *šu-ú ìr-ka ša ki-na-tim* 29') lú *šu-ú i-na na-pí-iš-ti-šu la i-ha-aṭ-ṭì* 30') 1 lú *ta-ak-la-am ra-ki-ib* anše-há 31') *ša i-na a-wa-tim pa-né-šu la ub-ba-lu ṭú-ur-dam-ma* 32') lú *šu-ú li-ib-lu-uṭ…*	Now, if it pleases my lord—that man is truly your servant; that man is not committing a wrong (for which he must pay) with his life—dispatch me a reliable man, a rider of donkeys, who does not mince words, and may that man (Ibni-Addu) live![aaaaa]	Letter	Donkey Rider	Mari	Zimrî-Lîm (1775-1762)
A.109[bbbbb]	14) lú *šu-[ú li-ša-an a]k-ka-di-i* 15) *a-mu-ur-ri-i ù šu-ba-ri-i i-le-i*	14-15) Dieser Mann beherrscht [die Sprache] der Akkader, der Amurriter und der Šubaräer!	Letter	Language of a people group; Contrasting languages	Mari	Zimrî-Lîm (1775-1762)

[zzzz] Dominique Charpin, "Les Représentants de Mari a Ilân-Ṣurâ," ed. Dominique Charpin et al., ARM 26/2 (Paris: ERC, 1988), 70-72.
[aaaaa] Heimpel (2003), 295-296.
[bbbbb] Ziegler and Charpin (2007), 59, with n. 22.

Text ID	Transliteration	Translation	Text Type	Attestation	Provenience	Date
A.264 (= *ARM* 26 524)[ccccc]	18) *ša-ni-tam* lú *mu-un-na-ab-tu šu-nu* 19) *a-na aš-kur-* ^{d}IM R.20) *ki-a ⌜am iq-bu⌝-ú um-ma-a-mi* 21) *i-nu-ma* dumu *š*[*i-ip-r*]*i-im* lú èš-nun-na^{ki} *ra-ki-ib* anše-há 22) *ša it-ti-*dumu [*iš-me*] ^{d}*da-gan a-na pa-ṭà-ar* 23) lú *èš-nun-na*^{ki} *i-le-em a-na ra-za-ma-a*^{ki} 24) *ik-šu-dam-ma i-na ra-za-ma-a*^{ki} *i-mu-ru-šu-ma* 25) *ṣíbi-it-tum i-na a-lim ša-a-ti it-bi* 26) *ù iš-me-*^{d}*da-gan* dumu *ši-ip-ri-im ša-a-tu* 27) *i-na a-wa-tim ki-a-am iṣ-ba-as sú um-ma-a-mi* 28) 5 me *ṣa-ba-am* lú èš-nun-na^{ki} *a-na na-ṣa-ri-ia* 29) *i-de-em ú-lašu-ma wa-ar-ki-ka-ma* 30) *ma-ti i-du-uk-ka-an-ni ú-ul ú-ba-la-ṭú-ni-in-/ni*$_5$ 31) *i-na-an-na* dumu *ši-ip-ri-im ša it-ti* dumu *iš-me-*^{d}*da-gan i-le-em* 32) *ṣa-ba-šu a-na èš-nun-na*^{ki} *ip-ta-ṭà-ar* 33) *ṭe*$_4$*-ma-am ša eš-mu-ú a-na be-lí-ia* {x} 34) *áš-tap-ra-am* {x}	"'Further: Those fugitives spoke to Aškur-Addu as follows: "When the Ešnunakean ⌜messenger⌝, a rider of donkeys, who came up with the son of [Išme-Dagan] to dismiss the Ešnunakeans, arrived in Razama, they (the people) saw him in Razama, and the prison rose up in that city. And Išme-Dagan addressed that messenger as follows: 'The 5 hundred Ešnunakean troops must stay behind to guard me! If not, my land will kill me after you (depart). They will not let me live.' The messenger who came up with the son of Išme-Dagan has now dismissed his troops (back) to Ešnuna.'" Herewith I have written my lord what I heard."[ddddd]	Letter	Donkey Rider	Mari	Išme-Dagan (1955-1937)

[ccccc] Bertrand Lafont, "La Correspondance d'Iddiyatum," ed. Dominique Charpin et al., ARM 26/2 (Paris: ERC, 1988), 500-502.
[ddddd] Heimpel (2003), 402-403.

Text ID	Transliteration	Translation	Text Type	Attestation	Provenience	Date
A.975 (= FM 8 138)[eeeee]	19) *e-li <pa>-ra-ki š[a]-qi-[im šu-me-l]am ṣa-la-am* [d]mar-tu 20) *ga-am-la-am na-š[i]-i* 21) *i-na pa-ni-šu ṣa-la-am be-lí-ia ka-ri-bu*	19) Sur une haute estrade, à gauche, une representation d'Amurrum 20) lève l'arme courbe. 21) Face à lui, (il y a) une representation de mon Seigneur faisant la prière…	Letter	Deity, worshipped, with image	Mari	Yasmah-Addu (1792-1775)
A.2238 (= ARM 27 16)[fffff]	7) 2 me *ṣa-ba-am*[meš] *ù* [d]saggar$_2$-*a-bu* 8) *iš-tu kur-da*[ki] *ú-ṣú-nim-ma* 9) 5 me *ṣa-ba-am*[meš] l[ú èš]-⌜nun⌝-[n]a [*d*]*a-am*$_x$*-da-*[*a*]m 10) *i-d*[*u-u*]*k i-na ka-ra-ši-šu is-sú-uh-šu* 11) *ù* 12 lú-meš *ra-ak-bu-ut* anše-há *ú-te-er* 12) *a-na pu-ha-at* [I]*ba-zi-lim ù zi-ik-ri-*[d]IM 13) *i-na-aṣ-ṣa-ar-šu-nu-ti*	'2 hundred troops and Saggar-Abum went out from Kurda, and he defeated 5 hundred Ešnunakean troops. He removed them from their camp. And he brought back 12 riders of donkeys. He guards them as replacement for Bazilum and Zikri-Addu.[ggggg]	Letter	Donkey Rider	Mari	Zimrî-Lîm (1775-1762)
A.2760[hhhhh]	7) *ù* dumu-meš *ši-ip-ri* 8) *ša* 4 lugal ⌜a⌝-[*m*]*u-*⌜ur⌝*-ri-i*	7-8) and the messengers of the four Amorite kings	Letter	Third-person reference (collective); Title	Mari	Yasmah-Addu (1792-1775)
A.3263 (= ARM 26 131)[iiiii]	5) 4 *l*[*i*]*-mi ṣa-ba-am* [s]ig$_5$ 6) [I][*h*]*a-am-mu-ra-*[o] 7) [*ù*] *da-da-*[?] 8) [lú-ga]l mar-tu-[m]eš 9) [ù [I]] *ka-ak-ka-ru-kum* 10) [l]ú-máš-šu-su$_{13}$-su$_{13}$	4 thousand ⌜good⌝ troops, ⌜the generals Hammu-Rabi⌝ [and] Dada, [and] ⌜the diviner⌝ Kakka-Ruqqum, [3] riders of donkeys, are those in the lead of those troops.[jjjjj]	Letter	Donkey Rider	Mari	Zimrî-Lîm (1775-1762)

[eeeee] Jean-Marie Durand, *Le Culte des Pierres et les Monuments Commémoratifs en Syrie Amorrite*, FM 8 (Paris: SEPOA, 2005), 130-132.

[fffff] Maurice Birot, *Correspondance des Gouverneurs de Qaṭṭunân*, ARM 27 (Paris: ERC, 1993), 58-61.

[ggggg] Heimpel (2003), 417.

[hhhhh] Marco Bonechi, "Relations Amicales Syro-Palestiniennes: Mari et Haṣor au XVIII[e] Siècle av. J.C.," ed. Jean-Marie Durand, FM 1, Mélanges M. Fleury (Paris: SEPOA, 1992), 10.

[iiiii] Jean-Marie Durand, *Archives Épistolaires de Mari*, ARM 26/1 (Paris: ERC, 1988), 296-297.

[jjjjj] Heimpel (2003), 225-226.

Text ID	Transliteration	Translation	Text Type	Attestation	Provenience	Date
	11) [3] lú-meš *ra-ak-bu-ut* anše-ḫá 12) *ša pa-an ṣa-bi-im ša-a-ti*					
A.3901[kkkkk]	2') …⌜*ṭe$_4$*⌝*-em na-we-e-i*[*m*] 3') [*a-n*]*a ṣe-ri-ia ú-ul sa-di-ir* 4') [*a*]*n-ni-tam be-li išs-pu-ra-am na-wu-um* 5') [*a-d*]*i li-ib-bi ma-a-tim sà-ap-ha-at* 6') *i-mi-it-ti na-we-e-im* kur *e-bi-ih* 7') *ù šu-mé-el-ša ta-al-ha-yu-um*[ki] 8') *iš-tu ra-za-ma-a*[ki] *ia-sa-an aṣ-ba-tam-ma* 9') [I]*bu-nu-eš$_4$-tár zu-zu-ú sa-am-si-e-ra-ah* 10') [I]*i-ni-iš-ul-me ù sà-am-bu-ga-*⌜*ni*⌝ 11') ⌜*ap*⌝*-qí-id a-na pu-hu-ur* lugal-meš *šu-ut* 12') [[I]*ha-ià*]*-su-ú-um sa-am-me-e-*⌜*tar*⌝ 13') [*ù* lugal-me]š *i-da-ma-ra-aṣ ka-la-šu-*[*n*]*u* 14') [*a-na ma-la-ha*]*-tim*[ki] *ša sa-ri-im* 15') [*aṭ-ru-u*]*s-*<*sú*>*-nu-ti-ma ap-qí-is-su-nu-*[*ti*]	2') Les nouvelles des troupeaux à la pâture 3') ne parviennent pas chez moi régulièrement!» 4') Voilà ce que m'a écrit mon Seigneur. Les troupeaux à la pâture 5') sont dispersés jusqu'à l'intérieur du Pays. 6') À droite de la pâture c'est le mont Ebih 7') et à sa gauche c'est Talhayûm. 8') Ayant quitté Razamâ de Yussan, j'ai *approvisionné* 9') Bunû-Eštar, Zuzû, Samsî-Erah, 10') Iniš-ulme et Sambugani. 14') À [Malah]âtum du Sarûm 11') pour l'assemblée des rois, celle de 12') Hayya-Sûmû, Sammêtar 13') et tous les rois de l'Ida-Maraṣ, 15') je les ai envoyés e je les ai *approvisionnés*.	Letter	Space	Mari	Zimrî-Lîm (1775-1762)
A.4287+A.4368 (= ARM 26 314)[lllll]	10) *i-na-an-*⌜*na*⌝ [3 an]še-ba-*ri*	Now, there are (just) [n] ⌜donkey loads⌝ of grain	Letter	Donkey-load as standard	Mari	Zimrî-Lîm (1775-

[kkkkk] Michaël Guichard, "Le Šubartum Occidental a l'Avènement de Zimri-Lim," ed. Dominique Charpin and Jean-Marie Durand, FM 6 (Paris: SEPOA, 2002), 158-159.

[lllll] Charpin, "Les Représentants de Mari a Ilân-Ṣurâ," (1988), 75.

Text ID	Transliteration	Translation	Text Type	Attestation	Provenience	Date
		rations.[mmmmm]		measure		1762)
A.7542[nnnnn]	6) *aš-šum* [m]*Ú-ba-a-a-tum* AD.DA MAR.TU	6) concerning Ubajatum, the *abi Amurrim*	Letter	Third-person, individual, association by title	unc.	ca. 1792
A.7556[ooooo]	1) [d]mar-dú 2) dumu-an-na … 5) [d]*da-mi-iq-ì-lí-šu* … 19) é-me-sikil 20) é-šútum-ki-ág-gá-ni 21) mu-na-dù	1-2) For the god Mardu, son of the god An, … 5) Damiq-ilīšu, … 19-21) built for him the Emesikil ('House with pure *mes*'), his beloved storehouse.	Inscription (cone)	Deity, worshipped, with 'storehouse'	Isin[?]	Damiq-ilišu (1816-1794)
A.7758[ppppp]	1) *a-na A-ḫi-ša-ki-mi* *qi-bi-ma* *um-ma I-zi-Su-mu-ú-ma* *a-nu-um- <ma> ṭup-pa-am* (5) *a-na* ARAD.[d]MAR.TU *aš-šum* [SÍG].ḪI.A *uš-ta-bi-lam a-li-ik-ma* *ṭup-pa-am bi-il-šum*	1) To Aḫi-ša-kimi speak: thus (says) Izi-Sumu: Now, a tablet (written) 5) to Warad-Amurrim concerning wool I have sent along; go and take the tablet to him.	Letter	Third-person (indirect)	Nerebtum	OB
Abd 88-286[qqqqq]	1) *za-ba-a-*[*a*] 2) nita-kala-g[a] 3) *ra-b*[*í-an-*mar-dú]	1) Zabā[ia] 2) mighty man, 3) [Amorite] chi[ef]	Inscription (cone)	Title	Maškan-šāpir	Zabâya (1941-1933)
AO 4504[rrrrr]	3) IR_{11}-[d]EN.ZU 4) énsi- 5) [d]utu 6) dumu-*ku-du-ur-ma-bu-uk* 7) ad-da-kur-mar-dú	3-7) Warad-Sîn, governor of the god Utu, son of Kudur-mabuk, father of the Amorite land	Inscription (agate eye-stone)	Space/Place	unc.	Early OB

[mmmmm] Heimpel (2003), 297.
[nnnnn] Rowton (1969): 68 n. 64, 72-73.
[ooooo] Frayne (1990), 103-104.
[ppppp] Samuel Greengus, *Studies in Ishchali Documents*, BiMes 19 (Malibu, CA: Undena Publications, 1986), 13.
[qqqqq] Frayne (1990), 112.
[rrrrr] CDLI P431773; Ibid., 256.

Text ID	Transliteration	Translation	Text Type	Attestation	Provenience	Date
AO 6407[sssss]	*i-din-*^{d}*Amurrum* *mâr* ^{d}*Ištar-ilum* *warad* ^{d}*Amurrim*	Iddin-Amourroum fils d'Ishtar-iloum, serviteur d'Amourrou	Seal	Personal name element; Deity, with devotee	Larsa	Hammu-rabi (1792-1750)
AO 6209[ttttt]	7) *ku-du-ur-ma-bu-uk* 8) ad-da-kur-mar-dú	7-8) Kudur-mabuk, father of the Amorite land	Inscription (cone)	Space/Place	Uruk	Warad-Sîn (1834-1823)
AO 15704[uuuuu]	1) ^{d}mar-dú 2) dingir-ra-ni-ir 3) nam-ti- 4) *ḫa-am-mu-ra-pí* 5) lugal-KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI 6) lú-^{d}nanna [...] 7) dumu-^{d}EN.zu-*le-i* 8) alam šà-ne-ša$_4$ urudu 9) mùš-me-[bi] kù-GI-[gar]-ra 10) ⌜nam-ti-la-ni-še⌝ 11) mu-na-an-dím 12) ìr-da-ni-šè 13) a mu-na-ru	1-2) For the god Mardu, his god, 3-5) for the life of Ḫammu-rapi, king of Babylon, 6-11) Lu-Nanna, [...], son of Sîn-leʾi, fashioned for him, for his life, a suppliant statue of copper, [its] face [plat]ed with gold. 12-13) He dedicated it to him as his servant.	Inscription (figurine)	Deity, worshipped	Larsa[?]	Hammu-rabi (1792-1750)
AO 19671[vvvv]	3) sag.bi kaskal Mar.tu	3) face à la route de l'Ouest	Contract (real estate)	Road	Damrun	OB
ARM 2 13[wwwww]	29) *GAL-MAR-TU DUB-SAR-MAR-TU…*	(Jean) "le grand-des-amurru, le scribe-des-amurrû" / (Durand) "général, scribe du général",	Letter	Titles	Mari	Yasmah-Addu (1792-1775)
ARM 3 50	7) *ša-ni-tam u$_4$-um ṭup-pî* [*an-*	7) Autre affaire. Le jour où	Letter	Groups	Mari	Zimrî-Lîm

[sssss] Louis Delaporte and F. Thureau-Dangin, *Catalogue des Cylindres, Cachets et Pierres Gravées de Style Oriental du Louvre*, Catalogue des Cylindres Orientaux vol. II: Acquisitions (Paris: Hachette, 1923), 146.

[ttttt] Frayne (1990), 205-207.

[uuuuu] Ibid., 360.

[vvvv] Marguerite Rutten, "Un Lot de Tablettes de Mananâ," *RA* 53, (1959): 83-84; Stol, *Studies in Old Babylonian History* (1976), 89, n. 58.

[wwwww] Charles F. Jean, *Lettres*, ARM 2 (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1973), 36-37; Durand, *Les Documents Epistolaires du Palais de Mari 2* (1998), 31-32.

Text ID	Transliteration	Translation	Text Type	Attestation	Provenience	Date
(= LAPO 17 701)[xxxxx]	*ni-e-e*]*m* 8) *a-na ṣe-er be-l*[*í-i*]*a* 9) *ú-ša-bi-lam* 10) *1 (awîl) Ub-ra-bu-u*[*m*] 11) *1 (awîl) Ia-ḫu-ur-r*[*u-u*]*m* 12) *ù Wa-na-nu-*[*um*] 13) *3 awîlu(meš) an-nu-tum ša Bini(meš)-*[*i*]*a-mi-na* 14) *iš-tu e-le-num*	[cette] mienne tablette 8) à mon seigneur 9) j'ai fait porter, 10) un homme Ubrabûm, 11) un homme Iaḫurrûm 12) et (un) Wananûm, 13) ces trois hommes (faisant partie) des Benjaminites, 14) sont arrivés du Haut-Pays				(1775-1762)
ARM 5, 81[yyyyy]	5) immerâtum(ḫá) *ša Ha-na-(meš)…* 9) *ú Ḫa-na(meš) Ya-ma-ḫa-mu-um* 13) *as-sú-ur-ri Binu(meš)-ia-mi-na*	5) Les moutons des Hanéens… 9) et les Ḫanéens Yamḫamum 13) Peut-être les Benjaminites	Letter	Animal	Mari	Yasmah-Addu (1792-1775)
ARM 6, 64[zzzzz]	e. 1) …LÚ.GAL.MAR.TU.MEŠ	"generals"	Letter	Title	Mari	Mari Period (1810-1762)
ARM 6, 76[aaaaaa]	20) [*šum-ma*] *šar Ḫa-na*(*meš*) *at-ta* 21) [*ù š*]*a-ni-iš šar Ak-ka-di-im at-ta* 22) [*be-li*] *i-na sîsê*(*ḫá*) *la i-ra-ka-ab* 23) [*i-na* (*i*]*ṣ*)*nu-ba-lim ù imêri*(*ḫá*) *ku-da-ni-ma* 24) [*b*]*e-*[*li*] *li-ir-ka-am-ma qa-qa-ad šar-ru-ti-šu* 25) *li-ka-bi-it*	20) [Si] tu es le roi des Ḫanéens, 21) tu es [aussi] secondement le roi de l'Accadien. 22) Que [mon seigneur] ne monte pas de chevaux, 23) que ce soit dans un char ou sur des mules seulement 24) que mon seigneur monte et qu'il honore 25) sa tête royale!	Letter	Contrast (Hana : Akkadians)	Mari	(1810-1762)

[xxxxx] CDLI P273097; Jean-Robert Kupper, *Correspondance de Kibri-Dagan, Gouverneur de Terqa*, ARM 3 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1950), 72-75; Durand, *Les Documents Epistolaires du Palais de Mari 2* (1998), 448.

[yyyyy] Georges Dossin, *Correspondance de Iasmaḫ-Addu*, ARM 5 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1952), 110-113.

[zzzzz] Jean-Robert Kupper, *Correspondance de Baḫdi-Lim*, ARM 6 (Paris: Geuthner, 1954), 92; Heimpel (2003), 242-243.

[aaaaaa] Kupper, *Correspondance de Baḫdi-Lim* (1954), 106-107.

Text ID	Transliteration	Translation	Text Type	Attestation	Provenience	Date
ARM 7, 227[bbbbbb]	12) *i-na* 2 ME UDU(ḫá) *ša Ba-aḫ-lu-ga-i-im awîl A-mu-ur-*[*ri-im*]	12) Sur 2 cent moutons de Baḫlu-gâ'im (du clan) d'Amur[rum]	Admin	Animal	Mari	Zimrî-Lîm (1775-1762)
ARM 9, 247[cccccc]	[2] 11 U_8+SAL MAR.TU	[2] 11 brebis 'amorrhéennes'	Admin	Animal	Mari	Zimrî-Lîm (1775-1762)
As 30:T.133[dddddd]	1) ⌜*i*⌝*-túr-š*[*ar-ru-um*] 2) *ra-bí-an* MAR.DÚ 3) *ša di-ni-i*[*k-tim*]	1-3) Itūr-š[arrum], Amo[rite] chief of Dini[ktum]	Seal (impression)	Title	Eshnunna	Ipiq-Adad I (ca. 1900)
AS 30:T.757[eeeeee]	1) ⌜*nu*⌝*-ur-a-ḫu-um* 2) *na-ra-am* [d]*tišpak* 3) [ÉNSI] 4) [*éš-nun-na.*KI] 5) [*a-na*] 6) *ú-ša-*⌜*šum*⌝ 7) *e-mi-šu* 8) DUMU *ab-*⌜*da-il*⌝ 9) [*ra-bí*]*-an* 10) [*a-mu-r*]*i-im* 11) [*i-q*]i_4*-iš*	1-4) Nūr-aḫum, beloved of the god Tišpak, [governor of Ešnunna], 5-11) [pres]ented (this seal) [to] Ušašum, his son-in-law, son of Abda-Il, [Amor]ite [chi]ef	Seal (impression)	Title	Eshnunna	Išbi-Erra (2019-1987)
Ash 1924, 636[ffffff]	1) *ḫa-am-mu-ra-pí* 2) lugal-kala-ga 3) lugal-KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI 4) lugal-da-ga-an-kur-mar-dú 5) lugal-ki-en-gi-ki-uri-ke_4	1-5) Ḫammu-rāpi, mighty king, king of Babylon, king of all the Amorite land, king of the land of Sumer and Akkad	Inscription (brick)	Space/Place	Kish	Hammu-rabi 36 (1756)
BAP 75[gggggg]	3) *i-ta ḫa-ra-an* [d]MAR.TU	3) neben dem Wege des Martu	Legal (contract)	Road	Sippar	Ammi-ṣaduqa

[bbbbbb] Jean Bottéro, *Textes Économiques et Administratifs*, ARMt 7 (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1957), 119-120.

[cccccc] Maurice Birot, *Textes Administratifs de la Salle 5 du Palais*, ARM 9 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1960), 203.

[dddddd] Frayne (1990), 683; Robert M. Whiting, *Old Babylonian Letters from Tell Asmar*, AS 22 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, 1987), 119.

[eeeeee] Frayne (1990), 485-486.

[ffffff] Ibid., 343-343.

[gggggg] Meissner (1893), 62; Stol, *Studies in Old Babylonian History* (1976), 89.

Text ID	Transliteration	Translation	Text Type	Attestation	Provenience	Date
						(1646-1626)
BE 36067[hhhhhh]	col. i 1) *am-mi-di-*[*ta-n*]*a* 2) lugal-kala-[g]a 3) lugal-KÁ.DINGIR.RA.K[I]-a 4) lugal-kiš.K[I]-a 5) lugal-ki-en-gi-ki-u[ri.KI-K]e_4 6) lugal-da-ga-a[n]-kur-mar-dú.KI-a-me-en	i 1-6) Ammī-di[tān]a, mighty king, king of Babylon, king of Kiš, king of the land of Sumer and Ak[kad], king of all the Amorite land	Inscription (cylinder)	Space/Place	Merkes	Ammi-ditana (1683-1647)
BM 14030[iiiiii]	1) *a-pi-il-*^{d}MAR.DÚ 2) DUMU ^{d}šul-[gi…] 3) ÌR *ri-im-*^{d}*a-n*[*u-um*]	1) Apil-Amurrûm 2) son of Šul[gi…] 3) servant of Rīm-Anum	Seal (impression)	Personal name element	Uruk	Rîm-Anum (ca. 1742)
BM 16861[jjjjjj]	kaskal MAR.TU	MAR.TU road	Admin	Road	Sippar	Samsu-iluna (1749-1712)
BM 16931[kkkkkk]	KASKAL MAR.TU	Amorite road	Admin	Road	Sippar	Hammu-rabi 20 (1772)
BM 22454[llllll]	1) [^{d}aš]-ra-tum 2) ⌜é⌝-[g]i_4-a(erasure)-an-na … 9) KA ní-tuk-bi sa_6-ga	1-3) For [the goddess Aš]ratum, daughter-in-law of the god An, …	Deity's consort; People group	Inscription (stele)	Sippar	Hammu-rabi (1792-1750)

[hhhhhh] Frayne (1990), 411-412.

[iiiiii] CDLI P405411; Ibid., 481.

[jjjjjj] CDLI P430933; Stol, *Studies in Old Babylonian History* (1976), 88; H. H. Figulla, *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*, vol. 27 (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1967), iii (Preface: R.D. Barnett).

[kkkkkk] De Boer *Amorites in the Old Babylonian Period*, (2014), 28 with n. 73; "BM 16931," British Museum Collection Database, accessed 26 December 2017, www.britishmuseum.org/collection; Figulla (1967), Preface (CT 47).

[llllll] CDLI P431861, Q002196; Frayne (1990), 359-360; Leon De Meyer, *Tell ed-Der III: Sounding at Abu Habbah (Sippar)* (Leeuven: Peeters, 1980), 101-102. On Ašratum as the consort of the god Amurrum, see Stol, *Studies in Old Babylonian History* (1976), 84, and esp; Kupper, *L'Iconographie du Dieu Amurru dans la Glyptique de la Ire Dynastie Babylonienne* (1961), 61-62.

Text ID	Transliteration	Translation	Text Type	Attestation	Provenience	Date
	10) nin-a-ni-ir 11) nam-[ti] 12 *ḫa-am-mu-r*[*a-pi*] 13) lugal-mar-[dú]	9-10) who prays reverently for her spouse, his lady, 11-13) for the li[fe] of Ḫammu-r[āpi], king of the Amo[rites]				
BM 38308[mmmmmm]	(i. 6) lugal-da-ga-a[n]-kur-mar-dú.KI-a-me-en	(i. 6) king of all the Amorite land	Inscription (cylinder)	Doubled determinatives for Space	unc.	OB (NB copy)
BM 64265[nnnnnn]	1) *ḫa-am-mu-ra-pí* dingir-kalam-[ma-na] 2) lú an-né me-lám-nam-lugal-la mu-u[n-dul$_5$-la] … 7) [luga]l-kala-ga lugal-KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI 8) [lug]al-da-ga-an-kur-mar-dú-[me-en]	1-2) [I], Ḫammu-rāpi, god of [his] nation, the one whom the god An [has covered] with the aura of kingship… 7-8) mighty [ki]ng, king of Babylon, [kin]g of all the Amorite land	Inscription	Title; Space/Place	Sippar	Hammu-rabi 36 (1756)
BM 92514[oooooo]	1) *28 GAN eḳli ugâri A-mu-ur-ri-i*^{KI} … 21) *u 6 GAN 20(?) SAR eḳli ša ugâri A-mu-ur-ri-i*	1) Wegen 28 GAN Feldes vom Gefilde der Stadt Amurrî … 21) und 6 GAN 20(?) SAR Feldes vom Gefilde von Amurri	Legal (contract)	Space/Place	Sippar	Ammi-ṣaduqa 14 (1632)
BM 92656[pppppp]	21) dumu.meš *a-mur-ru-um*	21) sons/children of Amurru	Legal	Collective	Sippar	Sâbium 12 (1832)
BM 96956[qqqqqq]	8) … é ^{d}MAR.TU	das ,,Haus von Amurrum"	Legal (contract)	'House' for deity	Sippar	Abî-ešuh (1711-1684)

[mmmmmm] Frayne (1990), 411-412; Kupper, *Les Nomades* (1957), 109.

[nnnnnn] CDLI P431848, Q002186; Frayne (1990), 344-345.

[oooooo] Meissner (1893), 41-42; Rosel Pientka, "Archiv der Altbabylonischen Urkunden," (2006), accessed 2012, https://www.uni-marburg.de/fb10/iksl/altorientalistik/forschung/aabu. s.v. BAP 42

[pppppp] CDLI P365125; Luc Dekiere, MHET II/1 (1994), 82-83; Ranke (1905), 33.

[qqqqqq] Stol, "Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft" (2004), 806; L. Dekiere, "Some Remarks on Sippar-Amnānum = Sippar-rabûm," *NABU* 4, no. 110, (1991).

Text ID	Transliteration	Translation	Text Type	Attestation	Provenience	Date
BM 96990[rrrrrr]	r. 44) …sanga [d]MAR.TU	der sanga von Amurrum	Legal (inheritance)	Deity with priest	Sippar	Ammi-ditana 30 (1653)
BM 113258[ssssss]	5-6) …*kaspam* [KÙ.BABBAR] *a-mu-ru-um*…	5-6) …argent amorrhéen…	Letter (commerce)	Qualified item	Kanesh	Old Assyrian (1950-1850)
CBS 1805a[ttttt]	warad-[ilu]sín mâr an-na-ili warad [ilu]amurrim	Warad-Sin, son of Anna-ili, servant of the god Amurrum	Seal (impression)	Deity	(Sippar)	Samsu-iluna (1749-1712)
CBS 3797[uuuuuu]	[d]*Mar-tu* *dumu an-na*	Martu, son of Anu	Seal	Deity, with representation	Nippur	unc.
CBS 7007[vvvvvv]	A. GÀR MAR.TU	Amorite field	Legal	Place/Space	Nippur	Hammu-rabi 21 (1771)
CT II 50[wwwwww]	19) *iš-tu zi-ka-ri-im* 20) *a-di sí-ni-iš-tum* 21) dumu.meš *a-mur-ru-um*	19-21) men as well as women of the children of Amurru	Legal	People group	Sippar	Zabium (1844-1831)
E4.2.14.2004[xxxxxx]	1) [d]mar-dú 2) lugal-a-ni-ir 3) nam-ti- 4) [d]ri-im-[d]EN.ZU 5) lugal-larsa.KI-ma-šè	1-5) To the god Mardu, his lord, for the life of Rīm-Sîn, king of Larsa	Inscription (stone vessel)	Deity	unk.	Rîm-Sîn (1822-1763)

[rrrrrr] Stol, "Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft" (2004), 806; Dekiere (1991).

[ssssss] CDLI P358523; P. E. van der Meer, *Une Correspondance Commerciale Assyrienne de Cappadoce* (PhD Dissertation, Nijmegen, 1931), 26-27.

[ttttt] Arthur Ungnad, *Babylonian Letters of the Hammurapi Period*, PBS 7 (1915), 25-26; Leon Legrain, *The Culture of the Babylonians from their Seals in the Collections of the Museum*, PBS 14 (1925), 264.

[uuuuuu] Legrain (1925), 245-246.

[vvvvvv] CDLI P262060; de Boer *Amorites in the Old Babylonian Period*, (2014), 28 with n. 72; Edward Chiera, *Old Babylonian Contracts*, PBS 8/2 (1922), 225.

[wwwwww] CDLI P365125; Luc Dekiere, *Old Babylonian Real Estate Documents from Sippar in the British Museum*, MHET II/1: Pre-Hammurabi Documents (Ghent: University of Ghent, 1994), 82-83; Ranke (1905), 33.

[xxxxxx] Frayne (1990), 305.

Text ID	Transliteration	Translation	Text Type	Attestation	Provenience	Date
E4.16.1[yyyyyy]	1) *a-ri-im-li-im* 2) DUMU *i-ba-a-a* 3) *ra-bí-an* MAR.D[Ú] 4) BÀD-*am* 5) *ša me-tu-ra-an*.KI 6) *i-pu-uš* 7) *ù* GIŠ.IG-*tim* 8) *ir-te* 9) *i-na* KÁ.GAL-*tim* 10) *tem-me-n*[*i*] 11) *iš-ku-un*	1) Arīm-Līm, 2) son of Ibāia, 3) Amori[te] chief, 4-6) built the wall of Mê-Turran 7-8) and fixed (its) doors. 9-11) In (its) gates he placed foundation[n] inscriptions.	Inscription (stone foundation tablet)	Title	Mê-Turran	unc.
ETCSL 3.1.13.2[zzzzzz]	19) kur mar-du … *a-mur-ri-i*	land of the Martu	Letter	MAR.TU = *amurru*	Susa	OB (20th c.)
Haddad 524[aaaaaaa]	1) *b*[*e*]*-el-šu-nu* 2) DUMU ÌR-[d]MAR-DÚ 3) ÌR *i-ba-al-pi-el*	1) Bēlšunu, 2) son of Warad-Amurrum, 3) servant of Ibāl-pî-El	Seal (impression)	Personal name element	Mê-Turran	Ibal-pi-El II (1778-1765)
HMA 9-02346[bbbbbbb]	5) Ib-ni-[d]Amurru	*[Ibni-Amurrum]*	Admin (disbursement)	Theophoric name element	Nerebtum	Ibal-pi-El II (1778-1765)
HMA 9-02364[ccccccc]	5) [m]Awîl-Amurru	5) *Awīl-Amurrim*	Admin (receipt)	Theophoric name element	Nerebtum	Ibal-pi-El II 12 (1766)
HMA 9-02406[ddddddd]	37) *I-pí-iq-*[d]*Amurrim*	*[Ipiq-Amurrum]*	Admin	Theophoric name element	Nerebtum	OB
IM 10794[eeeeeee]	1) [d]EN.ZU-*ga-mi-il*	1-4) Sîn-gāmil, Amorite chief	Inscription	Title	Šaduppûm	Sîn-gāmil

[yyyyyy] Ibid., 700.

[zzzzzz] ETCSL 3.1.13.2; Michalowski (2011), 80, no. 15; Porter, *Mobile Pastoralism* (2012), 288.

[aaaaaaa] CDLI P491237; Frayne (1990), 583.

[bbbbbbb] CDLI P248073; Greengus (1986), 203; Henry Frederick Lutz, *Legal and Economic Documents from Ashjaly*, University of California Publications in Semitic Philology vol. 10/1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1931), 56.

[ccccccc] CDLI P248091; Greengus (1986), 201; Lutz (1931), 31.

[ddddddd] CDLI P248133; Greengus (1986), 204.

[eeeeeee] Frayne (1990), 684-685.

Text ID	Transliteration	Translation	Text Type	Attestation	Provenience	Date
	2) *ra-bí-an* MAR.DÚ 3) *ša di-ni-ik-tim.*KI 4) DUMU ^{d}EN.ZU-*še-mi*	of Diniktum, son of Sîn-šemi	(stamped brick)			(18th c.)
IM 49240[fffffff]	16) *ṭe$_4$-em p*[*u*]*-uh-ri-ia* 17) *lu-ul-ma-da-am-*[*m*]*a*	"Let me learn the decision of my assembly…"	Letter	First-person association	Sippar	Sûmû-la-El 3 (1877)
IM 49341[ggggggg]	5) *a-na pu-ú*[*h-r*]*i-im* 6) *ša A-mu-r*[*i-im*] 7) *a-li-ik a-zi-i*[*z*]	5-7) I have gone to the assembly of the Amorites. I have served there.	Letter	Group; First-person association	Sippar	Sûmû-la-El 3 (1877)
kt j/k 97[hhhhhhh]	55) *ak-tù-um ša A-mu-ri-e* 56) *ki-ma : a-pì-šu-nu : ša-ma-ṭim* 57) *i-ša-ar-šu-nu…*	55-57) Of the Amorites I destroyed their penis instead of cutting off their noses.	Literary / School / Ritual	People group	Kanesh	(1950-1835)
kt m/k 7[iiiiiii]	18) *A-sùr* MAR.TU *ù i-il$_5$ Kà-ne-eš*	18) Aššur, Amurrum und der Gott von Kaniš	[Legal[?]] (oath)	Contrasting deities	Kanesh	(1910-1830)
L 67xx[jjjjjjj]	1) *za-ba-a-a* 2) *ra-bî-an* MAR.DÚ	1) Zabāia 2) Amorite chief	Inscription (brick)	Title	(Larsa)	Zabâya (1941-1933)
LB 1998[kkkkkkk]	4) *i-ta ḫarran Amurrim*	4) along the West-road	Admin (property	Road	Lagaba[?]	Hammu-rabi –

[fffffff] Wu Yuhong, *A Political History of Eshnunna, Mari and Assyria During the Early Old Babylonian Period: From the End of Ur III to the Death of Samši-Adad* (Changchun China: Institute of History of Ancient Civilizations, Northeast Normal University, 1994), 29-30; Anne Goddeeris, *Economy and Society in Northern Babylonia in the Early Old Babylonian Period (ca. 2000-1800 BC)* (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 170.

[ggggggg] Yuhong (1994), 28; Goddeeris (2002), 170; Khalid Ahmad Al-A'dami, "Old Babylonian Letters from ed Der," *Sumer* 23, (1967): 151.

[hhhhhhh] J. G. Dercksen, "Adad is King! The Sargon Text from Kultepe," *Jaarbericht … van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux.* 39, (2005): 109; Alster and Oshima (2007): 1.

[iiiiiii] Guido Kryszat, "Herrscher, Herrschaft und Kulttradition in Anatolien nach den Quellen aus den Altassyrischen Handelskolonien: Teil 2 : Götter, Priester und Feste Altanatoliens," *Altorientalische Forschungen* 33, no. 1, (2006): 112, n. 163; Thomas Sturm, "*allānū* – Haselnüsse als Delikatesse im Kārum-Zeitlichen Handel von Anatolien nach Nordmesopotamien (ca. 1930–1730 v. Chr.)," *Altorientalische Forschungen* 35, no. 2, (2008): 303, n. 323; Van de Mieroop, *History* (2015), 100-102.

[jjjjjjj] Frayne (1990), 111; Maurice Birot, "Découvertes Épigraphiques a Larsa (Campagnes 1967)," *Syria* 45, no. 4, (1968): 243-244.

[kkkkkkk] W. F. Leemans, *Legal and Administrative Documents of the Time of Hammurabi and Samsuiluna (Mainly from Lagaba)*, Studia ad Tabulas Cuneiformes Collectas a F M Th de Liagre Bœhl Pertinentia vol. I (3) (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960), 106; W. F. Leemans, *Old Babylonian Legal and Administrative Documents*, Tabulae Cuneiformes vol. 1 (Leiden: Nederlands Institute voor het Nabije Oosten, 1954-1964), 'Contents'; Stol, *Studies in Old Babylonian History* (1976), 89, n. 58.

Text ID	Transliteration	Translation	Text Type	Attestation	Provenience	Date
			record)			Samsu-iluna (1792-1712)
L.T. 5[lllllll]	18) dingir ki ù [I]B-*e ta-*⌜*ma*⌝ 19) [din]gir *sá-ga-*[*a*]*r ù* [*z*]*a-ra ta-ma* 20) ⌜dingir mar⌝-tu 21) *ù šu-ba-*⌜*ri*⌝*-im-ta-*⌜*ma*⌝ 22) dingir-me-eš *a-ni-ú-tim / m*[*a-la*] 23) [*u*]*š-bu-ni-ta-*[*ma*]	18) Swear by the god(s) of earth and sky! 19) Swear by the god(s) of Saggar and Zara! 20-21) Swear by the god(s) of Martu and Subartu! 22-23) Swear by these gods, all that are present!	Treaty	Deity	Šubat-Enlil	1750-1740
M.6084 (= ARM 26 I/2 432)[mmmmmmm]	3) 3 me lú-meš *aš-šu-ur-ú* ù 3 me anše-há *it-ti-šu-nu* 4) *iš-tu é-kál-la-tim*[ki] *ú-ṣú-nim-ma a-na ka-ra-na ka-ra-na*[ki]	3) trois cents Assyriens, accompagnés de trois cents ânes, 4) sont sortis d'Ekallâtum en direction de Karanâ.	Letter	Donkey caravan	Mari	Zimrî-Lîm (1775-1762)
M.7930+M.8157 [nnnnnnn]	6) [m]*a-a ki* lú *ša šu-me-*⌜*ri*⌝*-i*[*m ḫa-ṭi-im e-re-ši-im*] 7) ⌜*a*⌝*-mu-ur-re-em da-b- b*[*a-am at-ta-ma*]	6-8) why? Instead of asking for someone who can read Sumerian, learn to speak Amorite!	Letter	Language	Mari	Yasmah-Addu (1792-1775)
M.12803[ooooooo]	(See A-4, below)		Ritual	Animal	Mari	Rim-Sin (1822-1763
NBC 3731[ppppppp]	20) *A-šur ú* [d]MAR.TU *il*$_5$*-ká*	21) Aššur et Amurrum, ton	Letter	Second-	Kanesh	Old

[lllllll] Jesper Eidem, *The Royal Archives from Tell Leilan: Old Babylonian Letters and Treaties from the Eastern Lower Town Palace*, vol. 2, Yale Tell Leilan Research (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2011), 417 ff.; Jesper Eidem, "An Old Assyrian Treaty from Tell Leilan," in *Marchands, Diplomates et Empereurs: Études sur la Civilisation Mésopotamienne Offertes à Paul Garelli*, ed. Dominique Charpin and Francis Joannès (Paris: ERC, 1991), 185.

[mmmmmmm] Francis Joannès, "L'absence d'Atamrum," *ARM* 26, no. I/2, (1988): 328, 333-334.

[nnnnnnn] Ziegler and Charpin (2007), 69.

[ooooooo] Jean-Marie Durand and Michaël Guichard, "Les Rituels de Mari," in *Recueil d'Études à la Mémoire de Marie-Therèse Barrelet*, ed. Dominique Charpin and J.-M. Durand, FM 3 (Paris: SEPOA, 1997), 66-70.

[ppppppp] CDLI P297298; Cecile Michel, *Innāya dans les Tablettes Paléo-Assyriennes*, 2 vols. (Paris: ERC, 1991), no. 44.

Text ID	Transliteration	Translation	Text Type	Attestation	Provenience	Date
		dieu,		person association		Assyrian (1950-1850)
NBC 5653[qqqqqqq]	r. 11) mu ús-sa uru Mar-tu ba-ḫ[ul]	The year after the city of Martu was destroyed.	Admin (Year Name)	Space/Place	Isin?	Išbi-Erra 9 (2010)
NBC 5671[rrrrrr]	16 g) mu ^{d}*Iš-bi-Ìr-ra* lugal-e lú SU.a ù Elam bí-ra	Year, Išbi-Erra the king smote the armies of the Su people and of Elam.	Admin	Indirect reference to Amorite LUGAL	Isin	Išbi-Erra 16 (2003)
NBC 7149[sssssss]	5) nig2-ba mar-tu	present of the Amorites	Admin (Year Name)	Group	Isin	Išbi-Erra 15 (2004)
NBC 7166[ttttttt]	12) *lú kin-gi$_4$-a lugal* 13) *ḫur-sag ki Ša-ma-um-um MAR.TU-šè* 14) *gin-na-me*	12-14) for the envoys of the king, (who) are going to the mountain, the place of Šamāmum, the Amorite"	Admin	Third-person, individual	Isin	Išbi-Erra 20 (1999)
NBC 7206[uuuuuuu]	6-7) *níg-šu-tag$_4$ NI.TUK^{KI} ù MAR.TU-ne*	6-7) Delivery for Dilmun and the Amorites	Economic	Group; Third-person	Isin	Šû-ilišu (1986-1976)
NI 632[vvvvvvv]	§4 [*ša š*]*e-am ù* KÙ.BABBAR^{am} [*a-na* ^{lú}*Ak-k*]*a-d*[*i*]*-i ù* ^{lú}*A-mu-ur-ri-i* [*a-na* ḪAR-ra *a-na* M]ÁŠ *ú-lu a-na me-el-qé-tim*	§4 Whosoever has given barley or silver to an Akkadian or an Amorite as an interest-bearing loan or as a *melqētum*…	Royal edict	Inter-group distinction (ethnic or tribal)	Sippar	Ammi-ṣaduqa (1646)
Ni 2443 (= SRT 8)[wwwwwww]	31) ḫur-saĝ sikil kur ^{na4}za-gin$_3$-na saĝ-e-eš mu-ni-in-[rig$_7$]	31) He [An] presented to him the pure hills, the lapis-lazuli	Hymn	Deity, association	Nippur	OB (1900-

[qqqqqqq] Ferris J. Stephens, "New Date Formulae of the Isin Dynasty," *RA* 33, no. 11-26, (1936): 16; Vaughn E. Crawford, *Sumerian Economic Texts from the First Dynasty of Isin*, Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies, Yale University vol. 9 (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1954), 55; Sigrist (1988), 14.

[rrrrrr] CDLI P236557; Sigrist (1988), 16.

[sssssss] CDLI P236161; Van de Mieroop, "Administration of Crafts" (1986), 79; Crawford (1954), 48.

[ttttttt] Buccellati, *Amorites* (1966), 30, 239, 242.

[uuuuuuu] Ibid., 31.

[vvvvvvv] Finkelstein (1969); J. J. Finkelstein, "Ammiṣaduqa's Edict and the Babylonian 'Law Codes'," *JCS* 15, no. 3, (1961).

Text ID	Transliteration	Translation	Text Type	Attestation	Provenience	Date
	32) kur mar-tu <kur ^{na4}za-gin$_3$-na saĝ-e-eš mu-ni-in-rig$_7$>	mountains; 32) he presented to him the Martu lands, the lapis-lazuli mountains		with lapis		1600)
TS. B V 68^{xxxxxxx}	4) maš$_2$.SU 4) udu mar-tu	4) [western/'Amorite' sheep]	Lexical (cylinder)	Animal	Susa	Early OB (1920-1830^{yyyyyyy})
YBC 7073 (= YOS 8 1)^{zzzzzzz}	32) u$_8$-udu-ḫi-a (*A*-)*mu-ri-tum*	32) 'Amorite' sheep	Legal	Animal	Larsa	1822-1763
U 861 (= IM 92760)^{aaaaaaaa}	5) *ku-du-ur-ma-bu-uk* 6) ad-da-kur-mar-dú	5-6) I, Kudur-mabuk, father of the Amorite land	Inscription (cone)	Title; Space/Place	Ur	Kudur-mabuk (ca. 1830s)
U 7804.10 (= UM-52-30-077)^{bbbbbbbb}	11) *am-m[i]-n[i] a-na a-bi A-mu-ur-ri-im* 12) *la iq-bu-ú-ma* … 20) *ša i-na* ERÍN *ba-'-ru-um ša-aṭ-ru* 21) *a-n[a-ku-ú] ba-lum šar-ri-im* 22) *ù a-bi A-mu-ur-ri-im* 23) *ma-la na-sà-ḫi-im ma-ṣi-a-*⌜*ku*⌝*-ma* … 24) *am-mi-ni a-na šar-ri-im* 25) *ù a-bi A-mu-ur-ri-im*	11-12) Why did they not speak to the *abu Amurrim*? 20-23) Am I able to remove someone who is listed in the elite corps without (the authority of) the king or the *abu Amurrim*? 24-26) Why do you not write to the king or the *abu Amurrim*?	Letter	Title	Ur	Hammurabi (1792-1750)

^{wwwwwww} ETCSL 4.12.1; CDLI P345300

^{xxxxxxx} Michel Tanret, "Fragments de Tablettes pour des Fragments d'Histoire," in *Fragmenta Historiae Elamicae: Mélanges Offerts à M.J. Steve*, ed. Leon de Meyer, H. Gasche, and F. Vallat (Paris: ERC, 1986), 146.

^{yyyyyyy} Building B, Level V. H. Gasche, *La Poterie Élamite du Deuxième Millénaire a.C*, Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique en Iran 47 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1973), 14.

^{zzzzzzz} Marc Van De Mieroop, "The Archive of Balmunamḫe," *AfO* 34, (1987): 22-23.

^{aaaaaaaa} CDLI P225625, Q002114; Frayne (1990), 214-216.

^{bbbbbbbb} CDLI P414966; Rowton (1969): 68 n. 64, 70-71.

Text ID	Transliteration	Translation	Text Type	Attestation	Provenience	Date
	26) *la ta-ša-ap-pa-ra-am-ma*					
YBC 9955[ccccccc]	9) *la-la-a-tum* 10) *a-na* DUMU *a-mu-ri-im* 11) *ši-i-ma i-di-in*	9-11) Lalâtum, she is for an Amorite, give (her)!	Letter	Third-Person reference to individual Amorite	unc.	Sûmû-abum (1894-1881)
YBC 10297[ddddddd]	1) *dan-ni-i*[*a*] 2) UGULA ŠU.I 3) ÌR *a-bí-sa-re-e* 4) RA.BÍ.AN MAR.DÚ	1) Dannīi[a], 2) overseer of the barbers 3) servant of Abī-sarē, 4) Amorite chief.	Seal (impression)	Title	Larsa	Ammi-ṣaduqa 10 (1636)

[ccccccc] De Boer *Amorites in the Old Babylonian Period*, (2014), 250,460-461.

[ddddddd] Frayne (1990), 127; Gary M. Beckman and Ulla Kasten, *Old Babylonian Archival Texts in the Yale Babylonian Collection*, Catalogue of the Babylonian Collections at Yale vol. 4 (Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 2000), 195.

A-2. The Marriage of Martu

Source: Jacob Klein, "The God Martu in Sumerian Literature," *in Sumerian Gods and Their Representations*, ed. Irving L. Finkel and Markham J. Geller, Cuneiform Monographs 7 (Groningen: STYX Publications, 1997), 110-116.

1 (When) Ninab was existing, (but) Kiritab was not existing,
2 The holy priestlycap was existing, (but) the holy crown was not existing,
3 Holy aromatic herbs were existing, (but) holy cedars were not existing,
4 Holy salt was existing, (but) holy soap was not existing,
5 Copulation . . . was existing,
6 Birth-giving in the meadows was existing ─
7 You (Ninab[?]) are the grandfather of the holy cedar, you are the ancestor of the *mes*-tree,
8 You are the grandmother of the white cedar, you are the 'flesh' of the *ḫašur*-cedar.
9 In those days, it was the city of cities, a mountain of princeship,
10 Ninab was the city of cities, a mountain of princeship.
11 The ruler of Ninab (was) Tigi-šem-ala,
12 His wife—Šageguru[!?] was verily her name,
13 His daughter, who . . .returned with him[?],
14 Her name was verily [Inan]naka[?].
15 They (*who live*) *by the side* of the city, they spread the nets,
16 They (*who live*) *by the side* of the city Ninab, they spread the nets,
17 They spread the nets, they chase *gazelles*,
18 They *slay* gazelles like men.
19 One day, *after* evening arrived,
20 At the 'place of portions', *after* (evening) arrived,
21 Before An *meat* portions *are being placed*.
22 The portion *of* a man who has a wife is placed twofold,
23 The portion *of* a man who has a son is placed threefold,
24 The portion *of* a lad who is single is placed single;
25 *For* Martu alone it is placed twofold.
26 Martu entered the house to his mother
27 Who bore him, he says to her:
28 "In my city, my friends have wives,
29 My companions have wives,
30 In my city, I have no wife *like* my friends,
31 I have no wife, I have no child;
32 An *imposed lot* greater than that of my friend,
33 A *gazelle the companion caught*, greater than that of my companion."
34 On that day, after evening arrived,
35 At the 'place of portions', after (evening) arrived,
36 Before An *meat* portions *are being placed*.
37 The portion *of* a man who has a wife is placed twofold,
38 The portion *of* a man who has a son is placed threefold,
39 The portion *of* a lad who is single is placed single;
40 *For* Martu alone it is placed twofold.
41 Martu - to his mother who bore him
42 Entered her house, he says to her:
43 "My mother, take a wife for me, let me bring you my portion!"
44 His mother who bore him answers Martu:
45 "Oh Suhinuna, let me give you [instruction]!
46 A word let me [speak to you, to my word your ear]!
47 [Take] a wife according to your choice,
48 [Take] a wife according to your heart's desire.
49 Give me a companion, [*give me*] a slave-girl.
50 *Among your (folk who live) by the side* of the city - *whose* houses are built, [*whose*] *ga*[*rdens are planted*],
51 *Among* your companions [*who*] *dug* wells,
52 (*You*) Martu, [*become*] a 'man', [*among your*] *companions*."
53 In those days, in the city, a festival was [instituted],
54 In Ninab, the city, a festival was [instituted]:
55 "Come friend, let (us) go, let us go,
56 To the beer-house of Ninab let (us) go, let us go!
57 Numušda [*will be present*] at the festival,
58 His beloved daughter, Ad[garkidu *will*] *be* [*present with him*] at the festival,
59 His wife, Namrat, the beautiful woman, [*will*] *be* [*present with him*] at the festival.
60 In the city the bronze drums re[verberate],
61 The *seven* tambourines re[sound] with them.
62 *Strong* men, girdle-clad *lords*,
63 *They* bring along for him (=Numušda) into the wrestling-hall,

64 In the temple of Ninab *may they* let them *compete* for him."
65 He (=Martu) went to Ninab, the city where the festival took place, to be wondered at,
66 He went to Ninab, the city where the festival took place, to be wondered at.
67 For him (=for Numušda), since he was of a holy *body*,
68 At the *gate* of Ninab, amidst wrestling and athletics,
69 Martu rushed about in the main courtyard.
70 He (=Numušda) seeks out for him mighty [*warriors*],
71 He arouses for him mighty [*lads*].
72 Martu rushed about in the main courtyard,
73 *Pickaxes* he hurled there *from above*,
74 (In) the main courtyard, in the battle, he girds himself with the sword-belt,
75 (In) the main courtyard of Ninab he lifts the dead bodies.
76 Numušda, rejoicing over Martu,
77 Presents him silver - he accepts not,
78 Presents him (precious) stones - he accepts not.
79 *After he does to him* [*thus the second*] *time*,
80 *After he does to him* [*thus the third time*],
81 (Says Martu:) "Your silver - whither does it lead? Your (precious) stones - whither do they lead?
82 *I*, [*the lad*] would (rather) marry your daughter,
83 [*I, Martu*], would (rather) [marry *Adgarkidu*]!" . . .
(11. 84-91 are entirely destroyed; 11. 90-92 restore:)
90 "[*Calves*, (*as*) *marriage gift*, . . .],
91 [Let *milk cows suckle the calves*] !
92 [Let the *calves and the cows lie* in their *stall*]!
93 [Let those *cows dwell in the* . . .],
94 Let [their calves dwell] on their right [side]!
95 [Thus, only th]us, may you *pro*[*mise me*],
96 (And) I will [give you] away Adgarkidu, my daughter!
97 L[ambs (*as) marriage gift*], ...,
98 [Let *milk* ewes *suckle* the lambs]!
99 . . . [. . . . .],
100 [Let the lambs and the ewes lie in their] *fol*[*ds*]!
101 [Let those] ewes [*dwell in the* . . . . . .],
102 Let their lambs [*dwell*] on their left!
103 Thus, only thus, may you *pro*[*mise me*],
104 (And) I will [give you] away Adgarkidu, my daughter!
105 Kids (*as*) *marriage gift*, ...,
106 Let *milk goats* [*suckle*] the kids!
107 Let the kids and the goats lie in their *dwellings*!
108 Let the goats [and] the kids *dwell* [*in the* . . .],
109 Let those kids *dwell* [on their . ..]!
110 Thus, only thus, [may you *pro*]*mise* [*me*],
11 1 (And) I will [give] you away Adgarkidu, my daughter!"
112 Copious [*gifts*] he (=Martu[?]) [*took*],
113 Like a . . . he *called out*,
114 He [*brought*] them into the quay of Ninab.
115 Each elder [in] Ninab
116 He pro[vided] with *ingots* of gold.
117 Each old woman [in] Ninab
118 He pro[vided] with . . . (and) golden *caps*.
119 [The *lads and maidens*] of Ninab
120 He provided with . . . (and) golden.. .
121 [All the slave]s of Ninab
122 He provided with [*multicolored* . . .],
123 He pro[vided] them with multicolored [*wool*] garments.
124 All the slave-girls [of] Ninab
125 He pro[vided] with silver *wine*-jugs.
126 Some days passed, the decision not [being] made final (a girlfriend said to Adgarkidu:)
127 "Lo, their hands are destructive, (their) features are (those) [of monkeys],
128 *They are* those who eat the taboo [of] Nanna, [*they* have] no reverence,
129 In their constantly roaming around, ...
130 [*Being*] the abomination [of] the temples of the gods,
131 Their [counsel] is confused, [they cause] only dis[turbance],
132 A *man* who is clothed in leather-sac, who . . . . . .,
133 A tent-dweller, [*buffeted*] by wind and rain, [who offers no] prayer,
134 He who dwells in the mountains, [knows not] the places [*of the gods*],
135 A man who digs up mushrooms at the foot of the mountain, who knows no submission,
136 He eats uncooked meat,
137 In his lifetime has no house,
138 When he dies, he will not be buried;
139 My girlfriend - why would you marry Martu?!"
140 Adgarkidu answers her girlfriend:
141 "I will indeed marry Martu!"
142 Ninab, *ulum alamma*!

A-3. A.328 = *ARM* 28 25

Source: Jean Robert Kupper, *Lettres Royales du Temps de Zimri-Lim*, ARM 28 (Paris: ERC, 1998), 33-34.

1-4 Dis à Zimri-Lim: ainsi (parle) Yahdun-Lim, ton fils.
5 Lorsque Ṣûra-Hammû [6] est allé chez mon père,
7 moi, je me trouvais à Ahunâ. [8] La nouvelle du rassemblement des Hanéens
9 yaminites m'étant parvenue,
10 je suis parti d' Ahunâ [11] et je suis arrivé à l'assemblée des Hanéens.
13 J'avais traversé (le fleuve) [12] avec Lahun-Dagan,
14 et dans l'assemblée des Hanéens
16 nous avons pris [15] des dispositions de paix.
17 Nous avons abandonné [16] les mauvaises pensées
18 et sur l'ordre de[...], [19] nous avons expédié [17] les [notables].
22 Nous venons d'envoyer [21] chez toi [20] les *[sugâgu]* [21] des Yaminites.
23 Donnez-leur pleine satisfaction; [24] à partir de ce jour, [26] faisons
25 une paix durable. [30] Qu'il n'y ait plus [26] grief [27] ni crainte
28 entre Sim' alites [29] et Yaminites,
31 qu'ils paissent le pâturage en paix!

A-4. M.12803 Kispum Ritual Text

Source: Durand and Guichard (1997), 66-70.

Col. i

Au mois de še-gur$_{10}$-ku$_5$ *(Addârum* = viii), dans le courant du 1er, ce sera le rituel aux morts dans la ville et les alentours.

Le repas-sacrificiel sera aux dépends du palais: un mouton sera sacrifié aux représentations de Sargon et de Narâm-Sîn dans la salle des trônes; un mouton sera sacrifié à l'autel. Le sacrifice de la salle des trônes sera accompli avant que le roi ne bouge. La chair sera cuite. Les prémices de la chair seront approchées de Šamaš. Tant qu'elles ne seront point approchées de Samas, le rituel du *kispum* ne sera pas accompli. Une fois qu'elles auront été approchées, le rituel aux morts sera pour Sargon, Narâm-Sîn, les Bédouins *yarâdum,* ceux du Numhâ et les divers autres. Ce rituel aux morts sera accompli. Le sacrifice du roi et des particuliers sera offert dans les temples des dieux et des déesses. Les particuliers offriront le rituel aux morts avant qu'au petit matin le roi ne sorte par la porte du palais .... au temple de ...

Col. ii

Il ne faut pas qu'ils soient offerts le jour de l'apparition de la nouvelle lune. Ils seront brûlés devant Sîn des cieux. Les repas du dieu ou des déesses seront appportés au *kissikkum.*

Le jour du *gimkum,* des structures de tente seront installées. L'âne sera mis à mort: les dieux et l'attirail sortiront de dedans le palais: le dieu ira à son temple et le roi à son palais. De la même façon, l'âne sera mis à mort.

(Lacune.)

Col. iii

(les 7 premières 1. sont érasées)

L'emblème de ... sortira de ... et au ... avec ... Le roi ...

(Lacune.)

... pour le *humṭûm.* Le roi guidera le *humṭûm* et le fera entrer au temple de Dagan. Quatre moutons représentant le sacrifice du roi seront sacrifiés à Šamaš dans la cour du temple de la déesse. Une fois que le roi ... à ... , une vache, huit moutons, quatre ... , représentant le sacrifice du roi seront sacrifiés à ... Le roi .. .

(Lacune.)

Col. iv

Le roi ne . .. pas. Le 7, la vêture du roi sera placée sur le trône ...

(5 1. manquent.)

. .. ira.

(La fin de la col. iv, les col. v, vi et vii semblent avoir été anépigraphes.)

A-5. TA 1930, 615 An Old Babylonian List of Amorite Names

Source: I. J. Gelb, "An Old Babylonian List of Amorites," JAOS 88, no. 1, (1968).

Administrative text, excavated at Eshnunna/Tell Asmar; date: ca. 1950 BCE.

i
1. [1 son? of 'Abd-'El],
2. [1 son? of PN],
3. [1 son? of …]-'El,
4. [1 s]on of Mutī-me-'El,
5. [1 br]other of Šumum
6. [1 s]on of Mašdakum
7. [1 br]other of 'Ilī-ma'da?,
8. 7
9. [the sec]tion of 'Abd-'El
10. 1 son of Jiksû-'El,
11. 1 son of Na'ma-'El,
12. [1] son of 'Immerānum?,
13. [1] son of Nāgihānum,
14. [1 s]on of Jibâ'um,
15. [1 son of] ⌜Zāji⌝num?,

ii
16. [1 son of PN],
17. ⌜1 son of Kûnānum]?,
18. 1 son of Ḫunnānum,
19. 9
20. the section of Jiksû-'El.
21. 1 son of Milkī-la-'El,
22. 1 'Ugāzum?,
23. 1 Ša'lānum
24. 1 Mut-Kabid,
25. 1 son of Jiblimum?,
26. 1 son of Palūsum,
27. 1 son of 'Ilān[um]?,
28. 1 brother of Dama[rā]nu[m]?,

Rev. i
29. 1 Hûdâ-[ma]? brother of NI-[…],
30. 1 son of E-[…],
31. 10
32. the section of M[ilk]ī-[la-'E]l.
33. Total: 26 Amorites [MAR.TU],
34. deputies.
35. 1 Amorite,
36. the section of Bâšānum,
37. from the Sea.
38. Control of Innin-êrum-maṣṣarī.
39. 1 son of Mut-Nanum,
40. 1 brother of Manijum,
41. the section of 'Abd-'El.
42. [from …]
43. […]?

Rev. ii
44. [Total: 3] supernumeraries.
45. (Grand) Total: 29 Amorites [MAR.TU]
46. residing in the [cit]y.
47. [Contr]ol of Lu-šalim.
48. [Month of N]iqmum, 22nd day,
49. [the year when …].
50. […]
51. […]

Appendix B
Amorite Material Culture

B.1. Carinated Bowls

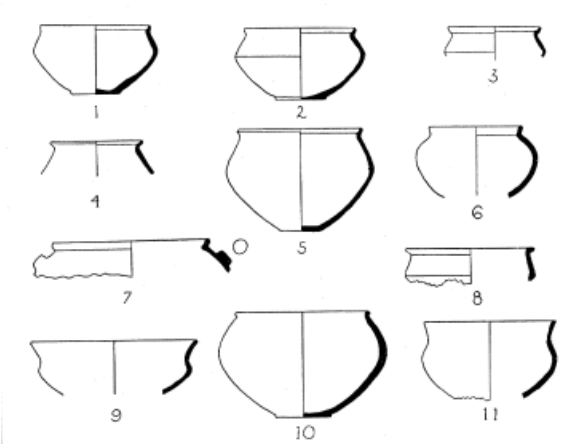

Figure B.1-a: Small Carinated Bowls, Strata G-F, Tell Beit Mirsim.
Source: Albright (1933): 104 Pl. 4 (excerpt).

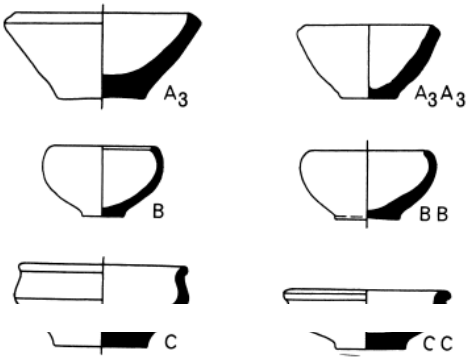

Figure B.1-b: "Pottery Parallels between Palestine and Mesopotamia, A1-CC" (excerpt).
Source: Kaplan (1971): 298 Pl. 7.

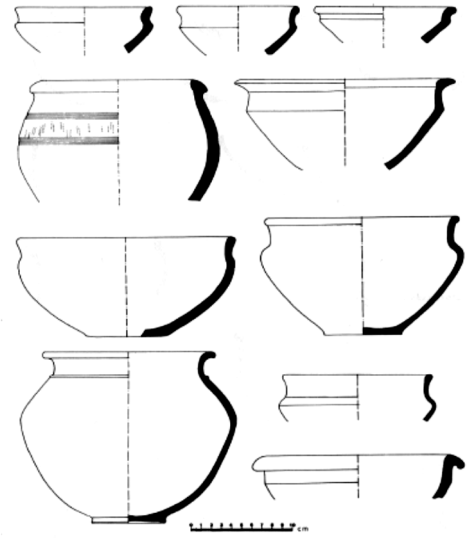

Figure B.1-c: "Pottery of Mardikh IIIB."
Source: Matthiae (1980): 147 Fig. 40.

B.2. Shaft Tombs

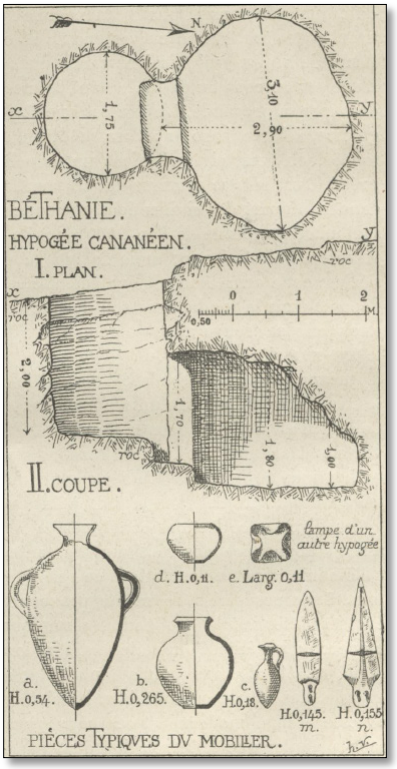

Figure B.2-a: Shaft Grave Assemblage, Bethany.
Source: H. Vincent, "Un Hypogée Cananéen a Béthanie," Revue Biblique 11, no. 3, (1914): 439 Fig. 439.

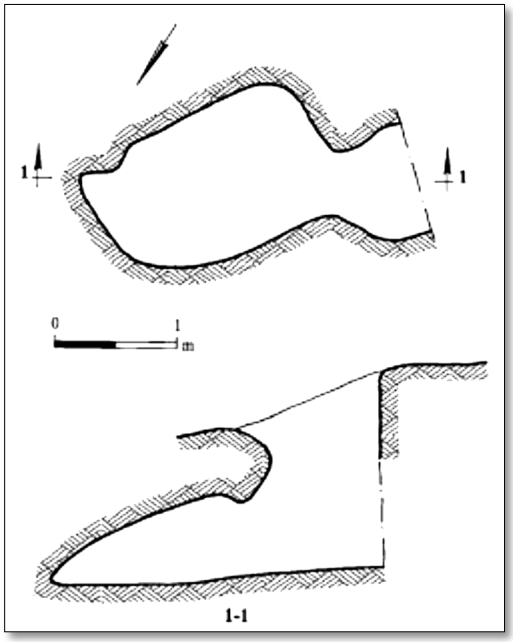

Figure B.2-b: Shaft Grave, Tell Beit Mirsim.
Source: Sara Ben-Arieh and David Alon, *Bronze and Iron Age Tombs at Tell Beit Mirsim* (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2004), 4 Plan 1.2.

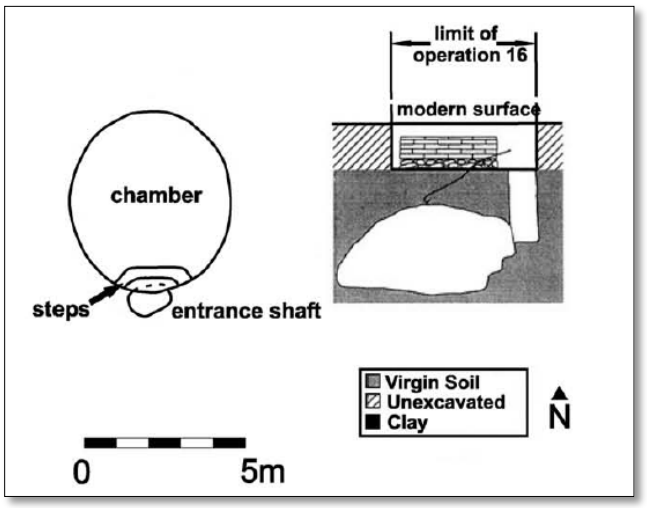

Figure B.2-c: "Sweyhat Tomb 1."
Source: Cooper (2006): 217 Fig. 9.6a.

B.3. Bent-Axis Temples

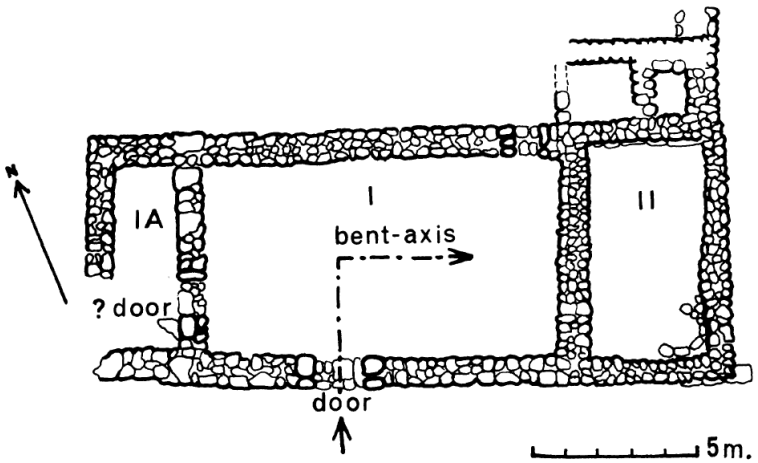

Figure B.3-a: "Temple Phase 'C,' Nahariya."
Source: Kaplan (1971): 293 Fig. 1.

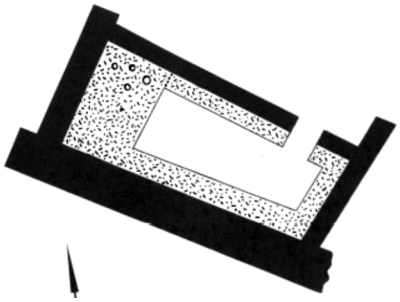

Figure B.3-b: "Temple of Jericho, str. VII."
Source: Bietak (2003): 24 Fig. 10.

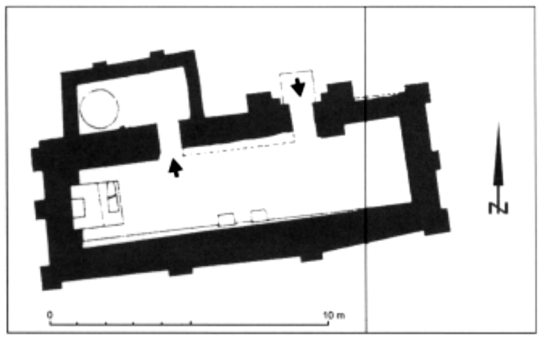

Figure B.3-c: Bent-Axis Abu Temple, Eshnunna.
Source: Bietak (2003): 29 Fig. 15b.

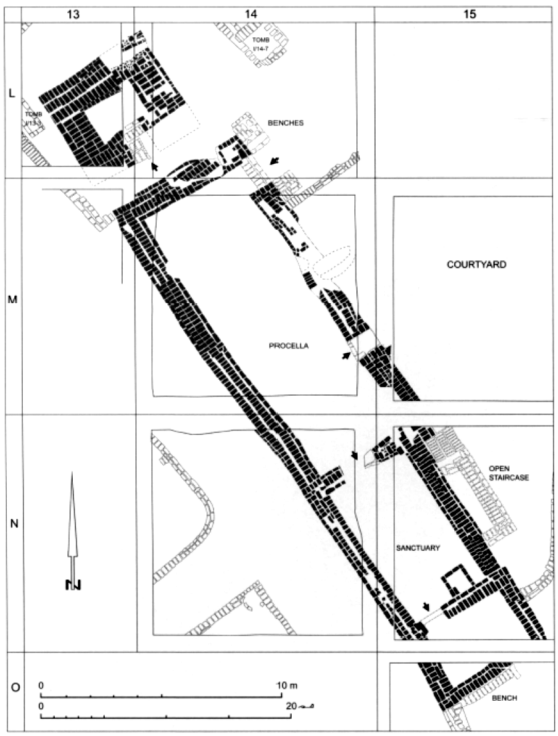

Figure B.3-d: "Temple II with bent axis at Tell el-Dab'a, Middle Phase."
Source: Bietak (2003): 18 Fig. 4b.

B.4. Fenestrated 'Duckbill' Axes

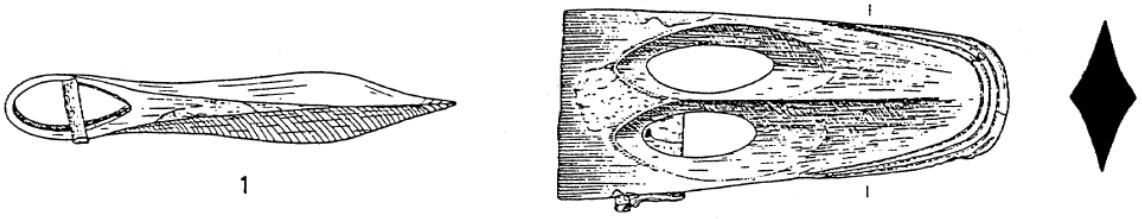

Figure B.4-a: "Duckbill axe from tomb F/I-o/19, no. 8, stratum d/2" at Tell el-Dab'a.
Source: Bietak (1991): 34 Fig. 5.

Figure B.4-b: "Scolloped" Axe with Lengthened Blade and Shortened Socket.
Source: Flinders Petrie (1917): 10 and Pl. VI.

Figure B.4-c: "*Hache Fenestrée*," Mari.
Source: André Parrot, M. T. Barrelet-Clémentel, and Georges Dossin, *Mission Archéologique de Mari II: Le Palais, Documents and Monuments* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1959), Pl. XXXIII.

Figure B.4-d: "Ebla, Shrine G3, fragment of a basalt statue of a standing king holding a fenestrated [duckbill] axe, TM.75.G.728, MB IIA, ca. 1800-1700 BC."
Source: Matthiae (2013): Pl. 150c

B.5. Levantine Painted Ware

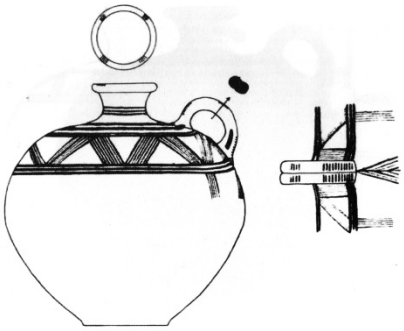

Figure B.5-a: Jug from Tomb of the Lord of the Goats.
Source: Matthiae (2013): Pl. 201a.

Figure B.5-b: Albright's Comparative Examples.
Source: William Foxwell Albright, "The Excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim. Vol. I: The Pottery of the First Three Campaigns," *The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 12, (1930): 9 Fig. 2.

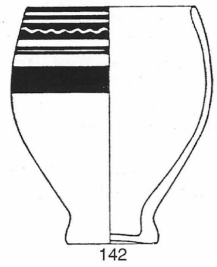

Figure B.5-c: "Simple Painted Ware" with Combed Wavy Lines.
Source: Mazzoni (2002): Pl. XLV.

Figure B.5-d: Levantine Painted Ware Jug from the Tomb of Senwosret III, Lisht.
Source: Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accession Number: 15.3.1581. https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection.

Figure B.5-e: "Dolphin Jug" from Shaft Grave beneath House A1:3, Lisht.
Source: Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accession Number: 22.1.95. https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection.

B.6. Bit Hilani Style Palace

Figure B.6-a: "The MB IIC Eastern Palace at Qatna."
Source: Buck (2018): 153 Fig. 4.10 (following Bonacossi).

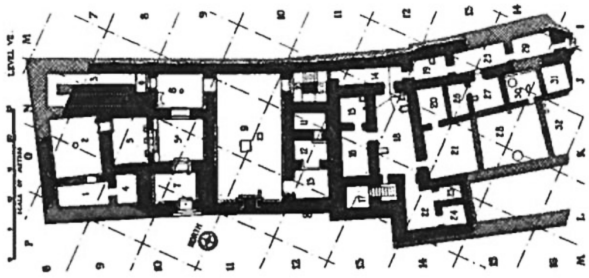

Figure B.6-b: "Level VII Royal Palace at Alalaḫ."
Source: Buck (2018): 152 Fig. 4.7 (following Woolley).

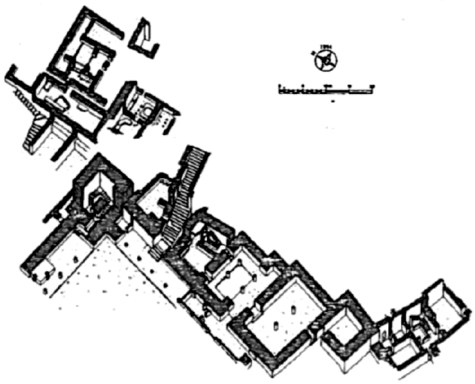

Figure B.6-c: "The Royal Palace at Ebla."
Source: Buck (2018): 152 Fig. 4.6 (following Matthiae, Pinnock, and Scandone Matthiae).

B.7. Open Air Cult Places with Standing Stones

Figure B.7-a: The Middle Bronze Age 'High Place,' Tel Gezer.
Photo: Courtesy of Daniel Warner, The Tel Gezer Excavation Project.

Figure B.7-b: Temple of the Obelisks, Byblos.
Source: Joan Aruz, Kim Benzel, and Jean M. Evans, eds., *Beyond Babylon: Art, Trade, and Diplomacy in the Second Millennium B.C.* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2008), 52 Fig. 19.

B.8. Amorite Animal Style of Art

Figure B.8-a: Cylinder Seal Impression (A 357, Chagar Bazar).
Source: Claude F. A. Schaeffer, "Le Cylindre A 357 de Chagar Bazar," Iraq 36, no. 1-2, (1974): Pl. XXXVIII a.

Figure B.8-b: Seal of "Kabi-Addu, son of Asqudum, servant of Zimri-Lim," (Mari).
Source: Dominique Beyer, "Stratigraphie de Mari: Remarques Préliminaires sur les Premières Couches du Sondage Stratigraphique (Chantier A)," in *Mari, Annales de Recherches Interdisciplinaires*, ed. D. Charpin, J. Margueron, and J-M. Durand, vol. 2 (Paris: ERC, 1983), 50 Fig. 8.

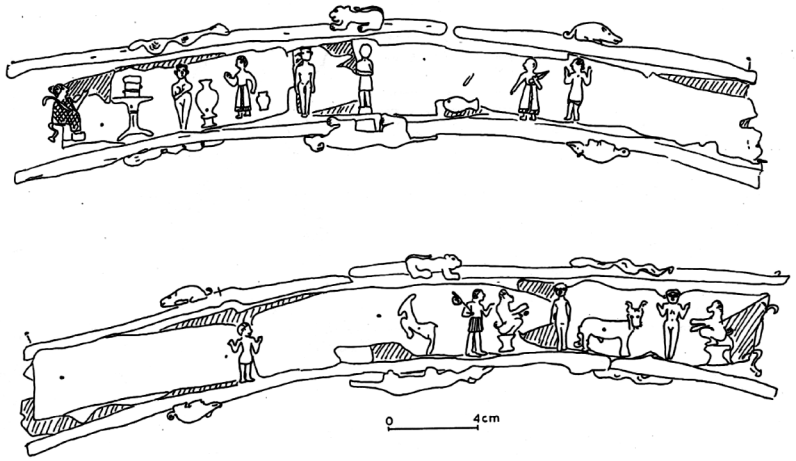

Figure B.8-c: Carved Bone Funerary Talisman of Immeya. From the Tomb of the Lord of the Goats, Ebla.
Source: Lönnqvist (2000): Pl. XCV.

B.9. Earthen Rampart Defensive System

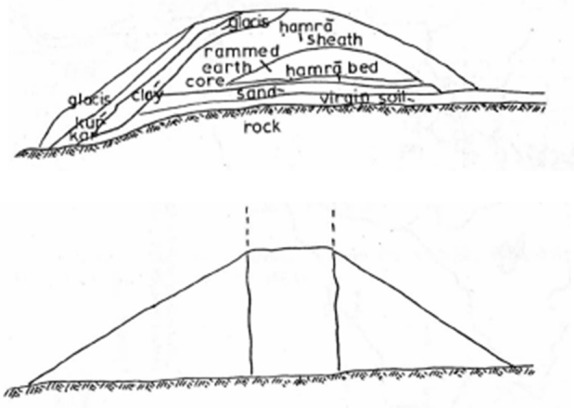

Figure B.9-a: "Types of earthen ramparts, without and with *glacis,* the Middle Bronze Age, Syria-Palestine."
Source: Lönnqvist (2000): Pl. XLII (excerpt), following Kaplan.

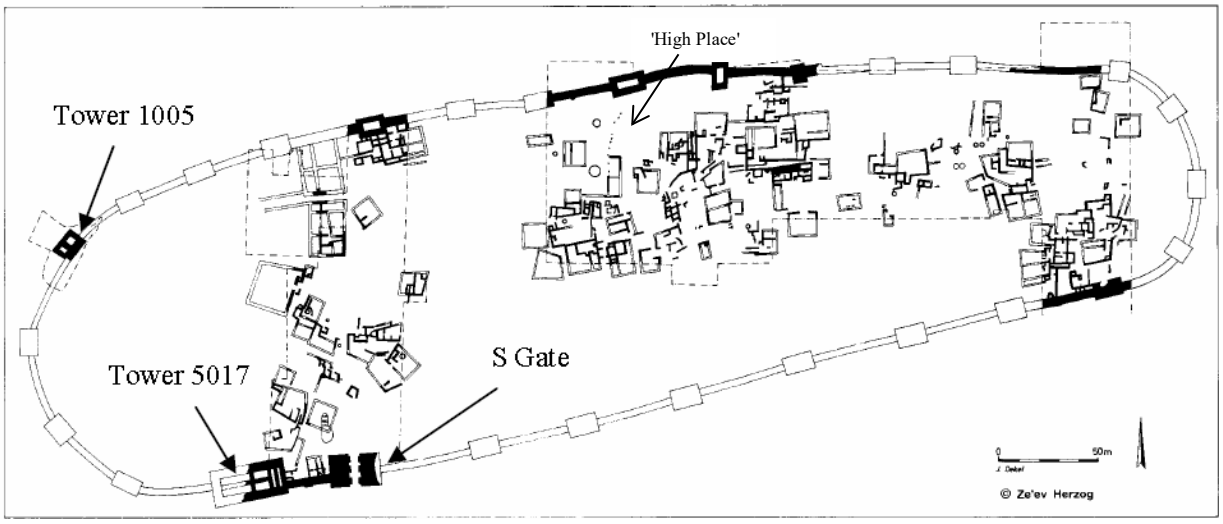

Figure B.9-b: Rampart Defensive System, Gezer.
Adapted from: Aaron A. Burke, *Architecture of Defense: Fortified Settlements of the Levant During the Middle Bronze Age* (PhD Dissertation, University of Chicago, 2004), 551 Fig. 573, following Herzog.

B.10. Elite Courtyard Houses

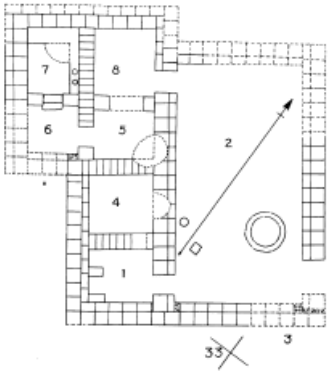

Figure B.10-a: "Patrician" Courtyard House, Stratum D, Tell Beit Mirsim.
Source: Albright (1938): Pl. 55.

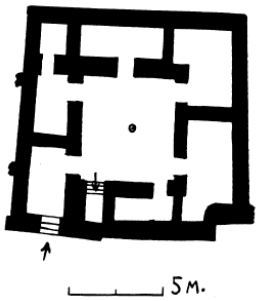

Figure B.10-b: Courtyard House, Isin-Larsa Period, Ur.
Source: Kaplan (1971): 296 Fig. 5.

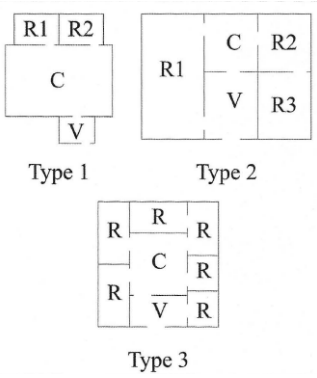

Figure B.10-c: Houses with Courtyards, 1800-1600, Ebla.
Source: Matthiae, "B.15" (2013): Pl. 99a.

B.11. *Migdāl* (Tower-Fortress) Temples

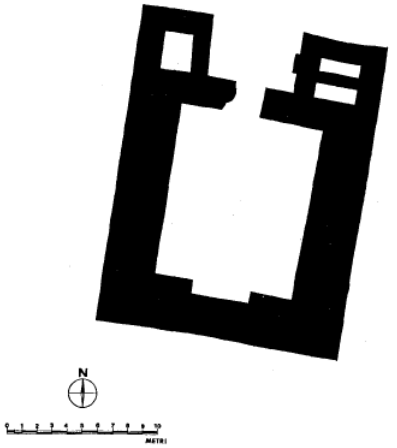

Figure B.11-a: Temple VII 2048, Megiddo.
Source: Matthiae (1975): 66 Plan 10.

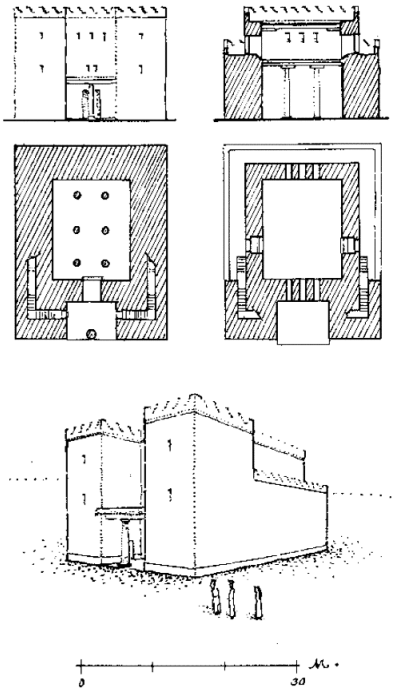

Figure B.11-b: Fortress Temple, Shechem.
Source: Campbell (2002): 147 Fig. 139.

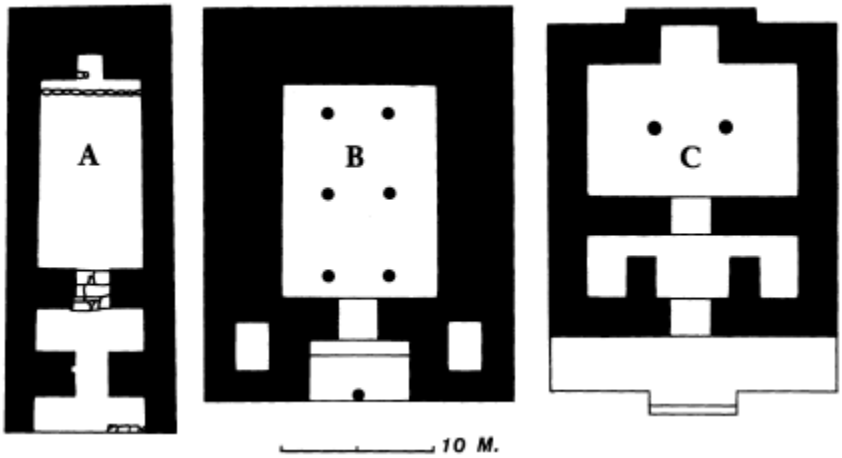

Figure B.11-c: Migdal temples at A) Ebla, B) Shechem, and C) Hazor.
Source: Dever (1987): 168.

B.12. Religious Iconography

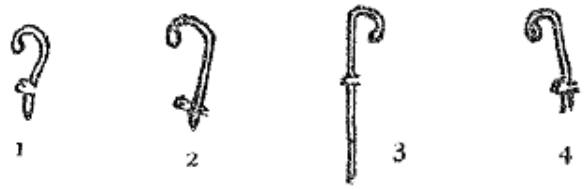

Figure B.12-a: Four Examples of the Curved Staff Emblem in the Iconography of the Deity Amurru.
Source: Kupper (1961): 31 Fig. a.

Figure B.12-b: Cylinder Seal Impression depicting the Deity Amurru (far left) with Inscription "Amurru, son of Anu."
Source: Henri Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals: A Documentary Essay on the Art and Religion of the Ancient Near East* (London: Macmillan, 1939), 164 and Pl. XXVIII-e.

Figure B.12-c: Typical Depiction of Amurru (right), Cylinder Seal, Sippar.
Source: Colbow (2008): Fig. Amurru 1.

B.13. 'Warrior' Tombs

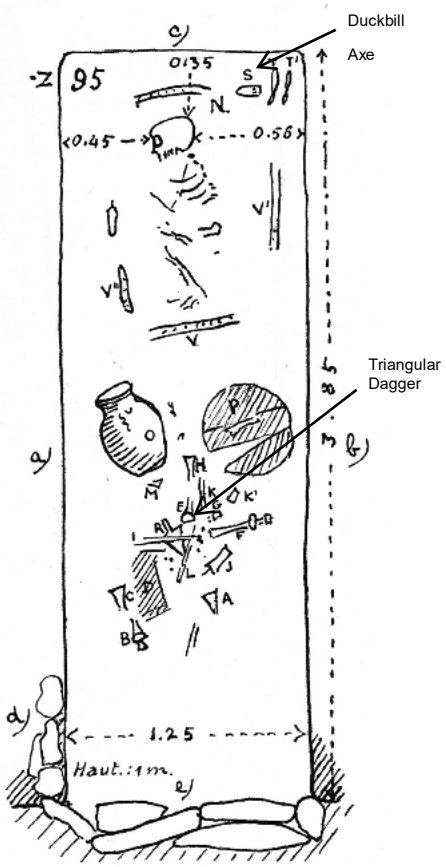

Figure B.13-a: Tomb Z 95, Baghouz.
Source: Robert Du Mesnil du Buisson, *Baghouz, l'Ancienne Corsôtê, le Tell Archaïque et la Nécropole de l'Age du Bronze*, Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui vol. 3 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1948), Pl. XLV.

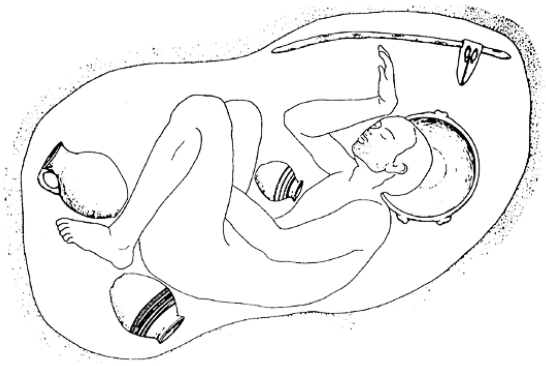

Figure B.13-b: Tomb 990, Kabri.
Source: Yosef Garfinkel, "Warrior Burial Customs in the Levant during the Early Second Millennium B.C.," in Studies in the Archaeology of Israel and Neighboring Lands: In Memory of Douglas L. Esse, ed. Samuel R. Wolff (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2001), 152 Fig. 158.110 (following Gershuny).

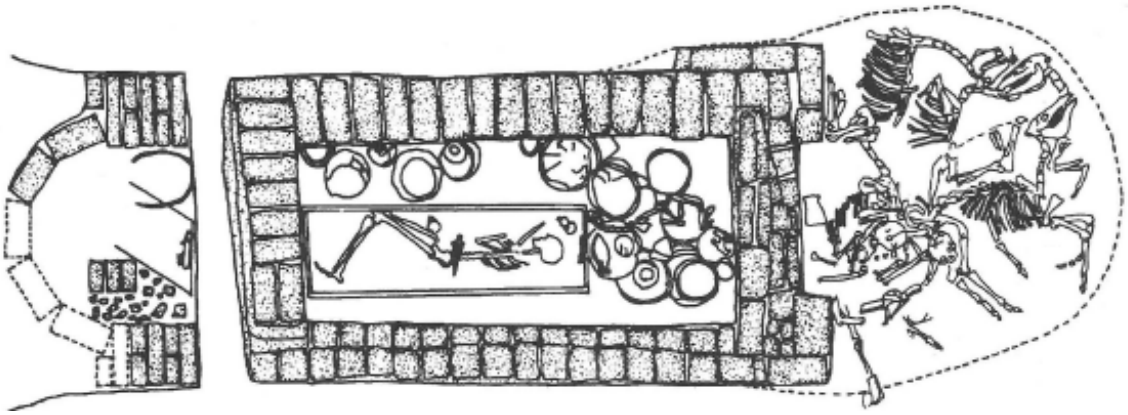

Figure B.13-c: Grave A/II l/12 no. 5, Tell el-Dab'a.
Source: Graham Philip, "Warrior Burials in the Ancient Near-Eastern Bronze Age: The Evidence from Mesopotamia, Western Iran and Syria-Palestine," in *The Archaeology of Death in the Ancient Near East*, ed. Stuart Campbell and Anthony Green (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1995), 145 Fig. 116.143 (following Bietak).

Appendix C
Culture Contents

The table of Culture Contents captures recurrent similarities encountered in descriptions of the culture concept in cross-disciplinary research. Observations from an independent survey of academic definitional statements are correlated with compilations of cultural features derived from five additional sources. The resulting analytical tool has been tested and refined in the process of this project, while it has also contributed to the understanding of the processes at work in various aspects of identity. The productive applicability of the framework has been an asset in many ways and is demonstrated in the test application of the paradigm in Chapter 4. Presented here is an overview of how the sources are incorporated in the formulation of the framework, followed by a few examples of the application method and then the full outline of the framework itself.

C.1 Formulation

C.1.1 Independent Observations

- The independent observations are formulated from an informal (non-scientific) survey of more than two hundred statements providing defining or characterizing statements about 'culture.' The disciplines (and their subdisciplines) included in the survey cover the broad range of fields involved in culture studies, such as anthropology, sociology, psychology, cognitive science, philosophy, and history. The sources reveal the consistently cited, basic components of culture.
- The survey reveals discernible correspondence with the levels of identification, and their related processes, in the Self^{Other} paradigm. The cultural elements identified are categorized within a framework based on these relational identifications. This was readily accomplished, attesting to the high level of correspondence between the identity paradigm and the culture concept.
- The final form of the framework is the result of a progressive incorporation of the other source material which tested, verified, and refined it. The process is captured in the following descriptions of each resource.

C.1.2 eHRAF World Cultures (eHRAF):[967]

- This source was selected because it is a holocultural tool (using "a global sample of societies to test a hypothesis"[968]), used by scores of scholars over the decades. It is the result of efforts "to develop a classification system that would organize the descriptive information on different cultures."[969] It is incorporated into the framework as a categorized compilation of a large amount of cultural data from a culture studies perspective. The full, descriptive system

[967] The acronym stands for "Electronic Human Area Relations Files." Human Relations Area Files, "eHRAF World Cultures," Yale University, accessed 2016. http://ehrafworldcultures.yale.edu/.

[968] Lena E. Hall, "Holocultural Method," in *Dictionary of Multicultural Psychology: Issues, Terms, and Concepts*, ed. Lena E. Hall (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2005), 81.

[969] Ember, Ember, and Peregrine (2015), 5/38.

was included in unedited form to maintain the integrity of the original source and accommodate broad application of the framework.

- Results: the coding system of the eHRAF[970] and the descriptions of the individual codes correspond well to the Self^{Other} framework. The broad generality in many of the classifications (OCMs) makes some of the available selections less than satisfactory for present purposes. This is offset by the incorporation of subsequent sources, which strengthen the legitimacy of the correlations significantly by demonstrating their repeated applicability.

C.1.3 Library of Congress Classification (LCCN):

- This is an academic approach to categorizing library materials for cataloguing purposes. It is selected as a comprehensive, informed resource not based on a cultural studies perspective. It is the cumulative results of sorting and organizing published materials for an extended time (since 1897), described as a systematic division of "all knowledge."[971] The GN 400 section, "Cultural Traits," was integrated into the framework.
- Results: the LCCN coding system correlates with the framework. As with the eHRAF, inadequacies arose from the general nature of the classifications. Correlating this system into the framework allowed further refinement in its structure and support of its validity.

C.1.4 Kroeber & Kluckhohn:

- This seminal publication, *Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions*,[972] is selected for its ongoing influence in cross-disciplinary culture studies and its objectives being pertinent to the matter at hand. The material selected is from those sections focused on the enumerative content of culture,[973] consistent with the incorporation of the other resources. As it is in narrative form, the correlative coding is based on the contextualized meaning of the particular element, specific to the source quoted by the authors.
- Results: The elements correlated with the developing framework; they also generated further refinements and support for the validity of the approach and its structure.

C.1.5 Roaf:

- As a resource drawn upon widely in Near Eastern Studies, the *Cultural Atlas of Mesopotamia and the Ancient Near East*,[974] was selected as an archaeologically informed treatment of the cultures that does not attempt to address the concept itself, but only to deal with its characteristics, in an attempt to discern its intuitive, descriptive perspective on the subject.

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[970] It is adopted from its *Outline of Cultural Materials* (OCM), which the eHRAF describes as "a vast subject index of all aspects of cultural and social life." Human Relations Area Files, "Subjects, Cultures, and Traditions Covered in eHRAF World Cultures & eHRAF Archaeology," Yale University, accessed 04 April 2016. http://hraf.yale.edu/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/eHRAFTopicsCultures.pdf.

[971] Library of Congress, "Library of Congress Classification," accessed 2016. https://www.loc.gov/catdir/cpso/lcc.html.

[972] A. L. Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn, *Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions*, Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University vol. 47, no 1 (New York: Vintage Books, 1963).

[973] Specifically, "Definitions: Group A: Descriptive," pages 81-84, and "Some Statements about Culture: Group b: The Components of Culture," pages 182-186.

[974] Roaf (2008).

- Results: The elements correlate with the developing framework, supporting the validity of the approach and the structure of the framework. In the correlation process, some further refinements were made. Toward the end of this procedure, the point was reached where no further refinements were generated and the coding efforts became redundant.

C.1.6 Aruz et al.:

- This is an edited collection of papers from a symposium, *Cultures in Contact: From Mesopotamia to the Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B.C.* [975] with contributions by specialists in the different contributory fields of Near Eastern Studies (archaeology, art history, assyriology, and anthropology). The resource does not have formulating or highlighting cultural elements as an objective. Consequently, the subject matter, dealing with differentiated cultures and aspects of contact between them (which highlights cultural boundaries), should be revealing as to the conceptualizations of culture employed in the separate studies. It has the additional advantage of being specific to the geographic region and historical era that are the focus of this project.
- Results: There were 107 codable references in the narrative, which correlated without need for any further refinements to the structure.

C.2 Resulting Framework

- The resulting framework is a flexible yet structured outline of cultural contents that incorporates all of the aspects raised in consideration of the subject by modern researchers and people in the past as captured in the literature. It reflects the relational basis of the Self ^{Other} paradigm, allowing the different cultural elements to be addressed at each level of identification as pertinent to the situation under analysis.
- The coding structure is based on Self^{Other}, its definition of Culture and explication of the processes involved.
- The numbering system is designed to be open to the needs of different studies, in that it is structured by the elements, and the relations between them, yet can be extended as needed. This is accommodated by a four-step code-assignment process:
    - First: the relationship code (e.g. P, O, S, or T)
    - Second: the content code
    - Third: penultimate coding that allows further identification of the type of connection between the Person and the cultural element (preceded by a '-' for clarity);
    - Fourth: an ultimate coding level that connects the element specified in the first three levels to other cultural contents.
- Flexibility in the framework also allows modification of the sub-classifications within each content area to be tailored to specific research objectives and/or specific cultures, without losing the socio-cognitive (identity) bases themselves. For instance:
    - P1 and P2: these content areas could be further subdivided to address the specific level(s) separately; for the present study, combining the direct relations between people (Level 1 and Level 2) and the less direct (Level 3 and Level 4) is more efficacious.

[975] Joan Aruz, Sarah B. Graff, and Yelena Rakic, eds., *Cultures in Contact: From Mesopotamia to the Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B.C.* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013).

- P1c: the various sub-classifications can be modified to fit the practices of a particular cultural group, or Culture-type.
- P2b.4: artistic or aesthetic elements can be further subdivided into motifs, colors, geometric shapes, techniques, etc., as needed.
- O2: industry and craft sub-categories can be structured strictly by material, or a combination of materials and finished product or service type (as shown), as well as other criteria.

C.3 Coding Examples

Following are examples drawn from each of the sources used in the formulation to demonstrate application of the framework to differing types of source material. The process is the same for each:

1) identify the element in its contextual meaning (where possible);
    - e.g. domestic wheat grinding for making bread
2) determine the type of relationality/content element
    - e.g. Person to wheat:
        - coded as Organic-plants-cultivated plants-wheat, O1b.1.1.1
3) specify the type of connection between Person and the element
    - e.g. Processing/Preparing for use (-2):
        - now coded as Organic-plants-cultivated plants-wheat-processing for use, O1b.1.1.1-2
4) tie the element to other cultural contents (per the context)
    - e.g. for making bread, which is crafting food (another material thing, .iii)
        - now coded as Organic-plants-cultivated plants-wheat-processing for use-relation to other material things, O1b.1.1.1-2.iii
    - alternate example: for making bread as an income-generating/economic activity (ways of acting, .ii)
        - and coded as Organic-plants-cultivated plants-wheat-processing for use-relation to ways of acting, O1b.1.1.1-2.ii

C.3.1 Aruz et al.:

Scholar	Pages	Pg. #	Reference	Trait	Self Other
Van de Mieroop	276-283	280	"acquired unorthodox spellings, grammatical mistakes, and other alterations"	Characteristic elements of texts	P2a.3-1.ii

In Van de Mieroop's article,[976] he refers to Daniel Arnaud's description of local editions of Babylonian texts from peripheral culture-areas, such as Ugarit, that were being used for scribal training. He mentions that a characteristic of these texts is that they "acquired unorthodox spellings, grammatical mistakes, and other alterations." This is implicit recognition of these features as part of the cultural practices of scribes. Scribes, in the Ancient Near East, constitute a Community of Practice. The coding is:

- Primary Coding:

[976] Marc Van de Mieroop, "Beyond Babylonian Literature," in *Cultures in Contact: From Mesopotamia to the Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B.C.*, ed. Joan Aruz, Sarah B. Graff, and Yelena Rakic (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013), 280.

- P: Cultural elements connecting Person(s) to people
- 2: at group level (Level 3 or 4)
- a: intra-group (in this case, within-culture) social relations
- .3: as a Community of Practice
- .1: Scribal

- Penultimate Sub-Coding:
  - -1: Customs and Norms (customary ways of doing things)
- Ultimate Sub-Coding:
  - .ii: in connection to related ways of acting (it is a characteristic way of acting, based on skill development/education)

In comparison, had Arnaud made reference to spatial variations in the type of stylus used, rather than features of script, the coding might be P2a.3.1-4.iv:

- Primary Coding:
  - P2a.3.1: Cultural elements connecting Person(s) to people – Groups -Community of Practice – Scribal (as above)
- Penultimate Sub-Coding:
  - -4: Materials (styluses)
- Ultimate Sub-Coding:
  - .iv: - in relation to Space/Place (capturing the geographic focus in the narrative)

C.3.2 Roaf:

Scholar	Pg. #	Reference	Trait	Self Other
Roaf	114	The palace at Eshnunna	Temporal connections with other exemplars	S2a.1.4-5.v

This is a sub-heading followed by description of the architectural layout of the building, drawing on comparison with others of the period and as much as 1,000 years later.[977]

- Primary Coding:
  - S: cultural elements connecting Person(s) to Space/Place
  - 2: interactive space
  - a: domesticated space (altered by human intervention)
  - .1: built environment (the type of domesticated space)
  - .4: civic (the use/function of the built space)
- Penultimate Sub-Coding:
  - -5: Attitudes/Norms/Customs (customary ways of doing things)
- Ultimate Sub-Coding:
  - .v: Relation to time (highlighting the temporal focus of the relation between contemporary and later exemplars)

In comparison, had the focus been on the Palace at *Eshnunna*, it could be coded as: S2a.1.4-5.iv, highlighting the connection to Space/Place rather than Time.

[977] Roaf (2008), 114.

C.3.3 Kroeber & Kluckhohn:

Page #	Scholar Cited	Descriptor	Self Other	OCM Label	OCM Description
184-185	Boas 1938a	Plants	O1b.1	824	Notions about plants in general; ideas about particular plants (e.g., mistletoe); cultural uses of plants native terms for plants; knowledge of poisonous plants; associated behavior patterns; etc.

In his narrative, Boas is specifically citing "relations between man and nature,"[978] within which he lists plants among other things. With greater specificity, the coding would extend to accommodate, for instance, cultivated plants. The OCM coding is included here to demonstrate cross-tabulation between the different coding systems.

- Primary Coding:
  - O: Ways of thinking and acting connecting Person(s) to other living and material things
  - 1: - Naturally occurring things
  - b: - Organic
  - .1: - Plants

C.3.4 LCCN:

Self Other	LOC #	Descriptions					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
P2c.5.3.1-4.iii	498.S5	Societal groups. Ethnic groups	Intergroup relations. Diplomacy. Ethnic relations. Ethnic conflict	Warfare	Weapons and armor	Special, A-Z	Shields

This is the cataloguing code for publications dealing with shields as one type of armor used in military combat.

- Primary Coding:
  - P: Cultural elements connecting Person(s) to people
  - 2: Groups (in groups, Level 3 or 4)
  - c: Collective Social Relations (the group as a collective)
  - .5: Inter-cultural Relations (relating to another group as a collective)
  - .3: Conflict Relations (Formal) (the relationship between the groups is one of organized/official conflict)
  - .1: Military (it is organized conflict involving armed forces, in contrast to coalition negotiation as a conflict strategy, for example)
- Penultimate Sub-Coding:
  - -4: Materials (shields and other armament are material objects associated with the conduct/processes involved in the relations)
- Ultimate Sub-Coding:
  - .iii: in relation to other living or material things (in this non-narrative context, shields are items enumerated separately from other armaments such as daggers).

C.3.5 eHRAF:

Self Other 1	OCM	OCM Label	OCM Description
RM-P2a.3.x-1.iii	107	DIAGNOSTIC MATERIAL ATTRIBUTES	Artifactual or other material attributes that uniquely identify the society, cultural group, or archaeological tradition. This category, term, and scope note were introduced in 1997.

[978] Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1963), 184-185.

This particular code in the eHRAF is one that, in this manner of presentation, is applicable to culture *research*, rather than the Culture itself, so it receives the "RM" prefix (Research and Methods). The subject of the code is cultural, however, so it points to a cultural element coded according to the regular structure. An additional feature of the framework highlighted by this example is the effects and handling of missing or insufficiently precise information. This coding privileges the relationality of the shared practice (of crafting the objects), rather than the objects themselves.

- Primary Coding:
  - RM-: Research and Methodology (in culture study)
  - P: Cultural elements connecting Person(s) to people
  - 2: Groups (the connection is between Person and people at the group level)
  - a: Intra-group social relations (the connection is between people in the same cultural group)
  - .3: Communities of Practice (if the particular artifacts are the production of craftspersons, as is often the case)
  - .x: (the class of objects is unspecified, which would not be useful in actual research, but using the lower-case x as a place-holder works well when needed)
- Penultimate Sub-Coding:
  - -1: Customs and Norms (characteristic ways of doing things; with more information, another code may be deemed more pertinent)
- Ultimate Sub-Coding:
  - .iii: Relation to other living or material things (as a diagnostic material attribute, the characteristic would be defined in relation to comparative diagnostic material attributes, i.e. other material things)

C.4 Annotated Culture Contents Coding Framework

The framework is presented here with explanatory notations bracketed.

Self [Other] Code					Description
RM	Research & Methodology [incl. data, statistics, classifications, theory, etc.]				
W	Cultural Elements (Ways of Thinking & Acting Connecting Persons to):				
P	People				
	P1	Personal/Individual (Level 1, Level 2) [direct relationships]			
		P1a	Personal Well-Being		
			P1a.1	Physiological [e.g. food, shelter]	
			P1a.2	Psychological and Cognitive [e.g. belonging, coherence]	
			P1a.3	Social and Behavioral [e.g. meaningfulness and agency]	
		P1b	Interpersonal Interaction [Level 1 expression]		
			P1b.1	Dress and Adornment [visual, symbolic]	
			P1b.2	Communication and Language	
				P1b.2.1	Verbal [e.g. words]
				P1b.2.2	Physical [e.g. facial expressions, tattooing]
				P1b.2.3	Behavioral [e.g. etiquette]
			P1b.3	Socialization	
		P1c	Close Personal Relationships		
			P1c.1	Immediate Family	
				P1c.1.1	Parent-Child
				P1c.1.2	Sibling
			P1c.2	Extended Family	
				P1c.2.1	Grandparents
				P1c.2.2	Uncles/Aunts
			P1c.3	Marital Family	
				P1c.3.1	Mate
			P1c.4	Personal Friendships and Rivals/Enemies	
	P2	Groups (Level 3, Level 4)			
		P2a	Intra-Group Social Relations		
			P2a.1	Extended Kinship	
			P2a.2	Cliques	
			P2a.3	Communities of Practice [based on what a person does]	
				P2a.3.1	Scribal
				P2a.3.2	Scientific
				P2a.3.3	Administrative
				P2a.3.3	Mercantile
				P2a.3.4	Craft [e.g. seal carving]
				P2a.3.5	Religion and Metaphysics [religious specialists]
				P2a.3.6	Military
			P2a.4	Other (Sub-)Categorical Groupings [based on what a person is]	
				P2a.4.1	Gender

Self Other Code							Description
				P2a.4.2			Age
				P2a.4.3			Class, Status
				P2a.4.4			Ethnicity [member of descent group]
				P2a.4.5			Religion [religious (non-)adherents]
		P2b	Collective Meaning [~ ideological content]				
			P2b.1	Religion and Metaphysics			
			P2b.2	Life, Health & Medicine, Death			
			P2b.3	Recreation			
			P2b.4	Arts/Aesthetics			
			P2b.5	Tradition			
			P2b.6	Language (Verbal and Written) [i.e. linguistics & textual, names]			
			P2b.7	General Knowledge & Beliefs [science, philosophy, etc.]			
		P2c	Collective Social Relations [~ structural content]				
			P2c.1	Education/Training			
			P2c.2	Economy, Exchange & Labor			
			P2c.3	Law			
			P2c.4	Governance			
			P2c.5	Inter-cultural Relations			
				P2c.5.1	Casual		
				P2c.5.2	Cooperative Relations (Formal)		
					P2c.5.1.1	Trade Agreements	
					P2c.5.1.2	Political Marriage	
				P2c.5.3	Conflict Relations (Formal)		
					P2c.5.3.1	Military	
					P2c.5.3.2	Vassalage	
Penultimate Sub-Coding						*Pxx.-1*	*Customs and Norms*
						Px.x.-2	*Knowledge and Ideology*
						Px.x.-3	*Structure*
						Px.x.-4	*Materials*
O	Other Living and Material Things						
	O1	Naturally Occurring					
		O1a	Inorganic				
			O1a.1	Stone			
				O1a.1.1	Flint		
			O1a.2	Ores/Minerals			
			O1a.3	Liquids			
				O1a.3.1	Water		
		O1b	Organic				
			O1b.1	Plants			
				O1b.1.1	Cultivated Plants		
					O1b.1.1.1	Wheat	
				O1b.1.2	Uncultivated Plants		
					O1b.1.2.1	Mushrooms	

Self Other Code				Description	
		O1b.2	Animals		
			O1b.2.1	Domesticated Animals	
			O1b.2.2	Non-Domesticated Animals	
	Penultimate Sub-Coding			*O1x.-1*	*Procurement/Access*
				O1x.-2	*Processing/Preparing for Use/Application*
				O1x.-3	*Use [incl. storage, transport, exchange, discard]*
				O1x.-4	*Specialized Knowledge and Skills*
				O1x.-5	*Attitudes/Norms/Customs*
				O1x.-6	*Materials [involved in production, use, etc.]*
	O2	Industry & Craft [turning raw materials into usable things]			
		O2a	Craft		
			O2a.1	Ceramics/Pottery	
				O2a.1.1	Domestic Vessels
					O2a.1.1.1 Bowls
			O2a.2	Metallurgy	
				O2a.2.1	Weapons
				O2a.2.2	Tools/Implements
				O2a.2.3	Jewelry
				O2a.2.4	Other Objects
			O2a.3	Textiles/Fabrics	
			O2a.4	Foods	
			O2a.5	Shell	
			O2a.6	Basketry	
			O2a.7	Stone	
				O2a.7.1	Blades
				O2a.7.2	Projectile Points
				O2a.7.3	Seals (Cylinder)
				O2a.7.4	Vessels
				O2a.7.5	Other Objects
			O2a.8	Bone	
			O 2 a . 9	Wood	
			O2a.10	Skins/Leather	
			O2a.11	Other	
		O2b	Industry [production involving multiple crafts]		
			O2b.1	Transportation	
			O2b.2	Construction	
			O2b.3	Clothing	
	Penultimate Sub-Coding			*O2x.-1*	*Procurement/Access/Manufacture*
				O2x.-2	*Processing/Preparing for Use/Application*
				O2x.-3	*Use [incl. storage, transport, exchange, discard]*
				O2x.-4	*Specialized Knowledge and Skills*
				O2x.-5	*Attitudes/Norms/Customs*
				O2x.-6	*Materials [involved in production, use, etc.]*

Self Other Code						Description
S	Space/Place					
	S1	Social and Conceptual Space/Place				
		S1a	Proxemics [norms/rules of use of human space]			
		S1b	Territoriality [norms/use of geographic space; origins]			
			S1b.1	Sedentism		
			S1b.2	Nomadism		
	S2	Interactive Space/Place [i.e. physical dimension]				
		S2a	Domesticated Space/Place			
			S2a.1	Built Environments		
				S2a.1.1	Domestic [e.g. dwellings]	
				S2a.1.2	Public [e.g. markets, plazas, etc.]	
				S2a.1.3	Sacral	
				S2a.1.4	Civic [e.g. palace, court, etc.]	
				S2a.1.5	Neighborhoods	
				S2a.1.6	Settlements	
			S2a.2	Non-built Environments		
				S2a.2.1	Fields	
				S2a.2.2	Paths	
				S2a.2.3	Surrounds outside city walls	
				S2a.2.4	Nomadic migration routes	
		S2b	Non-domesticated Space/Place			
			S2b.1	Mountains		
			S2b.2	Wilderness		
	S3	Situated Space/Place				
		S3a	Earthly			
		S3b	Celestial			
	Penultimate Sub-Coding				*Sxx.-1*	*Procurement/Access/Construction*
					Sxx.-2	*Processing/Preparation*
					Sxx.-3	*Use*
					Sxx.-4	*Specialized Knowledge & Skills*
					Sxx.-5	*Attitudes/Norms/Customs*
					Sxx.-6	*Materials*
T	Time					
	T1	Living Time				
		T1a	Experiential			
			T1a.1	Episodic [encounters, e.g. audience with king, battles]		
			T1a.2	Cyclic [e.g. seasons, months, days, hours/time of day]		
			T1a.3	Lifespan		
				T1a.3.1	Memory and Biography	
		T1b	Developmental			
			T1b.1	Infancy		
			T1b.2	Childhood		
			T1b.3	Adolescence		

Self Other Code						Description
		T1b.4				Adult
		T1b.5				Senescence
	T1c					Situatedness [i.e.positioning in context(s) of meaning during lifetime]
T2						Historical Time
	T2a					Tradition [i.e. relationality with time and its contents of people and things)
		T2a.1				Memory
				T2a.1.3.1		Heirlooms
		T2a.2				Perpetuity
				T2a.2.3.1		Monuments
	T2b					Situatedness [positioning in context(s) of meaning relative to past and/or future time]
		T2b.1				Natural [historical geography]
		T2b.2				Historical
		T2b.3				Human
			T2b.3.1			Cognition
			T2b.3.2			Physiology, Biology
			T2b.3.3			Social
		T2b.4				Technological
Penultimate Sub-Coding					*Txx.-1*	*Content*
					Txx.-2	*Attitudes/Norms/Customs*
					Txx.-3	*Materials*
Ultimate Sub-Coding					***xxx.-x.i***	***Related ways of thinking***
					xx.-x.ii	***Related ways of acting***
					xx.-x.iii	***Relation to other living or material things***
					xx.-x.iv	***Relation to space/place***
					xx.-x.v	***Relation to time***

C.5 Culture Contents Coding Framework

Self [Other] Code	Description
RM	Research & Methodology
W	Cultural Elements (Ways of Thinking & Acting Connecting Persons to):
P	People
P1	Personal/Individual (Level 1, Level 2)
P1a	Personal Well-Being
P1a.1	Physiological
P1a.2	Psychological and Cognitive (other than Social)
P1a.3	Social and Behavioral
P1b	Interpersonal Interaction
P1b.1	Dress and Adornment
P1b.2	Communication and Language
P1b.2.1	Verbal
P1b.2.2	Physical
P1b.2.3	Behavioral
P1b.3	Socialization
P1c	Close Personal Relationships
P1c.1	Immediate Family
P1c.1.1	Parent-Child
P1c.1.2	Sibling
P1c.2	Extended Family
P1c.2.1	Grandparents
P1c.2.2	Uncles/Aunts
P1c.3	Marital Family
P1c.3.1	Mate
P1c.4	Personal Friendships and Rivals/Enemies
P2	Groups (Level 3, Level 4)
P2a	Intra-Group Social Relations
P2a.1	Extended Kinship
P2a.2	Cliques
P2a.3	Communities of Practice
P2a.3.1	Scribal
P2a.3.2	Scientific
P2a.3.3	Administrative
P2a.3.3	Mercantile
P2a.3.4	Craft
P2a.3.5	Religion and Metaphysics
P2a.3.6	Military
P2a.4	Other (Sub-)Categorical Groupings

Self Other Code						Description
				P2a.4.1		Gender
				P2a.4.2		Age
				P2a.4.3		Class, Status
				P2a.4.4		Ethnicity
				P2a.4.5		Religion
		P2b	Collective Meaning			
			P2b.1	Religion and Metaphysics		
			P2b.2	Life, Health & Medicine, Death		
			P2b.3	Recreation		
			P2b.4	Arts/Aesthetics		
			P2b.5	Tradition		
			P2b.6	Language (Verbal and Written)		
			P2b.7	General Knowledge & Beliefs		
		P2c	Collective Social Relations			
			P2c.1	Education/Training		
			P2c.2	Economy, Exchange & Labor		
			P2c.3	Law		
			P2c.4	Governance		
			P2c.5	Inter-cultural Relations		
				P2c.5.1	Casual	
				P2c.5.2	Cooperative Relations (Formal)	
					P2c.5.1.1	Trade Agreements
					P2c.5.1.2	Political Marriage
				P2c.5.3	Conflict Relations (Formal)	
					P2c.5.3.1	Military
					P2c.5.3.2	Vassalage
Penultimate Sub-Coding					*Pxx.-.1*	*Customs and Norms*
					Pxx.-.2	*Knowledge and Ideology*
					Pxx.-.3	*Structure*
					Pxx.-.4	*Materials*
O	Other Living and Material Things					
	O1	Naturally Occurring				
		O1a	Inorganic			
			O1a.1	Stone		
				O1a.1.1	Flint	
			O1a.2	Ores/Minerals		
			O1a.3	Liquids		
				O1a.3.1	Water	
		O1b	Organic			
			O1b.1	Plants		

Self Other Code					Description	
				O1b.1.1	Cultivated Plants	
					O1b.1.1.1	Wheat
				O1b.1.2	Uncultivated Plants	
					O1b.1.2.1	Mushrooms
			O1b.2	Animals		
				O1b.2.1	Domesticated Animals	
				O1b.2.2	Non-Domesticated Animals	
		Penultimate Sub-Coding		*O1x.-.1*	*Procurement/Access*	
				O1x.-.2	*Processing/Preparing for Use/Application*	
				O1x.-.3	*Use*	
				O1x.-.4	*Specialized Knowledge and Skills*	
				O1x.-.5	*Attitudes/Norms/Customs*	
				O1x.-.6	*Materials*	
	O2	Industry & Craft				
		O2a	Craft			
			O2a.1	Ceramics/Pottery		
				O2a.1.1	Domestic Vessels	
					O2a.1.1.1	Bowls
			O2a.2	Metallurgy		
				O2a.2.1	Weapons	
				O2a.2.2	Tools/Implements	
				O2a.2.3	Jewelry	
				O2a.2.4	Other Objects	
			O2a.3	Textiles/Fabrics		
			O2a.4	Foods		
			O2a.5	Shell		
			O2a.6	Basketry		
			O2a.7	Stone		
				O2a.7.1	Blades	
				O2a.7.2	Projectile Points	
				O2a.7.3	Seals	
				O2a.7.4	Vessels	
				O2a.7.5	Other Objects	
			O2a.8	Bone		
			O2a.9	Wood		
			O2a.10	Skins/Leather		
			O2a.11	Other		
		O2b	Industry			
			O2b.1	Transportation		
			O2b.2	Construction		

Self Other Code				Description	
			O2b.3	Clothing	
		Penultimate Sub-Coding		*O2x.-1*	*Procurement/Access/Manufacture*
				O2x.-2	*Processing/Preparing for Use/Application*
				O2x.-3	*Use*
				O2x.-4	*Specialized Knowledge and Skills*
				O2x.-5	*Attitudes/Norms/Customs*
				O2x.-6	*Materials*
S	Space/Place				
	S1	Social and Conceptual Space/Place			
		S1a	Proxemics		
		S1b	Territoriality		
			S1b.1	Sedentism	
			S1b.2	Nomadism	
	S2	Interactive Space/Place			
		S2a	Domesticated Space/Place		
			S2a.1	Built Environments	
				S2a.1.1	Domestic
				S2a.1.2	Public
				S2a.1.3	Sacral
				S2a.1.4	Civic
				S2a.1.5	Neighborhoods
				S2a.1.6	Settlements
			S2a.2	Non-built Environments	
				S2a.2.1	Fields
				S2a.2.2	Paths
				S2a.2.3	Surrounds outside city walls
				S2a.2.4	Nomadic migration routes
		S2b	Non-domesticated Space/Place		
			S2b.1	Mountains	
			S2b.2	Wilderness	
	S3	Situated Space/Place			
		S3a	Earthly		
		S3b	Celestial		
		Penultimate Sub-Coding		*Sxx.-1*	*Procurement/Access/Construction*
				Sxx.-2	*Processing/Preparation*
				Sxx.-3	*Use*
				Sxx.-4	*Specialized Knowledge & Skills*
				Sxx.-5	*Attitudes/Norms/Customs*
				Sxx.-6	*Materials*
T	Time				

Self Other Code					Description	
T1	Living Time					
	T1a	Experiential				
		T1a.1	Episodic			
		T1a.2	Cyclic			
		T1a.3	Lifespan			
			T1a.3.1	Memory and Biography		
	T1b	Developmental				
		T1b.1	Infancy			
		T1b.2	Childhood			
		T1b.3	Adolescence			
		T1b.4	Adult			
		T1b.5	Senescence			
	T1c	Situatedness				
T2	Historical Time					
	T2a	Tradition				
		T2a.1	Memory			
				T2a.1.3.1	Heirlooms	
		T2a.2	Perpetuity			
				T2a.2.3.1	Monuments	
	T2b	Situatedness				
		T2b.1	Natural			
		T2b.2	Historical			
		T2b.3	Human			
			T2b.3.1	Cognition		
			T2b.3.2	Physiology, Biology		
			T2b.3.3	Social		
		T2b.4	Technological			
Penultimate Sub-Coding					*Txx.-1*	*Content*
					Txx.-2	*Attitudes/Norms/Customs*
					Txx.-3	*Materials*
Ultimate Sub-Coding					***xx.-x.i***	***Related ways of thinking***
					xx.-x.ii	***Related ways of acting***
					xx.-x.iii	***Relation to other living or material things***
					xx.-x.iv	***Relation to space/place***
					xx.-x.v	***Relation to time***

Appendix D
Chronologies, Definitions, and Map

Table D-1. Rulers[979]

	Isin	Larsa	Babylon	Mari	Egypt
2026	(Ur)				
2025	Ibbi-Sîn (2026-2002)	Naplânum (2025-2005)			
2019					
2004	Išbi-Erra (2019-1987)	Yamṣium (2004-1977)			Mentuhotep Nebtawyra (1998-1991)
1986	Šu-ilišu (1986-1977)				Amenhemat I (1991-1962)
1976	Iddin-Dagan (1976-1956)	Sâmium (1976-1942)			Senwosret I (1971-1926)
1955	Išme-Dagan (1955-1937)				
1941		Zabâya (1941-1933)			
1936	Lipit-Eštar (1936-1926)				
1932		Gungunum (1932-1906)			
1925	Ur-Ninurta (1925-1898)				Amenhemat II (1929-1892)
1905		Abî-Sarê (1905-1895)			
1897	Bûr-Sîn (1897-1876)				Senwosret II (1897-1878)
1894		Sûmû-El (1894-1866)	Sûmû-abum (1894-1881)		
1880			Sûmû-la-El (1880-1845)		
1875	Lipit-Enlil (1875-1871)				Senwosret III (1878-1843)
1870	Erra-imittî (1870-1863)				
1865		Nûr-Adad (1865-1850)			
1862	Enlil-bâni (1862-1839)				
1849		Sîn-iddinam (1849-1843)			
1844			Sâbium (1844-1831)		
1842		Sîn-irîbam (1842-1841)			Amenhemat III (1844-1797)
1840		Sîn-iqîšam (1840-1836)			
1838	Zambaya (1838-1836)				
1835	Itêr-pîša (1835-1832)	Ṣillî-Adad (1835)			
1834		Warad-Sîn			

[979] All dates are BCE. Sources: Isin, Larsa, Babylon, Mari (Charpin); Egypt (Saretta). Charpin, "Histoire Politique" (2004), Appendix A; Saretta (2016), 286-287.

<table>
<tr><th></th><th>Isin</th><th>Larsa</th><th>Babylon</th><th>Mari</th><th>Egypt</th></tr>
<tr><td>1831</td><td rowspan="2">Urdukuga
(1831-1828)</td><td rowspan="2">(1834-1823)</td><td></td><td rowspan="4"></td><td rowspan="5"></td></tr>
<tr><td>1830</td><td rowspan="3">Apil-Sîn
(1830-1813)</td></tr>
<tr><td>1827</td><td rowspan="2">Sîn-mâgir
(1827-1817)</td></tr>
<tr><td>1822</td><td rowspan="6">Rîm-Sîn
(1822-1763)</td></tr>
<tr><td>1816</td><td rowspan="3">Damiq-ilišu
(1816-1794)</td></tr>
<tr><td>1812</td><td rowspan="3">Sîn-muballiṭ
(1812-1793)</td></tr>
<tr><td>1810</td><td>Yahdun-Lîm
(1810-1794)</td></tr>
<tr><td>1793</td><td rowspan="11"></td><td>Sûmû-Yamam
(1793-1792)</td><td rowspan="3">Amenhemat IV
(1799-1787)</td></tr>
<tr><td>1792</td><td rowspan="4">Hammurabi
(1792-1750)</td><td>Yasmah-Addu
(1792-1775)</td></tr>
<tr><td>1775</td><td rowspan="3">Zimrî-Lîm
(1775-1762)</td><td>Nefrusobek
(1787-1783)</td></tr>
<tr><td>1762</td><td rowspan="6"></td><td rowspan="4"></td></tr>
<tr><td>1749</td><td>Samsu-iluna
(1749-1712)</td><td rowspan="6"></td></tr>
<tr><td>1711</td><td>Abî-ešuh
(1711-1684)</td></tr>
<tr><td>1683</td><td>Ammi-ditana
(1683-1647)</td><td rowspan="4">Hyksos Dynasties
(1700-1580)</td></tr>
<tr><td>1646</td><td>Ammi-ṣaduqa
(1646-1626)</td></tr>
<tr><td>1625</td><td>Samsu-ditana
(1625-1595)</td></tr>
</table>

Table D-2. Comparative Chronology

<table>
<tr><th>BCE</th><th colspan="4">Mesopotamia[980]</th><th>Levant[981]</th><th>Egypt[982]</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">2000</td><td rowspan="2">Ur III (2026-2002)</td><td rowspan="4">Isin (2019-1792)</td><td rowspan="4">Larsa (2025-1763)</td><td rowspan="3"></td><td>EB IV/MB I (2300-2000)</td><td>1st Intermediate Period (2150-2040)</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">MB IIA (2000-1800)</td><td rowspan="3">Middle Kingdom (2040-1640)</td></tr>
<tr><td>1800</td><td rowspan="3">1st Babylonian Dynasty (1894-1595)</td><td rowspan="2">Mari Period (1810-1762)</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td rowspan="3"></td><td rowspan="3"></td><td rowspan="2">MB IIB (1800-1650)</td></tr>
<tr><td>1600</td><td rowspan="2">MB IIC (1650-1550)</td><td rowspan="2">2nd Intermediate Period / Hyksos Dynasty (1640-1532)</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr>
</table>

[980] Charpin, "Histoire Politique" (2004), Appendix A.

[981] Amihai Mazar, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible, 10,000-586 B.C.E* (New York: Doubleday, 1992).

[982] As noted in Chapter 4, although other researchers delineate the periods differently, Saretta is followed here since that is the source most of the Egyptian-based discussion draws upon; in general terms the Middle Kingdom is considered as being ca. 2000-1600. Saretta (2016), 286-287.

Table D-3. Definitions

Categorical Identity	Shared belonging to a social category that may or may not involve direct relationship between Self and in-category-Other(s).
Cultural Identity	Identification by Self and Other(s) as a member of the categorically distinctive conceptual matrix that includes ways of thinking and acting connecting the people, other living and material things, place, and time to which they belong. It is a Level 4 (categorical) identity.
Culture Contents	The recognized regularities in the ways of thinking and acting of cultural groups in relation to people, other living and material things, place/space, and time (P, O, S, T). This is a holistic combination of the constituent elements of Culture. They are outlined according to $Self^{Other}$ relational identity in Appendix C.
Group Identity	The Self in relation to Other(s) beyond primary (Level 2) relationships, ranging from small groups to the extent of the community.
Identity	The nested, augmentative composite of the four levels of identification that comprise the who/what a Person ascribes to herself; to a degree, it is subject to validation by who/what Other(s) ascribe the Person to be.
Individual Identity	Self relating to Other(s) as an Individual, functioning in primary relationships. It is Level 2 identity.
Other	Any interactant with Self, whether animate or inanimate.
Person	The discrete first-person individual (or "I") that is the composite of each level and kind of identification developed throughout his or her lifetime. It is also referred to as Self.
Performance Points	A conceptual approach to contextualized interaction which adds a dramaturgical perspective to Johnson-Hanks et al.'s "Conjuncture" concept. It considers the interactants (Self and Other) as performing their identifications in an action or event upon the stage of the specific configurations of the multidimensional factors that are in play.
Personal Identity	The social, subjective, and relational consideration by Self of who/what she considers herself to be; to some degree, it is subject to validation by the who/what Other(s) ascribe to her. It is the Person's Level 1 identity.
Self	The discrete first-person individual (or "I") that is the composite of each level and kind of identification developed throughout his or her lifetime. It is the cognitive point of reference in all levels of identification. It may also be referred to as Person.

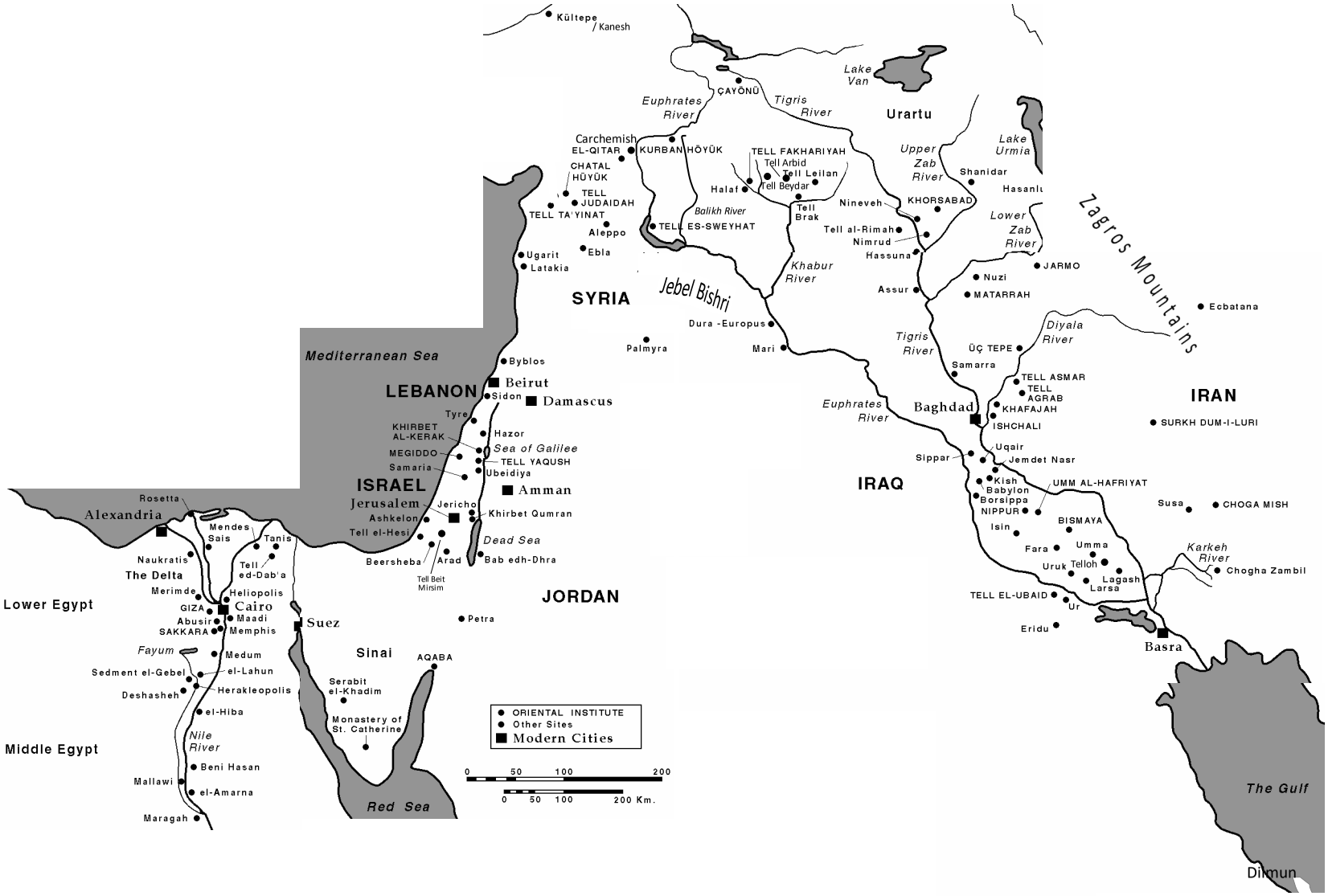

Figure D.4: Map of the Ancient Near East.
Adapted from "Ancient Near East Site Maps," The Oriental Institute Map Series,
https://oi.uchicago.edu/research/computer-laboratory/ancient-near-east-site-maps